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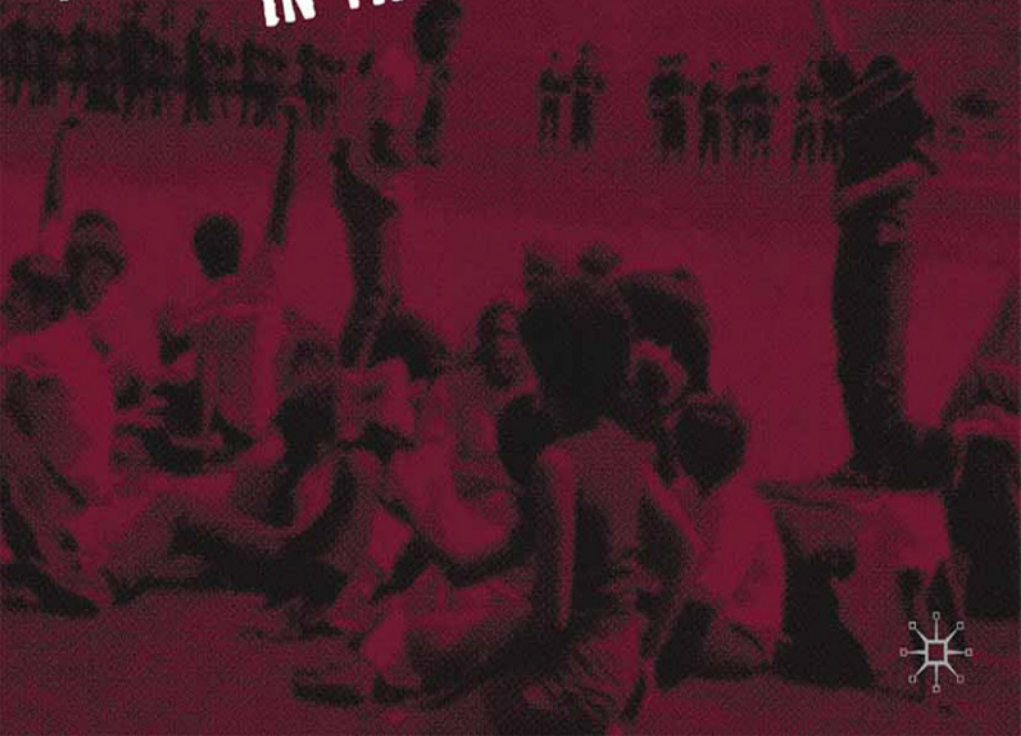
BRAD E. LUCAS

RADICALS, RHETORIC, AND THE WAR

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA IN THE WAKE OF KENT STATE



Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War

Palgrave Studies in Oral History

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The University of Nevada in the Wake of Kent State

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This book is dedicated to
Lyn, Kayla, and Corey
&
Elaine and Rachel

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Series Editors' Foreword

At the end of the 1960s in opposition to the Vietnam War and in sympathy with the civil rights and women's liberation movements, protests erupted on college campuses. The University of California at Berkeley experienced the "free speech movement" earlier in the decade; in 1968, on the east coast, Columbia University ignited, forcing that institution to close after a Students for Democratic Society (SDS) demonstration led to the takeover of several campus buildings and a violent clash between demonstrators and the police. The turmoil, not limited to the United States, brought anti-war protests to the Universities of Tokyo, Prague, and Paris, and several campuses in Italy. At the conclusion of the 1969–1970 academic year, unprecedented violence erupted on an American campus when national guardsmen killed four students at Kent State University in Ohio on May 4, 1970. The incursion of American troops into Cambodia on April 30 had set off a wave of protests that spread to virtually every major campus in the nation. Across the United States, more than five hundred colleges and universities closed. In *Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War*, Brad Lucas, who was born less than a year before the Kent State episode, tells the story of the events during this period that occurred at the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR), a school that did not make national headlines but where the local impact was significant.

Lucas could do so because the University of Nevada Oral History Program (UNOHP) had the foresight to establish the Governor's Day oral history project. In 1970, Governor's Day, an annual Reserved Officer Training Corps (ROTC) awards ceremony, occurred the day after the Kent State shootings and became the target of anti-military sentiment. The disruption that occurred at UNR on that day increased campus polarization and had long term consequences for the university and one professor who lost his job—and for academic freedom generally. Shortly after the incident, the UNOHP interviewed students, faculty, administrators, and observers about the events that had ripped the campus and the community asunder. In so doing, the UNOHP interviewers put oral history to use for one of the technique's many versatile purposes: *to record the present for the future*. While oral history usually records memories of the past from the perspective of the present, it can be employed to preserve a record of a contemporary event for future researchers. This is what happened in Reno immediately following Governor's Day and its aftermath, although the untranscribed tapes sat in an archival box until 1998 when the University Archivist led Lucas to this treasure trove of material. With the encouragement of the

staff at the UNOHP, who transcribed the tapes, Lucas edited them and added a special dimension to this work by re-interviewing several of the participants. In so doing, he created the opportunity to compare what was said in the original interviews with memories expressed almost thirty years later, a valuable approach not often available to oral historians.

Lucas's interest in rhetoric, language, and symbolic action informs this study as well, and helps to insure that its significance extends beyond that of just another account of a local college protest during the Vietnam War era. For him, "The oral history interview situation is a rhetorical event." Participants in campus protests battled over the means of communication and representation. Words became weapons in the cultural conflict that divided America. By offering us this framework, *Radicals, Rhetoric,* and *the War* contributes another dimension to the Palgrave Studies in Oral History series, which attempts to bring to readers cutting edge work in the field while making it accessible to students, scholars, and general readers alike. As the tenth volume in the series, Lucas's study joins topics as diverse as China's Cultural Revolution, Argentina's "Dirty War," and African American activism in the Mississippi Delta, and helps to demonstrate the ability of oral history to illuminate an infinite variety of topics.

Bruce M. Stave
University of Connecticut

Linda Shopes
Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission

Acknowledgments

University archivist Karen Gash got me started on this journey in 1998 and frequently retrieved buried treasures from the archives—thanks for your inspiration. This book would not have been possible without the time, energy, support, and vision of the University of Nevada Oral History Program (UNOHP). The Governor's Day oral history project was initially developed in 1970, at the urging of librarian Kenneth Carpenter and with the efforts of Mary Ellen Glass, Marian Rendall, and Ruth Hilts. I am also indebted to R. Tom King and Mary Larson for all of their support over the years, and have enjoyed their company as scholars and friends. With Kathleen Coles, Kate Wright-Ross, and Linda Sommer, they have made enormous contributions to the field of oral history and the narratives of Nevada. Above all, Tom deserves special praise for being an excellent teacher and a true mentor while I was a graduate student.

To my friends and former colleagues in Nevada, thank you for sustaining a kind and caring community. While I cannot list all your names here, I need to recognize some of the individuals who put a lot of their lives into mine: Michael and Eryn Branch, Colin and Monica Robertson, Tim and Linda Gorelangton, Jane Detweiler, Kathleen and Phil Boardman, James and Lilace Guignard, Michael and Valerie Cohen, Heidi Estrem, Geoff Baker, Patti Hanlon, Dana Zaskoda, Stacy Burton, Stephen Tchudi, Mary Webb, Steve Adkison, Eliot Rendleman, Nick Plunkey, Kara Moloney, Amanda Espinosa-Aguilar, Katherine Schmidt, Vince and Masami Raker, Geri McVeigh, Cami Allen, Ann Ronald, Lois Snedden, Michelle Satterlee, Scott Slovic, Patrick Barron, Mark Waldo, Jen Hill, and many others. Also, I would like to thank attorney Gary Manson for restoring my faith in the legal system after I ran into resistance downtown. And I would like to thank Jimmy Boegle (*Reno News and Review*), Viktoria Hertling (*CenterNews*, Center for Holocaust, Genocide, & Peace Studies), and Bill Rowley (*Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*) for making available early versions of the Governor's Day story.

The Jon Ben Snow Foundation provided a generous grant for the UNOHP that indirectly supported the Governor's Day project, as did the UNR Graduate Student Association. UNR's annual Thornton Peace Prize emerged directly from the conflagrations of Governor's Day, so I am particularly pleased to acknowledge, here, the Thornton family for establishing an award that annually recognizes courageous individuals who fight injustice through nonviolent means.

The daunting task of interviewing academics, judges, activists, and politicians brought me into contact with wise and wonderful people I might not have otherwise met. In particular, I would like to thank Paul Adamian, Joe Crowley, Warren d'Azevedo, Frankie Sue Del Papa, John Doherty, David Harvey, Robert Harvey, Anne Howard, Procter Hug, Jr., James Hulse, Fred Maher, N. Edd Miller, Jim Richardson, David Slemmons, Lorena Stookey, and particularly Bob Mayberry (whose path I continue to cross in the strangest of places). Thank you all for your time and interest.

The library faculty and staff at UNR and at Texas Christian University (TCU) have been invaluable in the last stages of the book. My colleagues at TCU have provided me with a supportive and warm environment that has enabled me to focus my energies on both my teaching and my research: Bonnie Blackwell, Neil Easterbrook, Richard Enos, Bob Frye, Theresa Gaul, Ann George, Jill Havens, Charlotte Hogg, Linda Hughes, Todd Kerstetter, Carrie Leverenz, Timothy Parrish, Ronald Pitcock, Curt Rode, Steve Sherwood, Elizabeth Spiller, Karen Steele, Australia Tarver, and David Vanderwerken. I want to give special thanks to Nancy White and Claudia Knott for keeping my department humming, and to my chair, Dan Williams, and to Mary Volcansek, Dean of the AddRan College of Humanities and Social Science, for supporting my work.

The folks at Palgrave Macmillan have been supportive and helpful throughout the process of creating this book. Series editors Bruce Stave and Linda Shopes took a chance on a manuscript that had yet to be written, and they pushed me to consider directions that I might have otherwise avoided. Without these editors, the book you are about to read would take you on a much more taxing journey. I would also like to thank Maran Elancheran at Newgen Imaging Systems for excellent copyediting work, and Alessandra Bastagli, Brendan O'Malley, Petrina Crockford, Emily Leithauser, and Erin Ivy at Palgrave Macmillan for managing the direction, content, and production of this book.

My family deserves special praise for putting up with me and an academic's ways for the past two decades, from relocations and running debts to missed holidays and short vacation visits. Thanks to Craig and Donna Lucas; Janet and Brian Conlin; my mother, Ruth Lucas; and my father, Kenneth Lucas, who passed away on September 19, 2005, just a few weeks after this manuscript was completed. Since the 1980s, I have also been able to count on my dear brothers, which has meant more to me than I could ever put into words: Tim Pappageorge, Dan Miller, Edward Burda, Eric Fairchild, Jeff Gebert, and James Courtad. Thank you all for bringing me up and giving me a good life.

In Texas, Vaughn and Janiece, Robert and Ashley, and Kate and Robert have welcomed me into their family, bringing good cheer, support, and understanding. To Kayla and Corey, thank you for the joy, laughter, discovery, song, study, play, love, and grateful games that you have brought into my life. And for my wife, Lyn: thank you for bringing me a loving heart, a healthy life, and a nurturing home. I am thankful every day for your love and support, your care and respect, and your faith in me. This book wouldn't have made it to print without you.

ONE

Introduction: The Open Hand and the University

> In social movements, *persuasion* is pervasive while violence is incidental and often employed for symbolic purposes. In civil wars and revolutions, *violence* is pervasive while persuasion is incidental.
>
> —Stewart, Smith, and Denton, Jr.,
> *Persuasion in Social Movements*

The singular word "Vietnam" evokes far-ranging and emotionally charged meanings for many Americans. It signifies a nation, a war, and for many, a historical marker for an era of cultural revolt. Dramatic campus conflicts, after all, provided much of the imagery for our current representations of the antiwar movement. However, many campus protests remain largely un-documented. Hundreds of campuses experienced unrest following the Kent State killings, but few, if any, collected oral histories immediately afterward. Several universities across the country have oral history collections that include chronicles of the Vietnam era, and many focus on the impact of Kent State. Books on the Vietnam era have increasingly found widespread appeal, as the Sixties generation reflects on its accomplishments, failures, and legacies. Some books have used oral history to chronicle the American experience of the 1960s, the views of conscientious objectors, and antiwar testimony representing diverse demographic groups, but few of the small-campus protests have been adequately documented.[1]

Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War focuses on a demonstration at the University of Nevada, where 300–500 students and faculty protested the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the killing of four students at Kent State University. The Nevada protest disrupted an annual "Governor's Day" campus celebration in which the Governor, regents, military officials, local dignitaries, and parents honored Reserve

B.E. Lucas, *Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War*

Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) cadets and distributed awards. The protest was nonviolent, but a professor was fired for his role in the protest, so this book also tells a story about the limits of academic freedom and the power dynamics of state universities. The Governor's Day protest marked a crucial turn of events for state politics in Nevada, but more importantly, it typified the protest actions—and reactions—at other colleges and universities. With oral history interviews collected immediately following (and decades after) the events, this study offers an opportunity to explore in detail the type of small-scale protests that occurred, in various configurations, on hundreds of other campuses. As a study of campus unrest, state politics, and academic freedom during the height of the antiwar movement, this book offers a thorough account of a war protest in Nevada that, for most Americans, didn't register as a significant episode in the history of the antiwar movement. For some Nevadans, it was a crucial turning point in the state's history, but for many others, it was of little importance. In itself, Governor's Day deserves attention simply because it was an example of campus unrest, one of the many events that comprise the history of a university.

My aim here, however, goes beyond documenting a regional story or contributing more commentary and analysis to the larger discourse about the Vietnam antiwar movement. The two central interests of this book are focused on history and rhetoric. The primary aim is an extensive documentation of a historical incident, using the available sources of data to offer a fair and detailed representation—and interpretation—of events. In this case, the incident entails not only a peaceful war protest but also the subsequent firing of a professor who had been approved for tenure. The secondary aim of this book is informed by an interest in rhetoric, language, and symbolic action—as well as the various discourses influencing the protest and its interpretation. In other words, it addresses several basic concerns that challenge academics, citizens, and elected officials: who is allowed to speak, to whom, and under what conditions.

Before elaborating on these two themes, it is important to note that this book is not an edited collection of interviewee (chronicler) accounts, nor does it build its case solely from the oral histories of participants and observers. Instead, it takes a critical stance regarding such sources, comparing oral history documents with one another and with the print texts that are usually available for historical inquiry.

Throughout this study I offer my observations and interpretations, putting forth claims and conclusions that may provoke challenges from historians, rhetoricians, and probably a lot of Nevadans. Contrary to many observers, I contend that it was not a faculty-led uprising. If anything, it was fomented by overzealous students, monitored by faculty, propagandized by local media, overdramatized by politicians, misunderstood by citizens, and mishandled by university regents. However, my aim is not to vindicate or condemn individuals, but I do hope that this study reveals how choices were made—and the effects of those choices—at all levels in the state university system, from the student activists to the regents and their constituents. More

importantly, I hope that readers are convinced of a more general and simple point: oral histories are vital for future comprehension of the past.

* * *

History and the University

By the late 1960s, campus activism was simmering as Nevada activists fought against racial discrimination and began to feel the rising force of the antiwar movement. When the nation's attention was pointed west, it usually passed over Nevada and focused mostly on the campus radicalism in California. There were some antiwar protests at the university, but most activism was focused on student rights and the plight of black students in a predominantly white, at times racist, university system. After months of politically charged hearings against two black students, and a "Black Week" celebration that brought in radical speakers calling for action, the University of Nevada was primed for conflict. When the antiwar movement came to Reno in full force, it jolted many Nevadans into taking notice and taking action of their own.

On May 4, 1970, shortly after the American invasion of Cambodia, U.S. National Guardsmen killed four people and wounded nine others during campus protests at Kent State University in Ohio. Campus violence that week was widespread, with explosives or firebombs ignited at the rate of roughly four per day. Governor Ronald Reagan closed the entire California state university system, and over 500 campuses were shut down nationwide. The following week, police in Mississippi opened fire on unarmed black students at Jackson State College, killing two people and wounding twelve others. After Kent State, the University of Nevada faced weeks of volatile unrest and protest unlike anything it had witnessed before, and nothing else quite like it has happened in the thirty-five years since. What became known simply as "Governor's Day" prompted campus-wide debates, two firebombing incidents, a surge of statewide media coverage, and political maneuvering and demagoguery that recast the peaceful protest as a violent campus uprising led by radical professors.

Governor's Day was an annual event, but in 1970 it took place one day after the Kent State shootings, prompting demonstrators to disrupt what they saw as an untimely military celebration on their campus. Students and faculty who opposed the war held a peace rally, and the gathering transformed into a semi-organized march to the campus stadium where the military review was being held. On the way, protestors blocked the Governor's motorcade with their bodies, marched to (and around) the stadium grounds, and filed into bleachers where family members, military leaders, and university officials were seated. Protestors shouted antiwar slogans, and a small group sat on the drill field and threatened to disrupt the cadet exercises. The

demonstrators were loud and boisterous: singing songs, shouting obscenities, and harassing the dignitaries and their guests. Violence was narrowly averted when bayonet-wielding cadets ran into a throng of demonstrators, but ultimately the protest ended without violence. Nevada's citizens—like much of the nation—were mostly conservative in their views, hesitant to understand or condone the radicalism of many campus activists. It was not surprising, then, that one Nevada journalist referred to the protest as the "most disgraceful day in the history of Nevada."

On campus the following week there were two firebombings that were attributed to "outsiders" from California, but as this book reveals, the arson was the work of local youth radicals. Out of the hundreds of demonstrators, two people from the Department of English were singled out for investigation for their actions on Governor's Day. The charges against a graduate teaching assistant were eventually dropped, but professor Paul Adamian was ultimately fired for encouraging students to block the motorcade and leading students in "raucous and rude catcalls" at the stadium. Adamian had recently been approved for tenure, and due to the ambiguous and contradictory evidence brought against him, the university president and faculty senate refused to accept that allegations against him were warranted or grounds for dismissal. However, the Board of Regents overruled the findings and chose to fire Adamian—and the debate over "the Adamian Affair" continued for ten years in state and federal appellate courts.

* * *

Chronicles of Governor's Day, 1970

As events began to unfold during the summer of 1970, the University of Nevada Oral History Program (UNOHP) began interviews with over 50 administrators, faculty, observers, and students associated with the protest. Because the full repercussions of the event were not yet known, the interviewers developed a standard list of questions that would elicit only opinions and impressions, rather than more concrete observations that could later be used as legal evidence. These initial interviews captured a multifaceted perspective across all levels of campus life, but due to ongoing legal proceedings, the tapes were stored in the university archives and left un-transcribed, and more or less forgotten.

The decision to conduct oral histories is worth noting in detail, not only for its methodological importance but also for the perspectives of the oral historians. In June 1970 Mary Ellen Glass, Marian Rendall, and Ruth Hilts summarized their experiences interviewing over 50 chroniclers about their impressions of the event. As Glass explained, "there was a consensus that the university had come to a turning point in its history . . . and I wouldn't say either for better or for worse at this point, but definitely a change in the direction that the university has been taking."[2] Glass

sought support from president N. Edd Miller and other administrators who encouraged the concept but voiced concerns about the use of such material as legal evidence. After assessing all of the possible approaches, the UNOHP decided to seek "views, opinions, observations, and so forth, rather than 'accounts of an event.' " Despite their efforts to avoid it, the interviews did record significant and substantial "accounts of the event."

Their tape-recorded reflections offer an invaluable assessment of the 1970 Governor's Day oral histories as a whole. The interview questions were designed to focus on chroniclers' reactions, thoughts, and feelings about Governor's Day, rather than specific prompts for details about what happened.[3] Of all the chroniclers invited to participate, approximately 80 percent volunteered to be interviewed. The purpose of the project was to record a multitude of perspectives, not to seek consensus. Most of the chroniclers were "fair" and "sympathetic," and "whether or not they agreed with what had happened, they were in a way pleased to see that there was some feeling of awareness that they had not seen registered before, that they had hoped would be registered . . . a kind of subtle pride that something has happened here." Across the spectrum, chroniclers made explicit disavowals of violence and lamented the negative publicity, but they disagreed whether violence had actually occurred on the campus. They also discovered that uniformly many chroniclers put their faith in the "usual political channels" to effect change.

One of the set questions on academic freedom prompted consistent responses, eliciting comments on the role of the university and a wide spectrum of definitions of academic freedom. Regardless of the perspectives or potential value, the tapes were not transcribed. Instead, they were simply boxed up and placed in the archives until the legal proceedings had run their course. Ultimately, Glass hoped that the Governor's Day interviews would have long-term value, speaking to the transdisciplinary uses of oral histories: "I hope that researchers will find something interesting here as a historical event, as a sociological phenomenon, as a psychological phenomenon. . . . We have tried to do something useful for researchers in the history of the university. And if we have, then we're glad."

* * *

Researching Governor's Day

In doing the work for this book, a strange sense of obligation set in when Governor's Day images crept into my dreams. There were flashes, in black and white, where I saw the time lapse between captured moments in photos I had collected. Random, strange-angle shots had started to pile up in my growing stack of research materials, and while at first the images were random and chaotic, they eventually revealed a discernable narrative. When I began this project in the late 1990s, the University of

Nevada, Reno (UNR), was pretty much devoid of activism, and students made regular wisecracks about the lack of political awareness on campus. I was doing research in the spring of 1998 when I first struck up a conversation with the university archivist about the Vietnam years in Reno. At the time, I was more interested in combat veterans and their attempts to narrate traumatic events, but she piqued my interest by telling me about a little war protest that had taken place right after Kent State. Quite simply, she had come across a large box of audiotapes, catalogued only as "Governor's Day 1970" with no other materials than a list of interview questions and the names of chroniclers.[4]

When I first looked at the box of tapes, I was a little confused. The archivist told me that no one had listened to the tapes except to make copies for the oral history program across campus. She rolled her eyes and sighed a smile, saying, "There's some pret-ty interesting things on those tapes." At the time, it seemed excessive to me: some four or five dozen interviews about a minor-league war protest. She told me that compared to other schools, nothing really happened that day, but some people did get in trouble with the university. When I learned that a professor had been fired, right after being approved for tenure, I wanted to know why, and how.

Because of the legal proceedings that emerged from the Adamian hearing and later lawsuits against the regents, the tapes had been left in the archives in 1970, un-transcribed with no plans to work further with the collection. By the 1990s, Adamian's appeals had been over for more than a decade, and by then there was little interest in the material. With over 50 hours of interviews to sift through, it was a daunting collection for any investigator to consider. However, UNOHP Director Tom King found the project worth pursuing, and he agreed to have the tapes transcribed and edited for the UNOHP's research collection. I began working with King and Mary Larson at the UNOHP to bring Governor's Day out of archival silence. The UNOHP transcribed the tapes, and as I edited the interviews, I located and reinterviewed selected chroniclers.

Other than newspaper stories, only two accounts of Governor's Day had been written since 1970, both by University of Nevada faculty. In *The University of Nevada: A Centennial History* (1974), James Hulse dedicated a few pages to the event and offered a fair representation of the event, but it did not aim to be a critical analysis nor could it benefit from the oral histories. More strikingly, in his cogent and revealing study, *American Indian and Black Students at the University of Nevada, Reno, 1874–1974* (1975), sociologist Warren L. d'Azevedo dedicated several pages to Governor's Day and the subsequent firing of professor Adamian, cautiously referring to him only as "the professor." With these two accounts providing a narrative frame to work with, I began to extract details about the protest from the oral histories. Even though the interviews were specifically designed *not* to elicit event details, the chroniclers provided a wealth of information that simply was not otherwise available. Using newspapers, court transcripts, archival materials, and FBI records, I constructed an event sequence, a cast of characters, and a detailed timeline of the protest and its

repercussions. I discovered that chroniclers were generally honest about their own observations, and they were almost always wrong when they provided hearsay. In general, the interviews were consistent with one another and with print records regarding event details, and when perspectives did diverge, the chroniclers were usually more reliable than the newspaper accounts.

I conducted my first reinterviews, beginning with professor Hulse and then president Miller. While the reinterviews helped me conceptualize the events and consequences of Governor's Day, they did not reveal any startling new information or provide additional details. In fact, more often than not, I found that chroniclers would deflect detail-oriented questions by deferring to my research notes. I was intrigued by the central figure, Paul Adamian, and what he might be able to share, but he had disappeared: no one could tell me where he had been for 20 years, and, not surprisingly, finding him was no easy matter. With the help of a librarian and private investigator, I found Adamian alive and well in Washington state.

The night I called Adamian, he laughed when I asked him about the 1970 transcript I had mailed him: "God, I was like 'What is this?' It's like reading old high school love poetry or something!" He laughed a drawn-out smoker's laugh, putting emphasis on certain phrases, peppering his sentences with "you know, you know." He told me about where he lived, and he was agreeable to a visit and an interview. It was the call I was nervous about: without Adamian, this project would be hollow—a collection of accounts that circled around the life of the one person most affected by the actions of hundreds. The weeks that followed were a mad rush to assemble all I could before the interview, scanning microfiche reels until my eyes started to flutter from all the motion.

In October 1969, about the time my coverage in chapter three begins, my own mother was nearing the end of her pregnancy, finally about to bring me into the world: ten minutes drive from downtown Chicago, where the Weather Underground had just failed (miserably) to stage a large-scale, violent antiwar demonstration. My father felt the anger as his high school students grew more hostile, more audacious, and more willing to push him into confrontation. Some of the neighborhood boys kept strange hours, and the streets at night held potential for conflict. It was hard not to think about these things as I talked to a man who was once a professor, then a commercial fisherman, and now retired, smoking cigarettes and talking to me, someone 40 years his junior. Adamian's memories were surprisingly lucid, and the interviews provided new information to consider, but more importantly, my time with him reinforced my suspicion that justice had not been served in Nevada.

It was amazing to realize that the prominent figures on campus in 1970 were, over three decades later, literally running the state. For example, regent Procter Hug, Jr., became Chief Judge of the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, and Adamian's attorney Charles Springer went on to become Chief Justice for the Nevada Supreme Court. Former student president Frankie Sue Del Papa had studied law after graduating from UNR, rising to the position of Nevada Attorney General. I spoke with all of

them and interviewed some of my faculty colleagues, as well as Fred Maher and some of the key student activists. In retrospect, I suppose that I could have continued the interviews, but diminishing returns and a sense of immediacy has led me to produce this book now, when the national political scene and the prevailing attitude toward universities is reminiscent of the early 1960s: bureaucracy and profitability are valued more than intellect and enrichment, and faculty who criticize the government are labeled dangerous radicals.[5] Though this is primarily a historical study, it relies on the study of rhetoric, which I examine in some detail here.

* * *

Rhetoric and Oral History

In today's usage, the term "rhetoric" usually refers to the persuasive use of language, a "mere" or "empty" rhetoric used as a substitute for more substantive or rational arguments. However, rhetoric emerged from ancient Greek practice and education, surviving as one of the seven classical liberal arts in which rhetoric, grammar, and logic were the trivium needed for free—hence liberal—citizens to thrive in society. As an area of scholarship, the study of rhetoric was integral to any liberal arts education, but in the late nineteenth century the study of rhetoric itself gave way to rhetorical study within many different fields (communication, writing, literature, music, etc.). In its most basic definition, rhetoric might be understood best as it was initially defined by Aristotle: the ability to recognize "the available means of persuasion" in any given situation. Although explanations and redefinitions of rhetoric are part of its long history, twentieth-century scholars broadened their understanding of rhetoric to include much more than oratory. Rhetoricians studied writing and the growing mass media, developing more sophisticated theoretical systems of understanding and analysis.

From the epics of Homer and the histories of Thucydides to the testaments of Judeo-Christian scripture, history has relied on and been shaped by oral testimony and eyewitness accounts. Of course, in the history of rhetoric, some texts emerge as obviously oral accounts, from the transcription of Socrates's trial defense in Plato's *Apology* to the lecture notes comprising Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The difference between oral history and oral tradition is the dialogue-dynamic of the interview itself and the document produced by the exchanges between interviewer and chronicler. In general terms, oral histories are created to document spoken memories about people, places, and events—and they do not include random recording, recorded speeches, or anything that does not involve the dialogue between an interviewer and a "chronicler" (interviewee).[6] Like many conceptual definitions, however, the exact definition of oral history has been a topic of debate since the first national meeting of oral historians at University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1966, just a few years before the

UNOHP began its oral history work on Governor's Day. Contrary to popular understanding, however, oral histories are not bound to the technology of sound recording, having been collected by hand as early as the fourteenth century.[7]

The interviewer and chronicler may study one another as part of the conversation, but there is rarely a concrete audience for the document itself. Usually the oral history is placed in a library or archive and, in a sense, is open to the public. So, interviewer and chronicler can shape their conversational narrative for one particular audience, but they cannot anticipate the other potential audiences.[8] As Mary Ellen Glass and her colleagues knew about the Governor's Day interviews, the ultimate uses of oral histories are never known from the outset of the interview or the initial establishment of an archive. Applications of oral history are too numerous to even begin exploring here, but the nature of the oral document is powerful, for it allows voices to assume a greater authority than might otherwise be possible. As texts, these narrative conversations are not subject to selection, interpretation, and editing for limited purposes alone; instead, they serve as raw materials for inquiry, allowing both prominent and marginalized voices to enter public discourse as well as inform scholarly investigation.[9] In the case of Nevada, students, faculty, and administrators all had the opportunity to share their perspectives about the demonstration.

Simply put, the oral history interview situation is a rhetorical event. In classical rhetoric, the orator would provide a useful service for an audience by digesting the raw material of knowledge, rather than offering its complexities firsthand. According to Aristotle, a rhetorical argument simplifies complicated arguments and complex reasoning for audiences to comprehend, thereby leading an audience to a moment of discovery.[10] Oral histories are similarly rhetorical for constructing inquiry for nonexperts, allowing users to go through a vicarious process of critical reflection, clarification, and the examination of ideas. One of the criticisms levied against oral history is the undue influence of historians. Often interview situations are driven by a historiographical agenda that obfuscates other forms of inquiry, and personal agendas often interfere with the listening process as each person faces an audience of one.[11]

For oral histories, then, there are simultaneously two orators and two audiences struggling to create and shape meaning. As Ronald Grele explains, this is why oral history interviews are "conversational narratives" that are "joint activities" that can only be understood by accounting for all the relationships brought to bear on the interview situation.[12] For example, the selection of chroniclers could be biased by an interviewer's motives, and often the interviewer's role is a determining factor in the construction of the interview.[13] However, even without the interviewer's intent, the oral history dynamic is a process of "collaborative invention" in which both participants negotiate meaning, struggle to elicit information, and ultimately unite in a creative act.[14] Opposed to a model that places interviewer as interrogator and chronicler as repository of knowledge, the conversational narratives of oral history ideally allow a shared sense of inquiry.

In the scholarship of oral history, rhetorical analysis is already firmly established—but not acknowledged as such.[15] Conducting oral history with a willingness to

suspend agendas and engage in a mutually narrated conversation results in a Socratic dialogue, without the sole choreography of a Platonic author. With a self-conscious effort to allow the dynamics of an oral history interview to become a conversational narrative, a rhetorical text is produced that documents a particularly situated rhetorical mode of inquiry. Most participants understand their face-to-face audience of one, and many might also comprehend the larger role that the interview might play in research. After all, the release-forms and the recording equipment all signal an audience beyond the interview itself. Clearly, the Governor's Day interviews were created with a careful sensibility to avoid incriminating testimony, yet operated around such abstract and open-ended questions that chroniclers were able to shape their responses rhetorically, sharing or obscuring information as they wished. In the end, the oral histories served not to inform history directly but to draw attention to the rhetorical struggles to determine how the history of a war protest would be written.

* * *

Rhetoric and the Closed Fist

As a direct consequence of the Civil Rights and antiwar movements, scholars of rhetoric after the 1960s adapted their analytical frameworks to study social protest. Like other forms of social unrest, the campus conflicts were battles over rhetoric: competing interests vying for power and control over the means of communication and representation. Rhetoric scholar Richard J. Jensen explains:

> Rhetoricians had generally been trained to study public speeches and, typically, speeches by establishment figures. Most theories were based on the assumption that discourse was rational, but much dissent in the 1960s was not rational. Researchers were now forced to examine nonverbal communication, obscenity, confrontation, and many other new topics.[16]

This expanded purview was enabled by reconsidering rhetoric as a more complex activity, one that encompassed a wide array of human symbolic behaviors. As scholar Kenneth Burke proclaimed in 1950, rhetoric was language used "as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols." By 1966, when the Vietnam war was a growing public concern, Burke expanded our understanding of rhetoric to include symbolic activity more broadly, noting than any given human being is "a symbol-using, symbol-making, and symbol-misusing animal."[17] With an expanded understanding of human communication as involving more than words, Burke's analysis enabled him—and other rhetoricians—to broaden the field of analysis to include music, dance, painting, and various technological media.

While the present study has an interest in rhetoric, it is not a history of rhetorical activity in the 1960s, nor does it champion any new theories of rhetoric therein. And it eschews detailed rhetorical analysis of traditional speeches or oratory. It does focus, however, on the particular conditions that led to and shaped the rhetorical strategies used before, during, and after the protest. It also explores the antiwar protestors' words and actions as rhetorical performances, symbolic actions deployed against administrators and other state officials who were unwilling or unable to recognize the activists' tactics.

With pressure from alumni groups, regents, and state officials, university presidents had to make critical decisions about rhetoric on—and about—the campus, balancing academic freedom and free-speech rights with the interests of the campus and outlying community. Like most university presidents during Vietnam, N. Edd Miller, the president of the University of Nevada, faced a host of competing interest groups representing a wide array of political sensibilities. But Miller was a trained rhetorician who specialized in group decision making, making him particularly well prepared for facilitating campus communication.[18] Miller managed race-based conflicts in the months prior to Kent State, and following Governor's Day he engineered a communication plan that likely prevented violence from erupting on campus. Governor's Day and the Adamian Affair can be broadly understood as two symbolic acts: a rhetorical statement from students and faculty, and a counterstatement from the state government. The demonstrators staged a symbolic action against the state's indifference to the escalating war and the antiwar movement. And, despite Miller's best efforts, the regents responded by terminating professor Adamian, a symbolic show of force for the benefit of Nevada citizens and politicians.

On the whole, activists in the Vietnam era amplified the new rhetorics implemented during the Civil Rights movement. While forms of traditional rhetoric persisted via speeches and other forms, the tactics of activists put forth a new array of symbolic acts to be used for confrontation and dissent. In later chapters, I will focus primarily on two similar rhetorics to explain a *continuum* of symbolic activity used for persuasive purposes. One is the rhetoric of confrontation, and the other is the rhetoric of dissent.

The distinction between the two rhetorics rests on the simple difference between their ultimate aims. One is threatening, the other is coercive. Rhetoric scholar Herbert W. Simons explains that the very *threat* of mass action is a key feature of a rhetoric of confrontation: participants "threaten, harass, cajole, disrupt, provoke, intimidate, coerce. But they do so rhetorically. . . . It is not a strategy of aggression; it is a strategy of persuasion from a position of power in the form of a threat of mass action."[19] In other words, a confrontational rhetoric applies pressure by *creating a perception that a mass action is not only possible, but avoidable*. Whereas some rhetorical actions are persuasive simply for their potential to disrupt, others, like the rhetoric of dissent, send messages through the disturbance itself, but these too are symbolic acts. Rhetorician Haig Bosmajian explains the difference between the coercive acts of

dissent (used in the service of a social movement) and the physical actions in an actual revolution: "*The primary aim* of the dissenter's symbolic act as a rhetorical strategy is not destruction, but *persuasion*; while the act may incidentally disrupt or destroy, its aim is *attitude and behavior change*."[20]

In the case of many protests, like Nevada's, a rhetoric of confrontation led to a rhetoric of dissent, but the symbolic dimensions were not noticed—or ignored—and interpreted for their literal effect or misunderstood altogether. In such a case, the targets of the actions simply mis-register the action and not the intent, seeing only uncivil or untraditional behavior.[21] For example, if a peace protestor stood in front of a moving Army tank to oppose federal military policy, the government would treat it as a traffic violation, or an act of treason.

Why the antiwar movement did not simply use traditional rhetoric to pursue its agenda is debatable. On the one hand, with advances in media and technology, mass communication was possible on a greater scale than in generations past, enabling activists to do more with traditional methods by amplifying their speeches, broadcasting their messages, or publishing their manifestos. On the other hand, a perceived bureaucratization and militarization of the campus—and the nation—left many students feeling betrayed, "thwarted by conventional channels."[22] Put another way, as one rhetorician has it, the turn away from traditional forms of rhetoric marked "a failure of the traditional processes to bring about any meaningful results."[23] Thus, for many activists, the traditional means of persuasion were useful only insofar as they held the possibility for effecting change. When conventional forms of rhetoric failed to generate a response or even be recognized, activists simply turned to other methods.

In the late 1960s rhetorician Edward P. J. Corbett identified the two strains of rhetoric that were available to activists, adapting the philosopher Zeno's (fifth-century BCE) images of the "open hand" and the "closed fist."[24] Corbett adjusted the metaphors for contemporary use, referring to the open hand as the traditional civil and reasoned discourse expected in the public sphere, whereas the closed fist was a rhetoric that opposed tradition and reason, "the kind of persuasive activity that seeks to carry its point by non-rationale, non-sequential, often non-verbal, frequently provocative means."[25] As Corbett explained, protest demonstrations and the tactics employed therein (sit-ins, marches, disruptions, etc.) were an emerging rhetoric of the closed fist. Unlike traditional rhetoric, wherein a singular speaker would address an audience in an attempt to persuade, the rhetoric of the closed fist frequently involved a group of individuals symbolically using their bodies and other nonverbal means to convey their message to an audience that would otherwise refuse to listen.

Corbett was not hoping for the demise of the open-handed rhetoric, but he simply sought to identify the traits of the new rhetoric growing in popular use. For him, the absence of *choice* was crucial to understanding the rhetoric of the closed fist: "People are likely to resort to coercive, non-rational, even violent tactics to gain their ends when they feel that the normal channels of communication are ineffectual or unavailable."[26] For many radical activists, the available choices had already been limited by (if not

eliminated by) status-quo elites who had already determined the "proper channels" of rhetorical activity. According to Robert L. Scott and Donald K. Smith, those who were targeted by antiwar protestors often dismissed them for being "uncivil" or "unreasonable," but such claims were the rationale for the protestors' methods: "A rhetorical theory suitable to our age must take into account the charge that *civility and decorum serve as masks for the preservation of injustice*, that they condemn the dispossessed to non-being, and that as transmitted in a technological society they become the instrumentalities of power for those who 'have.' "[27] Thus, the rhetoric of the closed fist, in many ways, had to be used against the highly regulated rhetorics of the open hand controlled by powerful individuals. In the case of the University of Nevada, I aim to explain how the use of the rhetoric of the closed fist, as well as various forms of "body rhetoric," emerged from a perceived lack of choices on the part of the antiwar activists.[28] Moreover, I argue that the state confirmed its power over discourse by using the rhetoric of the open hand to, ironically, limit the effectiveness of traditional means of persuasion.

* * *

Chapter Overview and Commentary

Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War focuses on a few central narratives. First, Adamian's role in the protest—and his treatment by the Board of Regents—serves as a dramatic story of academic freedom and the consequences of faculty activism in post-WWII (World War II) America. Second the book documents the political dynamics of a small Land Grant university, as students, faculty, administrators, and state regents vied for power, publicity, and security. The close community ties at Nevada mirrored those of small campuses across the country: many faculty children attended the university, alumni largely ran the local businesses and government agencies, town-gown relations were often strained, and parents generally expected the university to honor the doctrine of in loco parentis in supervising their children. Impacting both narratives, the news media played a vital role in shaping perspectives about the antiwar movement, as well as the statewide response to the protests in terms of the larger history of the university as an institution.

While I make no claims to offer a comprehensive review of the university's role in the antiwar movement, I do hope to create a context from which the events at Nevada can be properly understood. The evolution and transformations of American colleges and universities are truly remarkable dynamics, and while I cannot provide a full account of the history of higher education, I aim to consider the events at Nevada in their larger, and more complex, contexts. To that end, chapter two provides a historical overview of higher education and the University of Nevada, focusing on academic freedom and campus unrest from the beginning of the nineteenth century

to the 1960s. With the rise of scientific inquiry and its related disciplines, and the import of a German university model that promoted research and academic freedom, the modern university was born. With it came a continuous flow of economic investment, first from private sector business interests and then from the military research and development fueled by wartime—when academic freedom struggles found their greatest challenges. Amidst these changes, faculty became more valuable and prolific, leading to demands for greater representation on campus and increased self-governance. Moreover, students fought with their own agenda, demanding free speech on campus and continuing the struggles against racial discrimination off campus.

Chapter three offers a more detailed context for understanding the 1969–1970 academic year leading up to the Kent State shootings. Emphasizing the fact that most campus protests at this time focused on issues of racial discrimination and student rights, this chapter notes the changes in public opinion about the war, and the increased participation in the antiwar movement from 1968 to 1970. While elite universities received the most media attention, many small schools registered their own demonstrations, though at a considerable remove from the more volatile campuses. Continuing to fight for racial equality, a few students and faculty at the University of Nevada fought for improved programs, more equitable distribution of resources, and the recruitment and retention of black students and faculty. However, antiracism protests at other schools frequently served as catalysts for campus-wide demonstrations, provoking strong reactions and concerns among government officials that the antiwar movement and black nationalism were joining forces to overthrow America. Chapter three focuses on these developments as well as the political activism of professor Adamian, who had been active in California antidiscrimination campaigns and had fought loyalty-oath requirements in Oregon before coming to Nevada. Chapter three also covers the months prior to Governor's Day, as Nevada state officials brought legal charges against two black university students, prompting a rhetoric of action that fueled a spirit of confrontation on campus. The chapter concludes with comparisons between the University of Nevada and circumstances at other universities in the wake of the Kent State shootings.

The focus of chapter four differs from the others, focusing exclusively on the events of Tuesday, May 5, 1970. The chapter is based on two primary sources of information. First, newspaper accounts and trial transcripts have been synthesized and triangulated to provide a local media framework for the events. More important, however, is the role of the oral history interviews conducted in the summer of 1970. Serving as a testament to immediate, extensive interviewing, this chapter shows how the interviewees—despite their intent to avoid event details—provided a full account of what happened in the span of only a few hours. The cross-section of the 50 interviews provide a collective (and almost omniscient) vision of the events, coupled with my analysis of the validity of the interviews in relation to one another and other forms of evidence.

Chapter five documents the fallout and repercussions of Governor's Day, explaining the administrative efforts to encourage dialogue and discussion to forestall violence on campus. However, with the firebombing of an ROTC building, and the subsequent firebombing of a house occupied by antiwar activists, the publicity regarding the protest mushroomed into a statewide obsession that the University of Nevada had been infiltrated by "radical faculty." As alumni groups and other organizations voiced their outrage, some state politicians turned to demagoguery while others simply threatened to cut university funding and replace the regents if they did not solve the problem. Facing a January 1971 deadline, the regents brought charges against a teaching assistant and a tenured professor, a couple of "longhairs" who typified the profile of the "campus radical" bent on corrupting the sons and daughters of Nevada. Beyond documenting the university investigations, and the trial and appeals on behalf of professor Adamian, this chapter ends with an overview of the years following the protest, showing how it ultimately led to stronger faculty self-governance as well as diminished powers for the board of regents.

* * *

In cultures with oral traditions, with narrative lines that span generations, there's an inevitable sense of loss or trauma when a people's number starts to dwindle. I've read about a number of scholars and young adults who fight against time to learn the dying languages of their aging grandparents. In some cases, they try to record the stories that hold a culture together, knowing that setting the conversations in stone—in type or on tape—fundamentally alters the arrangement of speaker and audience. The pressures of history can weigh heavily on individuals who keep their stories within, protected or hidden from the rest of the community.[29] Dori Laub, in his book *Testimony*, sees the notion of witnessing as having special significance for readers and researchers. Eyewitnesses have a special, direct relationship as they witness the scenes of their own memory, and when they relay their testimony, whoever listens bears witness to their stories. As Laub explains, however, there is also another level of witnessing, one in the abstract. At this level, the listener, reader, or researcher bears witness to the process of witnessing itself, weighing the testimony, considering the evidence, evaluating the stories, and considering the storyteller. In this book, I aim to invite readers to engage in as many levels of witnessing as possible.

With the anti-globalization efforts of the 1990s and the terrorist attacks in 2001, issues of academic freedom, public protest, and political violence have remained a serious civic concern, stirring memories and legacies of eras defined by Vietnam, and before that, McCarthy. While *Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War* documents a history that is over three decades old, it ultimately bears witness to issues that should concern us today. The Vietnam antiwar movement was not simply a youth movement, nor was it necessarily a success.[30] For many activists, it is a foregone conclusion that their demonstrations caused the end of the Vietnam war, but many scholars have argued,

convincingly, that the movement actually prolonged the war, dissuading people from joining—or being associated with—its radical ranks.[31] Part of this explanation can be attributed to the shocking changes wrought by the counterculture, but media representation is also partly to blame. The critical messages communicated by demonstrators were not only misunderstood but also frequently ignored or distorted in the news, leading most Americans to conclude that activists simply could not articulate a rationale for their actions nor could their protests avoid violent outcomes.[32] Sadly, activist movements today often meet this same fate.

Aristotle envisioned tragic dramas bringing the community closer together, healing wounds, assuaging guilt, and providing an outlet for fear and anger. I consider Governor's Day a tragic episode in the larger drama of the Vietnam years, but it is an episode that lingers in the lives and dreams of people to this day. For many chroniclers, the events surrounding Governor's Day hold conflicting memories. For some, it was a time of great change that benefited the university and the state, propelling young students and faculty into positions of power and influence. For others, it marked a time of sadness and thwarted idealism, leading to the end of a professor's career and no significant changes in the course of the war. In the decades that followed Governor's Day, the campus has struggled to sustain any sort of activism, and it remains quiet despite its enormous growth.

TWO

Motley, Mongrel, and Growing: The University in America

> [I]n holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.
>
> —Dwight D. Eisenhower, in 1961, quoted in Barber, *Politics of Research*

To understand the political dynamics of any given university campus, it is important to understand the growth of the university as an institution. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we find the origins of the university as we know it, with faculty, courses, exams, and degrees. This initial form of the university faced remarkable changes in the centuries that followed, as the power of the clergy slowly gave way to secular interests and control. The most substantial change, however, took shape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as scientific inquiry, academic research, and government interests fundamentally changed the institution. As the university grew larger and more bureaucratic, its "parental" role came into question when the distinctions between community ("town") and campus ("gown") became less easy to define. Moreover, as universities became more vital to the state, the role of politics and the right to speak became issues of greater sensitivity. Town-gown relations, state politics, and faculty rights and responsibilities are crucial touchstones for understanding the University of Nevada and its campus troubles.

The very concept of a university changed throughout American history, shifting to accommodate the economic, political, and social changes of a country slowly growing up to be a global power. Contrary to some widely held beliefs that there was—at some point in time—a "golden age" for the professorate when faculty were guaranteed life appointments, most governing boards in higher education had always presumed that faculty were employees who could be hired and fired at will. And the

B.E. Lucas, *Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War*

American courts—with only a few exceptions—defended the rights of the state to terminate faculty at will.[1] Not until the twentieth century did that change. For this chapter in particular, the rise of research, government influence, and the late arrival of academic-freedom protections highlight the tenuous status of university faculty in the twentieth century. In the pages that follow, I provide an overview of the academic and political climate of universities from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s, highlighting pivotal academic freedom issues and the emergence of faculty power and student activism.

Since its inception the university has more or less thrived at a distance from the immediate life-world surrounding it.[2] In general, what happened on campus was a proprietary matter for those who inhabited it. In other words, students rarely had to pay attention—or even respect—the folkways, customs, and laws that defined life for the layperson outside the university.[3] This special distinction for campus life was not just a matter of defining boundaries to keep students and faculty separated from the outside world (although in some cases it did serve that function). Instead, the system of human relations that held a university together was unique, relying as it did on interpersonal bonds of trust and obligation. For centuries, declarations of student—and faculty—loyalty were part of the campus climate, and it would eventually play a central role in some of the most notorious twentieth-century campus conflicts.[4] The modern oaths, however, were used less as a mechanism to ensure honesty and fidelity than as a means to wield power over political perspectives—and satisfy community desires.[5]

In the Middle Ages, the university was a center of power recognized by nobility and church leaders. With its deep roots in theological study, the early university was charged with building moral character in students.[6] Not surprisingly, the status of the European university student—held to a unique set of laws and obligations—carried over into neighboring institutions, and eventually "across the pond" to the United States. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, American colleges held to a mission entrenched in theological training and harsh discipline.[7] Whatever student unrest existed usually emerged from local concerns, and it often prompted a swift and harsh response from the educators and administrators in charge. The spread of religious tolerance in America slowly led to an acceptance of individual difference, loosening the ties between church and state, which enabled the modern university to grow as a secular institution and develop problems of its own.

At first, town-gown conflicts and academic freedom issues were based on religion and would remain so for nearly 200 years. For example, in 1653, Harvard's president was the first college official in America to leave his post because of oversight powers and religious doctrine.[8] But by the mid-eighteenth century, American colleges diverged from their European counterparts in several ways: they relied on sectarian support, they did not define themselves by professional faculties, and they used a lay form of government.[9] Boards of laymen became the figureheads for the institution, retaining all rights to governance—including the hiring and firing of faculty. Presidents managed the schools, disciplined the students, and defended the

college to the community. And instructors and tutors were easily managed due to stringent recruiting practices that ensured theological conformity and loyalty to the institution.[10] Nonetheless, occasional conflicts brought faculty into conflict with their administrators and into the public eye.[11]

In the early nineteenth century, college presidents had grown tired of student discipline problems, so trustees gave faculty more control over the students and the curriculum.[12] The faculty then demanded more autonomy, and as the colleges grew, their administrative demands also led to more managerial power for the faculty (and some eastern schools even asked for faculties input on hiring decisions).[13] The profusion of local denominational colleges resulted in many small institutions with big financial problems, creating a need for alumni support to feed the lifeblood of a college. While sectarian colleges struggled, state universities fought to establish their place in higher education amidst challenges from their sectarian counterparts that saw them as a malignant threat to the nation.[14] There was also an increased interest in science, utilitarian values, liberalizing theology, and an overall secularization in American higher education. Scientific study moved away from specialized societies to university curriculum, bringing students not only new subject matter but also a new type of teaching and teacher. In contrast to the conveyor of traditional knowledge, the new professors of science advocated discovery, experimentation, and an awareness of the natural world.[15]

The rise of nineteenth-century state universities did not mean that education was available to all. In fact, public opinion held that state universities were created by the wealthy to serve the wealthy. By the mid-1800s, the short-term "tutor" was disappearing in number, gradually replaced by more long-term and permanent faculty. But the rise of such faculty did not mean a strengthening in tenure: while many faculty members kept their appointments for indefinite time periods, no legal protections ensured this. Administrators who had lost their need or use of faculty could fire professors without a hearing, or any worry of serious legal repercussions. Of course, with such a lack of job security, professors freely resigned posts and could move frequently from college to college.[16] But increased faculty presence on campus did not result in heightened political freedom, particularly with the volatile public discourse over slavery and state rights.[17] Faculty rights to speak freely on campus had not yet surfaced as an issue, but a few college presidents began to lay the groundwork by winning court battles via First Amendment arguments.[18]

* * *

"Hang the regents": Postbellum America

Protest, disruption, and dissent on university campuses is not a new phenomenon. Revolutionary movements have historically found campuses amenable breeding grounds for groups of youth to theorize—and then attempt to enact—challenges to

tradition. In the United States, heightened militarism was one of the first issues to stir widespread campus activism. After the War of 1812, colleges were growing in number and size, and a substantial peace movement emerged, leading to peace societies at Dartmouth, Amherst, and Oberlin.[19] The antiwar sentiment, however, was overshadowed by growing debates over national defense. Most government leaders preferred local militias, eschewing initiatives for a standing military force that might hamper new American freedom.[20]

Before the war, the military's presence on campus was pretty much nonexistent, with only one university offering military training before the war, and only a handful of schools developing programs in the decades that followed.[21] After the Civil War, there was a surge of investment in American higher education, as state colleges were infused with funds from the Morrill Federal Land Grant Colleges Act of 1862. The act led to the designation of more than 60 colleges as Land Grant institutions, charged with promoting agricultural and engineering education—and, of course, military training. At the end of the century, college education was available to a small, but significant, number of women and minority students, and a new system of elective and graduate courses changed the curricular landscape and, with it, the notion of academic freedom. But many students decried military drill on campus, leading to protests at the University of Illinois and the University of Wisconsin.[22]

In Nevada, such campus issues were nonexistent until Nevada became a state and then had a university. The state's slogan of "battle born" suggests a pride in militarism from the Civil War, but the battle was a political one. Abraham Lincoln, after all, needed the votes that an additional state would bring him to pass the antislavery amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Thus, Nevada became the thirty-sixth state in the union on October 31, 1864, one week before the November election.[23] Although it was officially established in state constitutional documents in 1864, the University of Nevada existed only in name for ten years.[24] The university finally opened its doors in 1874 in Elko, a four-year-old town on the eastern side of the state. No more than 30 students were enrolled at one time until 1885, when the state moved the university to Reno.[25]

Unlike in later years, Nevada at first had the most diverse racial and ethnic population in the union, perhaps due to its remote expanses and small overall population (52,000). In its first few years, the university functioned more or less as a preparatory school, but by 1887 it was starting to grow modestly with its first president, LeRoy Brown, building the faculty up to 10 instructors and the student body to 127. Unfortunately, Brown's stay was cut short when four of his faculty threatened to quit, leading the Board of Regents to fire Brown rather than go through the trouble of getting new faculty members. There were initially three regents, and from 1888 to the present the regents have remained elected officials.[26]

After the 1860s, industrial capitalism brought a new spirit of industriousness in specialized research, which created a demand for faculty with PhDs, but most professors were trained at universities in Germany because there was no doctoral education in the United States. Influenced by the German models, the American campus began to

change: it defined itself through a system of academic disciplines; a department system was used for administrative purposes; professional societies grew; and the modern university, as we now recognize it, began to take shape.[27] Many components of the German organizational system influenced these universities, with some faculty empowered to elect officials and appoint new faculty.[28] The new focus on research had begun, and by 1876 Johns Hopkins University was established as the first American university with a mission devoted only to graduate education and scholarly research. By the end of the century, 15 substantial graduate programs were operating in the United States.

However much American universities borrowed from German institutions, they did not adopt the same spirit of purpose or consistency, leaving American higher education an eclectic landscape of vastly different institutions that are difficult to characterize. As one historian put it, they were "not merely motley, but mongrel."[29] While this diversity lent itself to innovation and various other benefits, there was one serious consequence: *A long-standing inability of Americans to agree on what a university was, is, or should be*. Without a public consensus regarding the American university in America, the proper role of the university—and the boundaries of academic freedom—would be subjected to a range of interpretations. Moreover, given the American professor's more substantial and significant role in public life than his German counterpart, faculty roles would be equally, if not more, difficult to discern among the citizenry. And particularly during times of social and cultural turbulence, perceptions of both the institution and its professors would vary wildly.

With increased attention to research, the trajectory of science education continued. The spread of Darwinism not only transformed views about education but also brought together a diverse range of faculty to support academic freedom. Consequently, to speak freely was no longer an issue limited to any one department or particular discipline but to the academic community at large.[30] In the end, the era of Darwin witnessed the exodus of the clergy from their positions on boards of trustees.[31] All in all, the late nineteenth century witnessed great campus changes as large universities were established, professions became defined, and faculty rose to a new prominence—quelling any student ambitions to try to influence curriculum and teaching.[32] Many conflicts were defined along the edge of campus, where the land ruled by academics met that of the local citizenry. Strained town-gown relationships continued, but the problems on campus began to set precedent for larger academic freedom issues.

At the turn of the century, dozens of academic freedom cases drew public attention. One case, however, deserves particular attention because it was a free speech incident that prompted the development of the nation's preeminent faculty rights organization. Stanford University professor Edward A. Ross was an economist who was forced to resign in 1900 because he spoke publicly on a range of unpopular topics.[33] Many of his colleagues defended him, and seven professors resigned in protest. In a decision that would prove momentous, the American Economic Association (AEA)

called for an investigation of Ross's termination. The AEA not only refuted Stanford's rationale for terminating Ross but also determined that he was fired simply for what he said and believed. What separates the Ross case from others is the action taken by his professional colleagues; the AEA's committee marked the first instance of a profession's inquiry into an academic freedom case, one that led to the establishment of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) years later.[34]

At the end of the century, the University of Nevada witnessed its first case of campus conflict, as students revolted at the mistreatment of faculty. The university had run through more than its share of administrators in its first two decades, settling on Joseph E. Stubbs in 1894 to provide sorely needed leadership for the university and its few hundred students. Stubbs's vision reflected an uncommon support for the rights of every black American, stating "this country is his country and the Stars and Stripes his flag." While Stubbs was on leave, however, a mining professor was passed over for the interim presidency and resigned in protest, and a colleague in physics joined him. Consequently, over 100 students (roughly half of the student body) protested, culminating in a march through downtown Reno, shouting threats in a rhetoric of confrontation: "We ought to hang the regents to a sour apple tree." It would be a campus drama that would repeat itself, with variations, in the 1950s and again in the 1970s.[35]

* * *

The New Century and a Change in Spirit

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, students demonstrated against the university's doctrine of in loco parentis. Literally translated to "in the place of a parent," the doctrine had assumed a transference of rights, responsibilities, and liabilities from parents to the educational institution, giving universities strict control over their residential students.[36] Naturally, students rebelled at the restrictions and demanded more freedom. At the University of Nevada, for example, a 1902 smallpox scare led administrators to restrict Nevada students to campus until the threat had passed. Emboldened by the student newspaper, student leaders marched defiantly off campus into downtown Reno to protest. Exercising their parental responsibilities, the administration responded to the demonstration by expelling the newspaper editor and suspending one-third of the student body.[37]

While students struggled for their individual freedom, a national spirit of bureaucratization and military influence was slowly changing the university's views of student learning, and faculty obligations.[38] With a growing student population, competition for faculty jobs increased, not only diminishing the power and security of faculty positions but also prompting a need for more concrete rules, procedures, and guarantees of employment. This, of course, motivated faculty to demand written

measures to protect themselves and their positions.[39] After all, a transgression like speaking out against the U.S. involvement in the Great War was justification for termination, and many faculty worked for the war effort only to protect themselves "from undue suspicion" and "allegations that could lead to dismissal."[40] Furthermore, the National Defense Act of 1916 established the National Guard and the Reserves system, and called for the establishment of Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) units at Land Grant institutions—with a compulsory two-year obligation for every male undergraduate student. By the end of 1919, there would be more than 130 colleges and universities with ROTC units, but 4 of 5 students opposed ROTC on campus.[41]

Throughout the first two centuries of higher education in America, trustees, presidents, and other administrators had considered themselves the spokespersons for their institutions. In the early 1900s, however, with their new numbers and stature, faculty fought for similar rights and privileges. In 1915 the AAUP sought to claim a collective space for faculty to have an organization that represented its interests. Three professional societies banded together in 1913 to draft rules and procedures for academic freedom, documents that could serve as guides for universities across the country. The AAUP was then established in 1915, with the intent to recognize faculty "as a distinctive professional identity at the heart of the university, successfully linking the principles of tenure and academic freedom with the essence of scholarly integrity while countering the peculiar practice of treating college faculty as mere employees."[42]

The charter members of the AAUP were 867 professors who represented 60 institutions, and while its mission was to provide guidance and direction for institutional decisions about faculty matters, the AAUP soon found that some constituents wanted it to be an aid organization that defended faculty rights.[43] Fulfilling the AAUP's primary mission, however, the 1915 Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure explained that university faculty were not merely the employees of boards of trustees or overseers, but belonged to their respective professional communities and the public at large. Offering specific proposals, the report aimed to limit faculty terminations and promote hearings. It also drafted the first uniform framework for a tenure system in higher education.[44] The documents, however useful, would have little impact until the 1940s.

Socialism was a tangible threat to the military-industrial enterprise, and the Red Scares of 1918–1919 had a deadening effect on leftist activity on college campuses, leading to antiwar professors being fired and to student activism fading in the 1920s. Campus groups that had previously identified themselves as socialist changed their names to more abstract titles like "Politics Club" and the "Social Science Club."[45] (Meanwhile, a counter-culture surfaced in Germany, one that prefigured America's 1960's peace-and-love hippies.[46]) American clubs and organizations focused on societal problems, fueled by students who were dissatisfied with the changes they saw across the country.[47] In 1923 the University of Wisconsin challenged compulsory military training

on campus, and by 1925 students across the country revolted against the requirement, encouraging over 20 institutions over the next decade to make ROTC voluntary.[48]

The campus became a substantially larger presence in the American scene, with enrollments moving from 4 percent to 12 percent between 1900 and the late 1920s. At the University of Nevada, for example, 220 students enrolled in 1900 and more than 1,000 enrolled in the late 1920s. Throughout the 1920s, the University of Nevada remained relatively impolitic and experienced a change in spirit. The university saw its student body triple, reaching 1,000 in 1922 under president Walter E. Clark's leadership. But by the end of the decade, two of the five regents tried unsuccessfully to fire Clark based on trumped-up allegations.[49] Students took part in the racist ideologies that afflicted the country, for example, by staging mock Ku Klux Klan lynchings on campus, as well as blackface skits and minstrel-show theatrics (practices that would continue on campus until the early 1960s).[50]

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the give and take between the universities and industrial concerns prompted a discourse of science infused with economic values. For some observers, big business magnates served as trustees and regents simply to control universities through puppet presidents, and such concerns were not unfounded. According to some historians, "at the end of the century the roster of American trustees of higher learning read like a corporation directory."[51] Federal science agencies had started to fund research through a few select universities following the war.[52] And by 1933, over 90 percent of university presidents at elite universities had ties to large corporations and the federal government, and 20 percent of state university presidents had similar connections.[53] With more corporate and government investment, there was increased campus repression: censoring liberal faculty, restricting off-campus speakers, and prohibiting on-campus groups from associating with off-campus organizations.

In 1930 there were roughly 1 million students and 80,000 faculty in the United States. The 1930s were a particularly lively decade for the university, as radical and leftist organizations gained ground in staging public protest, even though most radical faculty kept their activism quiet.[54] Part of this radicalism ran parallel to the first wave of black nationalism, promoted by Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and racial violence erupted in U.S. cities, prompting revolts on black college campuses across the South (which responded, primarily, by expelling students en masse).[55] In 1924–1925, Fisk University was the site of America's first black student revolt, a month-long protest prompted by student dissatisfaction with Fisk's white president, Fayette McKenzie, who was then removed from office. Despite several protests that followed Fisk's lead, most black colleges continued to limit student freedom and self-governance.[56] The racial hostilities of the 1920s gave rise to the successful legal battles in the 1930s over the desegregation of law schools in Maryland and Missouri, setting precedents for the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision.[57]

Throughout these decades, the grim memories of the Great War still hovered over collective memory, sustaining a high level of resistance to military activity. In

April 1934, and again in April 1935, U.S. students organized a nationwide strike: a class walkout with a pledge to refuse "to support the United States Government in any war it may conduct."[58] One poll at the time found that 39 percent of American students were unwilling to fight for the United States under any circumstances.[59] Held on the anniversary of the U.S. entry into WWI, the April 1934 strike involved an unprecedented 25,000 students, and the April 1935 strike generated a record 175,000 students.[60] By 1936, radical antiwar groups formed on campus and the annual April strike had rallied 300,000–500,000 supporters, a huge proportion of the 1 million college students in the United States.[61]

The 1930s showed a continued pressure against students having any sort of political activity on campus. In 1936, after renowned socialist Norman Thomas gave a lecture on campus, the University of California (UC) System passed Rule 11, which required approval from the university president for any non-approved group to use campus facilities or for off-campus speakers to address the student body. The following year it banned campus fundraising for off-campus groups, disallowed expressions of political partisanship, and banned the advocacy of political action.[62] However, the crackdown on political rhetoric was no anomaly. Nationally, efforts to curtail political speech had been articulated in the 1939 Hatch Act and the 1940 Smith Act.[63] And, in what would prove itself to be a characteristic time delay, years later the University of Nevada would follow in the ideological steps of California. Acting president Gilbert E. Parker—a retired Army colonel—began his first year at the university in 1949 and instigated "the Little Hatch Act," a proposal to politically neutralize the Nevada campus, prohibiting faculty members from any sort of political advocacy, statements, or partiality: short of losing their right to vote, they would be forbidden to express opinions, wear buttons, display stickers, or march in parades. Surprisingly, the regents accepted the Little Hatch Act but later dropped it after facing vocal protests from Nevada faculty.[64]

* * *

Postwar Research and the Red-Light District

Following WWII, U.S. universities were flooded with former servicemen as the cold war heightened fears of communism and the domestic battles over civil rights gained ground. The war had caused a tremendous increase in Nevada's mineral production, from $25 million in 1938 to nearly $44 million in 1940. One of the most prominent defense-related programs in southern Nevada was the construction of the $150 million Basic Magnesium, Inc. (BMI) plant near Las Vegas in 1941. By 1943 the state's mines produced $56 million in copper, lead, tungsten, and zinc.[65] Along with the war-production growth was University of Nevada chemical research that helped develop explosives for the Navy.[66] Following the war, waves of new students attended universities on the

G.I. Bill (Servicemen's Readjustment Act): enrollment doubled after the war to 1.6 million in 1945, and it swelled to 2.4 million by 1949. At the University of Nevada, enrollment was 1,255 in 1940 but surged to 1,974 students by the 1947–1948 school year.[67]

From 1940 to 1950, the state of Nevada saw its population increase 45 percent to a total of 160,000 citizens, and the state would continue to grow (reaching 488,000 by 1970). Nevada's liquor, gambling, and prostitution made the state a popular destination for military personnel, and the traffic was intense enough to prompt a 1943 law eliminating the red-light district and effectively banishing legal prostitution to outside city limits. This, of course, consolidated the gaming cities as places for the more tolerable vices of drinking and gambling. After 1945, the statewide revenues from gambling would grow enormously, increasing roughly 400 percent between 1950 and 1959. Only federal intervention stood as the real, potential threat to Nevada's number one source of revenue, and within a few years the threat would become a political reality.[68]

WWII broke the momentum of the student movements as thousands of students—nearly one-third—left for military service and ROTC programs were dismantled in favor of faster training programs.[69] The universities were co-opted for the war effort, and it appeared that the Left had disappeared. (Some scholars contend, however, that the student Left simply went underground, with activists continuing their work under the auspices of folk song gatherings at bookstores and cafés.[70]) Faculty were eager to see more protections in place, because only a handful of governing boards had adopted the AAUP's 1920s policies. Revisions in 1938 and 1940 changed the AAUP's position to offer policy guidance, not rules for adoption, establishing the AAUP's position on academic freedom as follows[71]:

(a) Teachers are entitled to full freedom in research and in the publication of the results, subject to the adequate performance of their other academic duties; but research for pecuniary return should be based upon an understanding with the authorities of the institution.

(b) Teachers are entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing their subject, but they should be careful not to introduce into their teaching controversial matter which has no relation to their subject. Limitations of academic freedom because of religious or other aims of the institution should be clearly stated in writing at the time of the appointment.

(c) College and university teachers are citizens, members of a learned profession, and officers of an educational institution. When they speak or write as citizens, they should be free from institutional censorship or discipline, but their special position in the community imposes special obligations. As scholars and educational officers, they should remember that the public may judge their profession and their institution by their utterances. Hence they should at all times be accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint, should show respect for the opinions of others, and should make every effort to indicate that they are not speaking for the institution.

By 1940, despite increased bureaucratization of the university and the efforts of the AAUP, many institutions still did not have clear protocols for facilitating communication among faculty, administrators, and governing boards.

Many U.S. universities were charged with grooming future military leaders and scientists who could keep the country competitive with the Soviets. As one historian notes, "[T]he public consciousness of the potential for state intervention in managing social problems was raised by the wartime experience so that when new social demands were made after the war, the state was seen as the agent of their satisfaction. . . . [T]he universities were the clear candidates for the institutions that might do the state some service."[72] The motivation for research—driven by citizenry support and funded by the state—infused scholarly research with a new sense of purpose and civic pride. The faculty profile for American universities was further complicated by European émigrés and scientists who came to the United States and used their research skills to support the military. For example, in Operation Paperclip, German rocket scientists were recruited to conduct military research targeted for the cold war.[73] Moreover, the social scientists who had studied individual human intelligence during the Great War moved into influential positions in the federal government. However, their new research energies focused instead on groups, social movements, and their manipulation ("social engineering"). From managing Japanese-American internment camps to studying troop behavior, such scientists "generated theories on the governance of people more generally."[74]

The looming international turmoil in 1943 led the federal government to use university researchers for gathering intelligence about non-Western regions.[75] Sponsored by the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, and the Ford Foundation, the interdisciplinary, site-based agenda of "Area Studies" spread throughout American universities by the 1950s, and significantly changed postwar university research.[76]

* * *

Swearing to God: Berkeley and the Oath

During the height of wartime, concepts of "freedom" and "loyalty" are often invoked across the political and social spectrum. One rhetorician, Richard Weaver, called such highly abstract words "God Terms" because they automatically generate positive reactions and responses (opposed to Devil Terms like "radical" and "terrorist").[77] Whoever invokes such "ultimate terms" can use them powerfully, as they are used to simplify complex concepts. The public's inability to agree on the definition and aims of the university generated particular suspicion regarding faculty "loyalty," especially because the university was supplying the military with future leaders and tactical knowledge. During both WWI and WWII, higher education was a magnet for concern, prompting administrators and government officials to persecute faculty and secure loyalty in various forms.[78] In effect, because the American university had become so

tightly woven within the fabric of the state, the aims of "protecting" the university by questioning faculty loyalty was akin to safeguarding civic centers and military outposts. In many ways, the academic freedom struggles of the twentieth century were war-era battles waged between faculty members and various officials who questioned the questioning ways of intellectuals.

One of the most important academic freedom cases emerged out of faculty loyalty issues at UC Berkeley. The "oath controversy" was a precursor to free-speech activism in the 1960s, but more importantly it marked a postwar trend of state legislatures attempting to wield greater influence over the running of state universities. For example, in 1947 the Nevada state legislature tried to imposed controls on the university system by demanding that all meetings of the Board of Regents be open to the public.[79] The particular dynamics in California, however, reveal not only the interstate influence of neighboring universities but also the tactics used by university regents to defend their power and resist institutional change. The UC controversy began in 1949, when the regents quietly amended an existing oath to require that employees swear that they did not believe in, pledge allegiance to, or otherwise support communism.[80]

Their primary motivation for change was a threat from the state government, but the regents used a perceived problem with the use of campus facilities to justify their actions. First, State Senator Jack B. Tenney introduced a State Constitutional Amendment to fight un-American activities, including a provision to take away the regents' power to assess the loyalty of its employees.[81] Second, at the University of Washington (UW), three professors were fired for communist activity, posing a direct challenge to the AAUP's position on academic freedom and tenure protection for faculty—even communists.[82] In California, and across the country, legislators and university officials took notice of the challenge to the AAUP.[83]

When some of the fired UW faculty had appeared at UC Los Angeles, the regents responded quickly by amending the oath. However, the changes were concealed: nothing remotely related to communism was on their meeting agenda, nor did it surface in formal discussions or show up in the minutes. The regents simply had their attorney draft the amendment during a lunch break, and then—after clearing the room of all public observers—approved the changes.[84] The regents assumed that the changes would mollify legislators and assert that the regents were not un-American. The regents, however, were wary of the repercussions. They hid the amendment by merely referring to the changes, not including them, in the faculty *Bulletin*, and they waited until the beginning of the summer vacation to release the full text to the public.[85]

Of course, the challenge to AAUP policy in Washington and the covert oath amendment did not sit well with the UC Berkeley faculty. One professor summed up the crux of the controversy: "If there is a blanket political disqualification of service with regard to communism, a precedent will have been established which may lead in the future to the disqualification of other minority groups; which . . . would be the destruction of the University." Whether the case against communism affected hiring and firing, or whether it determined who could or could not speak on campus, the

regents' decision would drag the university—and by association all universities—into the public eye for the next three years. And, in the end, it accomplished very little. While most faculty and staff signed the oath, a group of nonsigners held their ground and eventually fought the UC system in court.[86]

What motivated the oath's creation was a struggle over who controlled the university: the regents or state legislators. What made the oath controversial was a conflict over who governed the faculty: the regents or the faculty senate. And as the controversy brewed, the crux of the arguments centered on personnel. As one regent explained, the central issue was "whether this faculty is to be permitted to select its own members and govern itself without encroachment or interferences by the Trustees of the State University." In the spring of 1950, the threat to faculty governance and tenure protection was clear. The precedent set by targeting one political ideology was enough cause for concern, but the fact that tenured faculty could lose their jobs *without specific charges of unfitness, or any sort of formal hearing by a tenure and promotion committee*, would have set a precedent for gutting tenure rights indefinitely.[87]

By August 1950, the UC regents had moved to dismiss the 31 nonsigning faculty, rejecting the recommendations of a faculty senate committee.[88] However, within a month Governor Earl Warren proposed a new oath required of every state employee. On the heels of the Korean War, Warren's proposal was ostensibly motivated by the "present emergency in world affairs" and as an "urgency measure" to protect the health, peace, and safety of its citizens.[89] Almost all state employees signed the state oath by the end of the year, but the nonsigning faculty nonetheless pressed ahead with their legal case against the regents.[90] In the Third District Court of Appeal, the nonsigners argued that the regents were at fault because the state constitution guaranteed the university protection from "all political or sectarian influence." Moreover, they explained that "tenure was meant generally in the academic world to mean the right of a member of the faculty to his position during good behavior and efficient service, with discharge permitted only on ground of moral turpitude or incompetency." Further, faculty were entitled to "participate in the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of colleagues."[91]

At this time, alumni support for the nonsigners was growing, shored up by support from academics across the nation.[92] The regents soon rescinded their amended oath, deferring to the Governor's state-employee oath, but they still had to face trial. During the final hearing in December 1950, the presiding judge, Annette Adams, was not impressed with the regents' defense. When told that tenured faculty could be discharged without any sort of systematic review, filing of charges, or any sort of formal hearing, she concluded, "Tenure doesn't mean anything if the Regents can destroy it." And of the regents' insistence that faculty sign the oath, she remarked sarcastically, "The issue, then, is that they were naughty boys and girls because they didn't obey the teacher and sign." In April 1951, the court unanimously decided in favor of the nonsigners because the state constitution protected the university from sectarian or political influence.[93]

By a slim margin, the Board of Regents voted not to appeal the decision, but six regents chose to appeal as individuals. Within a month, the California state Supreme

Court decided to consider *Tolman v. Underhill* with a handful of related cases, holding a massive hearing that would draw the largest crowd that had ever assembled in its chambers. Ultimately, the court rejected the regents' actions and allowed the non-signers back to campus (provided they sign the state-employee oath), but the court did not address the key issues of tenure and academic freedom that were at stake.[94] In other words, the Governor's oath had rendered the case moot, nullifying the thorny issues of academic freedom that had brought so much attention to the UC system. The state legislature had not taken over the affairs of the university via the Tenney bills. Instead, the Governor had stepped in to resolve a problem *with* the university, but not clarified a problem *within* the university.

* * *

In 1950: Preparing the Homeland

The American valorization of the scientist increased as the cold war developed in the 1950s, permeating American culture with the sales of millions of chemistry sets and microscopes—while ideas of "the wonders of nature" and "science for tomorrow" became ubiquitous. As early as 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt had turned to the Office of Scientific Research and Development, directed by Vannevar Bush, to determine a continuing peacetime relationship between scientific research and the state. Bush concluded that scientific research was the necessary foundation to ensure the security and prosperity of the United States and that, as such, research funding should be provided and controlled by the government. Thus, the National Science Foundation (NSF) was first introduced to legislation in 1946, eventually becoming a reality in 1950. It was established amidst great debate over its control and administration, and it was not until 1954 that the NSF began to support social science research.[95]

In 1950, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was drawn to Nevada's remote landscapes and intermountain deserts, also encouraged by the fact that over 86 percent of Nevada's land was owned by the federal government. With Truman's permission, the AEC transformed an old gunnery and bombing range northwest of Las Vegas into the Nevada Proving Grounds, where the first atomic bomb was detonated on American soil in January 1951. It was the first of many above-ground tests that would continue until the early 1960s, when the detonations were moved below ground. Between 1951 and 1959, over 100 atomic weapons were detonated in the open desert. In the mid-1950s, the area became known as the Nevada Test Site, serving not only atomic weaponry but also nuclear reactors for the nation's space program. It was a nuclear testing facility roughly the size of Rhode Island. Altogether, the government invested more than $500 million in the Site. In the late 1950s, a nuclear engineering program was forced into the University of Nevada's program offerings, and by the mid-1960s two geologists out of UC Berkeley, David B. Slemmons and Alan S. Ryall, were nationally recognized for their research on earthquake activity, underwritten

by the NSF, the AEC, and the Air Force. If any state could claim to have the largest laboratory space during the cold war, it was Nevada.[96]

In 1950, it was clear that the United States was directly involved in the Korean War and, with the Marshall Plan and other initiatives at the federal level, the role of American military power was becoming more obvious in the global arena. Consequently, its universities had more challenging agendas. More than two dozen universities took military contracts during WWII to develop chemical and biological weapons in secrecy, and as one scholar has it, "military personnel and the civilian officers of government would become senior partners with university scholars."[97] Federally sponsored university research before WWII received some $13 million in annual funding, but by 1950 this economic support had swelled to $150 million. It was a significant shift, as federal funding took over where industry left off. Before the war, industrial investment had supported roughly two-thirds of research, but by the war's end, three-fourths of university research was sponsored by the federal government.[98] The colleges and universities that had once been run by the clergy, then maintained by corporate interests, were now dominated by the state.

Although the global-scale air and ground wars had ceased, the quest for technological and military superiority continued: the battle lines were simply retrofitted and relocated to university research laboratories. By 1949, for example, 96 percent of the federal funding for physical science research in the universities was allocated for cold war purposes.[99] Also, after WWII, so-called advancements in "social engineering" led to a broader definition of military readiness and preparation, including a better understanding of the power of cultural influence. Naturally, the best place for such variegated training was the modern university.[100] Moreover, as ROTC began to train more officers (still compulsory at over half of the 313 campuses across the country) investment in all university research would have both direct and indirect effects on the state.[101]

According to surveys taken during the first two years of the Korean War, the majority of Americans on and off campus were opposed to U.S. involvement. By 1952, opposition was still strong on campus, with 33 percent opposed and 19 percent uncertain.[102] With Eisenhower in office, Americans would soon see the end of the Korean War, but they would less obviously notice the Pentagon's investment in Indochina. But anticommunist energies were gaining more notoriety, especially with the targeting of public figures like Charlie Chaplain and J. Robert Oppenheimer and the decimation of Hollywood's culture industry.[103] With the cold war being fueled via research-and-development outlays, the universities were essential for the battles against "national enemies" without and within. After all, the McCarthy era not only resulted in the persecution of communists, but also Quakers, civil libertarians, and any other group deemed unpatriotic or un-American.[104]

The 1948 Mundt-Nixon bill, which would later be known as the McCarran Act (named after Nevada's U.S. Senator), was passed in 1950 as the Internal Security Act, which aimed to gather information and force the registration of any and all groups that could conceivably threaten the status quo. More perniciously, the Act included provisions for concentration camps to accommodate possible mass arrests and

detentions.[105] In this period of intensive intelligence gathering, even silence was no refuge: many professors were fired simply for refusing to answer McCarthyite questioning.[106] For example, two Rutgers University professors merely suspected of communist activity were fired for refusing to answer questions about their colleagues. In justifying their actions, the Rutgers Board of Trustees warranted the action in the name of the "war with Communism" and, in an appeal to voters, not wanting to "offend public opinion." The opposition to communism was widely embraced by presidents and other university officials, prompting their mouthpiece organization, the American Association of Universities, to declare in 1953 that Communist Party membership "extinguishes the right to a university position."[107]

As the government pursued communists, black Americans continued their struggle for freedom on and off campus. Civil Rights activists combined town and gown powers to galvanize the movement, uniting churches and colleges in a shared vision for equality. On the town side, the arrest of Rosa Parks in 1955 led E. D. Nixon and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to mobilize churches and their leaders to take an active role in protest. The politicization of black churches fed into the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1957.[108] On the gown side, in February 1960 students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College staged a sit-in at a Woolworth's store, beginning a period of intense demonstrations that astounded the South and made national headlines. Within a few months, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was created at Shaw University. Within 7 months of the Woolworth's protest, roughly 70,000 activists had taken part in demonstrations covering 20 states (resulting in more than 3,500 arrests). Nevada, Illinois, and Ohio were the only non-southern states to show widely active participation in the early Civil Rights movement, but Nevada's "non-southern" state status is debatable, considering that it had gained the dubious distinction among black Americans as "the Mississippi of the West."[109] And the University of Nevada was no haven, considering that between 1874 and 1960, only 33 black students had attended the university out of which only 3 made it to graduation.[110]

* * *

Berkeley, Nevada, and the Richardson Affair

By the early 1950s, the Biology department at the University of Nevada was disproportionately comprised of four professors from one institution: the University of California at Berkeley. With his PhD from Berkeley in 1941, professor Frank Richardson helped rebuild a department (vacated by retirements) by hiring three faculty trained at Berkeley and one who left a position at UCLA. Altogether, four of the five biologists were from the Bay area, with three leaving Berkeley shortly before or during the UC oath crisis.[111] Richardson, a tenured professor, would be fired for

circulating an article that lambasted the public university system, and his case became, as one historian notes, "a national academic cause célèbre." The nationally recognized case against Richardson illustrates the peculiar dynamics of Nevada state and campus politics in the 1950s, and it suggests that university activism spreads from campus to campus. Ultimately, Nevada faculty members fought for their rights, the students supported them, the president was replaced, and the AAUP censured the University of Nevada for its threat to academic freedom.

Malcolm Love had assumed the presidency at the University of Nevada in 1950, but resigned after two years of conflict over budgetary matters and other problems. Before resigning, however, he suggested that the regents consider Minard W. Stout as a successor who could alleviate the growing "problem" on campus. The problem had started in the mid-1940s, when a small group of newly hired faculty lobbied for increased faculty power and governance and by the late 1940s reorganized and strengthened the local AAUP chapter. Silas Ross, a Nevada regent, had historically distrusted the faculty and decided that the AAUP was a threat. When the chapter became active, Ross paid AAUP dues for his friends and associates to join the organization and gather intelligence about its members and their activities.[112]

The AAUP leaders had simply advocated changes that they had seen at their former institutions, like Cornell and Stanford, but their actions led the regents to conclude in 1952 that the University of Nevada needed stronger leadership. As he recalled in an interview, president Stout was told by the regents to "clean things up" on campus. Coming from a public education and mostly administrative background, Stout brought with him an authoritarian ideology, a disdain for academic freedom, and an ignorance of university life in general. Promoting a top-down "chain of command" administration, Stout quickly offended faculty, particularly when he lowered standards for entrance requirements (with the Board of Regents approval) without consulting faculty.[113]

Stout then became indignant when Richardson circulated a *Scientific Monthly* article that criticized the public education system and the people who ran it.[114] The article found fault with "educationists" and universities that were lowering admission requirements, points that appeared to echo the local criticism of Stout's administration. Stout told Richardson to stick to matters related to biology, and in the weeks that followed, he limited the input of faculty committees and disbanded the Academic Council altogether. When state legislators heard of the Richardson-Stout conflict, they set up a committee to investigate the dissension among students, faculty, and administrators. In *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, J. Dee Kille explained the perceived overreach of the state: "That the assembly would interfere in the domain of the regents struck many as a political maneuver intended to increase legislative control over the administration of the university." In many ways, it was a dynamic similar to the political fears that led the UC regents to amend its faculty oath. Regardless of the motives, the Nevada committee's findings were generally positive, concluding that Stout and regents could take care of the situation fueled by a "small dissident group" of faculty. Issuing a statement to five tenured professors (Richardson and another

biologist, Thomas Little, as well as three English professors), Stout demanded that they "show cause" why they should continue to hold positions at the university.[115]

In effect, Stout asked for resignations of tenured faculty. Attorneys supporting the professors quickly had them reinstated due to the invalid "show cause" procedure, the AAUP was brought in, and despite numerous offers to facilitate honorable resignations for him, Richardson refused to back down. News spread across the country to academics who rallied behind Richardson and his cause. While the English professors[116] had come to an agreement with the administration, Little had resigned. (The charges were later dropped against Little, most likely because he had secured a huge nuclear research grant from the AEC.) The chair of the Department of Education—whom the regents wrongly assumed would support Stout—testified in support of Richardson and was punished for speaking his conscience: his salary was cut and he was passed over for a deanship.[117]

A community group calling itself "Friends of the University" rallied the forces of academics across the country, prompting more than 20 institutions to voice their concerns, but many Nevadans supported the get-tough-on-campus stance of the regents.[118] On June 19, 1953, the Nevada Supreme Court weighed in on the Richardson case. As Kille explains, the move "in effect proclaimed that the Board of Regents, in this instance at least, had acted as a court of judgment and therefore its decision was subject to review. This somewhat contrived intrusion of the judicial branch into the executive branch not only threatened the autonomy of the Board of Regents but also set a possible legal precedent for future cases."[119] This was a lesson learned for the regents, who in a later configuration would abstain from directly prosecuting academic freedom cases on campus—opting instead to let other hearing boards consider them.

In April 1954 the court reinstated Richardson, with back pay. It was a Pyrrhic victory, because Richardson was punished with a distasteful teaching schedule, exiled from teaching classes in his specialty areas, and denied any sort of office space on campus. He left the following year to continue his career at the University of Washington.[120] The AAUP officially censured the university for its affront to academic freedom.[121] While the regents seemed unaffected by a censure from a national organization, the Nevada legislature had grown weary of the negative publicity and set up a commission of inquiry. The commission concluded that the campus problems were the result of Stout's "quasi-military" leadership that threatened academic freedom "because faculty members feared retaliation in salary and promotion opportunities." In March 1956, students protested the Stout administration by marching down Virginia Street and hanging him, and other administrators, in effigy.[122] According to historian Mary Ellen Glass, Stout's tenure as president left a permanent impression on campus, and "any upset, even minor personnel conflicts on the Reno campus, could gain extra attention if called in the academician's secret shorthand, 'another Richardson case.' "[123]

Charles J. Armstrong, Stout's successor in 1958, replaced "the chain of command" structures with a Faculty Council and other representative bodies that worked closely with the president and the regents. Holding the presidency until 1965,

Armstrong was of a vastly different character: a Harvard-trained classics scholar who promoted the liberal arts and supported faculty governance and academic freedom. Armstrong emphasized research and elevated the university's profile as a military-research institution in the 1960s. Consequently, university geologists played a crucial role in identifying the connections between nuclear testing and earthquake activity, chemists studied radiation damage, animal scientists measured radiation damage to livestock, mathematicians worked on communications for the Air Force, and other scholars researched field-emission studies as well as nuclear and atomic physics.

One of the university's physicists, Sigmund Leifson, was a world-renowned expert on atomic energy and was instrumental in the creation of the Desert Research Institute (DRI) in 1959. Wendell A. Mordy, an atmospheric physicist, directed the DRI and recruited researchers from across the country—who brought with them over $5 million in federal and corporate research funds. While a substantial portion of the DRI's work was basic research, much of it informed federal and military operations, particularly in the years leading up to Vietnam. Its atmospheric sciences research was underwritten by NASA and the Department of Defense, with some of it earmarked for weather modification.[124] Such research was vital for understanding weather patterns from nuclear fallout and for the development of innovative military operations like tactical cloud seeding in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.[125]

The 1960s also saw the rise of Nevada Southern University (NSU), what would later be known as UNLV.[126] As the Las Vegas campus grew in the mid-1960s, NSU students began to resent the campus to the north. NSU was comprised of nonresidential, mostly working-class students who did not feel alienation as strongly as other American youth; in fact, one historian argues that the north-south tensions distracted NSU students from the Vietnam war, student oppression, and attempts to build support for political activism: "Reno became a common enemy that could unite NSU's constituent parts in a way the Vietnam war could not. Above all NSU demanded autonomy as a university . . . so the 1960s became a civil war in Nevada."[127] When NSU students chose a Confederate Soldier as its mascot to amplify the Las Vegas-Reno rivalry, the burgeoning confidence of the Civil Rights movement surfaced, as black NSU football players spoke out against the offensive Dixieland theatrics. Just like its namesake to the east, the Mississippi of the West would soon undergo vast changes that challenged its traditions and aimed to revolutionize its universities.

* * *

"Politically Significant" Social Change and the 1960s

On October 4, 1957, the U.S.S.R. launched the first of its Sputnik satellites into the Earth's orbit, prompting the United States to shift some of its military-technology energies toward space exploration. Sputnik gave Eisenhower the leverage to convince

Congress to pass the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA) that funded a generation of science education through investment in research, testing, teacher training, and curriculum design. Of course, all scholars awarded NDEA funds had to sign loyalty oaths confirming that they were not members of the Community Party.[128] By this time, state universities had sufficiently built up their faculty to compete with elite private universities for federal research and development funds. But part of the preparation required screening for unsuitable faculty and subsequent termination. According to a 1958 survey, two-thirds of colleges and universities had fired activist faculty.[129]

Federal spending on research was enough to cause alarm in many sectors that the funding agencies had too much control over the research. According to the NSF, from 1954 to 1962 federally funded research at the university level increased steadily from $130 million to $230 million. However, the general funding outlays during the same rough period (1955–65) experienced much more rapid growth: research and development funding overall increased from $2.7 billion to over $15 billion.[130] Thus, there was a growing concern that the federal government's research machinery was veering off course in the efforts to win the cold war abroad and manage domestic disturbances in the homeland.

As Seymour Lipset explains, the 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision stimulated the social movements of the 1960s: it "was the perfect issue around which to create a new activist movement, since it engaged the principal aspect of American society, in which the system engaged in actions which were at sharp variance with its manifest creed of equality and democracy."[131] Within a few years, a wave of activism developed across the country. In the early 1960s, student peace groups emerged in the form of the Student Peace Union, the Campus Peace Union, and Student SANE (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy). In January 1960, the remnants of Student League for Industrial Democracy, an organization with roots in the WWI-era socialist movement, became the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), supported by the United Automobile Workers and other pro-labor interests.[132] SNCC had formed in 1960, and it would grow increasingly radical through the 1960s. But leftist and radical groups were not alone. The conservative Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) was also founded in 1960, growing to 20,000 members on 200 campuses by 1962.[133]

With the groundswell of activism, college and university campuses were sometimes vilified as breeding grounds for activists, as they had been in decades past. For example, after demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee turned ugly at Berkeley (with police turning fire hoses onto protestors) the committee released a film entitled *Operation Abolition* in 1960. It was intended to depict Berkeley college students as mere dupes of the Communist Party, but the film had inadvertently served the opposite purpose for many youths by the mid-1960s, showing thousands of high school students that California was the place to be for radical action.[134] In Nevada, the response to *Operation Abolition* was mixed, with the student union spending $1000 to have the John Birch Society's Robert H. W. Welch come to

campus and speak out against the Civil Rights movement, or as he referred to it: communist-led actions in the South. Both the film and invited speakers prompted rigorous debates among Nevada students and faculty, but it was clear that progressive issues in Nevada were still being demonized as communist threats.[135]

In the mid-1960s, federally sponsored Area Studies from the 1940s had fallen into disarray, tainted by overt government meddling in the work of the academy. Undaunted, by 1964, the U.S. Army distributed its initial materials for a new social-science program called Project Camelot, whose tactical objective was to develop "a general social systems model which would make it possible to *predict and influence politically significant aspects of social change* in developing nations of the world." It aimed to inform the federal government about social conflict theory, countering insurgency, nation building, and "assessing the potential for internal war within national societies."[136] Project Camelot sparked debate about the propriety of academic research directly being used for the cold war, raising a crisis of ethics about the uses of scholarly inquiry for questionable political ends. After all, the influence of academic research into foreign affairs was becoming all too common. For example, political scientists at Michigan State University wrote the Constitution for Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem, who had been a research assistant at the university in the early 1950s before serving as President of South Vietnam from 1955 to 1963.[137]

While some observers of the Vietnam era claim that activism turned away from public concerns to introspection, self-analysis, and "identity politics," the evolution of social science was much more complex. As Area Studies receded from prominence, its energies took a new and now familiar form, albeit one with an inverted dynamic. The multidisciplinary efforts of Area Studies began a slow transformation into a variety of related programs in gender and ethnic studies, focused on underrepresented groups who demanded a voice and became "revisers of the central theoretical premises of social science."[138] The slow emergence of such work ran parallel to the burgeoning activism from the Civil Rights movement. For many young activists, however, the problem of racial discrimination was starting to appear as more of a general social, cultural, and institutional sickness that afflicted the country.

* * *

Berkeley and Free Speech

What happened at UC Berkeley in 1964 was considered by many to be "the prototype event of the student movement."[139] However, one year before the famed Free Speech Movement (FSM) in Berkeley, Kent State protestors demanded the right to speak freely and establish political organizations on campus. According to Kenneth Heineman, student activism had swelled on state campuses long before Berkeley made national headlines.[140] The significant difference between the FSM at Berkeley

and speech movements at other universities, however, was the national publicity generated by the FSM as well as the legacy of the UC campus as a site for academic freedom issues. The UC administration had been working for some time to keep politicized and activist discourse at the edge of campus. While Berkeley was known as "The Athens of the West," it was not promoting the rhetorical dynamics of the famed Greek city-state. As a movement to fight for the open exchange of ideas, the FSM lasted only four months, yet it garnered national attention and marked the turn of the focus from Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and SNCC in the South to SDS and the New Left on college campuses. After extensive attempts to work within the conventional channels of change, UC students abandoned their efforts to use the rhetoric of the open hand, turning instead to the tactics of closed-fisted rhetoric.

UC students had formed local organizations sympathetic with the Civil Rights movement, and in September 1964, a dean announced that all of the student groups' tables at the edge of the campus property were now restricted to a new policy. There would no longer be solicitation of party memberships, no support or opposition of political candidates, and no raising money for activities not directly connected to the university. As a result, students implemented a rhetoric of confrontation and dissent that inspired countless activists across the country. Within days of the announcement, students defied the decision by setting up additional tables and mounting an all-night vigil to test the administration's will. As both traditional debate and symbolic confrontation continued, student leaders planned to picket the upcoming University Meeting, when chancellor Edward Strong would welcome new students and address the campus. As the picketing began, Strong announced a reinterpretation of the rules, one that allowed "yes" and "no" votes on candidates and propositions. It was a policy change that suggested to students that their tactics were working, so they continued their activities and presented their grievances to a mostly unreceptive chancellor. An undergraduate named Mario Savio organized an overnight sit-down strike that resulted in Savio and seven other students being "suspended indefinitely" for violating university rules.[141]

Again defying the rules, students the next morning set up the tables and a demonstrator was arrested, his civilly disobedient body dragged into the back seat of a nearby police car. The power of body rhetoric then became tangible, as several hundred students surrounded the car and prevented it from moving. Savio and others took turns standing on the hood of the car and speaking to the growing crowd. For the demonstrators, it was a purely symbolic action, with student orators free to speak atop a neutralized state machine. The administration, however, did not see it as such. After the standoff continued throughout the night and into the next evening, more than 600 city police and highway patrol officers dispersed the crowd. The FSM leaders saw the police intervention on campus a necessary step for the success of the movement: a symbolic transgression of boundaries that would help radicalize the campus.[142] Because the FSM was one of the first campuses to use such tactics, students had the upper hand: they could anticipate the administration's traditional and predictable

response, whereas university officials failed to see the larger agenda behind the symbolic acts. In short, the UC students were more rhetorically sophisticated than the administration.[143]

By late November, the university acquiesced, allowing regulated free speech to continue on campus, but after two months of struggles, the activists decided that it was not enough. FSM leaders had become more informed, realizing that the core issues were not only free speech but also the distinction between town and gown, between the laws of citizens and the laws of campus, and between the rights of legal adults and in loco parentis restrictions. By December, the FSM had gained the support of graduate students and many faculty, and the boundaries between campus and civic life were disintegrating. The faculty were enraged that local and state police had been brought to campus.[144]

The UC Academic Senate ultimately passed a resolution supported by the FSM, "Motion A," declaring that the university should not impose additional restrictions on free speech beyond those that existed in the larger community. Martin Meyerson, who would later become interim chancellor, concluded, "What we did in some ways rearranges the idea of what a University if for. It gives up the old idea of *in loco parentis*. . . ." Likewise, Savio acknowledged that the FSM was "a direct attack on the doctrine of *in loco parentis*."[145] The UC regents commissioned a report to analyze the FSM's effect on campus, and it concluded that the eight-month event was generated by an administration that did not understand its university, and resolved by the students, who did:

> [The FSM] was a crisis in government, caused by the failure of the President and the Regents to develop a governmental structure at once acceptable to the governed and suited to the vastly increased complexity of the university . . . the students were far more skillful—and, in the short run, successful—than the University. . . . Even though the student protestants represented a great diversity of views and opinions, and against the fact that hours of debate preceded most of their decisions, the leadership was capable of decisive action rooted in genuine support from its constituency.[146]

Knowing the university better than its officials, the students had won. Five years later, at the University of Nevada, the dynamic would be reversed. By then, the university would have learned a counter-rhetoric for the student activists.

All in all, part of the FSM's power was its timing; there were few other new stories competing for attention in the autumn of 1964. Moreover, the FSM tactics were new rhetorical approaches on campus: the student provocations forced the hand of university officials to respond in ways that would be perceived as excessively authoritarian or repressive. While the FSM inspired college students thereafter, it would also serve as a lesson for university administrators in how *not* to respond to student demonstrations. In the spring of 1965, the FSM morphed into the "Filthy Speech Movement,"

which secured less of a place in historical memory than the FSM, but helped confirm Berkeley—and by association San Francisco—as a place for unrestrained license. The speech debate rose anew, but this time it pushed the boundaries of acceptable limits of speech and obscenity, once again spotlighting America's universities as sites of moral decay.[147]

* * *

Nevada and Vietnam

In the mid-1960s, Nevada became more intimately tied with the federal government, particularly in its support of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, which was investigating casinos for evading taxes. Running for re-election in 1966, Governor Grant Sawyer criticized the FBI for using illegal wire-taps and tried to rally support for state's rights, and he fought a bitter primary campaign against a Reno lawyer named Charles Springer. Sawyer won the primary but was wounded by the bad press, and his Republican opponent, Lieutenant Governor Paul Laxalt, won the race by taking a hard line on crime, defending Hoover, and welcoming the FBI to do their work. However, just as the Feds were interested in Nevada gaming profits, so was corporate America. Las Vegas gained even more national attention in 1967, when business mogul Howard Hughes began purchasing and building casinos. Within only a few years, Laxalt would pass a corporate licensing act in 1969 that opened the gates for large conglomerates and corporate interests to invest in Nevada gaming. In effect, due to their subsidiary interests and complex investment structures, corporate investment ultimately made tax-evasion investigations more difficult, and it connected Nevada's financial interests with larger corporate networks. During Laxalt's administration, Nevada became a national player in big business, and a new era of gambling was born in America.[148]

Laxalt's first year in office was beleaguered by rivalries between the north and south campuses of the University of Nevada system, a conflict that inspired state legislators to try to wrest power away from the regents and place the university directly in the hands of the legislature. Students in Las Vegas organized political action groups, protested their ill treatment by the state, and staged a public hanging of Laxalt in effigy. Knowing that the end of the regents' power would mean chaos for the university system, Laxalt was able to calm the rivalries and tensions with an infusion of capital and a redistribution of power. Laxalt encouraged Howard Hughes to donate money to establish a medical school at the university in Reno, and Laxalt simultaneously paved the way for his Las Vegas constituents to have two additional regents on the Board, bringing it to eleven members. The system was also reconstituted, with one chancellor assigned to coordinate administrative tasks for the regents, and newly hired presidents for both Reno and Las Vegas campuses. Rather than give

each campus complete autonomy, Laxalt had created a system that regulated north-south competition for state funds, and protected the Reno campus from withering as a result of the rapid growth in Las Vegas.[149]

Nationwide, the 1960s connections between university research and the government began to buckle from the strained relationship. Fueled by campus controversy over nuclear weaponry research, for example, scientists in the early 1960s were torn between a detached objectivity and realizing that inquiry had political results.[150] Moreover, at issue was not just the government's involvement in university research but all external sponsorship of university activity. But funding dilemmas were also calling university alliances into question, both on and off campus. During the Vietnam war, academia began to realize the end of a long growth period in federal funding for academic research. By one estimate, federal funding for research and development had reached its post-WWII zenith in 1965.[151]

By fall 1965, campus activism was a powerful force in the antiwar movement, and racial violence erupted in the Watts area of Los Angeles. For nearly a week in August, Watts captured the nation's attention as 14,000 national guardsmen fought the riot, arresting nearly 4000 people, injuring more than 1,000, and killing 34. For many observers, the racial violence and antiwar protests were part of the same movement, particularly because the Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples met the same week in Washington, DC, to encourage the coalition between the two forces.[152] The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWVN), which formed in August, aimed to bring together a variety of antiwar groups ranging from SNCC and SDS to the AFL-CIO and the Communist Party. The NCCEWVN sponsored the October 15 and 16 International Days of Protest, with over 100,000 protestors demonstrating in roughly 80 cities across the country. New York and Berkeley had the largest turnouts.[153]

Rioting in the Watts district resurfaced in March 1966, one of the first of 43 race riots in the country during 1966. Unlike the race riots in earlier American history, which pitted black mobs against white mobs, the riots of the 1960s were mostly manifestations of violence against the structural and institutional manifestations of white America.[154] The March riots were a violent contrast to the relatively peaceful NCCEWVN's Second International Days of Protest, which also targeted 80 cities for demonstrations during March 25–27, 1966. For both events the crowd counts varied widely, claiming anywhere from 20,000 to 50,000 protestors in New York City alone. Staging a parallel protest, a few dozen demonstrators at the University of Nevada were a clear minority on campus, prompting harassment from onlookers who threw cups of hot coffee, picked up demonstrators, and threw them into a nearby lake.[155]

In the second half of 1966, campus unrest continued to generate national headlines, with 500 students in Chicago occupying a campus building, and Harvard SDS members ambushing Secretary of State Robert McNamara's car. The Harvard activists made headlines by surrounding McNamara's car, rocking the vehicle and demanding that he speak to the general student population. Melvin Small, in his

cogent analysis of the media's impact on antiwar discourse, explains the public reception of the incident: "The mainstream media depicted McNamara as the brave hero of the affair, the student radicals as reckless and irresponsible." Nonetheless, for many activists it was a powerful image of demonstrators neutralizing a police state vehicle and holding a high-ranking official at bay. The momentum of the antiwar movement was flagging, however, and the NCCEWVN could not hold together the disparate groups after the March demonstrations, and it disbanded as an organization before it could sponsor any other events.[156] In its place, a national mobilization committee (Mobe) formed over the summer, planning November protests and generating the Student Mobe in December.

The chaos of urban racial violence began to take new shape and emerge as an organization of militant black activism. In October 1966, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California (a three-hour drive from Reno). Black militancy would soon find more widespread support when Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke out against the war on April 4, 1967 at New York's Riverside Church. (The fact that he was assassinated one year later—on the very same day—would later produce rumors and conspiracy theories that his murder was a direct consequence of the speech.) King's speech was arguably a turning point in the antiwar movement. In one of his typically brilliant orations, King appealed to his audience with an image of a sick nation:

> Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read Vietnam. It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be are led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

King's speech was particularly damning, and prompted enough negative reactions that he toned down his critique in speeches later in the month.[157] The icon of the Civil Rights movement had stepped into the fray, signaling to many activists that the movement was continuing with Vietnam on its agenda. Moreover, the ultimate aims of both movements began to coalesce. As rhetoric scholar Arthur Smith argues, "Until the black revolutionists began pronouncing their prescriptions for what they called a sick society, most Americans were content with the token accomplishments of social legislation."[158] Thus, after April 1967, many activists were fighting a social revolution.

Following the FSM at Berkeley, campus rhetoric became infused with a rhetoric of ultimatum, prompting locutions such as "the only alternatives" and imperatives like "demand" and "must."[159] Writing in 1968, Nathan Glazer argued, "But whereas the white radical students have fundamentally been interested in the university as a base for an attack on society, or as a surrogate for their attack on society, the black

students, whatever their rhetoric, are fundamentally interested in changing it so it can do a better job of getting them *into* society."[160] The rhetoric of black militancy would grow to be focused on demands as well, but supplemented with the threat of violence. According to one scholar, black revolutionists created an aggressive rhetoric of local action.[161] The Vietnam era promoted campus activism and generated a revolutionary rhetoric that adopted the tactics and discourse of revolution but, more often that not, served local desires for student rights and racial equality. In the chapters that follow, I will highlight moments of such activism, politics, and rhetoric employed at the University of Nevada.

The Civil Rights struggles in the southern states had a tremendous impact on student views toward culture and nation. For example, Nevada students in 1964 developed an independent student magazine, *Forum*, that debuted with an article written by the local NAACP president. And a handful of Nevada students who participated in Civil Rights demonstrations in the South returned to Reno to form a SNCC chapter in 1965—prompting a wave of reactions from both campus and community leaders.[162] It was a powerful year for change on many campuses, leading to the first Teach-In on March 12 at the University of Michigan. The faculty-organized Teach-In drew some 2,500 people to hear lectures, watch films, and sing songs—and the concept spread to more than 100 campuses through April. It was the high point of the year for many students, and perhaps a fitting finale for N. Edd Miller who was leaving the University of Michigan to become president of the University of Nevada. It was an opportune time to leave, considering that 38 UM students were arrested the following semester for trying to shut down a local draft board.[163]

The military draft and the presence of ROTC were two war-related issues that directly impacted university students. By the mid-1960s, most ROTC programs across the country had switched from a compulsory to a voluntary system, yet campus ROTC was frequently the target of violence.[164] In Nevada, where the federal government owned most of the land in the state, the ROTC program was a point of pride and tradition, as the university had annually held a Governor's Day review of the ROTC since the 1930s. The Governor would review future officers, distribute awards, and acknowledge achievements on behalf of the cadets. All undergraduate males were still required to fulfill their two-year ROTC service provision as part of their education. In his oral history, N. Edd Miller recalled that the compulsory training was "late-nineteenth-century" requirement that was "totally unplausible" and "decidedly unfair."[165] In the midst of the 1967 university restructuring, a small band of activists had protested Governor's Day not only because of the war but also for the ROTC requirement. It resulted in a faculty-student drive to end the requirement, but the regents rejected the proposed changes.[166]

Typical of the Nevada regents, staying in step with other universities across the country—even other Land Grant universities—was not a high priority. For many entering students, the ROTC requirement was not initially viewed with suspicion or resistance. According to one chronicler, "When you're a freshman in college and

everybody is taking the class, you don't go, 'Well, why am I taking this M-1 apart and putting it back together? We know this doesn't make sense' . . . But later people were realizing, 'Hey, there's hardly any other school in the country that is doing this. What's going on? Why are we still lost in this bizarre past?' "[167] With the influx of California students, resistance to ROTC was inevitable. As one chronicler recalled, the ROTC "was one of the first places you saw people starting to disrupt the status quo. It was a lot of these California kids who weren't ready for this uniform stuff . . . you just couldn't get them to swallow the discipline"[168] For the more worldly and well-traveled faculty, like president Miller, the requirement was an anachronism but it foretold the political atmosphere on campus. In 1966, for example, mock counter-guerilla procedures were staged at the campus stadium to demonstrate field tactics used in Vietnam. It startled a young political science professor named Joseph Crowley: "I can remember how surprised I was. I had just come to Nevada at that time to witness that sort of thing happening. I just was not yet adjusted to the political climate of the state."[169]

The Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam (Spring Mobe) rose from the ashes of the NCCEWVN, sponsoring a march of 200,000 demonstrators from New York's Central Park to the UN (United Nations) building on April 15, 1967. King was the keynote speaker, joined by famed pediatrician Benjamin Spock and other reputable figures. In San Francisco, King's wife Coretta spoke to a crowd of 50,000 in San Francisco.[170] The momentum of the nationwide antiwar movement dramatically increased campus activism, often with faculty support. After all, faculty helped to plan more than half of the 1967–1968 campus demonstrations, with two-thirds of the demonstrations supported by faculty representative bodies.[171]

Students were not simply following faculty leaders having grown increasingly disenchanted with the federal government and its war machine. For example, recruiters from Dow Chemical Corporation met with resistance when they visited campuses, pressed by angry demonstrators to answer questions about its production of napalm. At the University of Nevada, there was a small protest group that spoke out against Dow's campus visit in the spring of 1967, but it was the October 1967 protest at the University of Wisconsin that gained national recognition when police brutally beat students and faculty.[172]

Six months after the Spring Mobe, the Siege of the Pentagon took place October 21–22, 1967. It was the East Coast rejoinder to the West's National Draft Disruption Week (October 16–20), bringing more than 50,000 demonstrators to Washington, DC. At the end of speeches and a peaceful demonstration at the Lincoln Memorial, activist Dave Dellinger encouraged the crowd to join him for a "confrontation" at the Pentagon, and some 30,000 followed. They were met by local police, federal marshals, and over 8,000 members of the Eighty-Second Airborne. According to historian Todd Gitlin, the television networks gave in to government pressure and decided not to cover the event live.[173] There were minor assaults on the dignity of troops, with dramatic displays taking center stage: demonstrators inserted

flowers into military gun barrels, and some even chose to make love at the feet of troops, whereas others hurled eggs and excrement. Over 600 were arrested, and the entire affair cost the Pentagon more than a million dollars.

The discontent spread across the country, and the University of Nevada began following the national trajectory of campus activism. In 1967 the university founded its own chapter of the NAACP, and eventually found a faculty advisor for a chapter of SDS.[174] Professor Crowley agreed to be their advisor, and he recalled that they were liberal, not radicals, "but they were angry, and you could say militant about the war, and about civil rights."[175]

THREE

Black and White in Action

What you have here is a microcosm of what is splitting the country into fragments.
—Harry Edwards

Most campus unrest did not start because of the hippie counterculture or distress about the war, but instead it began with the struggles for racial equality and for student rights. At the University of Nevada, both issues set the stage for the Governor's Day protest in 1970. This chapter focuses on campus unrest across the country from 1968 to 1970, tracing the national shift toward radical activism and decreasing support for the Vietnam War. At the edges of a vast ripple effect, small campuses were following the lead of the large universities, and in many cases students—and administrators—adapted strategies that had been successful elsewhere. The narrative focus in this chapter highlights the increased tensions and hostility on campuses as the war continued to escalate. Americans began to recognize that there was an organized effort to galvanize students from coast to coast. The rise of black activism allowed student antiwar groups to form coalition groups that might otherwise be separated along ideological lines, contributing even further to perceptions that colleges and universities had lost control of their campuses. In the pages that follow, I focus on the rise of activism among minority groups and their growing influence on campus politics, particularly how this influence played out in Nevada.

According to the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, the size and selectivity of a university determined its likelihood of protest activity: simply put, the larger and more prestigious schools saw more protest. The shift to violent activity in 1968–1969 was strongest at elite universities, where administrators were not only reluctant to alienate alumni but also faced student radicalism supported by faculty. At state universities, however, student radicalism led to repression by the government. As historian

B.E. Lucas, *Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War*

Kenneth Heineman has it, "many state university presidents, supported by a less affluent and more conservative alumni group than their elite university colleagues, and egged on by a number of faculty dependent upon military research contracts, often moved decisively to crush dovish and radical antiwar organizations." Thus, the old aristocracy of American colleges and universities played an indirect role in supporting the antiwar movement, whereas the "new money" of the military-research machine aimed to repress antiwar activity on campus. After all, the research funding was no small contribution. By 1968, the federal government provided 70 percent of the funds for university research and development ($3 billion), half of which could be traced back to the Pentagon.[1] For the smaller state universities like the University of Nevada, protests (even minor ones) also threatened the sanctity of state-funded operating budgets. With Governor Laxalt's corporate-gambling initiatives, Nevada was hoping to profit from its connections with big business and the federal government.

Most historical accounts of campus protest have documented elite universities and their central figures. After all, with a more tolerant administration and greater faculty support, elite activists could accomplish more tangible gains than their small-school counterparts. According to a study conducted in the spring of 1970, the profile of such demonstrators was this: "from a prosperous home. . . . their parents have in the main, gone to college, and most frequently their fathers are either professional men or are in the higher echelons of business. . . . The major field of interest for the protestor is the social sciences, where 40 percent concentrate. One fourth are in the humanities, and only 15 percent major in natural science."[2] The profile reflects certain ideological proclivities that are too complex and numerous to explore here, but it underscores certain disciplinary traits that surface in Nevada, where students—and faculty—with such backgrounds comprised a small antiwar group that would grow exponentially in the months leading up to Kent State.

In 1969–1970, there were more disruptive campus demonstrations than in the previous two years combined.[3] This academic year undoubtedly marked the height of antiwar movement, which steadily gained popular support while simultaneously losing organizational leadership. The antiwar tactics of the past were losing their effectiveness, in part because the 1968 assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy signaled the end of hope for many who believed in nonviolent resistance and representative politics. King's murder prompted racial violence, with riots erupting in 110 cities—and even several instances in Vietnam.[4] In April 1968, the second Spring Mobe was joined by a Student Mobe that led protests at high schools and colleges across the country. It was the fourth annual major protest against the war. By August, protests at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago brought out roughly 10,000 demonstrators, resulting in 688 arrests and, more significantly, violence against activists that left over 100 hospitalized and more than 600 injured. According to some media analysts, the television coverage should have prompted audience sympathy for the victims. Instead, a majority of Americans selectively viewed the images to rationalize the police violence.[5]

Convinced that the American Way of Life was on the brink of total revolution, the New Left had transformed itself from a Civil Rights and pro-labor group to a radicalized Marxist (dis)organization by 1969. The 1968 SDS convention in Boulder, Colorado, had shown the first signs of the split, as the Maoist Progressive Labor caucus (which promoted a worker-student alliance that abandoned middle-class culture) opposed another faction calling itself "Up Against the Wall, Motherfuckers" that argued for an alliance with the Black Panthers and all Third World anti-imperialists, including the Viet Cong.[6] The chaotic threat of the New Left was enough to motivate the federal government to blanket the 1968 convention: some 300 undercover agents were sent in to observe the 500 delegates.[7] Before the year was over, SDS would withdraw its support from the Mobe and begin its eventual self-imposed collapse.

Radicalism was not pervasive, nor was it embraced by the majority. According to surveys conducted during the 1968–1969 academic school year, most students opposed the Vietnam War, but were not hostile to working for change within the system of American institutions.[8] In other words, students thought that the war could be ended through nonviolent, political processes. In fact, the majority of students in America did not consider themselves alienated from major national institutions, even during periods of major antiwar demonstrations. Such attitudes affected how they perceived their own educational institutions, with over two-thirds of undergraduates satisfied with their education.[9] Before 1969, it is safe to say that most college campuses supported the war or at least would not support open protests against it. In 1968, for example, 80 percent of university trustees thought that activist students should be expelled. However, the students were not the only threat. In March 1968, the New University Conference (NUC) was established in Chicago, where 350 radicals from 85 campuses gathered to promote anti-militarism and end racism. Faculty involvement in the NUC and other radical organizations was not supported by most universities, yet within six months, their numbers would double.[10]

These views and attitudes would develop and shift in the months leading up to Kent State, as the military draft increased and campus protests began to generate more media attention around the country. In his oral history, one student activist recalled that the shift affecting the rest of the country impacted the University of Nevada, but with a noticeable delay:

> From 1966 to 1970, the time delay between what was happening at Nevada and other schools quickly got smaller and smaller. I mean, if something happened in San Francisco in 1966, it might not catch on for awhile in Reno. But I would say by 1968, we were clued in to what was going on everywhere. You know, after we had gone to the National Student Association, when something went on at Berkeley, we knew who was doing it at Berkeley.[11]

More importantly, it was not just ideas and information making their way into the small desert town but people as well. Because students could defer their draft eligibility,

California universities faced record enrollment demands that they were not able to satisfy, so neighboring state universities accommodated the surplus. Despite its reputation as a Western gambling town that harbored Hollywood divorcées, Reno was a draw. As one chronicler recalled, "Nevada had a good reputation as a place to come and ski and party and go to school, and it wasn't a bad little college academically in those days. And so we had a real surge of California students who had a higher level of awareness on these things, a much higher political awareness."[12] The influx of Californians was a boon to the university's enrollment figures and challenged the university's perception as a provincial institution, but it also infused the campus culture with new political sensibilities.

(The delay between "the rest of the country" and Reno could be understood by two strangely similar campus incidents, separated by two years. At Michigan State University, the ROTC held their Field Days on May 25, 1968, with a mock-up of a Vietnamese village that served as a field stage for military maneuvers and casualties. A small group of 80 Quakers and their children entered the field to protest the war. Horrifying the audience, the children ran through the ranks of bayonet-twirling cadets and placed small white crosses on those who "died" during the performance. Like the Governor's Day protest that would take place nearly two years later in Reno, this nonviolent disruption of an ROTC celebration would provoke statewide outrage. In Michigan, shortly after the Quaker protest, a State Senator decried the demonstration, warning against the "out-of-state" SDS members and threatening to cut off funding for the university unless it reevaluated the admissions policies for out-of-state students.[13] Virtually the same drama would play itself out in Nevada in 1970.)

While it was not yet to the point of disrupting ROTC drills, a group of Nevada students launched an antidiscrimination campaign in 1970 against local fraternities and sororities, leading to administrative promises that the greek houses would be investigated, as would the housing policies on and off campus. In response, a Nevada Senator called the activism "Communist-led" and a "Hippie movement."[14] Almost serving to verify concerns that the Nevada campus was going to turn radical, one of the Filthy Speech Movement leaders came to Reno to speak to student activists.[15] The SDS chapter on campus was still active, and an underground paper *The Capitalian Free Press* offered news items that would not appear elsewhere.[16] More significant to future campus events, however, was the founding of the Human Relations Action Council (HRAC). Following King's murder, university activists joined together as the HRAC, calling for "immediate and drastic action" to reconcile racial and ethnic discrimination at the university. The HRAC submitted to the Governor a petition signed by 76 faculty members, demanding a special legislative session to consider various antidiscrimination measures. In May, the HRAC supported the Poor People's March, which brought thousands of activists to Reno.[17]

In fall 1968, the Nevada HRAC was successful in bringing to campus prominent intellectuals to address racism in America (e.g., John Howard Griffen and Deborah Partridge Wolfe), but the efforts prompted negative reactions from the community,

including a John Birch Society member who condemned the Civil Rights movement and the presence of "an advocate of riots" on campus.[18] Throughout the fall semester, many Nevada students were in regular contact with student activists at Berkeley and San Francisco State.[19] While the Nevada students considered this advantageous for their political aims, the university administration was also keeping pace, maintaining regular contact with like-minded administrators at other campuses. For example, in his oral history, regent Procter Hug, Jr., recalled gathering intelligence from other institutions:

> I was an attorney and I had been involved with the National Association of College and University Attorneys (that actually just been formed a year or two before), and at those meetings *we discussed a lot of what was happening elsewhere in the country*. And I know the attorney for the University of California was very distressed that California had not early on made it clear they were going to enforce the rules, not allow a lot of things to escalate on the campuses. I know *it was my major concern that we not allow what had developed elsewhere in the country to develop at the University of Nevada*.[20]

Hug's statement reveals the influence of larger campuses on others, but it more importantly identifies a dynamic that was not always understood among student activists. Students were implementing tactics that had succeeded at other universities, but many had not anticipated the extent to which their administrators were learning and developing countertactics. Moreover, with fewer student bodies to work with, activists at small schools faced less-fortunate odds for generating mass action. In terms of protest actions, the Nevada regents had developed a higher level of rhetorical sophistication, whereas the students' rhetorical sensibilities were derivative, and somewhat dated.

For many Nevadans, the California campuses bred radical dissent that threatened to spread into neighboring states. And it was likely that campus conflicts did have regional influence. For example, forces at state universities in Michigan and Wisconsin had a profound impact on the Chicago protests in 1969. In the West, the California universities were certainly the dominant schools in terms of activist precedent and financial power. Activists referred to Stanford as "Pentagon West," the complement to Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) as "Pentagon East." While Stanford managed its fair share of research for the military, in 1969 it was the University of California System that was the number two university military contractor in the country, responsible for $15 million in federal funds. And MIT, the nation's number one contractor, accounted for a staggering $97 million in federal funds, roughly 80 percent of the university's entire budget. But MIT, of course, was not a typical campus: its political science department had been openly funded by the CIA until the mid-1960s.[21] Obviously, with such enormous fiscal ties to the Pentagon, the research universities had a lot to lose. Of course, federal funding

impacted all universities to varying degrees, particularly those relying on the funds in their annual budgets. This research funding, however, swayed the mission of the university in competing directions. According to a Carnegie Commission survey, 57 percent of faculty stated that such research was motivated by individuals who primarily wanted to enhance their prestige, rather than advance knowledge.[22]

Research and prestige did not fend off activism; in fact, it may have been a factor in promoting radical activity. After all, students who were conscious of the wealth on their campuses, as well as their faculty's status as research commodities, might understand their administration's susceptibility to pressure and influence. For example, in April 1968 Columbia University abandoned nonviolent protest methods when school officials announced their plans to build a gymnasium on a nearby park.[23] One of the strongest arms of the antiwar movement, the Columbia SDS, successfully radicalized the Columbia campus by capitalizing on a moment when the student Afro-American Society spoke out against the gymnasium. Led by the SDS, some 300 students seized 4 academic buildings.[24] At the end of the month, Columbia officials called in 1,000 police officers to force out the students, leading to over 700 arrests and more than 100 students injured. A commission to study the protest concluded that the faculty sympathizers "increased the likelihood of violence and magnified the reaction by lending an air of legitimacy to use of the tactics of disruption . . ."[25]

At Cornell University, an episode of black student activism likewise stimulated campus-wide protests. In the fall of 1968, black students implemented an array of symbolic acts to promote their agenda: claiming exclusively "black tables" in the student union, pulling armloads of library books from shelves for being "irrelevant," entering the president's office brandishing water pistols, and later pulling the president away from a podium during a speech. These aggressive actions were symbolic, clearly examples of a closed-fist rhetoric aimed to force attention to discriminatory practices that had been historically avoided, ignored, and naturalized as part of Cornell's day-to-day operations. By April 1969, a burning cross was thrown at the co-op for black women, and when campus police dismissed the incident as a prank, black activists took over the student union while SDS members gathered outside in solidarity. The university eventually struck a deal with the black students, who chose to exit the building with real (not toy) guns on display as a symbolic show of militant protest. Incensed at the weapons, faculty criticized the administration's response. Cornell officials fought to sustain dialogue between and among students and faculty, and a teach-in brought together more than 8,000 students to stand united against the faculty. After much deliberation, the faculty eventually acknowledged the students' concerns and looked toward a restructuring of the university. The teach-in dissipated, and students across the country learned an important lesson: faculty support would be invaluable for enacting change.[26]

With the rise of black activism on campus, a new and paradoxical rhetoric emerged. Black revolutionary rhetoric not only targeted the racist attitudes and traditions of whites but also tried to promote black social cohesion, and the result was

that the message was often lost in the delivery. According to rhetorician Arthur L. Smith, "Externally, the outlook was aggressive; internally, the search was for unity."[27] Furthermore, as rhetorician Randall M. Fisher explains, the message of black rhetoric was "so unclear that it could easily be interpreted to serve the purposes of the *opponents* of black protest." In a sense, black rhetoric was burdened with a paradox: militancy was necessary to motivate action in the black community, but it threatened and alienated mainstream white audiences.[28] This ultimate result of threat and alienation inspired white radicals, who had a similar agenda but a much different, and more powerful, community to persuade. Thus, because the rhetoric was largely intended for the black community, many white audiences simply failed to understand it. In the case of Cornell, the rhetoric of confrontation symbolized by both the toy and real guns prompted a response not because they were used in any directly coercive manner but because they posed the symbolic threat of radical action. These tactics then inspired white students to generate a mass action that resulted in institutional change.

It would be nearly an entire year before students at Nevada would begin making demands similar to those made by Cornell students in 1968. The delay was not only the result of a "wave" of national activity but was deeply rooted in the state's history of racism. According to sociologist Warren d'Azevedo, in the decades prior to the Vietnam era, "open and flagrant discrimination was practiced throughout Nevada against all ethnic minorities, but with particular viciousness against Black Americans." In fact, racial anti-discrimination legislation was not passed until 1959, and it did not cover many business and housing issues until 1971.[29] In this atmosphere, it was challenging for a small number of black students at Nevada to demand change, but broader campus unrest was on the rise by spring 1969, and it was generating nationwide momentum. In fact, by March 1969 a Gallup Poll indicated that most Americans were more worried about campus disorders than the Vietnam war.[30] Even the climate at "Pentagon East" was changing: 48 MIT professors signed a manifesto in spring 1969 that criticized the militarization of science, effectively protesting against the university's primary source of funding.[31]

Campus activism was undeniably on the rise. In the spring of 1969, campus protests were erupting at the rate of approximately two every day, and one out of every five campus protests resulted in violence and property damage. But the protests were not necessarily rallying citizens to the cause: roughly 80 percent of Americans (and 80 percent of faculty) felt that the demonstrators had gone too far, and the media coverage was shocking and disturbing for many Americans who had more placid visions of college life.[32] Contrary to popular belief, however, the protests were not focused on the war. A survey of 232 institutions in the first 6 months of 1969 found nearly 300 demonstrations. The majority (59 percent) of demands raised in these protests was race-related, with student power ranking second (42 percent).[33] In other words, the surge of campus protests in 1969 was largely motivated by the continuance of Civil Rights struggles for racial equality—and demands for more campus rights and governance of the university.

The fifth national protest (April 5–6, 1969) was relatively peaceful, perhaps out of a cautious optimism that the recently inaugurated Nixon would alter the course of the war, as promised. However, the large crowds generated a violent and militant discourse, and the various factions supporting the demonstration resisted the bureaucracy of centralized planning. Shortly afterward, it was clear to many activists that the symbolic effect of annual marches was not compelling policy change and was generating diminishing returns in media coverage. In an effort to try a new approach, antiwar leaders planned a distributed form of protest, in which a date and time—rather than key urban areas—would be the organizing principle for the demonstration. On Wednesday, October 15, 1969, all antiwar Americans, wherever they were and in whatever ways they felt useful, would be asked to take time off and show their symbolic support for the movement. And rather than promoting this as an annual event, organizers wanted it to recur monthly, ideally generating a snowball effect that would increase participation and exert steady pressure on the government.[34]

Under Nixon's administration, the federal government took a more aggressive stance to counteract the antiwar movement. In 1969 FBI agents directly undermined SDS conventions by persuading city and campus officials that it would be in their best interests not to provide auditoriums or meeting rooms. And by May 1969 the FBI became concerned that SDS and the Black Panthers were developing a formidable alliance, so the Bureau engineered a rift between the two groups by spreading misinformation that the SDS was simply using the Panthers "as a mercenary group fighting a black war for white liberation."[35] The concern about alliances was well founded, as evidence of revolutionary tactics began to surface at colleges across the country. In the fall of 1969, for example, black students at San Francisco State College presented "nonnegotiable demands" to the administration, just as students at Cornell did in April 1969: with students holding rifles.[36] And also in the fall of 1969 race-related issues and radical action permeated campus rhetoric at the University of Nevada.

In 1969, activity in the San Francisco Bay area spilled over the Sierra Nevada mountains into northern Nevada. Students were traveling to the Bay "to find out what's going on" and returning with news from the suburbs of Pentagon West (and even Janis Joplin and the Grateful Dead had passed through Reno). As one student recalled, grassroots media were also spreading news: "there were the magazines like *Ramparts*. You know, we were reading the underground newspapers from Berkeley and San Francisco and New York, and all of those things were readily available."[37] Trying to keep in step, Nevada students started their own weeklies like *Shaft* and *5 to 1*, and they were eager to welcome out-of-town guests. The most prominent place for leftist activity and counter-culture to brew was a former coffee house called The Hobbit Hole. As one of the Hobbit's permanent residents explained,

> It was flophouse, really. It was for student hitchhikers who would come in. It was kind of a network of student housing, at least around the West Coast, where students

> could hitchhike up and down, and you'd find out where one was. You get the one; you're going on to another town, and you find it, or people get to town and see a student and say, "Where can I stay?" and they say, "Go stay at the Hobbit Hole."
>
> People would come in and sleep on the couches or crash on the floor, and we'd have a big pot of spaghetti or something and a big pot of coffee going. And people would come in and have something. You know, they weren't supposed to stay indefinitely—stay a day or maybe two and then go. But, you know, in those days we didn't have any trouble. I think it was all part of the movement of California students over here that would even create this kind of thing. It wasn't unusual at all for me to come home from classes and see six, eight, ten people sitting around having coffee and talking politics or just bullshitting.[38]

Even though Berkeley was just a few hours away, Reno remained a small town and the university was a school of only 6,000 students. But the cultural influence of the Bay Area was nonetheless important, fueling the local conditions that developed on campus over the following months.

With the slow cultural shifts and an increasing awareness of activism on other campuses, antiwar sentiment in Nevada had grown into more active protest. And politicians were taking notice. In March 1969, according to a reporter's interview with State Senator James Slattery, the Nevada State Legislature had received a list—on University of Nevada stationary—of nearly 30 faculty, staff, and students "supposed to be communists" or "communist dupes." The list was dominated by members of the HRAC who had spoken out against racial discrimination.[39] Because of his last name, a English professor named Paul Serop Adamian appeared at the top of the alphabetized list. Strangely enough, a sociologist named David Harvey was the last name listed. As Harvey recalls, the inclusion was capricious, motivated by a media-bias complaint he issued to a local television station:

> I saw a debate between two people running for Congress. One was named Jim Slattery and the other was Walter Baring. And they were having this debate right during a newscast over what the United States should do in the U.N. And, as it turned out, they were both for getting out of the U.N. Baring wanted to get out of the U.N. tomorrow. I think Slattery wanted to get out today. And I really got angry, and I picked up a piece of paper and I wrote to the radio station saying I was going to lodge a complaint with the F.C.C.
>
> Well, as it turns out, that letter got put in the hands of Jim Slattery within, oh, forty-eight to seventy-two hours, and [Department of Sociology chair Carl Backman] came into the office and he was white as a sheet and he said, "You want to read this?" And it was Slattery calling for my firing. . . . And what had helped is that when he called for my firing, he also submitted a list of communist professors on campus. And I was told that my name had been penciled in at the bottom. Somebody had sent him a list. Some professor on campus—it might have been a

> geologist—sent Jim Slattery a list of well-known communists on campus, and Slattery had penciled my name in at the bottom—which will give you an idea of the type of place we had.[40]

This 1950s-style red baiting did not deter 1969 activism (but it did gain notice off campus). By May, the annual Governor's Day celebration of the ROTC motivated the first large-scale protest at the university: the Governor's Day Peace Rally, which drew crowds surpassing the numbers at the military celebration. The Peace Rally was attended by roughly 400 people, whereas fewer than 100 attended Governor's Day.[41]

On May 8, 1969, Adamian was one of ten persons identified by the FBI as a prominent figure in the rally. In a report to the Bureau, the (unidentified) writer named the speakers at the rally and offered snippets of caricature, referring to "faculty screamers" and one professor known for his "pot-smoking antics." Typical of FBI reports at the time, the descriptions are thick with disparaging commentary. For example, a student's speech was described as being given "in his most gentle voice" and another speaker described as a man who "fancies himself the second Christ." Professor Adamian, however, did not seem to elicit the informant's attention; Adamian was noted simply as reading "pacifist poems" by Dylan Thomas and "some obscure Turk."[42] Of course, the FBI was not the only organization monitoring campus activity. Despite the peaceful nature of the rally, campus officials had been prepared for unrest. ROTC cadets appointed themselves to guard the campus through the night, but despite the volunteer effort, student activists managed to pour enough red dye into the campus lake to color it a bloody red.[43] It appeared that such theatrics were the extent of the activities that year, but the dyeing of Manzanita Lake was only part of the picture. Unidentified canisters of gasoline were discovered near the ROTC building and quietly removed by campus officials.[44] It is possible that the fuel was intended for arson (perhaps a thwarted attempt), or it was simply left to threaten the administration with radical activity—a rhetoric of confrontation, without the destruction. In any case, it prefigured the firebombing that would take place the following year.

Even though the HRAC faculty were publicly accused of communist insurgency, in the summer of 1969 president Miller supported the HRAC and established the Equal Opportunities Program (EOP) to make "resources and opportunities" available "to the culturally disadvantaged, in particular members of minority ethnic groups." And the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP), headed by a black undergraduate alumnus, was also established to oversee counseling, admissions, and promote a healthy campus atmosphere for minority students. Both EOPs ran into obstacles getting the funds and subsequently implementing changes.[45] However, the HRAC and EOPs did get the attention of state leaders and community politicians, who were now quite aware that the race-based conflicts sweeping the country were growing in Nevada.

Of course, the summer of 1969 also brought the first lunar landing and the Summer of Love, inspiring even more counter-culture traffic between Reno and San

Francisco and greater recognition of antiwar activity. During the June 1969 SDS convention in Chicago, the Maoist Progressive Labor caucus lost its footing to the Motherfuckers and various other factions that vied for control: black nationalists, feminists, and other factions like the Crazies and the Mad Dogs. Out of the chaos, a group called The Revolutionary Youth Movement emerged, breaking any ties with Progressive Labor party, but it, too, lost many of its members to the Weathermen Underground, a group of self-avowed revolutionaries who used terrorist tactics to achieve their aims.[46] According to Seymour Lipset, the fall of SDS demonstrated a "kind of Gresham's law of politics . . . in which the more aggressive constantly drive out the more moderate, which means that they also press the sympathetic periphery to withdraw from politics."[47] The Weathermen favored an all-out revolution and were sympathetic to the Black Panthers, who had grown to such prominence by June 1969 that J. Edgar Hoover called them the "greatest threat to internal security." For SDS there was not much love that summer, and not much left of the New Left.

As Nevada students returned to campus in September 1969, they were walking into one of the most turbulent academic years of the twentieth century. By then, antiwar sentiment and activism had surged. The number of students who identified themselves as doves was 69 percent, up from 35 percent 2 years earlier.[48] During the 1969–1970 state legislative sessions, 32 states would enact laws targeting campus activity.[49] By all accounts, the nation was growing weary of Nixon's continuation of the war, and moderates were moving to the left. Meanwhile, at the University of Nevada, students felt supported enough by their university to honor their president with a celebratory day in his name, "N. Edd Miller Day," with approximately 2,000 students showing their support. A history professor, James Hulse, wrote, "they cheered him as if he were an athletic hero after a spectacular achievement, gave him and his wife a luncheon, and presented them with cash for a weekend in San Francisco."[50] In the fall of 1969, the anomalous event was a point of pride to some, an embarrassment to others. As one faculty chronicler recalled,

> All of us were embarrassed with our friends across the country, when right in the middle of the antiwar movement the students threw an N. Edd day, "We Love N. Edd Miller Day." I remember thinking, "Jesus Christ! What are we going to tell our friends?" You know, they're out there rocking the foundations of academe, and the best we can do here is that the students are sucking up.[51]

Offering evidence that not all campuses were falling to the activists, the event was noticed across the country, prompting a congratulatory letter from Richard Nixon, who celebrated Miller's dedication and contribution to the university: "At a time when many university presidents are targets of protest and demonstrations, events at your campus show not only that you are an outstanding president, but that the students of the University of Nevada recognize your dedication and your contributions in their behalf."[52]

The political atmosphere for students and faculty at the University of Nevada would change over the next several months, registering the spread of the nationwide movement. Attention was soon turned to the real, pressing issues of the war in Indochina and the growing unrest about racial equality, domestic freedom, and the possibilities of domestic peace. In early October, the Weathermen sponsored their small and intentionally violent Days of Rage protest in Chicago—and would be responsible for more than 200 bombings in the months leading up to Kent State.[53] October also brought news that U.S. troops had massacred several hundred Vietnamese civilians at My Lai, accentuating the shifting attitude against the war. Accurate crowd figures for the October Moratorium are nearly impossible to assess, but several million demonstrators would participate. Then, the November Moratorium brought the largest antiwar crowds ever to assemble in Washington, DC, and San Francisco. The moratorium concept was, in some ways, a media victory for the antiwar movement, prompting Nixon to give his "silent majority" speech and then dedicate energies against the media, notably through Spiro Agnew's attack on the persuasive power of the major networks and the dangers of "instant analysis." Although the unique approach of the moratorium prompted record numbers of demonstrators, the monthly action failed to generate similarly large participation in December, and it could not generate similar turnouts in the months that followed.[54]

In October and November, Nevada activists planned their own marches through downtown Reno to coincide with each moratorium. One student recalled the "grim stares" of the locals who watched the march make its way through downtown Reno.[55] Student organizers had tapped into the Casino nightlife to ask comedian Pat Paulsen to join them in November, and he agreed, lending star power to the march and providing more media attention than would have otherwise occurred.[56] Like the Peace Rally in May, the moratorium marches brought together a few hundred demonstrators against the war, which if nothing else made activists aware of their own numbers. The November Mobe was also a success, in that it brought 800,000 demonstrators to Washington, DC, but it did little to move the federal government: the protest was ignored by Nixon, who chose a symbolic response by watching a football game on television.

By December 1969, the Nixon administration was going after draft resisters with a vengeance, prosecuting them at a rate 12 times higher than during Johnson's presidency.[57] Riding the wave of get-tough-on-protest positions that brought Ronald Reagan to power, Ohio Governor James Rhodes made a bid for the Republican U.S. Senate seat, flexing his political muscle by showing he could wield force on his state campuses. For example, after *three* black students staged a demonstration at the University of Akron, Rhodes sent in 700 National Guardsmen.[58] Before the fall semester ended, the University of Nevada finalized their scheduling arrangements with Governor Paul Laxalt that the university's next Governor's Day celebration would take place on May 5, 1970.[59] Six months later, Laxalt's support

of fellow-Governor Rhodes would play a key role in the decisions made on Governor's day.

* * *

Paul Adamian

During the fall semester in Nevada, when Hoover called the Black Panthers the nation's greatest threat, a junior faculty member named Paul Serop Adamian decided to teach a course in Black Literature.[60] Labeled a subversive and a communist, he was certainly an outspoken activist and a progressive teacher. An assistant professor of English, Adamian was beginning his fourth year teaching at Nevada and had just submitted his materials for tenure review. It would turn out to be his last year in the classroom. Adamian played such a central role in the public discourse about the university in 1970 that his background merits detailed attention here.[61] See photo 1.

Adamian grew up in Worcester, Massachusetts, graduating from high school in 1948. He grew up across town from another Worcester boy born in the 1930s who would also be an antiwar activist, Abbott "Abbie" Hoffman. Like many other kids growing up in the 1930s, they shared a community that embraced Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) and the government, and Adamian understood the struggles of other depression-era families trying to get by in the diverse city of Worcester. His family had emigrated in the wake of the 1915–1916 genocide that claimed the lives of more than 1.5 million Armenians. As he recalled, the slaughter of his people

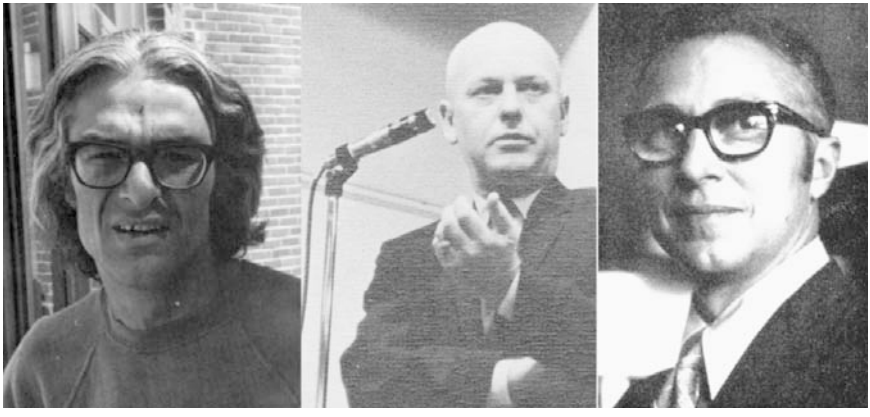

Photo 1 (*From left to right*) English professor Paul S. Adamian, president N. Edd Miller, Procter Hug Jr., Chairman of the Board of Regents.

Source: Artemesia, Associated Student of the University of Nevada

shaped his view of Vietnam:

> Growing up with that, I could see what it had done to them as people, how it had just taken the ground out from under their feet. They were totally lost, really like strangers in a strange land. These were people who had thriving lives back there. My own parents had a really quite nice, large farm. There was a large extended family living there, with grandparents and so on, and they were all killed.
>
> In later years as I was growing up and as I got older, I became aware of things like the Vietnam War. I could be watching television and I would see a Vietnamese woman, for example, with her dead baby in her arms, and they seemed to me to be people very much like my parents. Even the dress wasn't that different; they have a scarf over their head, long skirts. . . . And so I found myself *really* empathizing very, very much with the people. And the politics of all of this (of the necessity of it from a geopolitical view and so on) simply became irrelevant to me. To me, there was no justification of any kind for one group of people inflicting that kind of lifelong pain on another group of people. My reaction to it was really more emotional than rational. It was really a very emotionally upsetting thing for me to follow that on television . . .
>
> My own experience was that it isn't the sort of thing that ends with the people who immediately experience those events, but it goes on to their children. And I'm sure it's been a big part of my character in a sense.

For Adamian, then, the war was a personal matter, an issue that not only provoked ideological responses but more visceral and emotional responses.[62]

When Adamian was an adult, he studied literature at State Teachers College, which primarily trained public school teachers, but he found no interest in teaching locally, so he took a job with a newspaper and also joined the Army Reserves, training in northern New York near the Canadian border:

> Oh, to me it was just very sort of strange—kind of like a game. Here we were reserves. I mean, let's be serious: this is not marine boot training camp where it's the real stuff. This was the reserves. We were just a bunch of guys. A lot of us were probably trying to postpone getting drafted into the army by signing up with a reserve unit (and I think that gave you some deferment or something like that). And so, motives weren't all that gung ho and all that sort of thing.

His time in the reserves was uneventful, and the service was not all that demanding. Adamian then joined the Coast Guard in 1952, pre-empting his draft into the Korean War. The Coast Guard was a different organization, however, and Adamian quickly realized his disdain for military uniformity and institutional ideology:

> I didn't like it. I didn't like the message that we essentially got: that as individual people we were nothing and nobody and didn't mean a damn thing. . . . Our job was simply

> to follow orders and to do what they asked: you know, "You, yourself, are just a piece of shit." [laughter] I mean, it could be you; it could be somebody else; it wouldn't make any difference at all. If a dog could do what they wanted me to do, they would have a dog there instead of me or any other person. That didn't matter. All of that, anything that was sort of human, was totally irrelevant. It was the system that you were supposed to follow, and that you were supposed to function in, without any questioning or anything of that sort.

He hadn't entered the Coast Guard with gung-ho seriousness, so he created a compromise for himself during a large-group swearing-in ceremony: he chose to remain silent and not take the oath of service. After setting sail on his first outing, he challenged the legitimacy of his obligation by writing letters to commanding officers, claiming that he did not have to stay on the ship because he hadn't formally taken the oath. He received no response.

Before being assigned to longer tours at sea, Adamian requested a transfer to sonar school in Florida, and he was hospitalized following an auto accident en route to Miami. He was discharged in 1953 and returned to Teachers College to complete his undergraduate degree in English. He graduated in 1955 and spent the summer in Maine, where he met his future wife, Kristine. They returned to Boston and married, with Kristine working part-time and Paul working on a master's degree at Boston University, graduating in 1957. The newlyweds then moved to DeLand, Florida, where he took his first job at Stetson University, a Baptist school that "was just too conservative" for Adamian, who had by then set his sights on a PhD:

> [Stetson] wasn't really a comfortable place, in terms of the history of the movement towards integration in the country and so on, which, of course, had been going on for some time. No blacks, of course, on the faculty. No blacks as students. And there would be times during my classes when I felt that it was sort of unavoidable, or perfectly legitimate for me to bring this in, to raise this in talking about a subject or novel (or whatever it was that we were talking about). And I started getting complaints from the parents of some of the kids in the classes. . . . "What is it with this guy who's talking about blacks and integration and stuff in the classroom?"

Beyond the ideology of his course content, Adamian also found the campus hostile to his personal habits, from his cigarette smoking to home-brewing beer. Within a year, he and Kristine were making plans to move to southern California so he could work on his PhD at Claremont Graduate School in 1959, on a scholarship. Adamian discovered there that the satire, wit, and cynicism of eighteenth-century British literature suited his sensibilities.[63] After completing his course work, he began writing his dissertation and took a teaching position at Claremont's Harvey Mudd College, and soon became involved with the local chapter of CORE.

Paul's and Kristine's involvement in CORE began during the 1963–1964 school year, when a new chapter had started, comprised mostly of white Claremont citizens

who would meet at the Adamian's home. Increasingly aware of the problems across the country, the Adamians built alliances with ministers of black churches and other community leaders in Pomona, and began targeting local institutions for reform. In 1965, as part of a statewide CORE campaign, they demonstrated against the Bank of America because of their hiring and loan policies, and they also protested against the Pomona Board of Realtors' discriminatory practices. Out of these experiences, Paul learned that he was not cut out for cool-headed negotiations:

> I just didn't have the patience and whatever tact and whatever kind of skillful planning and thinking ahead it takes to deal with the kind of resistance that we were getting from these people. They would out-and-out lie to you if they felt they had to. At best they were very devious. You couldn't trust what they said. They would agree to one thing, and you would find out that they really weren't going to follow through with it at all . . .
>
> To me it was sort of like, [laughter] "You have to do this *now*! Let's stop fooling around. Let's stop bull-shitting. This is the way it's been. It really can't continue on being that way. You know, you've *got* to open yourself up to doing this, and open up this area and get yourself more involved in this area. It can't be business as usual anymore." I just wanted them to get on with it. And so, as a result, I really wasn't a very good negotiator . . . so I took myself off the negotiating group.

As his later experiences would reveal, Adamian wasn't motivated to lead or organize, but he was a promoter of ideas, a person who would speak the unspeakable—or at the least the unpopular. Characteristically, he involved himself in efforts to speak out against individual power in favor of collective processes, and remained a vigilant supporter of civil rights and cultural diversity.

Adamian's position at Harvey Mudd was a short-term contract, and after applying for jobs at various schools in the West, he eventually took a position at Southern Oregon University (SOU).[64] SOU was a small school with a provincial atmosphere, and Adamian was soon faced with the dilemma of signing a loyalty oath, which he had not been required to do at Stetson or Claremont. As he recalled, his negative reaction stemmed not from the oath itself (which he didn't support) but from the way the SOU administration handled the last-minute presentation of the oath. Adamian asked for some time to think about signing, and in the weeks that followed, he began to discuss faculty governance with his new colleagues, proposing different models of power sharing. As a result, Adamian was fired, and then with American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) support Adamian was reinstated, only to be fired again. But faculty sentiment began to shift, the president began to share some power and responsibilities on campus, and a legitimate faculty senate was formed.

Feeling like he had accomplished some minor gains, Adamian was ready to leave SOU. Harassment from locals, a strained marriage, and a newborn child prompted Adamian to apply for a position at the University of Nevada in 1966. Unlike at SOU,

the University of Nevada was clear about its oath requirements. The 1865 Nevada Constitution, after all, required that all Nevada teachers pledge an oath of allegiance to be considered for hiring.[65] Adamian's hiring was a straightforward process, and the loyalty oath at Nevada was a bitter pill for him and many of his colleagues.[66]Although his activism at SOU had tangible gains, the personal costs were far too great, so when Adamian was asked "up front" to sign a loyalty oath, he did.

For the Adamians, the move to Reno prompted expectations of a big city with a more cosmopolitan atmosphere than Ashland, but Paul soon found that it was not all that different. The police were "hassling anybody that looked like a hippie" and "kept sweeping them out as fast as they could, one way or another . . . in whatever way they had to do it." He recalled one incident in a club that characterized the environment for minorities in Reno:

> Most of the people that came in there were black, or Chinese from across the street [at the New China Club]. I was there a number of times when all of a sudden Reno policemen would come into the bar. There would be a couple of cops, and one of them would have this German shepherd on a leash, and the dog would go down a line of people at the bar, poking his nose into people and sniffing people and generally being obnoxious. And you know, everybody in the bar would just freeze and just let the cops run this routine. They would run this routine, and they would leave. And then I would hear all this talk about how they were constantly doing that.

Just as he had recognized the racial inequities in Pomona and Claremont, Adamian quickly realized that Nevada hadn't been dubbed the "Mississippi of the West" without reason. Despite such conditions, and unlike many of his colleagues, he changed his appearance. He no longer wore a suit and tie while teaching, and he let his close-cropped hair grow nearly to his shoulders, knowing that "growing your hair long would immediately categorize you, immediately put you in a position where you were in opposition; you became a foe of people who had other kinds of attitudes."

Of course, the Sierra Nevada served as a natural boundary between Nevada and all of the perceived "problems" in the Bay Area. The FSM and the outbursts of radicalism in California was recognized, but it was dismissed by many Nevadans as something peculiar to the state. As Adamian recalled, "there was always sort of this kind of vague tension on the Reno campus, an awareness of troubles in the air, but so far they had escaped, and so far they were OK, and so far all those animals were all on the other side of the mountain and were tearing the place up over there." Despite any misgivings, the Adamians viewed Reno as a place to settle down and raise their family (including a second daughter). With nearby Lake Tahoe and Pyramid Lake, mountains in all directions, and access to a variety of natural terrain, northern Nevada seemed like a place where they could be happy, even if the political climate didn't suit their tastes.

The FBI first opened a file on Adamian in October 1967 after a memo targeted him as one of several participants in Reno leg of the "Peace Torch Marathon," an

international event in August wherein an Olympic-style torch was lit in Hiroshima, Japan, then flown to San Francisco, making its way through Reno in early September, and arriving at the DC protests in late October. The FBI began background checks on more than 25 people named in the memo.[67] Adamian's background check was thorough, but the search revealed little, if anything, to indicate Adamian was a threat: he had run a stop sign in 1953, he was fined for catching a fish out of season in 1955, and his wife had filed notices of divorce.[68] A University of Nevada informant for the FBI later encouraged the Bureau to find something in Adamian's record to use against him, but the Portland offices could find "nothing unfavorable" about him.[69] Moreover, on several occasions, the FBI recommended closing Adamian's file.

Unaware that his extracurricular activities were under FBI investigation, Adamian still had his PhD to complete, however, and as it is for many doctoral students, the process was stressful and taxing. After teaching during the day, he spent his evenings writing and revising the dissertation in a basement office. The teaching obligations and the university's expectation of a completed PhD were justifiable commitments to keep any junior faculty member occupied, but Adamian strained his marriage by continuing his political battles:

> It was just sort of this running battle or sniping, and it even started getting involved with people outside of the academic community itself, with local politicians—having words with them that would get into the media, and being in a kind of continuous state of agitation. You know, things were kind of perking all the time, here and then there and then over there, and sort of never settled down.

It was an interesting time to be in academia, as opposition to the war increased across the country. Habituated by years of activism, Adamian continued his efforts to promote faculty empowerment and governance as well as antidiscrimination work through the HRAC. His efforts to unionize Nevada faculty, via the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), raised the greatest concerns among administrators, and even some of his colleagues. And, of course, his position at the top of Senator Slattery's list of communists was a dubious honor.

Like any junior faculty member, Adamian wanted to be a good teacher and have the acceptance of his peers, but the long haul of the academy was taking its toll, prompting him to consider taking a leave of absence or change careers altogether. Ultimately, the Adamians divorced in 1969, with Kristine taking the two girls with her to Berkeley, and eventually to Florida. Adamian chose to stay at the university. He was a well-liked teacher and had an amicable relationship with his colleagues. While he and some of his colleagues in the English department had mutually kept their distance, they granted him tenure.[70] For Adamian, the distinction of tenure was good for ensuring due process, but was of little political significance: "I thought of tenure as a sort of protection . . . but not at all in the sense that I could do things and they

couldn't touch me." Adamian considered the new department chair, Robert Harvey, an ally and would talk with him regularly.

By the spring of 1970, Adamian moved in with the university's only black faculty member, newly hired art professor Ben Hazard. As Adamian recalled, they were kindred spirits: "one of the things that sort of drew us together was that in a sense we were both sort of on the fringe, and both sort of lonely, in that sense, of not really feeling a connection with the rest of the academic community—that we sort of drifted together and ended up finding each other tolerable and interesting enough to live together." Fighting local discriminatory practices, Hazard had struggled for three months to find housing in Reno. And his situation was not an anomaly for a black American in Nevada. A 1963 report to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights determined that Nevada's housing policies were unduly biased, particularly at the university: it concluded that the "truth of the tyranny of discrimination is nowhere better illustrated."[71]

* * *

Spring 1970

Throughout most of the spring 1970 semester, student unrest at the University of Nevada was focused as much on the war as it was on minority issues, particularly legal proceedings against two outspoken black students. Rumors had been circulating that the Black Panthers and Brown Berets (a Mexican-American affiliate of the Panthers) had already arrived. The United Student Alliance (USA) was formed: a coalition of black and white Nevada students that would gain more vocal support from faculty. Relatively small in numbers, the USA was not an immediate threat to the relative stability of campus life, but with a more inclusive approach and increased faculty support, it was a larger and more complex group for the administration to contend with. Campus meetings were organized to discuss black-white relations, although often not satisfying USA members and their supporters who demanded institution-wide reforms. For many campus activists, the "proper channels" were seen as an ineffective system designed to appease students.

N. Edd Miller began his presidency in 1965, leaving a post at the University of Michigan as assistant vice president for Academic Affairs. Miller was no stranger to the delicate problems a university faced in managing racial issues. As he explained in his oral history,

> [Michigan] was the first major university to undertake a filial brother-sister relationship with black southern colleges. And I was the one at the University of Michigan that had established this contact with Tuskegee Institute (then, now Tuskegee University). And we were spending a lot of time and exchanging faculty and having the then-world-famous Tuskegee Choir come make an appearance in Ann Arbor, and all kinds of things.[72]

With "N. Edd Miller" day still in recent memory, and a relatively serene campus, Miller was not anticipating trouble, but the problems on campus over the next several months motivated students to make increasingly bolder political statements and act in ways that would eventually turn the state against the university.

At the University of Wisconsin in January 1970 antiwar groups firebombed two ROTC buildings and an Army training center.[73] In February 1970, more than 1,200 protestors at Michigan State University were tear-gassed and clubbed by local police, and the Buffalo campus of the State University of New York became a battleground for clashes between student demonstrators and police.[74] In March the outcome of the Chicago Seven trial led to street fighting and bank burnings, with widespread bombings of corporate offices, ROTC buildings, police stations, and draft offices. Such protests became more frequent as campus activists grew bolder. To counter this activity, Nixon advocated a new program to encourage everyday Americans to take a militant stand against war demonstrators.[75] For a growing segment of the population, then, the lines between "us" and "them" were becoming clearer, with help from the White House.

In some cases, the confrontations were symbolic acts designed to provoke authority into acting with repressive tactics, in effect pushing the police to violence that would radicalize moderates and bystanders. On the Nevada campus there were no riots, but inspired antiwar activists and frustrated black students began to push boundaries that quickly provoked a response. What they discovered, however, was that the university did not retaliate directly. Instead, when campus activity caught notice in the community, university authorities worked closely with the state government to take action and preempt escalation.

Until March, most of the 1970 disturbances at Nevada weren't worthy of mention. A food fight in January had prompted a confrontation between police and a black student named Dan McKinney, and the student council was ruffled by a debate over the funding of a Billy Preston concert to be held during Black Week, the first week in April.[76] On March 10, after weeks of preparing a dossier for the university, the office of the Nevada Attorney General moved decisively against one of Nevada's football players. Jesse Sattwhite was one of a small number of black students on campus, and he had established a reputation as a troublemaker with a quick temper.[77] Seven charges were brought against him for violating regulations of "mental abuse" and "conduct which adversely affects the student's suitability as a member of the University community." Four of the charges were for his actions during the 1969 spring semester, and one was from November 1968. Most of the charges against Sattwhite were for using "abusive language" and "threatening physical harm" to university employees. Only one charge was for assault and battery in April 1969, but strangely enough Sattwhite had already appeared in the Reno municipal court for the same charge.

That Sattwhite was brought up on charges dating back to November 1968 prompted some concern on campus that the university was trying to get rid of him.

Officials had not released the charges to the public, but an anonymous administrator revealed that the charges originated from State Attorney General Harvey Dickerson, who had been compiling a dossier on Sattwhite for over a month. The administrator who leaked the information was disenchanted, stating, "I don't like fabricating cases to get rid of people." Sattwhite was certainly outspoken, and some students and faculty considered him a nuisance, but from his perspective, and those of his peers, the charges against him were clearly prejudiced and political: as he told the local media, "Freedom of speech no longer exists here—for black or white."[78]

The Board of Regents held a special meeting and considered a proposal that they handle the case, but they opted instead to leave it to the Student Judicial Council, in case there was a need for an appeal. Sattwhite announced that he would have two men serve as counsel. One was Ben Hazard, the only black faculty member on campus. The other was Charles Springer, a local attorney who was a member of the ACLU.[79] News soon surfaced that the Attorney General's office had been trying to get a grand jury indictment against Sattwhite for six weeks but couldn't produce enough evidence for a warrant. In other words, Sattwhite's status as a student created town-gown legal hurdles: after civic statutes prevented action against Sattwhite, the Attorney General was pursuing the case through the university's system. But the state had not anticipated the student and faculty support for Sattwhite—especially from the people he had harassed.[80] Laurence Hyde, Jr., a judge who was also the dean of the university's Judicial College, was assigned as a presiding officer.

Dan McKinney summed up the actions against Sattwhite: "It's a case of we've got a nigger and we're going to stop the niggers from talking. Sattwhite is an example of what can happen when 'a nigger gets out of his place.' "[81] On March 19, charges against McKinney—for obstructing an officer during the January food fight—were dropped by the City of Reno on technical grounds: McKinney couldn't be tried in a municipal court for an offense on state property against state officers. McKinney suspected that some university officials were after him, and he learned that employees at the dining commons were threatened with firing if they testified on his behalf.[82] The day after the City of Reno dropped charges, the Sheriff of Washoe County was preparing a warrant to be served on the first day of spring break, apparently to lessen the impact of student reaction on campus. When he received a tip about the pending arrest, McKinney turned himself in. He said, "If any student tries to speak out on any flaws of this administration, it has the power to get rid of the student by any means possible. . . . If anyone expects to make it through this school, he should just keep his mouth shut and he'll go places."[83]

Protests against the war were gathering steam while the state pressed its case against Sattwhite and McKinney. One week earlier, roughly 400 people gathered to kick off Anti-Draft Week at the Manzanita Bowl, a small park-stadium at the south end of campus. Although four bands provided music for the crowds to enjoy, student voices reminded the concertgoers of the agenda ahead of them. One student, Dan Teglia, said, "We have sat-in and laid-down, we have marched in loud protest and we have marched in silent candlelight vigils. We have petitioned. We have sung. We have

stood in silence. . . . Has it done any good? Has the war ended? Have our friends stopped dying and being physically and mentally maimed?" SDS member David Slemmons addressed the crowd over the PA system, reminding the crowd of the sick society and the severity of the war:

> I say to you that as long as man kills his fellow man, fuck war. As long as blacks are denied their rights, as long as the Chicago Seven are imprisoned, as long as drug laws exist and youth that must kill or be imprisoned can't vote, fuck law and justice for there is no law and there is no justice. As long as there is overpopulation, pollution, war and disease, fuck man for man is truly fucked. The only way there will be peace is if we make it. The only way there will be freedom is if we make it. The winter of our discontent must be followed by the spring of action.

The tenor of the other speeches was similar, and the repeated obscenities were typical of closed-fist rhetoric.[84] In terms of rhetoric, Haig Bosmajian explains that obscenities are useful "if provocation is the effect which the dissenter wishes to achieve: and there are times when audiences need to be provoked, not necessarily to violence, but out of their indifference and lethargy. . . . When the dissenter turns to the use of obscenities, the meaning of his message may not be in the words but instead in his turning to them in the first place."[85] Slemmons clearly used obscenities to prompt a "spring of action," a theme that surfaced regularly in the weeks before Kent State.

In March 1970 it was clear to Nevada activists that there were hundreds of like-minded individuals who wanted to see changes in the nation's handling of the war. The efforts to sustain consciousness about the war and protest the draft continued throughout the week, drawing a small crowd at the library the following Wednesday, where Slemmons urged the crowd to "bring the revolution to Nevada" and suggested that merely speaking about the problems was not enough: "It seems to me the only time something is going to be done around here is when there is some action. Life is action." McKinney elaborated, urging students to avoid the draft in any way possible and also calling for action, not words:

> You're going to school to fight for the man. You're fight is not in Vietnam, but in the ghettos—Harlem, Watts. Are you fighting for yourself or for Uncle Sam and those 150 people who run the country? They capitalize on your soul, your blood, sweat, and tears. In order to make this country better, you've got to stay here and do something about it. Are you going to be a fool or a civilian? The peace march doesn't do any good. Students are all talk and no action. It's good for you people to get out and demonstrate, but now it's down to the wire.[86]

The same night, the Afro-Americans for Black Liberation (AABL) met to discuss the Sattwhite case. The AABL was an off-campus organization created for the Sattwhite case several weeks earlier, and Hazard announced that out-of-state AABL supporters

were coming to Reno just to support Sattwhite in his fight against the university.[87] In a similar effort to galvanize campus activists, the United Student Alliance (USA) formed, bringing together black and white student groups.

When news of the county charges against McKinney hit the school paper on March 31, Black Week was just about to begin, and Springer emplored the Student Judicial Council to drop charges against Sattwhite and opt for probation. The council voted unanimously to reject Springer's request. Springer responded by suggesting that the bizarre proceedings against Sattwhite could be motivated only by racism: "There has been talk of racial discrimination. Since no student disciplinary action has ever been handled in this manner at this university, or as far as I can determine, at any university, one may well wonder about this." To punctuate this, Springer asked why Dan Walsh, the second highest law enforcement official in the state, was sitting as prosecutor.[88] Springer also made a point of the adverse publicity Sattwhite had received, saying that because the downtown press did not cite the specific charges, describing them instead as being of "an extreme nature," the public was led to form a false impression that Sattwhite had committed serious criminal acts.[89] *Sagebrush* editor Mike Cuno summed up the situation: "The timing and the fact that the original idea to haul Sattwhite before a downtown court fell through because of weak evidence makes the case look like an attempt to teach campus blacks an object lesson."[90]

Dickerson and Walsh knew of the legal problems posed by student disruptions on campuses across the country, particularly at state universities, and they had been preparing legal action against student and faculty activists long before the Kent State shootings. Dickerson filed an opinion addressed to chancellor Neil D. Humphrey, regarding a student proposal called "The Student Bill of Rights."[91] Dickerson took exception to a statement in the proposal: "The professor in the classroom and in conference shall encourage free discussion, inquiry, and expression." Dickerson opined that "we, however, assume that freedom of expression and reasoned exception means reasonable legal means of expression and exception, and does not include expression or exception through civil disobedience." The document clearly reflected his familiarity with free speech and free expression cases on college campuses, specifically referring to *Goldberg v. Regents of the University of California*,[92] the Berkeley case in which "The students were not disciplined for protesting, but for doing so in a particular manner." The lesson for Nevada to learn from Berkeley was clear: students and faculty should be disciplined for any kind of protest, especially civil disobedience.

The charges against Sattwhite and McKinney generated an air of suspicion among activists that the state was preparing its legal precedents as precautionary measures in the event of future campus conflict. While the local and state police had clearly defined protocols for evidence and due process, the university's unique institutional dynamics offered a variety of problems and opportunities for state officials. For many observers, black militancy on college campuses—separate from, but related to the antiwar movement—often served as the catalyst for larger disruptions, so it was not out of the realm of possibility that the Attorney General was preemptively silencing

black students to prevent the escalation of campus unrest. After all, the idea that black activism could prompt widespread campus unrest was no anomaly. The 1969 incidents at Columbia and Cornell were just the first examples of a dynamic that recurred throughout the country. For example, in April 1970, Penn State University protest of over 5,000 students and faculty was the culmination of events started by 70 black students who took over a campus building in protest.[93]

At the University of Nevada, Black Week, with its theme of "Try and Understand," began the first week of April. Leonard Jeffries, the chairman of the Black Studies Department at San Jose State University, spoke out in support of educational programs like the fledgling EOP at Nevada.[94] Author and poet Johnnie Scott, who was featured in a TV documentary of 1965 Watts riots, came in from Stanford.[95] Dr. Harry Edwards, author of *Black Athlete Revolt*, came from UC Berkeley to speak before a crowd of hundreds at the gymnasium. Edwards, organizer of the Olympic Project for Human Rights, orchestrated the momentous protest during the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City when athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised their gloved fists in Black Power salutes. Edwards gave a public lecture at Nevada haranguing president Miller and urging students to fight for their demands. As one reporter commented, Edwards "pulled no punches."

Rhetorician Arthur Smith has identified the stages of an agitational rhetoric, similar to that used by Edwards, which serves first to vilify its opponent, then uses sarcasm and humor to show that the opponent is part of an ill-defined group that is the cause of all of the problems at hand. Finally, the rhetor seeks to legitimize his or her cause by making mythic appeals (to spiritualism or historical narratives) to justify the activism.[96] While the transcript of Edwards's speech is not available, it is possible to recreate a semblance of his speech through a composition of newspaper excerpts[97]:

> To the very extent you don't push to get minority group persons in the school, you're going to have problems. You'll pay the bill somewhere along the line. I'm impressed by the total lack of sensitivity to the nature of the times and of the problems on the part of the acme of the administrators on this campus. President Miller and the other administrators on this campus are a bunch of vegetating, middle-class dinosaurs.
>
> It's obvious to me that Miller has not only not looked into the possibility of getting more money for minority students, but he was not even concerned. He has the crust, the bald-faced audacity to tell black students there is no money to expand the minority student programs. There is money available—this is one thing I want to stress. There is money for skiing trips. I see new buildings on this campus and arches standing in open air covering nothing. I think it's a matter of priority. The university could get Economic Opportunity Grants to finance the programs. This should be the president's responsibility, but anytime you have a cracker sitting up in the president's office. . . . The students could look into the programs themselves. The students control the campus. Once he sees there is no alternative but to solve it, you'll see a tremendous amount of motion in that direction. If the administration

> won't do it, it is incumbent on the student. Begin to get together to solve these problems. . . . Something is wrong when 45 percent of the student union budget goes to athletics. More money should be given for academics than athletics.
>
> Get a program going at the University of Nevada that is calculated to save some people. If you cannot solve this problem, you may as well pack your shit and leave the planet earth. What you have here is a microcosm of what is splitting this country into fragments. Once you get organized, there is nothing the administration can do to stop you. Nothing is more exciting than getting the right thing done.
>
> You can run off to Reno, Nevada, but you can't hide there. Social Injustice has a way of following you. I wish I could tell you that the struggle to free both black and white from the shackles of oppression was bringing success. I wish that I could say that we can see some type of light at the end of the tunnel. But I can't. I bring you word of a movement that is in search of a new unification, a movement whose leaders are exiled, under house arrest, murdered, and assassinated. Degenerate Neanderthals are being put in positions of power. You would be insane not to see this.
>
> This struggle must result in rebellion and ultimately revolution in order that people can gain control. The rebellion must be brought into the classroom, or else the classroom will be brought into the street.

In this oration, Edwards's agitational rhetoric exemplifies Smith's scheme. First, the president and other administrators are clearly vilified as a callous and uncaring group that is the cause of all problems. Not only do they have a "total lack of sensitivity" but they are "not even concerned" and have not even "looked into the possibility" of change. With biting reference to the age and ethnicity of the elitist "acme of administrators," Edwards caricatures them as "vegetating, middle-class dinosaurs" led by the bald-headed Miller, a "cracker" with "crust" and "bald-faced audacity." The mythic appeals emerge from these descriptions, as Edwards invokes images of prehistoric extinction at hand, with the ultimatum to either fix the sick society of white dinosaurs or "pack your shit and leave the planet Earth." All in all, Edwards's agitation speech—and his very presence—was an incentive for action that electrified the campus.

Rumors had been circulating that not only the AABL but the Black Panthers were coming from Oakland to protest the Sattwhite case, planning "confrontations, riots, and violence." On April 3, an interview appeared in the *Sagebrush* with Frank Fortino, one of the ten national defense ministers of the Brown Berets.[98] Fortino spoke of their upcoming experiment with peaceful tactics, but warned, "We are going to try something new and if it doesn't work then we will go back to the Panther way." He explained that Berets would be registering at the university in June, and like so many of the public statements in the months of March and April, the rhetoric of action and confrontation dominated the discourse:

> Our idea is that Nevada is very, very conservative, not the students, but the state. Here in Nevada Mexicans are treated like dirt. Thousands of Mexicans work on ranches, are

> paid $1 an hour and live like animals. The only way to stop riots and end discrimination is to win over the youth [but] if it takes people to bear arms to get people to listen then we will do so. I don't agree with riots, but I believe in protection of the people. It's time the students quit speaking so much about what they want to do and start acting.[99]

In an example of confrontational rhetoric, the mere *threat* of mass demonstrations and riots is the aim of the message, rather than direct means of coercion. Such off-campus activism was focused on a planned demonstration at the local U.S. Census Bureau, one that turned violent when 60 demonstrators came into conflict with police.[100]

A few days after the incident at the U.S. Census Bureau, a follow-up meeting to Edwards's lecture was organized by faculty and on-campus clergy. Black students attacked the Economic Opportunity Program (EOP) directed by John West, a Black Student Union (BSU) founder. They claimed it had too many limitations because it could help only Nevada residents. The complaints included criticism of the EOP's private donations and federal funding, and the BSU wanted an increase in the black student population from 1.5 percent to 15 percent (or 900 students), more black faculty, a black counselor, a work-study program, and "the hiring of more minorities in other than menial positions."[101] The newly formed USA was a vocal force, and its founder, Dan McKinney claimed that the USA represented all of the students, whereas the student government, the Associated Students of the University of Nevada (ASUN), only represented a small number who voted in the previous election.[102]

The dynamics of this meeting were clearly prescribed to ensure a tightly controlled dialogue. The arrangement was probably Edd Miller's idea, considering his specialty in the rhetoric of group communication. Speakers who "had the floor" and were given a chance to speak had to sit in the center of concentric circles: a strata of students, administrators, and faculty. After a break for discussing the issue, participants signaled approval by waving a green card, whereas disapproval was signaled with a red card. It was precisely the sort of organized, systematic, and impersonal means of controlling discourse that many students and faculty found useless and demeaning. In other words, it was a traditional form of communication and expression, relying on the rhetoric of the open hand. One black student, Greg Barrett, raised the issue regarding the elementary card-waving system, stating, "I really don't understand what's going on in this meeting. . . . I don't think you can control people's emotions with red and green cards" (he received a response of laughter and green cards).

It is doubtful that the regulated forum was fruitful. As one reporter said, "what came out were a lot of gripes, defenses, and no solutions."[103] At the end of the meeting, USA members voiced their support for Miller and announced plans to send busloads of demonstrators to the next Board of Regents meeting, threatening "to show the Regents that we are serious." The USA might have learned the rhetorical strategies from the visiting Berets, or perhaps they simply fashioned their own rhetoric from observing similar speeches and statements. At any rate, the USA employed a rhetoric

of confrontation with the intent to threaten the regents with a massive demonstration. Paul Adamian had been working with others to see that the EOP initiatives would be honored, but he was one of the only faculty named as a bus-protest planner, a fact that was most likely noticed by the regents and the Attorney General's office.[104] The next day, 35 students entered Miller's office to protest the "secretive nature" of the university's handling of the Sattwhite case[105] Adamian had accompanied the group, and with his characteristic humor, waited until he was the last one out of Miller's office, then told him, "I wouldn't have your job for anything in the world."[106]

The flagging energies of the moratorium protests generated some new activity as planners organized a week-long protest in April, built around the fifteenth day when federal taxes were due. With less turnout than their predecessors, the demonstrations still brought out thousands to participate in San Francisco (20,000), Chicago (25,000), New York (40,000), and Boston (75,000). The attempt to rally crowds, however, was overshadowed by the gripping coverage of the Apollo 13 space mission. From April 11–17, millions of Americans were less interested in critiquing the government than watching to see if NASA would safely bring home its endangered astronauts. On April 16, the Student Judicial Council issued a penalty of disciplinary probation against Sattwhite, including a provision that benefited the university: "with the exception that he may participate in intercollegiate athletics." The trial was held in one spacious room, with closed circuit televisions providing coverage to large crowds of students in a remote location on campus.

Walsh made a case for Sattwhite's psychological instability, saying that he was a threat and that it was only a matter of time until he would "succumb to an uncontrolled rage and injure some innocent person." Springer, in refuting the case, grouped the seven charges into three issues: confrontations with secretaries; conflicts with administrators; and the assault and battery. First, he informed the audience that Sattwhite had already apologized for mistreating the secretaries. Second, Springer called for the assault charge to be dismissed because the Reno Municipal Court had already decided in Sattwhite's favor (the council was ready to decline Springer's dismissal, but it had no other choice when the victim did not show as a witness). Finally, after detailing incidents with the administrators wherein Sattwhite had become abusive, alleged victims were brought in as character witnesses. A former student-body president said that they had had threatened each other, but had gotten past it. A philosophy professor said that Sattwhite "does shock people, but does awaken them." When cross-examined by Walsh, who needled him about the meaning of "disrupt," the professor kept giving the same answer: "Yes, he was disruptive, he woke people up." Finally, political science professor Joseph Crowley came to his defense: "In a sense Jesse was disruptive, not that he threatened, not that he was violent, but that he made people think about things that they would rather not."[107] All in all, the hearing demonstrated for Sattwhite what the civic courts had already determined about McKinney: there wasn't enough evidence to justify a case. Moreover, it suggested that town-gown distinctions were intact, and the faculty would defend their students from off-campus attacks.

Whatever the motives were behind the prosecution of Sattwhite and McKinney, the overall result was a polarizing of the campus. Conservative students circulated a petition that read, "We believe a great error was committed by the University of Nevada Judicial Council in pardoning University of Nevada student Jesse Sattwhite. We believe that this student, without any racial prejudice involved, should be expelled from the University of Nevada, Reno, Immediately." Using the language reserved for the already-convicted ("pardoned"), the petition demanded immediate action, regardless of due process. Thus, tolerance for discussion and working within the system was waning for both political extremes. As sociology professor James T. Richardson recalled in his oral history, the administration's actions were bound to provoke a response from the campus community: "The way the administration and regents [had reacted . . .] led me to actually make a prediction that we would see some sort of demonstration on our campus before the term was up this spring."[108]

The week after Sattwhite's hearing, Nixon issued an executive order eliminating draft deferments for fathers and, in a move that startled campuses from coast to coast, indicated his wish to eliminate student and occupational deferments.[109] In Nevada, president Miller made a "State of the University" address to an audience of 1,000, committing himself to improving the university's involvement in the EOPs and increasing student and faculty participation in decision-making. Savvy to the growing rhetoric of action on his campus, Miller warned students away from making demands for instant results.[110] After Miller's speech, USA leaders held a follow-up discussion and voiced their support for Miller, which may have actually worked against him, as some observers were bound to perceive the event as Miller's concession to student demands—precisely the so-called mistake made by Berkeley administrators.

Even though the students were supporting Miller, some faculty were outspoken in their distrust of the university's efforts. Adamian took particular aim at Miller, echoing some of the points raised by Harry Edwards:

> Miller didn't say anything today. All we have is a bunch of vague, general commitments and nothing specific. The administration is hired to solve these problems themselves. That's what they're paid for. They shouldn't be telling us we have to cooperate to do this, it's their job. If you let them get away with it, all of this is going to die. There is nothing here at all. I think it was deliberately planned that way. If the administration can't do it, what do we need them for? What are they here for?[111]

Adamian was not simply being cynical or pandering to student interests. He knew of the administration's strategy of postponement.[112] In response to the BSU's demands, a dean had told Adamian: "Well, you know, the fastest way to kill any kind of initiative or any kind of momentum is to form a committee to study the problem." To undermine the administration's postponement strategy, Adamian took it upon himself to collect information from other universities about their ethnic studies programs. He then wrote the proposal for the university's ethnic studies program, which was

accepted and went into effect the following fall. (Adamian later learned that BSU students were upset that they weren't consulted.[113])

Although Sattwhite's probation was a victory of sorts, it didn't resolve the fundamental problems of defining rights and protocols affecting the campus. On April 25, president-elect Frankie Sue Del Papa sent a memo to the Attorney General's office, asking Dickerson to send information

> regarding the jurisdiction and authority of the Attorney General and his staff. What we would like from you, as soon as possible, is any literature, any information you have that you could send us, accompanied by a letter from you explaining your interpretation of your powers. More importantly, we would like you to explain the authority you have to prosecute students such as Jesse Sattwhite. If you have such powers, we would like to know what they are, just so students can at least understand what has been going on.

Dickerson promptly replied, deflecting the request for information by referring Del Papa to the state legal statutes. He explained, "this office has the right, when requested by University officials, to hold hearings which will be conducive to maintaining law and order on campus." Moreover, as Dickerson explained, Sattwhite "terrorized" students and faculty and "unless some steps were taken to bring his activities to a halt that there might be serious confrontations not only between students but between students and faculty; a situation which has never occurred during the history of our University." The Attorney General's response revealed that the state was indeed taking a pre-emptive approach to quell campus unrest.

A national report was released that same week indicating that "a majority of campuses have experienced incidents but 'the extent of disruption tends to be exaggerated.' " The report was generated by the American Council on Education, criticizing "political exploitation of campus problems of some public figures" and arguing that "repressive and provocative pronouncements by those in authority may have the same inflammatory effect that extremist rhetoric has on the campus." The report concluded, "Professors who espouse unpopular views must be free from reprisal."[114] Such sentiments would likely not be popular among the administration at the University of Nevada, and probably not in the Attorney General's office, where the mere *possibility* of campus unrest was enough to prompt disciplinary action. In effect, the state was lowering its threshold of tolerance for symbolic action, treating the threat of action like the action itself. Put another way, the State of Nevada was becoming as rhetorically sophisticated as the activists.[115]

A few days after the weak moratorium turnout, Nixon felt that the conditions were right for authorizing the military's "incursion" into Cambodia.[116] This prompted mass conflicts in Ohio, with clashes at Ohio State and rioting in Columbus. Governor Rhodes once again called in national guardsmen armed with fixed bayonets and tear gas. Over 50 persons were injured, including 28 policemen. Headlines across the country

spread news of Nixon's invasion of Cambodia, which sent the stock market into a tailspin. While other campuses were staging mass protests, however, the University of Nevada campus celebrated its annual Mackay Drunk. As chroniclers describe it, Mackay Day was "the last big blowout before everybody went into finals."[117] There was a Wild West atmosphere on campus, complete with a rodeo, the crowning of a Mackay Day queen, and hours of heavy drinking. Like other such spring rites, Mackay Week served to release pent-up energies before the stresses of finals week began. However, with the unrest across the country, there would be no respite.

When Nixon had announced the Cambodian invasion on Wednesday, April 29, groups of students across the country began planning their responses. In preparing his announcement, Nixon knew that it would set off protests. He told a secretary, "It's possible that the campuses are really going to blow up after this speech."[118] Nixon declared May 1 as Law Day, trying to inspire the forces that would have to fight the campus explosions. He also asserted that it was "not an invasion" of Cambodia.[119] The May Day protests in New Haven brought 15,000 to demonstrate against a Blank Panther trial, and 4,000 federal troops were mobilized in case of violence. Nevada newspapers carried stories of protests across the country, including the firebombing of the ROTC armory at Oregon State and at Kent State. The Ohio State riots continued, with Governor Rhodes calling in 1,200 troops to quell the uprising. Rhodes warned Ohioans that it was "the strongest, well-trained, militant revolutionary group that has ever assembled in America," threatening protestors that they would soon be outnumbered 10 to 1, adding his assertion of control over his campuses: "we have all the troops we need."[120] By the end of the day, the stock market recovered with one of its biggest gains of the year.

On the morning of Monday, May 4, the Pentagon had announced new Cambodian offensives, the U.S.S.R. issued a warning to the United States about its actions in Indochina, and campus strikes were held across the country. As if to underscore the misguided mission of the U.S. military on this day, the Pulitzer Prize was awarded to Seymour M. Hersh for exposing the My Lai massacre. But none of the news could compete with a story out of Kent, Ohio. A few days before, rumors at Kent State University (KSU) were circulating that SDS demonstrations were imminent, as well as the possible contamination of the water supply with the drug LSD. The mayor of Kent ordered an 8:00 p.m. citywide curfew, but allowed an 11:00 p.m. curfew for the campus.[121] On Monday, roughly 800 National Guardsmen with bayonets and tear gas moved in to break up a crowd of 400–500 rock-throwing protestors. Four students were killed and eleven were wounded. Rhodes had previously called out the Ohio National Guard more than 40 times before sending troops to Kent, but did not consult KSU's president Robert I. White before sending in the Guard.[122] The details and conditions surrounding the shootings are too numerous to rehearse here, but two scholars describe the event succinctly:

> at about noon, guardsmen confronted a small band of jeering, rock-throwing students as a larger group, gathering for an antiwar rally, looked on peacefully. The troops

> began retreating up a hill and then, without warning or apparent specific provocation (and probably without orders), turned and began firing. The volley of M-1 rifle rounds lasted an awful thirteen seconds. Four students were killed. Nine were wounded, two very seriously.[123]

Over 4 million students on 1,350 campuses demonstrated against the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State shootings.[124] The two events became intertwined, setting off the largest long-term strike in U.S. history, one that mobilized roughly one-half of the undergraduate population.[125] Countless faculty participated in these protests, but only a select few—depending on local conditions—faced repercussions for their actions. For example, scientist Eileen van Tassel was fired for her role in the turbulent strikes at Michigan State University, but she successfully sued the university to regain her position.[126] Paul Adamian, on the other hand, was fired for participating in a mild and nonviolent demonstration. In the following chapters, I will cover in more detail the circumstances leading to Adamian's firing, but some parallels between the University of Nevada and other campuses bear some consideration here.

In his analysis of seven state universities in Illinois and their handling of campus unrest after Kent State, Brian Clardy found two factors that determined whether a campus would erupt into violence: "university complicity in the war effort" via war-related research or ROTC programs, and "the determined efforts of university administrators, faculty, staff and students to prevent the violence from occurring." Moreover, he discovered a "state sponsored fiscal backlash" against the universities for hosting such protests. In July 1970, an Illinois legislative committee was formed to investigate the campus protests. However, the committee assumed that communists were to blame for the campus protests.[127] Clardy's study suggests that violence on Illinois campuses emerged *only* when campus officials did not work diligently to prevent violence. The Illinois study also affirms the tendency of state legislatures to punish universities for protest activity, and a persistent habit of falling back on the threat of communism as a leverage point to implement policy. Both tendencies were prevalent in Nevada.

With a few thousand students more than the University of Nevada, Iowa State University (a Land Grant university) also provides a compelling comparison. At ISU, nonviolent protests led to the first-time incidents of student arrests for protest activity. Following Nixon's Cambodian announcement, some 400 ISU protestors staged a march through town. On Wednesday, May 6, more than 3,000 ISU protestors gathered for a peace rally, then marched across campus to disrupt an ROTC drill. Similar to events at Nevada, ISU demonstrators interrupted the drill practice with sit-down protests and verbal challenges, but the confrontation was nonviolent and otherwise without incident, so the university did not take disciplinary action against students or faculty. On May 22, the local city hall was bombed with dynamite, but no arrests were made. As one historian surmised, "there was little suggestion that local anti-war protestors were responsible for the destruction."[128]

The parallels between the two Land Grant colleges are provocative. While violent and destructive protests erupted across the country, both the University of Nevada and Iowa State University held peaceful protests that disrupted ROTC activities, but only Nevada took disciplinary action—against one person. Unlike Nevada's decision to proceed with its Governor's Day ROTC plans, ISU officials decided to cancel their Governor's Day celebrations. Stranger yet, property destruction afflicted both locales, leading to no arrests but prompting identical claims that "outsiders" were responsible. Perhaps, as the Illinois study suggests, violence was prevented on both campuses because faculty and administrators worked to prevent it. At Nevada, this was certainly the case. Why Nevada insisted on holding an ROTC celebration on campus, and why its regents targeted 1 person out of more than 300 demonstrators will be discussed in the second half of this book. Rather than compare the two campuses (a worthwhile study in itself), I focus the remaining chapters on Nevada's Governor's Day in an effort to document the protest and the reactions it unleashed. The community response, after all, was fueled by a discourse that perpetuated clichés about campus activism, giving rise to a reactionary rhetoric that radically altered the course of higher education in Nevada.

FOUR

Rude and Raucous Catcalls: Governor's Day

> [I]f action is to be our key term, then drama is the culminative form of action. But if drama, then conflict. And if conflict, then victimage. Dramatism is always at the edge of this vexing problem, that comes to a culmination in tragedy.
>
> —Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action*

The U.S. invasion of Cambodia on April 30 led to violent protests and strikes across the country, and as historian Tom Wells has it, the month of May "witnessed the greatest display of campus discontent in American history."[1] By Monday, May 4, strike planning was underway across the state of California, with demonstrations at Sacramento State, Sacramento City College, San Francisco State, UC Riverside, USC, and others. Molotov cocktails had been thrown into an ROTC building at UC Davis (the first violence there), and 400 protestors were preparing for an afternoon rally. Before the day had ended, more than 1,000 Berkeley protestors had set trash fires, shattered windows, and burnt a military truck. To the north of Nevada, even small cities like Lewiston, Idaho, saw violence when 25 National Guard trucks were set on fire.

While the country witnessed the initial waves of violence, Nevadans were warned that a protest was imminent at the University of Nevada. Student Brooke Piper appeared on local television Sunday night, stating that a demonstration on Tuesday was not going to be a separate event; instead, he announced that the crowd was going to march up to the stadium.[2] Early on Monday, May 4, the *Sagebrush* announced the protest, noting the 30 strike signs placed around campus and quoting student body president Frankie Sue Del Papa: "I hope striking students don't disrupt other students during the ceremony." Furthermore, a reporter noted that protest

B.E. Lucas, *Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War*

organizers were considering a plan "to leave the rally area and march to Mackay Stadium for the Governor's Day ceremonies."[3] Even the city paper, the *Reno Evening Gazette* showed a front-page photo of two freshman painting signs for the Tuesday protest. From all public accounts, a protest was looming, and there was ample evidence that demonstrators might disrupt the ROTC celebration. Yet, despite the accounts proclaiming a disruption of Governor's Day, several participants and observers would later state that the protest was intended to be a separate event and claim that the decision to disturb the ceremony was "spontaneous." A flyer circulated on campus, providing the day's agenda of a march to the stadium,[4] and the front page of the *Sagebrush* unambiguously declared that the ROTC celebration and the Peace Rally would culminate in a march to the stadium: "Unlike last year's Governor's Day Peace Rally, the two events will not be completely separated. Representatives of the anti-war group said they had received permission to participate in the ceremonies held in Mackay Stadium."[5] To anyone who might have had concerns—and the administration was undoubtedly watching the campus closely—it was clear that the rally would become a march, and the protest could become a disruption. Such evidence, however, would be overlooked in the days that followed, as the intended march to the stadium was misconstrued as a mass action instigated by radical faculty.

To perhaps state the obvious, when history presents itself only through newspapers and letters, we are left with a fragmented and partial perspective. Through oral histories, we can expose a different story. Rather than a faculty-inspired protest, Governor's Day was a mismanaged student affair in which faculty tried to prevent violence. For example, one lengthy letter to president Miller documents sociologist James T. Richardson's narrative of this week in May, noting that students had decided to disrupt the ceremonies and faculty had tried to dissuade them.[6] However, without oral history records from 1970, this letter would provide the only details about the Monday night planning meeting at the Hobbit Hole: there's no mention of Paul Adamian, Ben Hazard, Fred Maher, or any of the other "radical" faculty alleged to be provocateurs. In his oral history, Hazard regretted missing this meeting because he could have shared his wisdom about protest planning:

> So, I did not go and help them organize a peaceful demonstration consisting of monitors, which help keep the ranks and act like a police force of the demonstration. I didn't seek out legal aid, to make sure there were some attorneys there to protect the students on a legal basis, or make sure there were medics there to make sure that if anything did break out that medical attention could be provided on the spot.[7]

Adamian, however, was present at this meeting, but he claims that he was largely uninvolved, recalling only the bad feelings and despondent people.[8] However, oral histories three decades later provided details that were not disclosed in 1970. John Doherty, an undergraduate who lived in the Hobbit Hole, recalled that Adamian was

appointed as a monitor early on:

> And how naïve we were, in thinking that [laughter] it could be held together, but we were actually organized to the point where we had some people who were supposed to watch out for people who were doing stuff and keep things moving along. And Paul was one of those. His job was, you know, to keep people from doing things, keep them moving.[9]

Sociologist David Harvey was also at the Hobbit, and he recalled that faculty monitors had been authorized by president Miller months before Governor's Day.[10] He also recalled a specific moment when Adamian warned the student group against losing control of the protest:

> I remember Paul getting up, showing the *Chronicle* or the *Examiner* and opening it to full length, and there was the [Kent State] iconographic fold-up of [Mary Ann Vecchio] on one knee with her hands spread. And Paul was saying, "This can happen here. So the thing is if this is the type of stuff you want, then you better leave, because this is what we have to avoid. We're just going to have to be very cool."[11]

Both print evidence and oral testimony raise questions about faculty and student roles. As the story of Governor's Day would later be told, Adamian encouraged a blockade of military vehicles and led students in "raucous and rude catcalls" that disrupted the ROTC ceremony. The letter and oral histories reveal consistent accounts that the students *were* planning to disrupt the ceremonies and faculty *were* trying to monitor the volatile situation, but this is not how the Governor's Day protest was historicized.

In the remainder of this chapter, I set out to reconstruct the few hours on Tuesday May 5, that became known simply as Governor's Day. I highlight the contributions of oral history chronicles in light of other historical artifacts that were generated close to the protest: the primary sources are newspaper accounts, a few letters, a hearing transcript, and over 50 oral history interviews conducted in the summer of 1970.[12] As previously discussed (chapter one), Mary Ellen Glass and her colleagues were "seeking views, opinions, observations" but not "accounts of the event . . . nothing to indicate evidence" yet the informative details are present throughout the interviews.[13] Because the oral histories were not made available to anyone until the 1990s, they did not shape the emerging accounts of Governor's Day. Were they made public, or even accessible for legal investigations, it is possible that the representations might have turned out quite differently—for better or for worse. At any rate, they provide a unique wealth of evidence, in that the accounts reflect the discourse about the protest during the summer of 1970, but they were not circulated as evidence or distributed in any way. Moreover, they serve as a reminder that oral history generates a wealth of information that surpasses interviewer intentions.

The cross-section of the 1970 interviews comprise a collective vision of the protest, providing support for the accuracy of news media and serving as a testament to the need for immediate, extensive interviewing following significant events.[14] The oral histories clearly situate Adamian as one of many significant persons involved in the protest, identifying him as someone who fully supported the demonstration, but was also crucial for sustaining its peaceful, non-violent progress. The interviews also show that the student activists were much more responsible for the demonstration than they were credited. Ultimately, I contend that the administration chose to—or at the very least failed to—recognize the student role in the protest, which prompted further escalation from the campus radicals in the days that followed. Further, to deflect attention from their own complicity in the demonstration's mismanagement, the regents and other public officials distorted the faculty's involvement, generating and directing the public's desire to castigate "adult" leadership for neglecting in loco parentis responsibilities and leading the campus "children" astray.

* * *

"No Way" and "Fiery Rhetoric": Rallying the Troops

At 8:30 a.m. on Tuesday, May 5, 1970, the Atomic Energy Commission detonated an underground 20 kiloton nuclear blast at the Nevada Test Site near Las Vegas. It was the seventeenth test of the year.[15]

At the northern end of the state, Governor Paul Laxalt was on his way to a morning coffee that began a day in his honor. The day's events had been scheduled six months earlier to accommodate the Governor's plans, and ROTC had been planning the celebration for a month, including secret "contingency plans" in the event of a disruption.[16] Such plans were developed because student activists were vocal about their intent to disrupt the stadium ceremonies. The activists understood that counteraction was possible, that a clash with police could result in violence. Piper recalled,

> I wanted to just stop the thing before it happened. You know, we talked to the administration and said, "Isn't there some other way we can salute the Governor coming on campus?" The answer was no, because it was all set up and everything. And *I wanted to close it down right when it was going on—disrupt the whole thing.*
>
> *But because of the police situation, and because we talked to a few other people, we decided that somebody might get hurt.* Due to the numbers of police that were surrounding the place, and due to the Reno police not ever really being in any kind of college campus disorder, or any real riot of any kind, a group of us decided that they might blow it with their guns and everything. We just felt like if we really did this

> rough that the guns might come out and be fired, *so we decided not to completely disrupt it.*[17]

By voicing requests for change and openly discussing their plans for disruption, the protest organizers raised a subtle rhetoric of confrontation, a strategy that simply threatened a mass action. As English professor Robert Harvey recalled, even Adamian was unabashed about the plans:

> On Tuesday morning, I came over to the campus as usual—about nine o'clock—and saw Paul Adamian wearing a striped arm band and sitting out on the terrace of the union having a cup of coffee. *He said, "We're going to go up and bust up that Governor's Day thing."*
>
> I said it seemed to me that it would be more useful to have a counter-demonstration such as they had had the year before, which I thought was kind of fairly successful . . .
>
> He said, "Well, *that's not enough. We're going to go up and bust up the thing*."[18]

Harvey's oral history in June 1970 provides a compelling comparison with testimony he gave at Adamian's hearing a few months later. Harvey's two accounts are remarkably similar, but for the hearing, there was a striking equivocation: rather than disclosing Adamian's plans to "bust up" the ceremony, Harvey simply said, "We discussed the irony of circumstances which displeased us both. And *he indicated that he wished to go with people who were going to make a demonstration at the stadium*."[19] The significant change is useful for considering the rhetorical choices made in chronicler accounts. In this case, the oral history was conducted while Adamian was under investigation, but it was not then clear that Adamian was in danger of losing his job. Harvey did not see the need to self-censor during the summer months of the interviews, but the later change in his account suggests that he and other chroniclers might have selectively edited their narratives—consciously or otherwise—when the campus was more politicized in the fall.

After his conversation with Adamian, Harvey decided to talk to the university administrators, hoping that they might make some accommodations for the brewing unrest on campus. Classes between 10:00 a.m. and 12:00 noon had been canceled for Governor's Day, and the morning reception hosted local dignitaries, ROTC instructors and professors, and area high school students receiving four-year Army scholarships.[20] After the stadium ceremonies, the group would then retire to the Elk's Club for a luncheon with other local notables. It was to be an afternoon of palm pressing, donations to the university, and celebrations of the state.[21] However cheery the atmosphere might have been that morning, the campus was not at ease. To walk into the reception building, Governor Laxalt and his entourage had to walk under a painted bedsheet that read "Stop U.S. Butchery," and someone called in a bogus bomb threat after he arrived.[22] As Harvey recalled in his oral history, the morning

reception was "like some nineteenth-century military tea," when he first addressed president Miller, Procter Hug, Jr., and Governor Laxalt:

> I rather abruptly interrupted them and stated my grievance and asked them if they would respond to this situation. I then added that there were several hundred students who were very excited and who seemed to be interested in demonstrating, and that they were planning to march to the stadium, and that one way to handle that would be, perhaps, to say something about Kent State.
>
> I said, "Don't you feel, gentlemen, uncomfortable in this room? I feel very uncomfortable in this room on this day. Here we are very concerned about peace, very concerned about the military, and very concerned about repression in this country—and here we are standing around with cups of coffee and tea in our hands, talking to people in uniform. At this point, someone came up to President Miller, and he turned away without responding to me.
>
> Procter Hug (whom I've met many times, and he knows who I am, as of course the president does) turned to me and said, "What do you mean? What do you want me to do? What is this all about?" I tried to explain to him what it was all about, repeating what I've just said. He said he was most fascinated, most interested and curious, and very honest with me. It was clear to me that he was aware that I really did have something on my mind, but he didn't know what to do about it.
>
> So, as he hesitated, I then said, "Is the Governor in the room?"
>
> He said, "Yes, he's over there."
>
> I said, "I've never met him."
>
> I waited for a moment, and Mr. Hug made no move, and so I said, "I'm going to go over and talk to the governor." So, I went over and introduced myself to the governor, who was talking to Frankie Sue Del Papa, and told him who I was. I said, "This is going to sound a little strange, perhaps. You don't know me. But there are two-hundred-fifty, three-hundred students who are interested in demonstrating against the Cambodian decision and against the massacre at Kent State.
>
> And although it's not my part to tell you how to respond to historical events, Mr. Laxalt, if I may suggest, *I think it would be an extremely useful thing if you would add a couple of remarks to your speech this morning, acknowledging the kind of emotion that some people are undergoing with respect to the Kent massacre and the Cambodian decision, particularly, on a day honoring the military*.
>
> He said, "I'm not making a speech."
>
> I said, "Well, then, make a speech."
>
> He then looked at me very closely, put his hands up in front of his body, waved them back and forth, and said, "*No way. No way. My friend Governor Rhodes in Ohio is running for the Senate nomination today*[23]*, and I'm not going to embarrass him in any way. I don't want any story going out on the national wire from Nevada that would embarrass him*."

> I said, "I'm disappointed, Governor. I can understand why you might not respond to me, but I think you're making a mistake." He smiled and I smiled. And I left.[24]

While one person's testimony should always be held up to close scrutiny, Harvey recalled the exact same exchange during Adamian's hearing, and the anecdote provides one possible explanation for the position held by the Governor's Day planners. Even if they wanted to accede to activist demands, the highest ranking official in the state (like Ohio's Governor Rhodes) had taken an unyielding position against antiwar protestors.

While Harvey was finding resistance from Laxalt, the crowd at the Manzanita Bowl was thickening and was visibly unorganized. The audience grew restless while rally organizers searched for a megaphone.[25] There was no obvious leadership, and according to the print evidence, the crowd generated its direction prompted by speeches delivered by (unknown) student orators. In a letter to Miller, history professor James Hulse wrote, "the frightening thing was that it soon became clear that there was no pre-arranged plan and, as far as I knew, no understanding of what was to be done. . . . *In a few minutes, because of some wild rhetoric, the crowd was moving toward the stadium with conflicting suggestions and ideas*.[26] According to Hulse, the crowd simply made a hasty decision when some rhetors inspired this leaderless mob to move. In Richardson's letter to Miller, there's a slightly different representation, identifying a student who pointed the demonstrators toward the motorcade: "*A student gave a firey speech* concerning the fact that the parade cars were parked on the student's sidewalk in front of the Union. . . . *Immediately, the students left for this area*."[27] Even though the campus had been informed that the rally would turn into a march to the stadium, the letters attempted to shape the official narrative: the decision to leave the Bowl was an unplanned, spontaneous action prompted by a few speakers. By not citing the names of the rhetors, Hulse and Richardson may have been attempting to protect the small group of speakers, but their accounts were not inaccurate—just unspecific. (The absence of detail, in the end, may have made it easier for the regents to pursue Adamian alone and not have to include student activists in disciplinary proceedings.)

For the observers who were simply uninformed about protest plans, the crowd appeared to spontaneously transform into a march. Some of the chroniclers affirmed this misperception[28], but others clarified the crowd dynamic and Adamian's role in encouraging the march out of the Bowl. It appears that only a portion of the audience heard the call for movement, and the rest simply followed the moving bodies. As one university administrator recalled, "The peace gathering group seemed to be totally disorganized and without any plan as to what they were going to do. But when they saw all the military cars come up in the Center Street driveway past the bowl and then park on the sidewalk, *from what others have told me, somebody finally suggested they all march to the stadium*, and really without a plan at that point."[29] The rally was disorganized but its ultimate goal was to march to disrupt Governor's Day. Some chroniclers

explained how it was stimulated with the rhetoric of action that had been circulating on campus for weeks. Harvey was one of the few chroniclers who identified Adamian's role in the decision:

> Several students said, "Let's pick it up and go up to the stadium," and several questions were raised. "What shall we do when we get to the stadium? Shall we pick up a stone?" And there was a chorus of no's. They should not pick up a stone. *Two or three students, and also Professor Adamian, said, "We have talked about it enough. Let's go." And suddenly, people started moving.*
>
> Hulse looked at me and said, "I think we ought to say something."
>
> I got up and said, "Do you really want to disrupt this service, this ceremony, or do you want to counter-demonstrate down here?" There were several voices on both sides, but the crowd by this time was moving, so we followed the crowd.[30]

So, according to Harvey and the other chroniclers who supported Adamian (and the demonstration), the movement was not spontaneous, and it was instigated by Adamian and a few students. Thirty years later, even Richardson would confirm that Adamian incited the crowd: "I thought Paul did a silly thing when he stood up and urged people to go up and disrupt the Governor's Day. . . . Everybody there was trying to keep things calm, trying to deal with the fact that an extremely stupid decision had been made [by the university] to go forward with the Governor's Day activity."[31] Thus, the evidence suggests that the general perceptions of a disorganized rally were accurate, but Adamian was a key figure in encouraging the crowd to march, as the student activists had planned. For Adamian and a few students, there had been "enough talk" and a need for action. This was Adamian's only moment of overt leadership and he was not acting alone. It is also more likely that the student protestors would have continued with their plans had he not spoken. After all, half of the nation's students were protesting.

During Adamian's hearing months later, witnesses gave conflicting accounts of his contribution to the "fiery rhetoric." One student testified that Adamian simply raised the question, "Are we going to disrupt Governor's Day or are we going to stop it?"[32] Another said that Adamian aimed to prevent conflict, emploring the crowd "not to conduct activities which would be such as to provoke the kind of incident that occurred at Kent State."[33] Speaking in his own defense, Adamian said that he was asked to get a discussion started, so he simply raised questions to determine what people wanted to do.[34] The oral evidence suggests that Adamian was a catalyst in stimulating the protest crowd, but it also reveals that he was not speaking alone and was addressing an audience that was predisposed to march and disrupt Governor's Day.[35] Several students were actively inspiring the crowd and overtly encouraging a disruption, but their roles would ultimately be ignored. There was no widespread consensus about the design of the rally, other than its primary aim to gather a crowd and then march to the stadium. But faculty monitors understood that it was a plan

that is perhaps the most volatile form of protest tactics: get a mob together and put it into motion.

* * *

Minutes, Bodies, and the Motorcade

The rally crowd left the bowl and headed toward 18 parked cars lined up outside the student union. As demonstrators approached, some passengers locked their doors when noisy protestors began to pound on car hoods and climb on top of the vehicles.[36] Adamian was later charged with leading the disruption of the motorcade, but the oral histories indicate that if any individual—out of the hundreds of demonstrators—was responsible for stopping the motorcade, it was a graduate student, William Copren, who sat down to block the first car and then stood in the way of the second car.[37] The first moment was captured in photos, and the *Nevada State Journal* explained how Copren wryly demanded his full 60 seconds when a police officer said, off-handedly, "You have just one minute to move." As the seconds ticked away, marchers approached and surrounded the cars.[38] For this instance, an administrator's oral history offers not only details but evaluative content:

> At the end of the one minute, the boy did get up and move, and the two policemen went back to their car and took off, as did the Governor's car. *I'm convinced that one-minute delay was just enough, accidentally and coincidentally, for that vanguard of a group marching up from the bowl . . . to arrive at the scene and suddenly recognize the ideal potential that existed there.*[39]

While the newspaper notes the story of a demonstrator's clever equivocation, the oral history enables more complex analysis of the protest's student leadership. What could have simply gone down as a minor gesture of body rhetoric amidst a throng of protesters is instead much more significant. This student activist's pivotal role—whether spontaneous or strategic—facilitated the 15-minute disruption of the Governor's motorcade. In addition, as one hearing witness testified, Adamian and others *had already passed the cars, but returned to the motorcade to investigate the commotion*,[40] but because Copren's role was not widely acknowledged or understood, the testimony had little impact. What also evaded notice was another obstruction at the head of the motorcade: a woman driving a white Chevy Impala had inadvertently driven into the thick of the demonstration, panicking and causing her car to stall in the path of the marchers, who were in effect trapped between her vehicle and the oncoming press of the motorcade.[41] See photo 2. Thus, the stalled car and the sit-down were largely to blame for stopping the cars, but neither were considered important because a more dramatic incident could be used: a moment when a professor told protestors to stop a car.

Photo 2 Given "a minute" to get up, graduate student William Copren sits for his full 60 seconds, blocking the progress of the Governor's motorcade.

Source: University Archives, University of Nevada, Reno

Considering that Adamian's role in the motorcade disruption was barely mentioned in the news media, the chronicler accounts are especially noteworthy. The oral histories reveal his prominence, but unfortunately they focus on the efforts to stop Hug's car rather than the moments that led up to it. The interviews were not available to Hug or the regents, so the origins of the allegations against Adamian must have derived solely from the observations of Hug and other witnesses (or, as one chronicler attests, photographs[42]). One observer explained how Adamian was trying to form a line of marchers, corroborating other accounts of his activity ahead of the motorcade:

> In the advance group of marchers was Professor Adamian, who appeared to be quite excited and went out in front of the balance of motorcade. The next car in line contained, among others, Procter Hug, the chairman of the board of regents. Professor Adamian got out in front and along with a number of other students who had been marching up that direction—not marching, but walking as a large group. And the professor waved his arms in the air and he chanted, "More people! More people!" whereupon a number of others who had been walking up ran up. And pretty soon

> that entire very constricted area between Lincoln Hall and the library was blocked by students, and in short order, and it became impossible for the vehicles to move.[43]

From the front seat of a squad car, chairman Hug (the regent who would bring charges against Adamian) could visually identify Adamian, particularly for trying to stop the car. However, Hug couldn't see that Adamian was trying to prevent the car from running over a student, Bill May, who was lying prone directly in its path. Despite the faculty efforts to prevent students from stopping the cars, May thought that he should place himself as a human barricade and was promptly encouraged to get up.[44] As it would turn out, the body rhetoric of May and Adamian would be an issue in Adamian's case and local legend for years after. The newspaper accounts and oral histories affirm that some of the military drivers intentionally forced their cars through the crowd, but gave up as demonstrators continued to push on the cars and get between them.[45] From inside the cars, however, the events took a different shape. From her perspective inside a car, student president Frankie Sue Del Papa perceived Adamian to be strategically placing bodies, "I thought that Professor Adamian was encouraging people to throw themselves in front of the car. That's the way it looked."[46] In the midst of conflicting accounts of what happened, the ambiguity of the photo was put to service against Adamian. Depending on how his body language is read, he could be viewed as gesturing up or down, either emploring the student to get up or instructing him to lie down. See photo 3.

Colonel Robert H. Hill instructed the driver of the car to rev his engine, even though it was obvious that the car was bumping into human bodies. Thirty years later, Colonel Earl Ralf would explain, with braggadocio, that he had ordered his cadet chauffeur to drive through the crowd and run over any protesters that got in the way—and that if the cadet didn't do it, Ralf himself would take the wheel.[47] According to Adamian and the others who stopped the car, they used force only after drivers tried to push through the crowd, and when the car stopped, the marchers sat on the hood to keep the car still until the crowd had safely passed.[48] The thrill of a large-scale protest at Nevada was undoubtedly exciting for the demonstrators, stirring visions of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and the countless antiwar protests broadcast on the nightly news. At one point, a graduate student jumped onto the hood of a car—Mario Savio style—to address the crowd and direct marchers away from the blockade, toward the stadium.[49] Finally, when the demonstrators moved on, the police guided the exiting motorcade, honoring town-gown jurisdiction by remaining at the edge of campus and in no way attempting to stop the protestors.[50] In the brief period of confrontation, many players contributed to the blocking of the motorcade, but student leadership was not recognized. Adamian might have intended to delay the motorcade by encouraging students to form a dense column of marchers, but he did not initially stop any cars, nor was the incident with Bill May solely responsible for stopping the motorcade. Serving as a monitor, though, Adamian did intervene when students were in danger—threatened by cadets driving

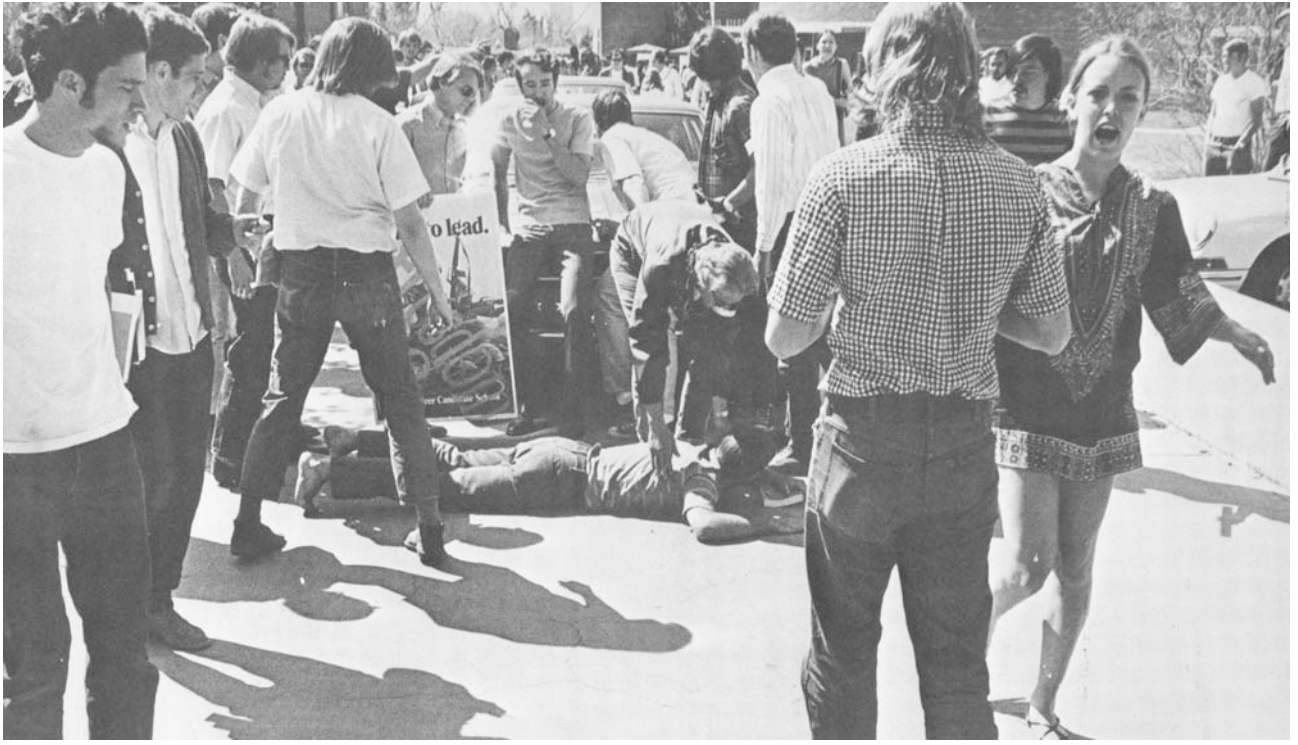

Photo 3 Professor Paul Adamian leans over a protesting student who placed himself in front of the moving motorcade.

Source: Artemesia, Associated Students of the University of Nevada

through the crowd of bodies, on orders from military brass who had little concern for human safety. See photos 4 and 5.

* * *

"And then march out": The Stadium March and Viewing Stands

Just as the physical boundaries between town and gown determined the police restraint during the blockade, perceptions of the stadium's physical site varied. Did the Governor's presence at the state-owned stadium make it, and him, a suitable target for a demonstration of civil disobedience? Or, were the stadium grounds the equivalent of a classroom, an educational space regulated by university codes and conduct rules? While such questions were raised in the months that followed, the oral histories render such discussions moot because the chroniclers confirm that demonstrators had actually been granted permission to enter the stadium from the university system's highest-ranking official, chairman Hug. Professor Hulse recalled his role in the hasty negotiations over access:

> I saw Procter Hug . . . and I said to him, "I think this is a dangerous situation. I believe this situation's out of control, and I'm frightened."
>
> He said, "What do you think should be done?" And I had no answer. [laughter]
>
> I didn't have any plan, but I said to him, "I'll run to the head of the group and see if we can persuade them to get it stopped." When I got to the head of the group, Paul Adamian and others were there, and I asked three or four people—Paul was one of them—if there was not some way to stop the group, and to decide what was going to happen. . . .
>
> Well, as we walked along, one of the people said to me, "What do you suggest? Do you have a plan?" And I didn't except to try to get them stopped, and so finally I think *I suggested, or someone suggested. . . . I participated in the suggestion that we go once around the stadium and out*, as a means of registering the protest, and there seemed to be some consensus for that—although when three or four people are talking at once, and when the crowd is moving, it's hard to get a consensus.
>
> Finally, *one of the people said*, "Let's go three times around the field *and out*." Again, *it's hard to remember which one said it, but it may have been Paul Adamian*—I did most of my talking with him, *but I'm not certain it was he*. There seemed to be a consensus to that idea as we got toward the parking lot up there south of the stadium.
>
> I ran back to Procter Hug and said, "I think if you let them go around three times, we can get them out." Although, this was only a guess, I suppose. And I believe on that basis, the group was allowed to go into the stadium, but not stop at

Photo 4 A crowd of protestors gathers around the stopped motorcade.
Source: Artemesia, Associated Students of the University of Nevada

Photo 5 After the motorcade incident, University of Nevada demonstrators walk to the stadium.
Source: University Archives, University of Nevada, Reno

> the gate. I don't think they could have been stopped at the gates with the number of police who were there, and it was very wise to let the group go in.[51]

Hulse's extra-careful articulation of leadership roles regarding the high-stakes "suggestion" and "idea" indicate his caution in attributing the decision to anyone directly, particularly himself. Both Hulse and Hug claimed that in addition to "around three times" that the words "and out" were part of the deal, but there were no witnesses to the agreement, and other participants claim that Hulse did not clearly communicate the decision to others. As Robert Harvey recalled, there was nothing definite:

> [Hulse] had talked to Procter Hug and had told me as we walked up there that he had done so, and that Procter Hug had suggested that it would be all right if the students would walk three times around the stadium track. *And it was ambiguous whether he meant, then, that they should leave the stadium, or whether they should sit down in the stands somewhere. I never understood that*. Mr. Hulse later told me that he understood Procter Hug to say that they should march around three times and then get out.[52]

Hulse had suggested that Adamian was somehow involved in the decision-making process, yet Harvey did not mentioned him and, at the time of their interviews, he would have been candid about Adamian's participation. Even Hug recalled the negotiation with Hulse:

> *I had made an arrangement with one of the faculty members* when I could see this large group marching toward the stadium—*that they would march around the field three times and then march out*. I felt that would avert what happened and would also give an opportunity for those people to express their views, which were related to the war and opposed to the war (which, as I've noted, I'm also opposed to the war). I thought that that would have given an opportunity to do that, and yet not disrupt the regular university function of ROTC day, Governor's Day.[53]

Around three times "and then march out." In hindsight, the administrators and ROTC personnel would have liked to have seen the second part of the equation, but there was a lot riding on that last condition "and then march out." In fact, the disruption could not have been classified as such if it weren't for the possibility of "and then march out" being part of the agreement.

Of course, had "and then march out" *not* been part of the Hug-Hulse agreement, then the protest would have been fully sanctioned by the chairman of the Board of Regents. To a certain degree, it didn't matter if "and out" was part of the deal, because it was a stipulation that was not even heard by most of the demonstrators. To another degree, it might not have mattered. The crowd was not clearly following one leader. Many individuals wanted the rhetoric of confrontation and action to become a rhetoric

of dissent that would not just threaten to but actually stop the ceremonies. After all, student activists had considered plans to disconnect the public address system, drown the ceremonies in blaring rock music, or take more serious actions to stop the celebration.[54] And as one of the more radical students recalled, he and others had already targeted the ROTC building, which overlooked the football stadium from a nearby hillside: "There was one possibility of the whole building blowing up at eleven o'clock, right in the middle of Governor's Day, but because of certain problems of getting certain things, it didn't happen. And it had been very well planned and everything, you know, so nobody would be around and nobody would be hurt because everybody would be up at the stadium. . . . But that didn't happen."[55] That is to say, it didn't happen during Governor's Day. The ROTC building would be firebombed a week later.

Without the chronicler accounts, we would know little about what happened during the march around the track. The newspapers provided only sparse details and snippets of information. We would have only reporter notes that protestors shouted "No more war" and "End the war" while circling the track. Taken together, however, the 1970 interviews reveal a composite sketch that offers a vivid sense of not only what happened and why, but also something about the dynamic between faculty and student, between monitor and demonstrator, and how the protest was viewed by observers.[56] For example, an encounter between a student and professor Hazard, who advocated "token violence," became one of the rumors that circulated for months after Governor's Day.[57] One chronicler recalled Hazard discouraging a student who wanted to harass the cadets directly.[58] Instead of rejecting the student's idea, Hazard simply re-routed the student's attention to the rows of military dignitaries in the bleachers, forcing the student to choose between a symbolic rhetoric of confrontation and a potentially dangerous rhetoric of dissent:

> There was one student who was out in the field. He couldn't stand just standing back there chanting. He wanted to go up there and grab an ROTC guy and grab his gun from him, and I had to stop him. I said, "What do you want to do that for?"
>
> He said, "I just can't sit here and chant!"
>
> I said, "All right. If you want to be so violent, if you feel so dedicated, do it where it counts. These kids out there in the field, with their little green uniforms and their guns, know no more about the war than you do. They have seen no more of the war than you have. They sit with you in your same classroom. *Why* are you going to get him? If you feel *so dedicated* and that your cause is so right, go over there! See, there's eight generals sitting in that front row. Go grab one of them. Beat the hell out of them, because you know they've seen it. If you *really feel*, go beat the hell out of one of them. If that's not strong enough, see that next row? That far end, that's Governor Laxalt, and the other end is President Miller, and all these other people like senators and all the other heavies. Go whip one of them. Beat the hell out of one of them. If *that's* not strong enough, or if that's too strong, then the next row are all regents. Go grab one of them. And the parents, you go grab one and beat the hell

> out of one of them—if you feel so convinced that you're way is right. Otherwise, get the hell back in there and act like you've got some sense."[59]

While many of the demonstrators marched along content to shout "Peace now!" as they walked, others were more boisterous and wanted action, threatening to break through the ROTC ranks, but the monitors kept demonstrators on the track.[60] Some students knocked off the hats of a few cadets standing at attention, but the cadets and observers responded only with shock or mild irritation.[61] See photo 6.

All in all, the oral histories reveal that the crowd was a loose, fragmentary, ad hoc coalition of demonstrators, which meant that it was—by its very nature—unpredictable, hard to control, and potentially dangerous. Unaware of the Hug-Hulse agreement, a few monitors thought that the second trip around the track was meant to wear out the protestors and let off some steam.[62] One chronicler noted that when the demonstrators had first circled the track, "they lost a few at that point, really a substantial number, and they continued to go on again."[63] And shortly before the demonstrators entered the stadium stands, one student tried to rally others to take down the American flag and tear it up, running up a peace flag in its place.[64] After the crowd circled the track for a second time, it was unclear where the demonstrators would end up, and the confusion led some marchers simply to decide to enter the bleachers.[65] Thus, it appears that the monitors were working to prevent demonstrators from creating problems, but they did not—or perhaps could not—control the direction of the protest.

Giving a false impression that they were leading the crowd, Adamian and Hazard supervised orderly foot traffic as the demonstrators filed into the bleachers.[66] Some demonstrators chose to leave the stadium, a small group sat on the field, but most of the crowd stayed together, as several hundred positioned themselves in the stands behind the audience assembled for the ROTC ceremony.[67] An understandably irritated Hug voiced his disapproval to Hulse: "I thought they were going around three times and out." Hulse agreed, but at that point, it was clear that the remaining demonstrators had no "and out" on their minds.[68] Thus, for many protestors, the rhetoric of confrontation was no longer satisfactory. The calls for action in the weeks prior to Governor's Day encouraged a coercive rhetoric of dissent that students began to implement in the bleachers, thinking that sheer noise would stop the ceremony. As Harvey understood the situation, the marching was not enough for the students. The call from the crowd needed an institutional response:

> *They wanted some feedback. They wanted something from the people who were running the ceremony. They wanted the governor to say something, I'm sure. They wanted the president to say something*. So, they got noisy. . . . It wasn't simply, however, cat-calls. The students had decided that they were, indeed, going to take over the ceremony, and so they sang songs. I thought they were a fairly good-mannered, not well-mannered, but a good-humored crowd. *They were not in an ugly mood. They did not want violence now at all, indeed, if they ever had. Their actions were theatrical and symbolic*.

Photo 6 As marchers circle the stadium track, president Miller, Governor Paul Laxalt, and various university officials and military personnel look on.

Source: Artemesia, Associated Students of the University of Nevada

> During the ceremony, *they wanted to take the ceremony's meaning and reverse it*. The ceremony's meaning was to praise cadets for military efficiency and other virtues, and what these people wanted to do was to damn them for those very virtues, or to make clear that, in their opinion, these were not virtues but sins of one sort or another—"A good soldier is a dead soldier." So, they sang—they mocked. They sang "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and drowned out the young officer or cadet, whoever he was, who was reading the entire program. No change was made in the program.[69]

The crowd was indeed boisterous, and it far outnumbered the few dozen audience members at the ceremony. As Harvey suggested, the demonstrators wanted to reverse the meaning of the ceremony by focusing on the one concept of *recognition*. The ceremonies were intended to recognize the Governor and the cadets. The demonstrators wanted the university and government officials to recognize also that four students had been killed on a college campus for protesting the invasion of Cambodia. Rather than simply display their symbolic opposition, the demonstrators were poised to disrupt, subvert, and interrupt the Governor's Day ceremony until it provoked recognition. As it would turn out, the demonstrators' agenda was not recognized, but it did accomplish a different reversal. In deploying a rhetoric of dissent, the protest crowd pushed the ROTC audience into using similar tactics—a closed-fisted rhetoric that could have resulted in bloodshed for both sides.

For the ceremony observers, the demonstrators' disruptive acts were considered as an assortment of independent displays, rather than a collective action. For the demonstrators, to be indecorous in the face of military-bureaucratic protocols was a necessary tactic used by Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and other counterculture radicals. Such radicals saw their targets as anonymous, unimpeachable, bureaucratically controlled, and uniformly organized institutions that perpetuated violence and cultural inequities. Consequently, many antiwar activists deployed a range of tactics meant to shock and disturb, from using obscenity and extravagant costumes to disturbing everyday protocols and standards of refined behavior. For everyday Nevadans, the shocking rhetoric of confrontation had hitherto been reserved for the "dirty hippies" in San Francisco with their "Filthy Speech" and so on. Accordingly, the obscenities expressed by the protestors—particularly women—were not only repugnant for their messages but for what they stood for: a public challenge to the state, tradition, and the in loco parentis role of the university.[70] An engineering professor remembered the vitriol:

> I recall an incident of the lady from downtown telling a girl to be quiet because she wanted to hear the ceremony, and this girl just turned into a screaming rage, just shouting at this woman, "Peace now!" And she did this for four or five minutes. I mean, it was an extremely long time as you were watching this thing. It was literally an uncontrollable screaming fit. One other lady told a young man to be quiet in the stands, and he immediately turned around and gave this lady the finger. My reaction to this was to immediately reply to him that, "You've got real class."[71]

Another faculty chronicler, from the school of agriculture, was astonished at the evidence of "cultural decay," yet suggested that there might be some strategic use for obscenity somewhere else but Nevada:

> It hadn't really struck me until then that young women, perhaps coming from very fine Nevada families or from Western families, could express themselves in such vulgar terms. And it abhorred me. I don't expect that of a young woman out of a university. In fact, I don't expect it out of a young man. *I might expect it some place in the Army, because maybe there is some justification for these sorts of things. I doubt it, but maybe there is. But I surely know that this isn't true in Nevada*. I'm sure that parents that raise their sons and daughters to come to the University of Nevada don't expect the university to condone this sort of thing and to advance this sort of cultural decay.[72]

Obscenities and offensive gestures were intended as symbolic acts to shock the audience and provoke acknowledgment, recognition. They were also, unwittingly, energizing the opposition. As one rhetorician explains, "Few people are capable of remaining apathetic to the use of verbal obscenity by anyone, much less agitators."[73] The hostile acts were also joined by less abrasive forms of sarcasm and parody, and singing for group solidarity. For example, protestors sang the "Mickey Mouse" during the state anthem, and continued the practice whenever "ROTC" was spoken over the loudspeaker: "M-i-c . . . k-e-y . . . M-o-u-s-e."[74] In contrast to the demonstrators, cadets and military leaders were later praised for showing restraint during this part of the disruption.[75]

Beyond obscene words and gestures, only two incidents were regularly cited by chroniclers as evidence of provocative behavior. In one instance, parents were presenting an award in honor of their son (a soldier killed in action), and when the amount of the award was announced, a heckler shouted to the mother, "is that all your son is worth?"[76] Beyond this, there are no other accounts of provocations directed toward individuals. The other offense regularly cited as insulting was the unauthorized playing of Taps on a trombone during the ceremony. To the pro-ROTC crowd, this playing of Taps was a disgraceful display of facetious commentary,[77] whereas the antiwar demonstrators intended it as an inescapable reminder of the killings in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Kent State.[78] In all, the disruptive activity was verbal and visual noise directed against the ceremony, rather than individuals, but that is not how it was perceived or later recalled. Put another way, observers did not acknowledge the group's aims or purposes, nor did they recognize it as a group. Instead, observers saw hundreds of individuals who would have had the sense to behave well, if they had not been led astray by radical faculty. See photo 7.

Speaking to the demonstrators, Miller tried to muster whatever influence he still had with the student body, but neither he nor any other officials formally recognized the reasons for the protest.[79] The crowd initially drowned out Miller's voice, but when they heard his plea for quiet, most people took their seats and observed the ceremony.[80] At this point, we can begin to see why Adamian alone was charged with leading cheers

and catcalls. In his oral history, Hug explained how Miller had calmed the crowd but was thwarted by the "other faculty members, such as Adamian and *Maher*, who tried to keep the thing going and keep the disruption continuing."[81] For Hug and the other administrators, the irate mob had apparently been calmed and would have complied with the president's request were it not for the two faculty leaders who continued to agitate.[82] Another chronicler recalled that only two faculty members tried to get the kids "whipped up" after Miller's request.[83] Photographic evidence clearly shows Adamian standing together with *Hazard*, not Maher, at the base of the stadium bleachers while the rest of the crowd is seated.[84] And Hazard himself acknowledged that he and Adamian were "doing exactly the same thing," but as Hazard—and other chroniclers—recalled, Adamian was the only one leading shouts and cheers.[85] Was there a confusion among the regents about the names of the two faculty monitors? It's impossible to say, of course, but it's as difficult to explain why the two prominent faculty monitors would not be the same two faculty members identified for investigation.

With this and all other evidence in place, it would appear that Adamian and Hazard were both standing in defiance, but only Adamian was encouraging cheering. Yet, not a single chronicler or hearing witness recalled anything that Adamian actually said (other than chanting "Peace now!"). Instead, witnesses focused on his symbolic hand and arm gestures, claiming that he led the crowd in open-hand salutes (calling them "Nazi signs") and made "cheerleading gestures" by raising his arms forward

Photo 7 Governor's Day officials attempt to continue the ceremony, as planned, despite noise from demonstrators sitting above them.

Source: University Archives, University of Nevada, Reno

with closed fists. As prosecutors would have it, demonstrators were following Adamian's lead by aping his actions, stomping their feet on the bleachers, and yelling out catcalls. While several witnesses confirm his physical actions, none could say what he uttered. Thus, for all intents and purposes, the charges against Adamian were based not on the content of anything he said, but that he said anything at all—and encouraged the demonstrators to do the same. Adamian was charged not for his speech but for what rhetoricians call a "speech-act," a gesture in which the words themselves are less significant than the very performance of them.[86] In this case, Adamian's body rhetoric was allegedly enough to control a crowd of 200–300 demonstrators and encourage its noise making. Moreover, amidst a torrent of symbolic acts from dozens of student protestors, the regents isolated only two acts as significant, both from Adamian.[87] The cheerleading was the first of his symbolic acts. Exiting the stands was the second. See photo 8.

When it became clear that the ceremony would proceed without any recognition from the government or university officials, students in the crowd grew restless and devised other ways to provoke a response. One student tried to pit Hulse against Miller to gain microphone access, telling each one that the other was considering the usefulness of a brief speech and a moment of silence. But Miller understood the ruse and refused the offer, claiming that Governor's Day was "a scheduled university affair, and not to be disrupted."[88] The demonstrators were then presented with an equivocation that signaled a refusal: university officials granted the request but only under circumstances that undermined the intentions of the request. As professor Richardson recalled, "we were informed that we could, in fact, have the microphone as soon as the ceremony was over, which meant 'as soon as the troops left.' In other words, they would leave us there [alone] and we could use the microphone all the rest of the day." With the response that they could indeed have their say, but not to their intended audience, some students wanted to amplify the tactics of dissent. This final refusal of acknowledgment was, indeed, the motivating factor for the last stage of the demonstration. Days later, Hulse explained what he heard from demonstrators: "the refusal of the students' request for a speaker caused the decision of the dissenters to move from the stands."[89] In addition, as Richardson recalled, "They just got tired and left the stands and got out on the field, and that's when the trouble really developed."[90]

* * *

"Kill! Kill!" and Kent State

> Another guy was up in the stands saying, "Let's get them out [onto the field]! Let's get them all out."
>
> I said, "*Sure* . . . In the middle of the ceremony, *now* you're going to have three hundred, five hundred students mobbing out into the middle of that field. And do

Photo 8 Protestors quietly raise peace signs in the bleachers. Professor Adamian (*second from right*) raises a closed-fist salute.

Source: Artemesia, Associated Students of the University of Nevada

> you know what those [ROTC] guys are going to do? Do they know that you plan to have them blocked out? No, all they think is that here comes three hundred hostile people coming down here on the field, and I'm down on the field. What are they going to do? Call the cops, call the police, and call everybody else in to beat up [the demonstrators] after they come down, because you panicked. You got so scared you wanted to get them out [of the stands], but didn't think about where the hell you were leading them. . . . You were leading them into direct confrontation.
>
> —Ben Hazard

With the Peace Rally and the Motorcade incidents, what happened was a more complex dynamic than was reported, in which many participants motivated the crowd and contributed to its direction, yet Adamian's part was overemphasized and distorted while student roles were simply overlooked or willfully ignored. It appears that the official refusal to recognize Cambodia and Kent State motivated the crowd to leave the stands, to escalate its rhetoric of dissent. Because a nearly violent confrontation followed, the mitigating factors behind this movement are important, for Adamian alone was given dubious credit for leading the protest.

After two trips around the stadium, the bulk of the protestors had moved into the stands, assembling behind the dignitaries and clearly outnumbering the small group that had gathered for the ceremony. But the entire protest crowd did not follow them. Approximately 20 members of the USA—roughly half were African-Americans—sat on the edge of the field, near the seated dignitaries, to call attention to the issues of racism that had been so prominent in the previous months. Only one photograph of the group was taken, and newspaper accounts offer sparse details. According to the *Reno Evening Gazette*, "One small group of students sat on the grassy field and refused to move when asked to do so by a military department aide," and student president Del Papa tried to talk the group off the field and "came back in tears."[91] Archival letters, however, reveal important details about the dynamic. Richardson, for example, noted the imminent threat: "Once the word was passed that no student or faculty spokesman would be allowed to speak for the demonstrators until the ceremony was terminated, the students really began to spill onto the field. Out on the field, the situation became nasty." And Hulse wrote, "when it seemed that there was increased danger of turmoil in the field, I walked out onto the field to ascertain if there was still any chance of getting the group out with a few remarks." But other than these pieces of information, it would be difficult to discern the reasons for the group being on the field—or the pivotal role this small group would play in bringing the student protestors within inches of bayonet blades.[92] See photo 9.

One of the African-American students was interviewed in 1970, but he did not disclose details about the USA group's role in the protest. Another member of the group was interviewed, but she claimed that she sat on the field simply because it was more comfortable.[93] Perhaps to avoid the conformity of the monitored protest, or for

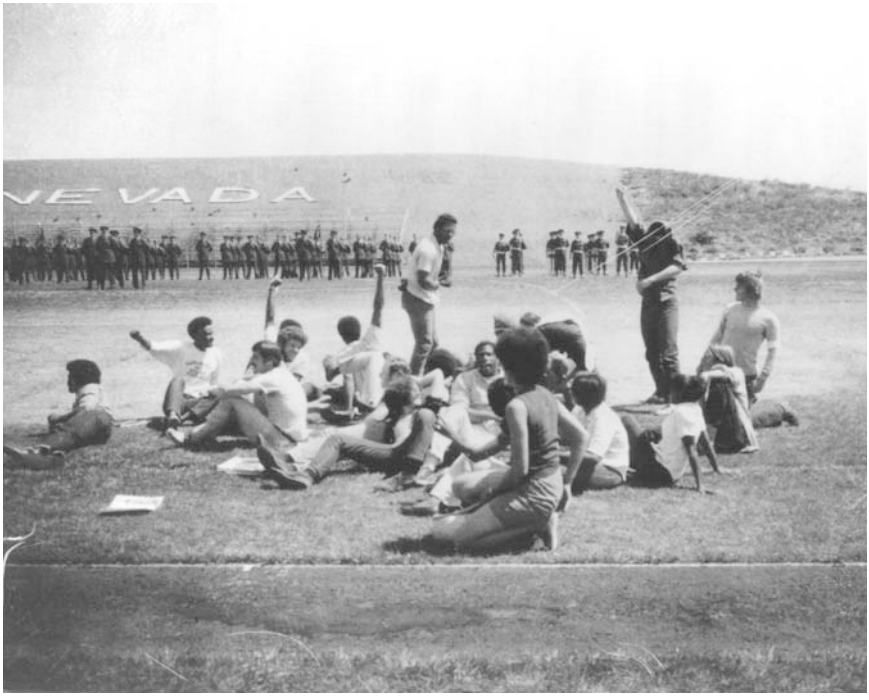

Photo 9 United Student Alliance members sit on the demonstration field while most protestors enter the stadium bleachers.

Source: University Archives, University of Nevada, Reno

any number of reasons, the small group of students sat on the corner of the drill field. According to the oral histories, the USA group, not Adamian, was responsible for encouraging the large crowd to leave the stands. Moreover, they communicated their encouragement verbally, whereas Adamian was charged with leading by example. As one chronicler put it, the USA group's actions "really set the demonstration off."[94] Harvey recalled, the USA group "set up a certain amount of cat-calling down there [on the field] and asked other demonstrators, 'Come join us! Come join us!' By ones and twos, they did."[95] With the shouts from the field to the stands, the monitors were in a vexing situation, and Hazard scolded a student about the protestors surging onto the field, warning that it could lead to violence.[96] But the students on the field were not the only forces trying to guide the unruly crowd. The demonstrators could not be kept in the stands any longer, and as student Brooke Piper later testified, many people had discussed, debated, and concluded that the crowd was about to move, but needed some intelligent direction:

> It was really agreed that everybody was going to do their own thing. . . . And myself and Dr. Adamian and Dr. Hulse and Bob Harvey and a few others were over in a

> corner at one time trying to decide whether we should make it one big group and go out onto the field . . . and the problem was who was going to get up and tell the students to go out on the field? At that time it was decided that nobody was going to decide and stand up and lead the students out on the field. It was at that time we broke up, went and sat down.
>
> Maybe five minutes later Paul got up, individually, by himself, and walked out to the field, across the track. . . . He said it was everybody's own thing; that is exactly how he put it. It was up to the individual, and he felt that if he wanted to go out on the field he would go out on the field. If the other students didn't want to go out on the field, that was their thing to do.[97]

From Piper's account, it appears that Adamian was the first one to leave the stands, but not all of the monitors were convinced that leaving was the best option. Harvey recalled that Adamian took the initiative: "[Adamian] suddenly tore himself away from me and said, 'Let's go down on the field and set up a kind of a cheerleader's rally cry.' With his motions of his arms and shouting very loudly, he ran down the steps onto the center track and across. No one followed him at that time. I shouted after him, 'Paul! Paul! Don't be foolish!' And across the way he went." Even though those closest to him acknowledge that Adamian left independently to continue his cheerleading, other witnesses saw a larger dynamic at work. Conservative journalist Ty Cobb asserted that it was "two or three students" in the stands, *not* Adamian, who "called the crowd to go out on the field" but were ignored, so they "spread out, infiltrated in the crowd and suddenly jumped up and said, 'Let's go there. They need us out there.'"[98] Despite faculty warnings, other students insisted on going out to the field, prompting the monitors to try to ensure safety. Again, rather than try to quell the emotions or energies, the monitors aimed to redirect, to turn the actions into the most productive—and least dangerous—direction. Maher summed up what followed:

> it started out with a handful of people. Eventually, all the protestors went down there. Those of us who organized the thing originally and who had been in the peace group for a long time . . . reluctantly went down there because we saw that some responsible person should try to prevent any clash between the protestors and the ROTC guys because they had bayonets and stuff. So, we went down on the field . . . and tried to get the protestors to sit down on the lawn, and that was effective for a little while, but they were restless and wanted to do something, I imagine, more dramatic.[99]

What would follow was a volatile moment of dissent, when it was likely that the protesting students would come into a direct clash with the ROTC cadets. As one chronicler had it, "they got up and literally defied the marching units and did everything they could to interrupt them."[100]

What exactly happened at this point would later become a crucial question: Where was Adamian during this movement to the field? Did he follow suit with the others who went down to the field, or was he an instigator? Both? Piper and others emphasize that Adamian was acting on his own, but they do not indicate if he initiated the movement—only that others also left the stands.[101] An archival photograph shows Adamian's jubilation as he left the stands to join the group on the field, but it does not indicate if any demonstrators were ahead of him. Cobb, a harsh critic of the protest and the faculty, testified that Adamian was *not* the impetus, and a reporter for the *Nevada State Journal* likewise testified that a group of students first went across, followed by Adamian.[102] As it turns out, the 1970 oral histories are inconclusive, suggesting perhaps that all of the accounts hold a degree of truth. Because Adamian's staunchest critics testified that he was not the first one to leave the stands, perhaps some other protestors led the way. It is most likely that several individuals, including Adamian, all began to make their way to the field at roughly the same time, at different paces, and with different intentions.[103] As a faculty member, a monitor, and a leader of cheers, however, Adamian's actions were bound to be noted more than the others.

The oral histories conducted 30 years later help clarify the moment, particularly for those chroniclers who saw it as significant. Recalling that Adamian said "let's just not sit here" and led students to the field, Hug argued for the validity of his memory: "my view or recollection of it—pretty strong—was that the catalyst was Professor Adamian waving them on and, 'Let's get out to the field.' "[104] Most chroniclers could not recall the incident, but sociologist David Harvey also asserted that Adamian was the catalyst for the crowd leaving the stands:

> I'll never forget: God damn it! Here, all of a sudden, I hear this cheering. I turn around, and here comes Paul running as fast as he can, both hands raised over his head and joining his black brothers [on the field]. And I thought, "Good for you. Good for you." It was like Paul had been the cork holding it in, and then the students just started moving out.[105]

In this case, each chronicler emphasizes the veracity of the memory, for quite different reasons. Hug, who led the charges against Adamian, represented the moment as evidence of Adamian's transgression. Harvey, one of Adamian's supporters, recalled it as a moment of courageous activism that inspired others. Adamian contends that his decision was spontaneous, autonomous, and not intended as a leadership move, but it appears that his actions were somewhat different from their intended effects. These additional oral histories suggest that Adamian was, as he had been at the Manzanita Bowl, one of many protest leaders at the head of the crowd, serving as one of several catalysts for a group of students who were determined to take a course of action.

Clearly, not everyone in the stands knew why the crowd was moving onto the field, but the monitors knew that they had a much more volatile situation to handle: the conditions were set for a hostile clash between demonstrators and cadets, with the

added possibility of police intervention.[106] Harvey recalled that it was "unbelievable" to the monitors that the military did not shorten the ceremony, and they were alarmed with the task ahead of them: "We had no idea how long we could hold these people."[107] The growing crowd on the field was not being harassed, even after military officials asked them to leave.[108] One chronicler, a ROTC cadet, suggested that they were able to sit without being bothered because "the university police were ordered to keep their hands off the Negroes."[109] Miller was outspoken about his reluctance to see police intervention; however, he also understood that such force might be necessary, so police were on call and ready to intervene if needed.[110] Whether the police had been instructed to stay away, or simply were not called in, the USA group had, in effect, created a zone of protection that the larger crowd of demonstrators could then exploit to confront the cadets. Approximately 200 protestors were drifting toward the cadets and struggling to find consensus for action. Adamian spoke with the demonstrators, trying to keep things calm while the cadets displayed their weaponry skills and marched in formation with bayonets.[111] Some protestors claimed that they aimed to block the cadets from their intended route, and with the images of Kent State fresh in their minds, both sides saw the situation as volatile.[112] One cadet said that "it was very, very tense when the drill team performed. I think there could have very possibly have been a riot of major proportions where somebody could have got hurt pretty badly."[113]

The potential for conflict on the field was not the only source of tension. Up until this point, the ceremony audience had been relatively patient and endured the noise and obscenities, but their response decidedly changed when the protestors entered the field. For all of the commentary about "cultural decay" and the rudeness from demonstrators, the ceremony audience itself did not stay reserved, restrained, or civilized. In fact, military officials and others vocally encouraged violence against the demonstrators.[114] When the ROTC troops starting marching toward the students, several military officials urged the cadets into conflict, and Colonel Ralf shouted out "Kill! Kill!" to the drill team as it approached demonstrators.[115] Thirty years later, professor Richardson recalled, "I'll never forget that. He wanted some of those students killed. I mean, the guy was nuts. So we're lucky that somebody didn't get hurt."[116] In many respects, the demonstrators' rhetoric of dissent had finally prompted a response, although it was probably not what they intended. Instead of pressuring for an acknowledgment of the violence in Cambodia and Kent State, the ill-defined group had simply stirred up violent tendencies within the audience. According to one chronicler, it was an impulse shared by many audience members:

> They took two steps forward with the bayonets, and they happened to be right there at the point of the protestors. *I almost was to the point I had hoped that they would march right through them*. And I caught myself and I thought, "This is a horrible reaction." Since then at the alumni association's meetings *I have talked to several others who were in the stands, and their reactions were much that of mine*. And it was frightening.[117]

Some cadets recalled that they were likewise disgusted with their impulses to act against the demonstrators, and chairman Hug was not pleased to see the reaction developing:

> *There were those in the audience who were shouting things like, "Stick one of them," or something like that*. You could see with that kind of an attitude, something like Kent State could happen easily, just from someone making a first move. And that's where I was . . . I was sitting in the stands living in horror that someone was going to lose his temper on either side, and then it could have been a real mêlée.[118]

For what should have been a simple ceremony on a placid campus, the short hour encompassing the Governor's Day ceremonies had certainly taken a turn from a symbolic rhetoric of confrontation to a nearly violent rhetoric of dissent. See photo 10.

It would not be an overdramatization to say that bloodshed was likely. Without the faculty monitors stopping them, the demonstrators who had been pushing for radical action might have clashed with the bayonet-wielding cadets. As the faculty had seen on the stadium track, the energy of the demonstration was something that had to be courted, shaped, and redirected. Although Adamian was targeted as a cheerleading instigator, he and his colleagues put their lives in danger. A reporter for the *Reno Evening Gazette* testified that he saw Adamian trying to maintain order on the field and, as Hazard recalled, the monitors were all trying to re-direct the momentum, with mixed results. Holding back the crowd, Hazard and Adamian tried to channel the conflict energies away from a physical confrontation and back into a symbolic show of dissent, encouraging chants of "Peace Now!" while other monitors told protestors to sit on the field.[119] Harvey explains the response:

> When I first said ["Sit down"], half of them sat down. I was struck at, you know, what a position of authority we really did have, however momentarily. So, we now had half of them sitting down and half of them standing up and still drifting, wanting to be provocative. Meanwhile, the boys with the bayonets did march, and as they marched toward us, people began to get up again, and they wanted an encounter.[120]

The faculty effort was provoking some response and having some effect, but the physical reality of battle knives and hostile factions had not gone away. One group, trained to follow military orders—and hearing attack-commands from the bleachers—was proceeding according to a practiced routine; the other group, loosely controlled and of several minds, was uncertain of its own direction, and provoking a conflict.

With the oral histories, we learn not only how close the two groups came within one another, but that a drill commander's last-minute decision prevented them from clashing. Otherwise, the archival records provide few details. In his letter, Richardson wrote, "One faculty member actually took a bayonet in the back as he was pinned

Photo 10 ROTC cadets with unsheathed bayonets approach demonstrators on field. (Note: one protestor is holding a rifle in his right hand.)

Source: Artemesia, Associated Students of the University of Nevada

between students and troops. He was not hurt because the bayonet carrier had enough sense to not be forceful (but not enough sense to lower his weapon)."[121] And the mimeographed *Morning Desert Free Press* reported that "one protestor was cut by a Guardsmen when his bayonet pierced his arm when he refused to move as the Guardsmen performed a precision drill."[122] However, the chroniclers tell of the moment when Nevada might have joined Kent State and Jackson State:

> At one point, Mr. Adamian shouted at me, "Harvey, look out!" because *I was about to be skewered by a bayonet*. I turned around, and by that time, the military boy in formation had already received the order to turn around to about-face, and he was doing so.
>
> Well, I don't know who *the commander of the Sierra Guardsmen* was, but whoever he was, he did an awfully good job. He *made a spur-of-the-moment decision* that was the right one when the Guardsmen were going through their routine—and they did have fixed bayonets, which is part of the routine. When the group of students or demonstrators who were on the field started getting into their ranks, at one point they had not gone quite as far as they normally would in marching towards the group, but he gave them a flank movement, which *prevented them from marching right into the group with fixed bayonets. If he hadn't given that command, the Lord only knows what might have happened after that*.[123]
>
> They were beautifully controlled. You saw them: they were marching up and down the field. And here were these hippie types, filthy things, crowding in on them, and *they got almost within a foot of these kids*. It's a wonder something didn't happen. *Then the command was given to turn, and they did their marching in a smaller square than apparently had been designated*. They had fixed bayonets, and I think they had tremendous control. I was proud of them; all the more credit to them.[124]

A moment of intense danger had passed and, fortunately, no one was injured. Without a doubt, the group of protestors came within striking distance of the cadets, and the combination of open hostility and bayonets heightened the possibility of serious harm. But strangely enough, this climax to the disruption would not be the focus of the reactions against Governor's Day. Instead, the confrontation on the drill field—one group of students in a standoff against another group of students—was totally ignored in favor of the foul language and obscene gestures witnessed in the bleachers. Within a week, the regents would focus their disciplinary response on the verbal and symbolic disruption, and its so-called faculty leader, rather than the more serious incident that threatened student lives.

In the end, a mix of dedicated individuals, quick thinking, and sheer luck had prevented violence. The demonstrators used a rhetoric of confrontation to elicit recognition for their cause and, failing that, pushed for a coercive rhetoric of dissent—despite faculty efforts to the contrary. The ceremony officials did not respond to the protest as a symbolic action nor did it invite, allow, or provide for the

traditional "civilized" or "rational" rhetoric of the open hand. Moreover, when high-ranking military officials and others explicitly encouraged violence, the Governor's Day audience, in effect, became complicit by using their own rhetoric of confrontation. The possibility of violence would have implicated the military and state officials, considering that cadets were urged to attack, if not kill, protestors. However, rather than investigate this deadly moment between two groups with their competing aims, the regents instead chose to divert attention from their own group's rhetoric of the closed fist. The confrontation on the field was ignored, and the monitors' roles in preventing violence were given little attention. If the drill-field confrontation had become the focus of disciplinary proceedings, Governor's Day might have been understood as a tense confrontation between two groups of students, with varying levels of leadership called into question. Put another way, it could have emerged as an issue over which university "adults" were responsible for placing their student "children" at risk. Instead, with charges brought against only Adamian, and only for his disruptive cheerleading, the net effect was that the two groups of students and their actions were precluded from consideration. Consequently, the threat to student safety would be only a tangential concern. In other words, by focusing solely on Adamian's actions, the confrontational rhetorics used by both groups would simply not enter the discussion about disciplinary action.

Considering the police presence assembled for Governor's Day, it would have been difficult for anyone to defend the vocal encouragement of violence on the drill field. After all, the administration's contingency plans were in place to ensure that any disturbances could be managed. As witnesses would admit during Adamian's hearing, several undercover agents were on assignment during the demonstration. One was a plainclothes highway patrolman who said that his job was to watch the Governor.[125] Another was a cadet (also out of uniform) who, oddly enough, claimed that he was not asked to, but simply chose to, keep Adamian under surveillance. When pressed to explain what his "other functions" were that day—his rationale for being in the crowd—he would not disclose his assignment other than to say, cryptically, "I don't think it would have anything to do with Professor Adamian. It was something over and above what Professor Adamian was concerned with."[126] Furthermore, an intervention force had been assembled at the edge of campus grounds, but this was given little media attention. A handwritten edition of the *Morning Desert Free Press* noted that the "City of Reno police force was hiding in the Mackay Stadium locker room, just awaiting the word to come out and beginning beating up the unwanted faction on the UNR campus."[127]

Because there was no other documentation of the police presence, the *Free Press* account would persist as rumor for three decades, but it was founded on only a kernel of truth. All together, 3 motorcycles, 4 squad cars, 1 paddy wagon, and 25–30 officers were waiting across the street that divided gown from town.[128] As faculty and

administrators observed, it was the right decision to keep the police at bay, and Miller commented on his choice as an ideological, rather than a tactical, move:

> I've had a lot of people ask why we didn't stop it by sending the police in, and I think that would have been a total disaster. I'd just much rather have a raucous disruption than to have people's blood on my hands, and I think it would have been that. You know, some people think that would have been the way to show that you mean business or something, and it would, but that's not the kind of business that I want to be part of.[129]

And rather than being a secret police sequestered in a locker room, the officers were affable and noncombative, as even Hazard noted.[130] With bayonet-wielding cadets on the field, undercover operatives and military officials in the bleachers, and a significant police force assembled nearby, the odds were squarely against the antiwar demonstrators. The protest held the potential for a bloody conflict, but the violent trajectory of dissent rhetoric was ultimately reversed, returned to noise and obscenity. Thus, when the cadets marched out of the stadium, the protestors followed close behind and returned to less volatile symbolic acts. The ceremony audience booed them, and the protestors responded by saluting the stands with peace signs and raised middle fingers. Chroniclers from both factions recalled their relief that the threat of violent conflict had passed.[131]

In this archaeology of Governor's Day, the oral histories not only clarify ambiguities but also dispel the dominant narratives about the event. We see that the administration not only knew that the protestors aimed to disrupt the ceremonies—indeed sanctioned their march—but had assembled a police force to intervene if needed. We better understand the extent of the student planning behind the protest, which does not exonerate Adamian but certainly clarifies his actions as well as those of the other faculty monitors. As most Nevadans would come to understand Governor's Day, Adamian urged innocent students away from a stand-alone Peace Rally and then led a protest march, a motorcade disruption, and a series of cheers and chants that interfered with the ROTC ceremonies. What the oral histories tell us is much different. The peace rally had been designed, poorly, as a staging area to assemble marchers. A group of speakers, including Adamian, signaled the beginning of a march—a mass action that most of the crowd anticipated and expected. One student's sit-down protest and a stalled car halted the motorcade and prompted the need for faculty monitors, including Adamian, to intervene when students obstructed cars. With the permission of the chair of the Board of Regents, the protestors entered the stadium. Most entered the observation bleachers and disrupted with rudeness and noise, whereas a small group of students assembled on the drill field. Adamian did lead cheers and other symbolic acts, but he also was instrumental in preventing bloodshed—violence that was encouraged by military officials and others.

Throughout the Governor's Day protest, Adamian was clearly and consistently engaged in a symbolic rhetoric of dissent, but he never promoted physical conflict or violence.

In the epigraph that begins this chapter, Kenneth Burke articulates a progression of action that leads to drama, then conflict, victimage, and tragedy. Governor's Day began a sequence of events that lead to a dramatic conflict, but a victim remained to be identified, and a tragic narrative had yet to be written. The charges against Adamian for being a protest leader would be decried by hundreds of demonstrators not only for overemphasizing his role but also for neglecting the instrumental roles of student activists. The case against Adamian would, however, deflect attention from a potentially violent moment, one that would have called into question the leadership of the two student factions. On one side, university and military leaders knew of the protest, prepared for it, yet nonetheless jeopardized the lives of Nevada students. On the other side, faculty members served as monitors to guide and protect the students, yet the actions of a few faculty members seemed at times to encourage dissent as much as manage it. On balance, leadership on both sides was to blame, a fact that would have simply hurt the university as an institution—if all the moments on Governor's Day were fully understood.

* * *

Thirty Years Later

The interviews I began in the late 1990s did not offer any revelations or insights that substantially challenged the collective view provided in the 1970 interviews. The immediate interviews captured precious moment-by-moment details that the 1998–2001 interviews simply could not offer. However, the representations of the protest in the latter oral histories were rarely inaccurate or distorted. When pressed for details, or asked to verify information, chroniclers demurred if they couldn't recall incidents. Perhaps interviewing more of the surviving hundreds who participated in the demonstration would reap further atmospheric details about what transpired on Governor's Day, but the 1970 interviews already accomplished that goal—even though they intentionally tried to avoid doing so. Of the oral histories conducted three decades later, chroniclers did provide valuable perspectives that are vital for understanding what preceded (chapter three) and followed (chapter five) Governor's Day. They also shed some light on Adamian's character, suggesting that he was not the man people had thought him to be. James Hulse dismissed his behavior on Governor's Day as anomaly, suspecting that he was high on drugs.[132] And Joseph Crowley recalled that Adamian was "probably the angriest man on campus."[133] But most of the chroniclers who knew him considered him a good teacher and colleague who was certainly outspoken, and a bit eccentric.

As he recalled, Adamian had simply not talked about Governor's Day with *anyone* for nearly three decades, until the time of his interview in 1998. He could not recall his involvement in the debates at the Hobbit meeting on Monday night, only that he left for home and was surprised the next day to discover such a large crowd assembled at the Manzanita Bowl. While he did not try to dissuade the crowd, Adamian claims that he tried to verify the demonstrators' intent, rather than serve as a catalyst. More than likely he accomplished both. In the turbulent activity of the short protest, Adamian was a unique hybrid, a "monitor-protestor" who stirred the energy of the crowd as much as he sought to guide it. Because Adamian's leadership role during the motorcade disruption played such a critical role in the case brought against him, it might be expected that his view of the event would be somewhat altered in his favor. Adamian had no access to any of the 1970 interviews, yet his memory was remarkably consistent with the other accounts.

In chapter five, I trace the repercussions of Governor's Day and the political storm it unleashed in Nevada. As a means of bringing this chapter to a close, I end with an extensive excerpt from Adamian's oral history, illustrating how he recalled his motivations and actions. I hope that the foregoing discussion of the protest's complex evolution, combined with Adamian's own perspective, serves as a striking point of contrast to the public narratives of Governor's Day 1970 that would vie for primacy in the months that followed.

> This fellow with the bullhorn came over to me—saw me arrive and standing around the edge of the crowd—and handed me the bullhorn. He pushed the bullhorn in my hand and said, "Why don't you say something?" And, I mean, it caught me totally by surprise, but I thought, well, OK. So I went out there with the bullhorn, and I don't really remember what I said, but what I do remember very much is that I was still feeling very upset about what had gone on the last couple of days with the Cambodia and particularly the Kent State thing. . . . I remember feeling that I had to be careful in what I said here, because I felt like it would be pretty easy, given sort of the tension in the air, to spark something, to set something off.
>
> I used to be involved in CORE demonstrations but they were very organized. You would have to get permission from the city council and notify the police chief that on such-and-such a day you were going to be demonstrating in front of such-and-such a real estate office. And there were all these things and all these sort of pre-warnings that were supposed to be given out to various officials to keep the thing from getting out of hand—to keep it sort of orderly, and all that sort of thing. Obviously, at the time, we thought a lot of this was very stultifying and choking, and that was their way of kind of trying to control things, and I'm sure that was sort of the purpose, but it really did also have kind of a sense to it.
>
> And so I was thinking, God, what I would like to do is to just march down to city hall or something like that: just demonstrate in front of city hall or at the veterans building in town. And I knew that *you just couldn't do that*. You just couldn't take a

mob of people and start walking through the streets of Reno. I mean, Reno itself obviously didn't like that sort of thing, wasn't used to that sort of thing, wouldn't approve of that sort of thing, and *here we had no permission. We hadn't notified anybody that this was going to be happening*. And suddenly, at least from their point of view, here would be this out-of-control mob that was marching down the streets.

And my feeling was that *I* could do that. You know, I could say that this is what *I'm* going to do. I'm going to march down here and demonstrate in protest, but I can't ask *you* to come along. I couldn't get into an explanation of why it was something that I had an urge to do, but that I couldn't really encourage *them* to do, because it would have been too dangerous. Again, I mean, the day before, campus students had been shot.

So, I was caught in this position of wanting to suggest something to do to express our feelings about things, but racing through my mind was a concern for not doing anything which was suddenly going to end up with people getting beaten over the head or who knows—at worst, most tragically, being shot at or something along those lines. So, I was very much aware of that kind of danger, and I was very concerned about not saying something which would trigger something like that, which would end up with people getting hurt. I would have gone crazy. I would have just not been able to handle the notion that I had been responsible for an outcome like that. And I felt as though that kind of an outcome was a real, very real, possibility given the atmosphere and what was going on. And so, I remember saying through the bullhorn, finally, "What would you like to do?"

And somebody in the crowd, up sort of near the top of the bowl there kind of jumped up and said, "Let's march to the stadium!"

And everybody said, "Yeah! Let's march to the stadium!" So, the next thing I knew, people were starting to turn around, and people who had been seated were getting up, getting ready to march towards the stadium. I thought, wow, this could really get out of hand. This could really end up with people getting hurt. I suddenly flashed onto what was going on there inside the stadium at the time, the Governor's Day thing and the ROTC was there. And, all of a sudden, here's what is—certainly for that campus—a sort of mob of people approaching them. If that wouldn't raise tensions, I don't know what would. So, again, my notion was to at least try to keep this within some sort of sane control.

I think I sort of went back to some of the things I had gone through with CORE and the experiences I had there. You would get people to form a line, and then you would have what they call monitors who would be walking along just outside the perimeter of the line, keeping things moving, and making sure that it was just sort of going along easily and smoothly. And so I yelled something at them to that effect. I said something like, "Wait a minute. Wait a minute. Let's sort of get in a line." And that movement toward the stadium stopped. You know, it stopped, and they did start reorganizing themselves into a line, and certain people were helping to get the line in order. Most of the people were just finding their place, getting into a

line, and making a line. And by that time, I think I had run up to the top of the Bowl there and had gotten in front and was helping to turn this sort of mass into a kind of a marching line with monitors walking alongside. . . . Once that line seemed to get into order, we started heading towards the stadium.[134]

There was a certain amount of chanting and that sort of thing going on, and then suddenly I was up towards the front of the line. There were some people in front of me, but I was up at least towards that end of the line, and *I started noticing that there was some sort of a disturbance going on behind us*. I turned around and was amazed to see this military vehicle. . . . and it had already driven into the crowd. In other words, there were people that were along the sides of the vehicle, and there were quite a few people in back of the vehicle, so obviously, *this vehicle had come through, up to the back of the crowd and just started working its way through the crowd*. It had already sort of penetrated that line of marchers, so that there were marchers behind them. . . . And I was shocked that it appeared like that, and here it was already in the middle of the marchers. And I turned around and continued sort of marching on, kind of looking ahead.

Then, pretty soon I started hearing noises or remarks to the effect of "Hey, take it easy!" or "Hey, slow down!" And *I turned around again and realized that the vehicle was actually pushing its way through the crowd*, through the marchers. In other words, it wasn't staying in pace and in rhythm with the marchers and moving along with them. . . . they were definitely pushing people out of the way or moving in such a manner that people had to get out of the way, or else they were going to be bumped and that sort of thing. And it began to irritate me that they were doing that, that that was happening: that instead of just simply getting in rhythm with the march itself, and moving along in such a way as not to endanger anybody, that they were actually trying to push and force their way through.

I think I made some remark to the effect of "Hey, Dammit, slow down!" I was kind of off to the side of the right front of the vehicle. And then the next thing I knew, *one of the student marchers who was marching alongside me and who was right in front of the vehicle suddenly dropped to the ground, obviously as an attempt to slow or stop the vehicle*. And since there was such a crowd, since there were so many people there, I had no idea whether the driver even saw him drop to the ground. I wasn't even sure that they were even aware that he was there, and that there was no question that if they kept up their same speed there, that they were going to literally run over him. I mean, he was a couple of feet in front of the wheels. I mean, it was that close. It wasn't a matter of yards or anything like that. He was almost under the bumper. The bumper was coming up closer by the time that vehicle stopped.

My initial reaction was, "Whoa, that's not a good thing to do, because I don't think they've seen you." I was surprised that he did that. I immediately turned around at that point and started banging on the hood of the car and yelling, "God dammit, slow down! Stop! Stop! Stop this damn thing!" And at that point, there was another student whom

I knew, and he jumped up on the hood of the vehicle and started jumping up and down and stuff, and the vehicle did stop for a second. It did stop. It paused. And as soon as it did, I reached down to the student who had put himself on the ground there in front of the wheels and picked him up—helped him up, back onto his feet.

And when it started moving again, I think the front sort of opened up a little bit like that, and the vehicle did go through and went ahead of us then, I assume, to the stadium.[135]

FIVE

The January Deadline, the Adamian Affair, and Everything After

> When those first few people walked out of this bowl, I think we lost a lot of things on this campus that I think we could have kept. Now it's going to be very, very difficult. . . . I was sure that we'd get a reaction that would make it almost impossible to go back where we were before that day.
>
> —N. Edd Miller, University President, interview, June 18, 1970

> As usual at the University of Nevada: Fear. Fear of the establishment, because this is an extremely conservative place. Fear of reprimand by their teachers. . . . I think it just got to them. Students were probably scared of being put in jail or not having any bail, fear that they don't have a lawyer. . . .
>
> —Richard G. Patterson, Jr., undergraduate student, Black Student Union, interview, June 3, 1970

As we saw in the chapter four, the 1970 oral histories recorded impressions and inadvertent details that help us understand the complexity of Governor's Day. First, information about the protest was not widely circulated. Not all observers understood that the Manzanita Bowl rally was just a starting point for the student-planned protest march, and not all protestors were aware that chairman Hug and professor Hulse had agreed that the marchers would circle the stadium, then exit. Second, faculty monitors attempted to guide the demonstration to minimize the threat of harm: moving students away from motorcade vehicles, keeping the track march orderly, working to regulate the flow of bodies into and out of the stadium bleachers, and, most importantly, preventing physical contact between student protestors and cadets. Third, the protest itself was a symbolic act, beginning with a merely threatening rhetoric of confrontation and then escalating into a very dangerous rhetoric of

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dissent. As a symbolic act, it failed to persuade officials to recognize Cambodia and Kent State, and instead prompted a counterreaction. Finally, the contributions of multiple leadership roles resulted in a chaotic mass action managed through ad hoc decisions. Rather than admit mistakes, university officials simply sought to displace their complicity in a dangerous situation. This chapter examines how this highly complex protest event, involving more than 300 demonstrators, came to be blamed on one man, a so-called radical professor named Paul Serop Adamian, whereas not one single other person was sought out for disciplinary action.

With the advantage of immediacy, the 1970 oral history interviews provided details of the protest, but did not investigate the conditions that led up to the protest (nor, of course, could they account for the events that occurred afterward). The individual chroniclers were selective in their presentation of details, but generally they did not fabricate or distort what they witnessed. Taken as a whole, they provided the missing details that explain the complexity of the protest. Unfortunately, the 1998–2001 interviews did not provide additional insight into the day of the protest itself, but offered much-needed context for the months that followed Governor's Day, as well as some indication of the campus contexts that I discussed in chapter three. Drawing from a range of sources, this chapter draws on court testimony, newspaper coverage, and a host of archival documents to account for the fallout from Governor's Day. Oral histories reveal the perspectives of key campus figures[1] during this time, from president Miller and regent Hug to vocal faculty members like Adamian and James T. Richardson. Together, the chroniclers provide the necessary links to connect the extant historical evidence, showing us how events transpired on campus, why the regents took their particular course of action, and how students and faculty were involved in the tense months following Governor's Day.

All in all, this chapter focuses on the consequences of Governor's Day in terms of faculty freedoms and the student movement, highlighting the statewide response to the protest and its powerful influence on university governance. On a basic level, a misinformed town ruled the gown. On a more complex level, the university regents were indebted to a Governor who fought to protect their university from falling victim to the whims of state legislators. This chapter first concentrates on president Miller's attempt to manage his campus after the protest. Student leaders pushed for more radical activity, and faculty members were deployed across campus to manage an escalating discourse of confrontation. Upset that they had not provoked a response from state and university officials, a few activists turned to a radical rhetoric of dissent using firebombs. Throughout the state, distorted reports of Governor's Day prompted the media—and unscrupulous politicians—to decry the protest and conjure images of a campus under siege. Facing a rhetoric of action from citizens who elected them to office, the Board of Regents were given a January 1971 deadline to "do something" about the campus revolt, or lose precious financial and political support from the legislature. The public discourse regarding Governor's Day stirred a reactionary call for the regents to clean up the campus and rid it of its infecting "radical

students and faculty," but the student involvement was displaced onto SDS or California "outsiders," and "radical faculty" became the sole targets of resentment. Why? With the public assuming the university's in loco parentis obligations, any focus on the "child" transgressions would implicate the parental responsibilities not only among the faculty monitors, but also the administrators who knew of—even sanctioned—the event, yet placed their children in harm's way. To put it bluntly, Nevadans did not want to admit that their young people were capable of such things, and university officials did not want to take the brunt of community outrage.

As the Nevada story tells us, some facets of the antiwar movement may have done more harm than good. The student activist leaders lacked the political savvy and rhetorical sophistication to enact longstanding, sustainable changes—and they were unable to anticipate that the state would respond by persecuting faculty. Through their symbolic actions, some students tried to radicalize the campus but accomplished very little, other than—ironically—a campus devoid of activism for decades. Similarly, by firing Adamian, the regents exercised their power in a symbolic show of force, but—also ironically—eventually lost their power over faculty terminations. Instead of blaming a cadre of radical students and faculty, the regents instead sought out only Adamian as the cause of the Governor's Day disturbances. They appeased Nevadans, and by attributing the problem to only one professor, reduced the possibility that faculty would unite to defend him. After all, the regents could have easily brought charges against Harvey, Hulse, Richardson, and other faculty who were involved. Moreover, the demonstrators lacked a "flag individual" in the administration who could be a target for a counteraction. As it was, the regents remained a group, which precluded and protected them from focused individual attacks on campus and in the press.[2]

Adamian had been approved for tenure by his colleagues, his dean, the university president, and the regents. All historical accounts and court documents refer to him as "a tenured professor." However, the regents could have challenged his tenure status, enabling them to fire him instantly, but the lesson learned from the UC oath controversy was that faculty tenure issues were best left untouched—or solved by other means. According to professor Richardson, the regents' choice was motivated by an attempt to extend the process and ensure a more protracted administrative response.[3] The Nevada regents did not touch Adamian's tenure status, choosing instead to follow a process that would result in his termination because the regents had the ultimate power to reject firing decisions made at the university. Moreover, by firing a tenured faculty member, they could set a precedent for future actions against tenured faculty. Thus, the regents succeeded in weakening tenure protection for all faculty in Nevada, which subsequently gave rise to one of the most powerful faculty organizations in the country. Adamian would join the ranks of faculty whose lives were completely altered for participating in the antiwar movement, and in losing one of their colleagues—and from repeated challenges to their rights—the faculty at the University of Nevada gained more of a collective voice. All in all, Governor's Day and

the Adamian Affair exemplified America's state universities during the Kent State era: misunderstood by the public, controlled by bureaucrats, and radically challenged by students and faculty who struggled to determine the shape and direction of their institutions.

* * *

"Infantile Exhibitionism": Media, Bombs, and a Deadline

Following the protest at Mackay stadium, roughly 100 demonstrators returned to the Manzanita Bowl to deliver speeches and assess the demonstration, but the crowd had lost momentum. A reporter from the *Nevada State Journal* described the students as "torn between sunbathing and listening to the speakers and raucous music" and there were a few aftershocks as minor scuffles broke out between protestors and cadets.[4] Among the students, it was predictable theatre: the longhairs were protesting the war, and the cowboys wanted to protest the protest. However, for those who saw the larger political picture, the real fight brewing was between town and gown, and keeping peace on campus would be a necessary first step in facing what would ultimately be a hostile showdown. And the rest of the day was thick with tension across campus, filled with impromptu meetings and reflections on—and explanations of—the protest ran rampant. In the early afternoon, professor Hulse tried to revitalize the Northern Nevada Peace Center, hoping that student energies at Nevada could be routed through traditional political channels.[5] Some students dismissed the idea, calling for action to "shut the goddamn place down," even openly expressing wishes to see the ROTC building burned to the ground. News came out on the national wire that across the country there would be a Thursday candlelight vigil and a Friday memorial service.[6] The regents would be meeting in Elko on Friday, and Miller was fighting to maintain a semblance of order and control.

Wednesday morning brought news that Nixon promised troop withdrawals by late June. Governor Reagan announced that California campuses would be closed until Sunday. For the first time since the celebration of "N. Edd Miller Day," the Reno campus had attention from across the state. A KOLO radio editorial aired several times throughout the day, stirring up community outrage from all corners of the state[7]:

> This is Stan Weisberger, Vice President and General Manager of KOLO radio. On Tuesday, May 5th, the University of Nevada at Reno held Governor's Day ceremonies which were disrupted by a group of students and some faculty members. This disruption was not only embarrassing to our governor, but they were downright insulting to our country and flag. I think it is high time that the silent majority in our state sees that the militant few on our university campus—who continually

> disrupt, mislead, and endanger the lives and education of the many students who seek to better themselves—are expelled, and if need be, prosecuted to the fullest limits of our laws.
>
> *If the university president and the Board of Regents will not see that students who break the law and incite riots are expelled and formally charged in our courts, it's high time that the taxpayers of this state fill these positions with people who will control these militants*. Some of these students and professors on Tuesday actually jeered and sat down while the National Anthem was being played, and yet these same students and professors are being supported by your taxes. You, the taxpayer of this state, can and should do something about this matter immediately.
>
> You should phone or write to the president of the University of Nevada, Reno campus, and to the Board of Regents members today and demand as a taxpayer that these students and professors be expelled from the campus, *and if they do not respond, see that at the next election, when the Board of Regents are on the ballot that they are replaced*.
>
> I, for one, feel that everyone should have the right to disagree and express their own feelings, but *to show absolutely no respect for our country and our flag, and cause disruption and riots which could lead to property damage and bodily harm to innocent people is a serious crime*. These people should be punished to the limit of the law. If you, too, agree, I suggest for you to call or write the following people. [Emphasis added]

Weisberger then gave out contact information for Miller and the regents. Of course, there had been no "riots" or "property damage," but the message was clearly stated that a show of force was necessary for the regents to keep their jobs. Channel 8 television also publicly called for action on campus.[8] As one 1970 chronicler stated, the media editorials "contributed probably more to the situation than people on campus by kind of inciting the community to bring about some aggressive action, that sort of thing, and then people here heard this and became very angry."[9] Sociologist Carl Backman noted that the mass media had been waiting for this type of event, probably since the antiwar movement began: "This was news. They hadn't had any of this kind of news as they've had in many other communities, and they made the most of it, I'm afraid."[10]

Rather than focus on Nevada students, the newspapers began to direct more of their attention to the faculty and suggested "outsiders" as a cause for Governor's Day. The media coverage fed a fixation, an obsessional rhetoric, that began to distort the protest and determine the university's course of action against Adamian. Nevadans feared that the radicalism sweeping the country had finally come to pollute their schools, and that it could be stopped before it spread. Rather than confronting the possibility that their own children were independently capable of developing a radical agenda, it was undoubtedly easier for Nevadans to blame an external influence. Thus, the fear of Nevada's student-children becoming self-radicalized was displaced onto "radical faculty" who worked in conjunction with "outside agitators" to pollute the

student population. At an individual level, such a reaction is not altogether surprising; it's a typical "not *my* kid" response that deflects blame not only from the child, but also the responsible parent implicated in the child's behavior. At an institutional level, however, this dynamic has been identified as an *obsessional prejudice*, one that is prevalent in Western society. Obsessive behavior thrives in institutions that promote anonymity and conformity, consolidating power in the hands of a few individuals who treat others like unwashed children who need proper grooming. These orderly, clean, and efficient institutions then seek to defend themselves from (real or perceived) external forces—infiltrators that threaten to create disorder, dirt, and chaos. Thus, by their very design, organizations with obsessive prejudices are motivated to identify and remove infiltrators, purifying themselves in the process.[11]

Infused with distorted media accounts, Nevadans began to believe that a peaceful student protest was led astray by dangerous faculty bent on polluting the university. The *Reno Evening Gazette*, for example, quoted Police Chief Malone as saying, "Most of the protestors had good intentions and were not planning to be disruptive at the beginning."[12] The Nevada commander of the VFW, said of the protest, "The most disheartening part was to watch university professors participating. The people in charge of the university ought to take a long, hard look before extending teaching contracts from now on."[13] A popular columnist for the *Nevada State Journal*, Ty Cobb, had the most vitriol for the antiwar protestors:

> At first the crowd was in a jovial mood, and the chanting and singing seemed like a "letting off steam" gesture. But there was no let up. The wisecracks from the crowd became bitter and insulting, even during the presentation of honors to the cadets. A chant of "Peace Now" degenerated into a sneering "Seig Heil" when American Army officers were introduced. The introductions were drowned out by a mass singing of "Onward Christian Soldiers," although there was little of Christian charity in the demonstration.
>
> "[Paul Laxalt's] gonna send us to Cambodia," ranted one knot of the disrupters. *It was an eye-opener to see how a crowd is stimulated, with certain faculty members—the "liberal professors"—infiltrating their ranks and prodding them on to further rudeness*. They over-did it. The demonstrators' mood grew surly. "Leaders" moved among them—"Let's go down to the field. Get out of these seats. We need lots of people down on the field." *Obediently, the lads and lassies started to stream out of the stands*. Especially after one instigator explained, "Go down by the cameramen. We'll get a better press down there."[14]

And at no point was it suggested that the Nevada students—infantilized by Cobb as "lads and lassies"—might have been capable of initiating a disruptive protest. Instead, "Student protest leaders apparently lost control of the peace demonstration. . . ." And the faculty co-opted the protest for themselves: "Paul S. Adamian, an associate Professor of English, was observed leading the chants and apparently exercising a large amount of control over the actions of the demonstrators. In contrast, an

observer in the stands reported that David Slemmons, one of the students who helped organize the protest, was asking that the students honor their promise to allow the ROTC ceremony to proceed. He was ignored by his fellow students."[15] In this twisted version of the event, immature student leaders had lost control of a peaceful rally to manipulative faculty who craved disruption and chaos.

With the Governor's Day narrative evolving as a case of faculty Pied Pipers rather than an active student movement, both groups struggled to promote competing narratives. Concerned that they were being unfairly targeted, some faculty struggled to clarify their own roles, whereas the student radicals made plans to be recognized as a serious threat, a force beyond faculty control. Professor Richardson wrote Miller a lengthy letter, clarifying the role of faculty as monitors who tried to work with upset and angry students.[16] Several students held a meeting on Wednesday, May 6, with two faculty members and the assistant chief of police, informing them that trouble was brewing. One faculty member recalled that students cautioned that there was "the possibility of there being some kind of violence . . . and were trying to find ways in which any possible violence could be prevented."[17] The activists were trying to "frame" perceptions or otherwise "prime" the campus so that any disruptions would be attributed to the students, in effect drawing attention away from the faculty and back to the student movement. Two other meetings that day calmed down the campus but could not slow the statewide animosity toward the university. Adamian canceled his plans to speak at one of the meetings when Harvey warned him, "there are people who are out to kill you. There are some people who would just like to shoot you. . . . You better watch it or there will be blood on the streets, and it might be yours."[18]

The first of the two meetings was in the afternoon, intended as an organizing meeting for the Friday strike. Students were outspoken about their radical plans, encouraging dissent that would exceed the Governor's Day protest. Tempers were high, the discussion was unregulated, and professor Hazard's activity was being monitored. An article in the *Sagebrush* documented the discussion, ending with a statement attributed to no one: "Dissidents were told that, besides what had been agreed upon, they could go ahead and 'do their own thing' in protest."[19]

University staff members were on hand to document the heated exchanges. One recorded the following statements, but attributed them to nobody in particular: "We didn't accomplish a goddamn thing yesterday. We need to organize and pull together. We had a plan yesterday and we didn't go through with it. We should have stopped the ceremonies completely. We need to close this place down, not Friday, tomorrow. What good did the Kent State killings do. We need action now. We got some bad press releases yesterday." Represented as a collective voice, these selective phrases taken from an open forum portray the meeting as a rally for disruption, yet no students were identified. Only Hazard was cited as a radicalizing element, and then only via hearsay:

> Catcalls and abusive language generally followed peaceful suggestions. Professor Ben Hazard assured them the peaceful non-violent courses [of action] were not effective.

> Most violent suggestions and the suggestions of Professor Hazard were followed by cheers. *I was told* by a member of the meeting *Professor Hazard later told the group they should burn buildings if that was their thing*. I don't think there is any justification for keeping this individual on the University payroll.[20]

Similarly, the other staff member made no mention of students but noted that Hazard "told the entire group that he had been to many demonstrations and riots and the peaceful ones did not work, and that for success the group must get together and do what was necessary. *He did not directly tell the group to be violent, but he was certainly a strong catalyst* in the effort for violence."[21] Even though students had *explicitly* called for radical and violent activity, only Hazard was named for what he *suggested*—and for statements that simply placed responsibility in the hands of the students.

The information gathering was not the only activity Miller encouraged as he attempted to maintain control of his campus. Before the second meeting, he had ordered crowd-control plans to prevent the need to call in city police. As Judge Hyde noted in his oral history, there were legitimate concerns about bringing in the local police: "One member of the Reno Police Department scares me to death. He told me quite frankly that if he was ever called on the campus to put out a riot, how he would do it, and we would all look like Swiss cheeses if he did it."[22] The long-standing commitment to keeping town-gown boundaries intact was crucial. If the university couldn't keep the peace on its own terms, campus control would be turned over directly to the state, and the local police would command it by brute force. Edward Olsen, the director of Information, recalled the preparations: "We had campus policemen stationed at all the sprinkler valves—upon signal, radio signal—to turn on all the sprinkling systems. We also had the fire hoses manned in Lincoln Hall to just water everybody down and consequently, perhaps, cool the situation without having to resort to calling in outside policemen."[23] Miller knew what was at stake, and there was ready pressure from off campus to have more militant intervention. He recalled that a "candidate for Governor" was willing to use force: "one of the things that he offered was to send troops to the campus anytime I wanted them, and I told him that he should be ashamed of himself, that it's the most dangerous thing in the world to do that."[24] The crowd control was unnecessary, given that the second meeting was tense, but uneventful, as roughly 300 students and some faculty debated plans for a Thursday night memorial.[25] After the meeting adjourned, the crowd broke off into small discussion groups to debate various topics.[26]

On the other side of campus, a Nevada student was approached by an off-campus friend who had a plan to blow up Hartman Hall, the ROTC building.[27] It was a risky plan, considering that gasoline containers had recently been abandoned there, a set of building passkeys had been stolen from a campus police car, and the building was under police and ROTC surveillance. The two men met with a third and determined who was guarding the building, when they should approach it, and how to prepare the explosives. They filled three large wine bottles with gasoline and approached Hartman Hall after 1:00 a.m., when the janitorial staff would be gone. At 1:55 a.m., one explosion

destroyed a Major's office, another damaged the outside of the building, and the third did not explode. Chief Malone was notified by 2:10 a.m., and he contacted the FBI and Colonel Hill, who was still involved in a group discussion at the union.[28] In his oral history, Malone recalled, "It was something that I kept getting rumors that this perhaps may occur. There possibly would be a bombing or the ROTC building might perhaps be bombed. And *all that we could do was to take the necessary precautions* in an attempt to keep it to a minimum."[29] But in his statements to the press, Malone underplayed the warnings and simply described the action as "the first case of radical militant action in the university's history."[30] While it is unclear what precautions were taken to protect the ROTC building, the net result was that university officials had once again been ineffective in the face of student radicalism. In both cases, the Governor's Day protest and the bombing of Hartman Hall, university officials were well aware of plans for disruption, but were not able to respond productively. It was a victory for the student radicals that the university was not willing to concede.

Governor Laxalt, who had earlier said that most of the Governor's Day actions were not offensive, changed his point of view when he learned of the firebombing. No suspects or perpetrators were identified, yet Laxalt suggested it was the work of the same people responsible for Governor's Day—faculty working with students. Laxalt railed against the child-like "potential revolutionaries" out to shame the state: "Those who set fires or who prevent other from exercising their rights forfeit any claim of tolerance. They are criminals and should be dealt with as such. Simply because one is *a student or a faculty member* doesn't give him license to break our laws or indulge in the *infantile exhibitionism* that we saw on Governor's Day."[31] Whether Laxalt collapsed the two events, or the news media distorted his statements, the result was the same: Nevadans were led to believe that the Governor's Day marchers were responsible for firebombing Hartman Hall. Laxalt's office was deluged with communiqués, and KOLO radio and its supporters now had further reason to demand action.[32] Miller called the bombings "vicious and senseless" and Hug spoke directly to the concerns of the citizenry: "disruption of normal university activities, destruction of property or violence will not be tolerated. University students who are responsible for such activities should be subject to strong disciplinary action. Faculty who actively participate or incite disruption of normal university activity or violence should not be permitted to remain as faculty members of this university."[33]

In their 1970 oral histories, two student activists expressed dismay that more damage had not been incurred. One student chronicler noted, "when I heard about [the firebombing], I laughed, because I think I could throw a fire bomb better than those that were thrown. . . . I thought if somebody was going to do something like that, they may as well do a good job of it or don't do anything at all."[34] Another student promulgated the notion of outsiders as inept and untalented. The Nevada antiwar movement, in his eyes, was much more organized and better informed:

> If we would have done it, [Hartman Hall] wouldn't have been standing. I feel it was done by one of those freaky "outside agitators" (that they called some of the flunkies

> from Berkeley or something) that were up here and just mouthing off and saying, "Violence, violence, violence"—with no organization, no anything. I feel that they just went driving by and threw the damn thing—not made well or anything—and it bounced off of the door. We were very disappointed that [Hartman Hall] didn't burn all the way down. I felt that the attempt on the fire bombing was pretty stupid myself. And the people that did it were very unorganized and didn't really know how to do it.[35]

However, the oral histories conducted three decades later revealed the existence of a rumor campaign meant to protect their fellow students. When asked in 2001 if the "outsiders" had anything to do with the Hartman Hall firebombing, David Slemmons replied, "I know they didn't." He explained that the activists knew it was one of their own:

> There was a meeting afterwards . . . *we all pretty much knew that it was someone there*, and we pretty much said, "OK, look, we don't want any martyrs." There were some people who were going, "Well, why didn't they do a better job and burn the thing to the ground?" And there were others who were really paranoid that it would no doubt escalate the situation. Others felt it was good that it had escalated, but without as much collateral damage as if there was a gaping hole in the ground where that building had been. And so *everybody pretty much agreed to sort of try and spread as many rumors as possible that many people had done it*.[36]

The rhetorical conditions were perfect for rumors to spread.[37] While the student activists called, with bravado, the firebombing amateurish, the rumor campaign may have unfortunately fed the public fears that "outsiders" were responsible. Had the student activists clearly asserted that Nevada *students* were responsible, the public discourse surrounding Governor's Day might have taken a different direction, with a diminished focus on Adamian. Instead, the mysterious firebombing only intensified the public's demand for the removal of Adamian and any polluting outsiders.

While the student activists began their rumor campaign, ROTC cadets stood guard at Hartman Hall throughout the weekend.[38] The FBI soon showed up to investigate, interviewing students and faculty, and rumors circulated that the cowboys or cadets might retaliate by burning down the Hobbit Hole.[39] Thursday morning, Miller presided over a "hastily called" closed-door meeting with selected faculty and students. They decided that Miller should attend the regents meeting in Elko, and also agreed to implement his plan to manage campus discourse: every dean would ask faculty to participate en masse in all of the week's campus events.[40] After the meeting, Miller issued a statement concerning the firebombing, noting, "While the damage to the building has not been great, the damage to this university and what it stands for has been enormous."[41] The actual damages had to be paid for, however, but the "outside agitator" perceptions had already worked in the university's favor: the Finance

Control Board agreed to pay for the firebombing damages only because it was convinced that students were not involved.[42] The faculty's mass intervention would first be called in during a meeting attended by the so-called outsiders, who merely irritated both cowboy and longhair factions that were trying to be amicable.[43] All participants discussed factionalism on campus, drafted an open letter advocating peace on campus, and planned a teach-in on the Cambodian invasion.[44]

Oral histories later revealed that the "outsiders" were just a group of local troublemakers from Reno, but they were a convenient target, as were the faculty who participated in the week's events.[45] A Thursday afternoon teach-in drew about 150 people for speeches, strike planning, and a period of silence for the names of the Kent State victims.[46] Both Adamian and Hazard were absent, but a number of other faculty gave speeches critical of the war. For example, Robert Harvey spoke out in support of a strike, whereas sociology professor Stanford Lyman railed against the plunging economy, the neglect of minority groups, and the Nixon administration for trying "to divide the nation, to stir up animosity and hatred." David Harvey supported the Friday strike, saying, "If we can shut down 140 universities in this country, including this one, then we can shut down the Nixon administration."[47] And Nevada's conservative students arrived to counter-demonstrate, but for the most part resisted the impulse to initiate problems. However, at a candlelight vigil later in the evening (gathering a crowd of 300), a few hecklers tried to repeat the protestors' raucous behavior at Governor's Day, but otherwise the day proceeded without incident.[48]

The counterprotest activity increased the next morning, when student activists picketed campus entrances.[49] The need for a mass faculty involvement was apparent, as tensions between opposing student forces become more pronounced. For example, seven undergraduate women picketed the Agriculture Building, the center of the most conservative element on campus. Agricultural (Ag) students protested the women's picketing, claiming that signs had been "shoved into our faces" and threatened reprisal: "If they don't get away from here we're going to cut their hair and take their pants off and throw 'em in the river." Some Ag students broke picket signs, and after male pickets arrived and entered their building, Ag students physically carried them out.[50] Aside from these incidents, faculty and administrators were actively involved in keeping peace throughout the strike. Dean of students, Sam Basta, recalls, "I kept up a steady dialogue with these youngsters and told them that I didn't want anybody hurt and I didn't want anybody mistreating them, that if this happened, they should come to my office and get a hold of me, that I didn't want the police involved. And it worked."[51]

In a slight mist, with a cool breeze coming in from the Sierra, the Kent State memorial began at noon in the Manzanita Bowl, with approximately 500 students attending to hear folks songs, prayers, and speeches.[52] Dean Basta had prepared for a counterdemonstration, knowing that the cowboys had planned to march into the memorial ceremony.[53] During a student speech, some 60–70 cowboys appeared in the crowd, explaining that they were there to "one-up" the longhairs by showing they

could demonstrate with restraint and courtesy.[54] The atmosphere was tense, all around, with a bomb scare at a nearby dormitory and a police radio squawking out dispatches—prompting, as Judge Hyde described it, "National Guard type of noises."[55] Some cowboys approached the microphone to present "their side" but were dissuaded, urged instead to attend a meeting that had, deliberately, been planned to begin immediately following the memorial service.[56] At that meeting, one of the students revealed that he threatened the outsiders to be "out of here by midnight tonight, or else they're going to get their ass kicked."[57]

Across the state, in Elko, similar sentiments were being directed at the regents. The board was feeling the pressure from across the state, receiving calls and telegrams demanding that they clean up the "problem" on their campus.[58] It was a rough weekend in America, following what had been one of the most challenging weeks in memory. Nixon, unable to sleep Friday night, went to the Lincoln memorial at dawn on Saturday to talk to protestors. With hardly any advance planning, more than 100,000 demonstrators gathered for a protest at the White House, and federal agents had trained some 3,000 marshals in anticipation of violence.[59] The Nevada Board of Regents began their Saturday meeting by addressing Governor's Day, and the meeting was broadcast across the state on the radio. Hug asked the presidents of both Las Vegas and Reno campuses to recount the week's activities. Respectively, the UNLV president gave a blue-sky description of events in Las Vegas, explaining that everything was manageable. And Miller gave a quick overview of the protest, noting that the stadium march "had been prearranged and authorized but was to have stopped there. There were no physical incidents at the Stadium, but the demonstrators were rude and noisy and sometimes crude during the ceremonies." Miller also provided information about the firebombing, and he fielded questions from the regents.

Without naming names, Hug focused on two faculty members as especially prominent on Governor's Day and conducted themselves in a juvenile and unprofessional manner. He suggested that immediate action be taken against them. Hug said the professor "encouraged the students to stop the cars" and "endangered the lives of students." Furthermore, the faculty member had "led the students in raucous and rude catcalls and had encouraged them to disrupt the ceremonies." He asked for a faculty investigation and hearing to be called by the president, emphasizing, "If this Professor's action cannot be properly and appropriately explained, the man should be terminated from the University." After stating his case against (then unnamed) Adamian, he moved on to the other "professor," repeating the allegations that (then-unnamed teaching assistant) Maher had "spent the whole next day discussing . . . the Governor, the President and the Administration in very vulgar terms."[60] Hug stated that this professor "should be called to account by the faculty and by the President and should also be terminated from the University if he cannot appropriately explain his conduct."[61]

Regent Fred Anderson read a lengthy statement on the purposes and justifications for a state university, then provided examples that echoed Hug's focus on

Adamian: "Several of our faculty members helped to lead the recent demonstration on the Reno Campus and at least one of these led the demonstrators in a raised closed-fist zig heil and other chants during the Governor's Day ceremonies, a unique and bizarre type of patriotism, and later encouraged and helped demonstrators to forcibly block passage of official cars." Whether intended or not, Anderson's inverted sequence of events had a more dramatic effect: suggesting that Adamian cheered demonstrators on, which led to the obstruction of the motorcade. Anderson also referred to Hazard's statements to "do your thing and if your thing is burn, then burn." Then, Anderson defended his statements about the black professor by asserting that the regents were not racists:

> The Regents and the University have recently been accused of racism through a series of Alice in Wonderland letters and news releases and news interviews by an attorney, Mr. Charles Springer, in attempts to distort facts, and misinform the public with untruths, half truths and innuendo. He has deliberately attempted to introduce racism as an issue in a student disciplinary action where the University and their attorney and the Student Judicial Council were scrupulously avoiding racism.[62]

The meeting adjourned with discussion continuing in a closed-door executive session. None of the regents had mentioned the conflict on the field, nor suggested that students played any role in the protest leadership or execution. What was implied, however, was that only one professor had endangered the lives of students, and another professor had encouraged students to firebomb the ROTC building. Oddly enough, it was Adamian and Maher, not Adamian and Hazard, who were investigated. The meeting reached a statewide radio audience, and as Harvey put it, "I listened, and they wanted blood. They wanted a scapegoat. They wanted to be able to turn to the community and say, 'Don't you see? We're taking care of this.' "[63]

While the Board of Regents admittedly singled out two faculty members for investigation, it was less motivated by the need to display swift justice than it was simply to demonstrate a firm sense of control over state resources. One faculty chronicler, an economist, estimated that Governor's Day cost the university roughly $5 million.[64] If the board didn't take some discernible, tangible action, it was likely that the university would not only lose resources, but members of the board would be replaced.[65] With everything that Laxalt had arranged in 1967, to appease the southern Nevada legislators and protect the Reno campus, it's likely that the regents felt obliged to show their gratitude.

Preserving the appearance of a unified board, Hug told the press days later that public pressure had little to do with the decision to hold the investigation, but he then conflated the Governor's Day protest with the firebombings, suggesting that those under investigation were responsible for violence: "The action of the board is by no means a witch hunt. It is an attempt to distinguish between rational and peaceful

expression of opinion opposed to inciting violence and disruption."[66] In his oral history a month later, however, Hug dismissed the possibility that student actions could be independent of faculty influence. He stressed the need for the board to ensure economic stability by taking a stand against the faculty who, in his mind, had already been investigated, tried, and found guilty for causing the protest:

> I think the faculty have a great deal of influence on students of this age. It's natural that they should, because they have had a great deal more experience, they're very bright and full of ideas, and they challenge the students—and it's natural for the students to seek to emulate their instructor. I think that this is true, not only on this campus, but throughout the country. *I think the faculty have been the ones that have really incited the students into the action that have been taken. . . .*
>
> I think that the general public in Nevada, which is really rather conservative, feel that this is not the type of thing that we in Nevada have to tolerate. We're an independent group of people and an independent state (and always have been), and I think they feel if the rest of the country wants to go this outlandish route, Nevada doesn't have to take that same path. *I think it would very seriously have affected the university, insofar as legislative support and gifts to the university, if the university didn't do something to make known that it was going to take a strong stand* and was not going to allow the university to follow the same path as some of the California and the ivy league schools. I thought that it was essential that something be done very quickly to have the community feel that their elected officials and that the university administration was going to take this thing in hand and to see that this type of activity didn't occur in the future—that we didn't follow the series of escalations that had been followed elsewhere.[67]

The funding for the university was at stake, and state senators threatened to weaken the university further by introducing legislation to limit out-of-state enrollments. Moreover, supporters of UNLV and the rapidly growing southern end of the state were gaining political capital by comparing placid Las Vegas with radical Reno.[68]

* * *

"Downtown" and the Right Extremes

On Sunday, Governor Laxalt went to Washington, DC, to meet with Nixon and 42 other U.S. Governors for a briefing on foreign and domestic affairs.[69] He later called the meeting a "brilliant briefing" and said, "Never in my days in public life have I experienced anything so spine-tingling as seeing these many Governors stand as one."[70] Conservative leaders across the country were mounting a response to the outbreak of radicalism, and in Nevada the reaction from the right was galvanizing its

forces. In Reno, many people understood that "downtown" did not always refer to its urban center, but was often a code word for the city's power brokers. Were it not for the repeated references to "downtown" among chroniclers, it would be easy to dismiss the idea as paranoia, but Reno was a small town, and its leaders were few and powerful. For example, one professor who was critical of the protest, engineering professor Bruce Douglas, had written a letter to identify some of the prominent demonstrators on Governor's Day. As Douglas recalled, a group of extremists were trying to influence the regents:

> I don't know that many people. But as a result of writing a letter pointing out the role of an individual in the Governor's Day affairs, *I was invited to a group of very conservative individuals concerned. These concerned individuals are . . . I mean, conservative. They are out to attack people for their views*. They want a very rigid militaristic university system: "Here's the rules, and *we'll just club you down if you don't do what we say*," and this sort of thing.
>
> They are going to keep pushing, I feel. I know they've had meetings with Procter Hug. I think they're going to keep pushing until they see something happen. I go to professional meetings. I have a circle of friends, and they are *very* willing to point out to me what ought to be done. And *what ought to be done, in their terms, is repress it*.[71]

Petitions and form-letters continued to pour into the offices of Miller and the regents, each offering similar appeals that referred to taxpayer dollars and the firing of radical faculty, specifically Adamian.[72] Placing the Nevada campus in a nationwide context, Miller was surprised at the overreaction: "I've talked to colleagues at maybe half a dozen other universities since then who really just can't believe the kind of reaction that *we've* had to what on *their* campuses would be almost an unnoticed event . . . a Governor's Day that was disrupted by noise."[73] Rumors were circulating that the Reno police had been looking for Adamian since Friday night. And students prepared for their final exams the following week. Despite their finals, students began circulating their own petitions protesting any faculty investigations, and the local AAUP chapter met but made no concrete plans.[74]

While coalitions were gathering on the left, forces on the right were emerging off campus, across the state. The Association of Concerned Alumni and Citizens was formed to support the Board of Regents. The original group was comprised of 13 members—all university alumni.[75] It aimed to generate public support and recruit members via newspaper ads, and it publicly denounced its role in electoral politics.[76] Like the activists they attacked, these groups implemented their own rhetoric of action. However, rather than adopting a rhetoric of confrontation, they pursued more traditional means of persuasion. Following suit, state politicians stepped in with typical appeals to American mythos and values, or in this case, familiar tactics of red baiting and appeals to the virtues and values of the Wild West. Senator James

Slattery appeared on the nightly news and argued that if the administration did not handle matters on campus, the "cowboys" should round up a posse and "run off the left-wing professors and students" and "clean up" the campus for good.[77]

According to rhetorician Randall M. Fisher, the McCarthy era gave rise to this type of discourse, a rhetoric of demagoguery. In such a rhetoric, the demagogue first builds upon audience fears to create a perceived state of crisis. Then, a scapegoat or "devil cause" is identified as the source of the problem, followed by the proposal of a simple solution (usually the removal of the devil cause). Finally, the demagogue appeals to the community's basic virtues as well as implements ritual devices (slogans, symbols, catch phrases, etc.) that stand as a substitute for rational discourse.[78] Clearly, in the case of Governor's Day, Adamian and the radical faculty were the devil cause, and the basic virtues of the Wild West were stirred in the simple solution of "cleaning up" the campus of its infiltrators.

Of course, while Slattery's rhetoric was undoubtedly popular with some—if not a majority—of the population, it only worsened matters among students, as Aggie club members and others felt misrepresented.[79] For the antiwar extremists, however, Slattery's statements offered the perfect opportunity to radicalize the campus. The ROTC had posted guards on Hartman Hall, prompting some students to harass them throughout the night with water balloons and other pranks.[80] Then, early Monday morning at 2:47 a.m., firebombs were thrown at the Hobbit Hole. One of the residents, Doug Sherman, had just come home from a student committee meeting about the Maher and Adamian investigation. Dave Kladney, who worked for the *Sagebrush*, was sitting with Sherman in the kitchen. Two of Sherman's roommates weren't at home, but the third, John Doherty (also on staff at the *Sagebrush*) was asleep at the time.[81] Kladney woke up Doherty, who pulled on clothes and ran to the living room that was lit up with flames. The house was filling with smoke, and an American flag hanging on the window was on fire. The students put out most of the fire, but the house's wooden porch and roof were badly damaged. Across the street, witnesses in a dormitory heard the explosion and saw the 30-foot high flames, claiming to see a youth run from the scene and drive away a late-model blue Cougar.[82]

Doherty claimed to have heard rumors threatening a retaliation for the Hartman Hall bombing: "Our friends had relayed several threats of burning the house that they had heard on campus. So when they woke me up and told me the house was burning, I thought, 'They finally did it,' but I wasn't really surprised." He added, "I just hope this doesn't become a normal method of protest on this campus." Described as "visibly shaken," Sherman said that he had heard "threats that the ROTC boys were going to come and rough us up." He also gave his opinion of the arson: "I would have expected a roughing up, but not a bombing when four people could have been asleep. Four people could have died. Think of what would have happened if the living room had been full of hitchhikers and the place started burning. This is lesson number one in how to turn a liberal into a radical." By mid-day a volunteer crew had assembled to clean up the house, and shortly thereafter an FBI agent monitored the activities at the Hobbit.[83]

In the afternoon, Del Papa and Miller appeared on television, asking for peace and rational discussion on campus. A meeting that night had been scheduled to bring Adamian, Maher, and an economics professor together to discuss academic freedom and social protest, but it was cancelled out of fear of further disruption.[84] With the public forum called off, rumors escalated that the Hobbit attack was a retaliation for the ROTC building. Again, Nevada students were simply not considered culpable. Somewhere along the way, blame was attached not to the cowboys, the ROTC, or their supporters, but on the "outsiders" who had come to town to make trouble. According to one faculty chronicler, the outsiders were SDS members who firebombed both buildings just to stir trouble.[85] And he was partially right. The same group firebombed *both* buildings, but the perpetrators were not "outsiders" but Nevada students and their off-campus friends. The bombing of the Hobbit was simply intended to *appear* as a counterstrike.[86] It was an effort to stir up public sentiment, a guerilla strategy meant to radicalize the campus. It worked, but did little to generate interest in the antiwar movement. Instead, it just increased the community desire for quick action—against faculty. Before the day ended, the university librarian urged Miller to send its more conservative professors to defend the university "downtown."

The next few days marked significant political activity across the state as legislators demanded action. With his own vaguely defined "intelligence staff," senate candidate Bill Raggio met with the Association of Concerned Alumni and Citizens to fight the weak community response and whip up a rhetoric of action: "While we caution against any over-reaction, nonetheless, when disturbances infringe on the rights of others, I caution against under-reaction."[87] On Thursday, a bipartisan coalition of state senators spoke out against the university. Two senators issued a joint statement warning that recent events on campus could jeopardize university funds, and another concurred, adding that by January 1971 when the legislature would be back in session, "it will be appropriate to take a fine look at what is going on at the university." Thus, the January deadline would determine the timetable for the next several months.[88] However, rather than implement economic sanctions against the university, some senators simply threatened to replace the regents and encouraged citizens to contact university officials to demand action. Two assemblymen offered, "We know that we have some excellent professors within our university system. . . . [but there is] another element that is willing to dissent just for the sake of dissent, and they in turn use their influence both in the classroom and out to sway student opinion." As one rancher with the Nevada State Cattle Association told Judge Hyde, "You clean that mess up, and you clean it up right now."[89] Altogether, the obsessive discourse about the university had reached its peak as a rhetoric of action intent on purging infiltrators.

During the week, news of students killed at Jackson State reinforced perceptions that campuses were out of control. The national discourse about the university was heated and dramatic, and in Nevada the citizens were greatly upset. In his oral

history, Hug was candid about the community reaction:

> I think we've got the support for the state and the community behind the university, so long as we pursue this course. But *I don't think that the people at large will tolerate disruption as it occurred elsewhere without some sort of punitive action*—and that will take place through the legislators, because the people would call their assemblymen or senators to inform them that they wanted some sort of action taken. And, indeed, the assemblymen and senators themselves feel this way.
>
> *If no direct punitive action is taken, I think we would find that we would have very few new programs approved, the faculty raises would have a very difficult time being passed, that benefits such as pension or fringe benefits would be very hard to come by.* I think that we would find that our building requests . . . they wouldn't be entirely turned down, but *we would be penalized in some way* by not getting the request. I think the argument would be made, "Well, if you can't keep them from being defaced and burned, then we're not going to build you buildings."[90]

From the administration's standpoint, a show of force—even a symbolic one—was necessary to ensure the livelihood of the university, and for the regents, their continued seats on the board. (As it would later turn out, the legislature would penalize the university in 1971, even though "punitive action" had been taken.)

While the Hobbit firebombing was intended to radicalize the campus and draw attention to student activism, it inadvertently fueled the popular obsession to act against the "radical faculty." With the investigation of Maher and Adamian, the timing of the second firebombing simply could not have been any worse. It appeared to many Nevadans that both men were involved in the bombing of the ROTC building. News of the regents' investigation was presented alongside articles covering the firebombing. Thus, next to the firebombing stories, titles read "Charges Filed Against Adamian, Maher" and other variations. And with reckless news reporting, it was easy for the reading public to conflate the "faculty-led" Governor's Day with the fire bombings of Hartman Hall and the Hobbit Hole. For example, in an article called "New firebombing on campus," the *Sparks Tribune* reported that both Adamian and Maher were "allegedly involved in the disturbance."[91] Furthermore, the unreported news was that Maher was accused only of "using vulgar terms" in his classes.[92] The case against Maher was based on his *teaching*, not his actions on Governor's Day, but for many Nevadans he and Adamian were emerging as the key infiltrators who had not only engineered the protest but were now orchestrating bombing raids. The student activists who tried to shift the focus on students simply intensified the blame on faculty.

With a stronger focus on the two professors, the interest in punishing students diminished. On Monday, May 18, just two weeks after Kent State, Miller addressed the Alumni Association's demands that he prosecute students. Miller stated that he would leave such matters to the Student Judicial Council, and he would not seek out and identify students who were involved in the Governor's Day demonstration

because it came "too close to being a witch-hunt."[93] And Miller's position was supported by U.S. Senator Howard W. Cannon, who came to campus to speak to students about campus violence, Vietnam, and hothead legislators.[94] The next day, the Alumni Association released a statement of support for Miller. The regents were publicly supported by the American Legion and the Association of Concerned Alumni and Citizens.[95] And in an effort to shape public opinion, students and faculty went to a Lutheran church and other "town" locations to answer questions and generate dialogue about the university and recent events, but it was of little value.[96] Most Nevadans were choosing sides, and the student efforts to make peace in the community further reinforced perceptions that students were not prone to radicalism on their own.

It appeared that the campus had calmed down, the students were no longer a threat, and the "radical" faculty had been identified. With the help of self-appointed investigators, and pressure from "downtown," the regents were diligently preparing their case against the professors. As Robert Harvey explained in his oral history, " 'Downtown' became quite a frightening phrase, and in some respects, still is a somewhat frightening phrase." He then recalled an incident at a party he attended in late May:

> The marshal of the university [Alex Dandini[97]] was present at this party. And he had had no particular occasion to speak to me since the [Governor's Day] events. But it was clear to me that he had at *that* time been confused, and inclined to take the view that Professor Harvey, after all, was a communist.
>
> At this party, *he came up to me, shook my hand, looked deep into my eyes, and said, "You're clear."* Now, the marshal of the university is, it seems to me, a man of mature years and a man of no particular power with respect to the state of Nevada, or the regents of the University of Nevada. Nevertheless, *he felt that he should do this. He should tell me, in effect, that an investigation had been made and that I was all right*. This struck me as a measure of a kind of insanity that's going on, and I don't know how serious that is.[98]

The administration, and its supporters, were preparing for the months ahead. Nearly three weeks after the motorcade incident, Colonel Hill gave a statement to the university police, asserting that Adamian had been "leading a group of students," blocked Hill's car, and led "students in footstomping and shouting to disrupt the scheduled ROTC program."[99] The efforts to gather evidence about Governor's Day were also stirring up rumors across campus, causing fears among some students and faculty.[100]

As Adamian recalled, some time in the weeks that followed Governor's Day, Hug visited him to ask for a public apology. As Adamian recalled, it was a simple conversation:

> I was at home one evening, and it wasn't very late at night, but it was probably somewhere around ten or eleven o'clock at night. And I heard somebody approaching

> my door and knocked on the door. And I went and answered it, and it was Procter Hug, and he came in and we talked for a little while. And I really can't remember the whole conversation or the details of the conversation, but *the effect of what he was saying was to suggest that I tone down my rhetoric. I remember him specifically suggesting or advising me to stop my attacks on members of the Board of Regents*.
>
> And I also recall that *there was a sort of an implication or a suggestion that I should write some sort of a statement of apology to the Board of Regents*. And my attitude was that I hadn't done anything that I felt that I should apologize for. I didn't feel as though I had said anything that I should apologize for, that I should take back, and so I refused and declined to take his suggestions.
>
> And so after a fairly short conversation—he wasn't there for a very long time—after he had sort of made clear what he had in mind, and I sort of made clear what I had in mind about this, he then left. And, as far as I can remember, I never spoke with him again.[101]

Rather than portray Hug as a threatening presence, Adamian implies that Hug simply offered him a chance to make amends for his role in Governor's Day, and he refused. Hug flatly denied that he ever made such a visit. It's impossible to determine which memory is true, but each position supports a sense of individual resolve. In other words, each man would have reason to remember, or forget, the incident. For Adamian the memory might have persisted because it marked his choice to be true to his own cause, or it could simply be a fabricated metaphor that represents the spirit of the charges brought against him. It's also possible that Hug unwittingly forgot the brief visit out of a belief that the regents were unflagging in their resolve to fire Adamian. In any event, if they had met, the encounter would have only supported Hug's role as a mediator, and could have been the last chance Adamian had to keep his job.

* * *

"Done right away": Summer and the Interim Code

With politicians across the state demanding action, and increasing community anger, chairman Hug sent a three-page letter to the regents, the presidents of both Nevada campuses, and the Deputy Attorney General, Dan Walsh, who was legal counsel for the Board of Regents. In the letter, Hug deflected any possibility that the administration supported a physical or violent response to protest activity: "the best preventive action is not to rely on physical force or armed activity which can so easily lead to tragedy, but rather to make well known, in advance, that the sanctions available to the university such as suspension, expulsion and termination of employment. . . ." Distinguishing between academic freedom and license, he argued for the immediate implementation of a "code of conduct" with procedures and guidelines for implementation. Sending a

clear message that the regents were in charge, Hug dismissed the need for faculty and student input—in the interests of time.[102] The deadline for a code was set for the board's June meeting, with revisions to be considered at an ambiguous "later date." The code itself read like a laundry list of particular offenses that had been committed on the Reno campus, including "interference with the freedom of movement of persons or vehicles" and "disruption or interruptions of any university activity."[103] With the code in place to deter future protests on campus, Chancellor Humphrey hired local attorney Bert Goldwater to investigate Adamian and Maher. The disciplinary actions would thereafter focus on faculty only, as Miller was told that charges would be dropped against the students who falsified memos on Governor's Day.[104]

As Richardson recalled, "the regents have a history of doing rather important things in the summer when the students and faculty are not here. It's called 'the summer tactic'—that's the way I've heard it described."[105] The summer brought a marked change on campus, and faculty were aloof and cautious.[106] The summer tactic was successful, of course, with a diminished student population, a muted campus, an irate citizenry, and, most importantly, an election season underway. Several deans and department chairs supported the interim rules,[107] and as Hug explained, he was taking his cue from Berkeley:

> [W]e have the advantage of watching what has happened elsewhere as a result of the courses of action that they have chosen. But I would say that we would be making a great mistake if we don't benefit by watching it and take a different course. It's interesting to me that *right after the Berkeley incident, I had the opportunity of consulting with the university attorney for University of California*, who was very upset by the fact that *the administration did not enforce the regulations* and did deal directly with the students and did not require them to go through student government and didn't enforce the rules and regulations, *but sort of waived them in their case. He really predicted that it would lead to this sort of thing*. I've kept that in the back of my mind and have seen that work out, and it's caused me to think that it's very important that rules be established and be enforced.
>
> I felt it was also important that the public realize that the regents were concerned and that we intended to see that we did have a code, that it was clear, and that it was enforced. And I feel that that did a lot toward getting the public behind the university—feeling that the university was solving its own problems rather than taking their ire to the legislature. *It was particularly important that it be done right away, right in the June meeting, because we are now going into an election campaign time, where the next several months people campaigning for the legislature or other offices are going to be finding issues and discussing them*. The university would have been a prime target for potshots from all directions.[108]

In effect, the code was a simple response to a simple request. The public's rhetoric of action prompted the regents to comply. The extant rules and regulations seemed to

be of little concern to the regents, or perhaps simply a nuisance that could be resolved when the school year began. One of the most outspoken critics of the interim code was James T. Richardson, who reminded the regents that the Nevada campus was an exemplary campus for its time, yet the ghosts of McCarthy were still haunting the university:

> People down town apparently fail to realize that *nearly three hundred colleges and universities around the country are literally shut down* by student, faculty, and administrative actions. *Our university has remained open and is functioning normally.* The thing that is really out of the ordinary is the strong reaction of townspeople and others to what were by comparison minor events. . . . A large number of students and faculty simply think that *you are responding to a great deal of pressure that is being brought to bear by local people who are worried about the "Commies" on campus. . . . No one accepts your emergency argument.*[109]

The local AAUP chapter also wrote to the regents, concluding that the Governor's Day protest was mild and asserting that the code rules were already covered, and the two sets would confuse the issues "and succeed only in conveying an impression that the Board is thinking solely in terms of punitive responses." After all, the Interim Code conflicted with the 1966 *Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities* and the existing University of Nevada Code that had been crafted with faculty and student input.

The regents held their meeting and approved the code on Friday, June 12. Some regents argued over the rushed timetable, and the campus presidents and faculty senate representatives fought for student and faculty input. An Advisory Cabinet representing the presidents, faculty, and students argued for postponing adoption of these interim rules until October 1970, giving all interested parties time to review and consider the new rules. The regents rejected the proposal, proclaiming that the rules would be interim until the December board meeting. Thus, for all intents and purposes, the code would be in place until the legislative session began in January—the regents' deadline for appeasing the state's political leadership. Outrage among some of the faculty generated a flurry of letters to articulate the best course of action, referring to "witch-hunting tactics" wherein students were "encouraged to testify against their instructors." Several professors considered leaving the university, whereas others lambasted the code for being "a political document that was passed because the regents refused to protect the University from external pressures."[110]

Despite the certainty with which the regents and the general public disparaged Maher, the "witch-hunting tactics" used to generate evidence against him came up empty-handed. On July 21, the Goldwater investigation confirmed what most faculty knew. In all, Maher was deemed to be "a fair, honest, and excellent teacher" who "allowed free discussion without overdoing his own political beliefs."[111] With nothing to support their accusations, the regents were forced to drop charges against

Maher, and no further actions were taken against him, leaving Adamian as the sole "radical faculty" member on campus.[112]

In August, the Board of Regents met in Las Vegas, and had no open discussion about Governor's Day, the Interim Code, or Adamian and Maher. During a closed-door executive session, however, the regents decided to suspend Adamian from teaching.[113] The public discourse about the university continued its nastiness, as Raggio was called "ridiculous" in editorials, and professor Joseph Crowley engaged in public debate, calling down Raggio for his puritanical rhetoric.[114] In early September, the politicians had new fuel, finding out that Adamian was scheduled to team-teach with Crowley (political science) and Douglas Meyers (philosophy) a course in historic and contemporary revolution. From "downtown," the course looked like an introductory class in "How to Start a Revolution." Finding himself thrust into the public eye, especially with radio appearances, Crowley defended the course content: "To imply that the purpose of the study of revolution is to turn out revolutionaries is the same as to imply that the purpose of the study of crime is to turn out criminals." Senator Slattery also attacked Adamian's role in the course.[115]

Just before classes began in September, Miller—at the regents' request—told Adamian that he was barred from teaching but would continue to draw a salary. Miller refused to call it a suspension.[116] The dean of Arts and Science noted that it was "a most ill-advised action," and publicly emphasized that it was the regents' action, not Miller's. The English department, however, did not rally in support of its newly tenured colleague. They rejected a suggestion that they should boycott their classes. Instead, they chose to write a letter, stating that the action would prejudice the case against him.[117] During the meeting two students addressed the faculty, but could not move them:

> They were talking about writing a letter of protest to the regents, and we just finally threw up our hands and said, "Goddammit! Get off your butts. Don't be so frightened. Let's have at least one day where we don't teach classes or one day where we talk about Paul instead of classes." Something symbolic was all we were asking for, and they just turned on us and said, "*No way, we are afraid for our jobs. We're not going to jeopardize our jobs.*"[118]

As one of the English faculty recalled, "there were a lot of us who were unwilling to stick our necks out."[119] Some professors in other departments were incensed, yet they also decided against a strong response or collective action.

Classes began on Monday, September 14, and the campus and surrounding community was polarized. For many of the radicals, the revolution was around the corner. As sociologist David Harvey recalled, "We were waiting to get the word. The word was circling on the West Coast that there would be an insurrection coming out of Stanford and we'd take our cue from there."[120] Student activists were in a "maintenance phase," hoping for an event that could reinspire the student movement.[121] Within

days the campus was covered with spray-paint graffiti reading "Free Paul Adamian" and other sentiments.[122] The student senate adopted a resolution to return Adamian to his classes, and the Faculty Senate followed suit.[123] Buoyed by the community support, and sensing the spirit of possibility lingering on campus, Adamian gave another speech, calling Raggio "dangerous" and suggesting that Slattery should be jailed for inspiring violence on campus. Raggio responded by calling Adamian a "peddler of venom" and warning Nevadans against "his pack of radicals" who were "getting their licks in early with a new crop of students" and trying "to take control of this university."[124] Columnist Ty Cobb called Adamian a martyr for the liberals, then simply concluded that Maher was guilty as charged, writing that the "administration was persuaded to shrug it off and withdraw the charges against Maher." Cobb then dubbed Governor's Day "the most disgraceful day in the history of Nevada."[125] Within a week, over 80 faculty members signed an open letter to Miller disagreeing with his support of Adamian. Months after their rhetorics of dissent and confrontation, the radical youth who had firebombed buildings were seeing their aims realized. People were taking sides, but the issue of contention was not Nixon's war but who controlled the university and its students.

* * *

"Just give Paul a chance": Hearings and the Fall

The results from the Maher investigation did not appease Nevadans. The very act of investigation had publicly branded him guilty. Citizens weren't happy that their estimation of Maher—and of the campus—could have been wrong. Instead, they began to generate fresh information to validate the charges, demanding that the regents review their findings.[126] Knowing that the state was building a case against him, Adamian and his supporters were urging witnesses to counteract the efforts by submitting eyewitness statements and photos.[127] Meanwhile, Miller was visiting the Kiwanis Club and other groups, responding to criticism of the university and defending the team-taught "Revolutions" course.[128] To curtail the interference of such campaigning, dean O'Brien announced that Adamian's hearing would be closed to the public. While it would have probably been in Adamian's best interests to remain quiet, he continued to speak out against the state and the university, confirming for many observers that he was, indeed, a faculty troublemaker. On Friday, October 9, about 200 students attended a morning rally at which Adamian called for "radical changes" on campus. Later that day, the regents met in Reno, hearing a student senate resolution to return Adamian to classes.[129] During a closed-door meeting, the regents decided that the hearing should be open to specific representatives and the rest could be viewed via closed-circuit TV.[130]

With Adamian labeled an infiltrating radical leader, student unrest did not register much of a response. For example, a group of student activists staged a guerilla

theater skit in one of the English classes that was to be taught by Adamian.[131] Undergraduates David Slemmons and Dave Schindler were charged with breaking a rule in the interim code for "disruption or unauthorized interruption of a class." The group had smoked catnip-filled cigarettes, read the parts of the code they were breaking, then left[132]:

> I mean, we were doing a lot of stuff. It didn't make the papers a lot, but there were a lot of Abbie Hoffman kinds of things. So Dave Schindler wanted to do a demonstration. He got lots of people together who had signed up for the course, and I think some of them actually weren't signed up for the course at all. . . . And he decided we were all going to smoke catnip cigarettes, so we'd all lit them up right after the beginning of class.
>
> So I got up and read the paragraph about disrupting a class being in violation of the Code of Conduct, and then we all walked out. Well, they went after us. Since David was the one who organized it and since I was pretty in front of everything, they filed charges against both of us, *and then they finally dropped them against David, and then finally me. And this is really weird, because it wasn't judicial council; it was the Board of Regents that censured me* for violating the Code of Conduct . . . by reading the part of the Code of Conduct in class. You know, so it was really pretty good absurdist theater.[133]

However, while the students were passing off catnip cigarettes as marijuana joints, other drugs were being used as much more dangerous props. While the catnip-caper group faced code violations, Adamian claimed that his attorney, Charles Springer, informed him that someone was going to plant illicit drugs in his home. Allegedly, Springer's friend on the narcotics squad told him that officers had already searched Adamian's house without a warrant. Adamian was later informed by dean Kirkpatrick that there was nothing that could be done about the threat of a corrupt police intervention.[134] From Adamian's perspective, it looked like the establishment was trying to run him out of town, one way or another.[135]

The hearing began on October 13, with Adamian and others giving testimony about the motorcade, with conflicting evidence from Colonel Hill and others introduced.[136] Jay Sourwine, the attorney for the prosecution, showed a short film of Governor's Day activities, and the hearing was temporarily recessed because of a bomb threat.[137] Via closed-circuit TV, roughly 70 students watched the hearing from the student union, and the crowd swelled to 300 observers who cramped into one room, cheering and shouting "Right on!" when Springer made his arguments.[138] The citizens continued their obsession to remove the radical pollutant, as the Carson City alumni demanded that the regents "correct the cancerous condition which presently exists."[139] But the students realized that their rhetoric of confrontation was having limited impact. While Slemmons reprimanded the regents in the *Sagebrush* and threatened that "more severe action" was possible, most students had generally given

up on the confrontational tactics and opted for more traditional methods. They circulated petitions and raised money for Adamian's case, acknowledging that a student strike would only hurt Adamian's case.[140] In addition, it would have been difficult to argue fully against the university, which had acceded to student requests and enacted reforms in the Educational Opportunities Program that student activists had fought for during the spring semester.[141]

By November 6, the hearing report was released, concluding that Adamian's actions at the motorcade "might be taken by any concerned person when apparently threatened with bodily injury and do not violate the University Code."[142] Moreover, the committee recognized that permission had been granted for the march, and found that Adamian "at times occupied a position of prominence" but did not play any "planned or sustained leadership role." They concluded that were it a normal activity, Adamian would not be considered to have shown appropriate constraint, but Governor's Day was not normal because Miller and Hug had agreed "to behavior which under normal conditions would be considered inappropriate." The committee, however, did find Adamian guilty of neglecting "to show respect for the opinion of others," and for that offense, his current suspension would serve as a form of censure, and Miller should prepare a letter of formal censure against him. Miller agreed with the findings.

The committee's decision was seen as good news for many, prompting activists to proclaim the end of confrontational rhetoric: The *Morning Desert Free Press* declared, "[With] Adamian's freedom and liberation restored, it is thought that there will be no further bomb threats or violence on the UN-Reno campus this year."[143] The celebration was premature, however, as forces across the state continued their campaign against Adamian. The Lions Club came out publicly in favor of firing him, and Las Vegas politicians were vying to reapportion the Board of Regents representation in their favor, increasing southern Nevada's power over the state university system.[144] After reviewing the hearing report, the regents objected to the faculty senate recommendations for being "based upon incomplete and inaccurate findings," and they resubmitted the case with 18 points of disagreement. The committee reviewed the documents but reaffirmed its original conclusions and decisions.

The Board of Regents meeting began in Reno on Friday, December 11, with over 150 students rallying to support Adamian and express dissatisfaction with the board. The morning began with speeches, free food, and the submission of a petition with over 1,000 names—and nearly 100 "complicity statements" from individuals submitted who requested disciplinary action against themselves.[145] Students demanded that the Saturday personnel session be open, and a bomb threat was called in at the start of the afternoon session, with demands that the regents resign.[146] Students submitted their demands, and they disrupted the proceedings by clapping and singing "Just give Paul a chance" to the tune of John Lennon's "Give Peace a Chance."[147] But the Deputy Attorney General, Dan Walsh, created a way for police to quickly, effectively, and legally repress any creative disorder or civil disobedience

during the meeting.[148] Walsh filed a temporary restraining order and an order to show cause against Adamian and several students, preventing them from making loud noise, interfering with people entering university facilities, or occupying facilities to prevent their use.[149] None of defendants were notified that such orders were filed against them, and Walsh claimed that he had no time to do so. He claimed that notification was not necessary because he inferred that *by their conduct they did not intend to comply* and that further delay would cause "irreparable harm" to president Miller and the regents.[150] In effect, he had created a legal rationale to remove forcibly any protestor who made a loud noise.

On Saturday, the regents decided to postpone Code of Conduct decisions until another meeting. Before the closed-door personnel meeting, about a dozen students spoke for and against Adamian.[151] In a final appeal, Adamian asked the regents not to blame him for recent activity on campus: "What goes on today, or yesterday, what I do today, doesn't have anything to do with the motorcade or leading student in raucous catcalls. . . . Are you trying me for what I did on Governor's Day or are you trying me for what I am?" His pleas, as well as those of the others there on his behalf, may have been in vain. According to student Bob Mayberry, the deliberations were all a show. The regents had already reached a consensus:

> They went up into the president's office and closed the door. The president's secretary left her desk and went in, and I stood there. (I had known her because in student government, you know, the secretaries—they're important people.) I stood there and realized there was this huge stack of copies on her desk. So I went over and looked at it, and sure enough it said, "Document terminating . . . Paul Adamian." I mean, my jaw just dropped. I picked it up and started leafing through it and realized that they had done this beforehand; it was done before they went to the meeting today. And all the charade of listening to students was just that.[152]

The deliberations among the regents, as Hug remembered it, were "not heated" but "calm," and he denied that the regents had made their decision in advance. As he put it, simply, "we determined that stronger action was needed."[153] After about an hour of discussion, the regents decided to fire Adamian in a majority vote.[154] On Monday morning, Walsh filed a motion to dismiss the restraining orders because "there was a remarkable change in attitude" among the defendants.[155]

The months after Governor's Day brought about amazing shifts in the symbolic activity and public discourse surrounding the protest and its participants. The student activists had deployed rhetorics of confrontation and dissent, but yielded unanticipated results: public fears about the safety of university students, an obsessive citizenry bent on purging the campus of its radical infiltrators, and a handful of demagogues who tapped into McCarthy-era tactics for political gain. Adamian did not try to refute, but instead reinforced, the public's impression of him as a radical professor. In the end, and much too late, student activists tried to use traditional means of

reform, but Adamian was fired. The regents had restored the campus to its earlier, ostensibly more pristine state, right before the legislature met in January. However, once stimulated, the public antagonism toward the university—and the regents' power over the campus—did not subside immediately.

* * *

"A long, complicated story": Appeals and New Demands

The faculty senate appointed a committee to review Adamian's case, and Adamian asked the AAUP for support.[156] Feeling like he had already relied on Springer for too long, Adamian tried to hire a different lawyer, but *no attorneys in Nevada would take his case*, fearing that they would lose their existing clients and be labeled radical sympathizers. After a Berkeley law firm took his case but was too busy to work on it, Adamian returned to Springer.[157] Adamian's continued presence on campus—and even in town—was still perceived as a threat, as were the professors who supported him. The regents' show of force should have appeased Nevadans, but the campus "cleaning up" would not be final as long as the infiltrator was still present. Although the spring of 1971 was fairly quiet on campus, students and faculty raised legal funds and formed the Paul Adamian Defense Committee, chaired by professor James T. Richardson.[158]

The Nevada legislature met in January 1971 and halted funding for academic programs the Reno campus, and while some historians might argue that it was simply a fiscal decision, the reality is that the legislature could have introduced more gradual measures. While Nevada Southern University (NSU) and the community colleges received millions of dollars, president Miller had to cut operating funds by 5 percent, freeze faculty hiring, and suspend programs. Graduate research and funding had also been cut drastically. However, Laxalt's corporate-gaming initiatives, his support of the FBI's tax-evasion investigations, and his efforts to make peace in the university system coalesced in the same legislative session: a portion of federal tax revenue collected from gambling profits would be now be allocated to the state for a $5 million annual "Constuction Fund" for the university system.[159]

Nevadans criticized the university's Experimental College for supporting the Adamian Defense Fund and allowing Adamian to attend college functions, and the threat of reprisal for supporting Adamian was enough to convince the defense committee to require "strict secrecy regarding the names of the contributors."[160] The threat of reprisal was not merely a case of excess caution or paranoia. In February 1971 the Board of Regents rejected professor Richardson's promotion, the only one denied out of 60 cases reviewed. The news had a chilling effect across campus. Moreover, before the year was up, tenured professors Wendell Mordy and Friedwardt Winterbeg would—like Adamian—be terminated.[161]

In April and May 1971, demonstrations in Washington, DC, were massive, bolstered by the Vietnam Veterans against the War whose presence changed the face of the antiwar movement. At Nevada, however, activism virtually disappeared, and Governor's Day was forever canceled as an end-of-semester event.[162] In the summer, Adamian filed suit against the regents in the U.S. District Court for the District of Nevada, asking for $75,000 in damages and reinstatement.[163] As Adamian has it, he wasn't interested in fighting any further, but pursued the appeals process at the urging of several faculty members. Furthermore, he didn't have any money to put up for the fight, so he left matters in the hands of Springer and the Defense Fund. With little in the way of material belongings, Adamian left Reno with $3,500 in retirement savings, spent some time in Maine, then moved to Mexico for the winter.

Almost as though Governor's Day was a long and protracted diversion, student activists at Nevada returned to their two previous concerns: student rights and racial discrimination. However, when a rhetoric of confrontation surfaced in the fall of 1971, it faced overwhelming state repression. While funding for the EOPs was made available in the fall of 1970, black students saw the university as only mildly concerned about their issues. Black Student Union (BSU) members, frustrated at having been denied office space for the previous year, demanded that the union provide them with facilities. At the end of October, 28 black student activists took control of student union offices and locked themselves inside. The conservative factions on campus then threatened retaliation if the BSU was given the space. As Miller recalled, this disruption drew the same numbers as Governor's Day, with nearly the same level of threat:

> I begged with them to come out. . . . They listened through the door and then later by telephone. The thing that bothered me was a crowd of students had began to gather around the union, and *for the first time there were identifiable cowboys and liberals*, and as a couple of hours passed there must have been *five or six hundred students* outside. Security people kept them from going in the building, and they wanted to disperse them, and I said no, that they have a right to be there so long as they don't do material or physical damage—and they weren't, but *they were doing a lot of yelling at each other. And I really was frightened. All it would take would be for one kid to strike another, and the whole place would be mêlée*. And I thought about seeing if the fire department could come out with a hose, so I called somebody in city hall, and they said, "No." And they were right.[164]

A total of 28 BSU members had occupied the offices, and 12 managed to escape through the roof. Miller recalled the threat level, and even mentioned the possibility of using fire hoses, but did not mention the egregious show of police force that combined both town and gown forces.[165] As Mayberry recalled, the police presence was astonishing:

> When the police arrived with their guns pulled from their holsters, it's a vision I will never forget. . . . I had never seen that many cops in Reno in my life. We'd never

> seen cops on campus. They'd always had a very friendly relationship with the campus police. But it was city cops—I'm pretty sure it was city cops—and the highway patrol, and they marched in, you know, with the guns up. That was shocking. To remove that handful of young black males from this little office, it seemed like overreaction of the worst sort.[166]

Professor Richardson offered a similar estimation:

> It was an awesome display of force. There was a line of highway patrol cars all the way from where the freeway is up to the north end of campus. There were hundreds of fully armed highway patrolmen circling [the student union]. They were standing about five feet apart all around the building. It's unbelievable. And that line of cars. I'll never forget it. I don't know where in the hell they got them all. Must have been every highway patrolman in northern Nevada, and every cop, you know.
>
> And when those guys starting jumping off the roof, all it would have taken is one rookie to pull a trigger—it would have been a massacre. I mean, I've never seen anything like it. Talk about over-reaction. It was bizarre kind of things that were going on then. And, you know, around the country students were getting shot on campuses for various activities. But we nearly had it here. Well, that day we were out there trying to keep people calm and yelling, "Don't shoot! Don't shoot!" But the black students were just up on the roof running around jumping off. I'm sure they were terrified when they looked over the roof and saw that the building was completely surrounded. Scary stuff. When they jumped off the building, they arrested them and took them downtown.[167]

Richardson and Dave Harvey bailed out the 16 students who were arrested, and the entire episode only increased tension on an already edgy campus—and accomplished little for the students.

Campus activism had once again provoked statewide attention, and the repercussions of Governor's Day lingered in state political battles.[168] While the campus was sorting through a new round of controversies, Adamian's case was scheduled to appear before Chief Judge Roger D. Foley in Las Vegas.[169] In December 1972, Richardson filed his own suit in the U.S. District Court, claiming that the regents violated his First Amendment rights when the board rejected his promotion from assistant to associate professor.[170] Richardson had not only supported Adamian but also defended professor Craig Magwire, who had been fired from his position as director of the university's computing center. As Richardson saw it, protesting Magwire's removal "was the main thing" that led the regents to deny the promotion. As he would elaborate in his oral history, the upheaval placed Richardson in the direct line of fire:

> I happened to be in the chancellor's office the day [Magwire] got fired. I was waiting to see the chancellor about something, and Magwire comes out of the office and tells

> me he just got fired. And he tells me he got fired because the chancellor is upset that he's paying too much attention to academic computing and not enough to administrative computing—to getting the checks written on time. So that was offensive morally, and just stupid. And so that was bad enough, and then they replaced him with a person that didn't have any academic background at all, Niels Anderson—and that upset a lot of people, including me.
>
> So I reacted to it, and, you know, I got up a petition and got a bunch of people to sign it, and I read it in a faculty senate meeting with the person who had made those two decisions to fire and to hire sitting across the room from me. *The petition I wrote up talked about the fact that Procter Hug's navy buddy was being appointed computing center director. And whether it's true or not* (that there was a conspiracy to get rid of one guy and bring another guy in), and that the chancellor and Procter Hug were involved in it, I don't know exactly what happened. I was reporting facts, and *it could have left the impression that I was certainly accusing them of a conspiracy.*[171]

In another example of the interconnections generated in a small community like Reno, Richardson would run into the same problems Adamian faced in finding legal representation. Judge Hyde had initially offered his services, but because he was affiliated with the university, he was forced to withdraw out of a conflict of interest. However, with Hyde's help, attorney Paul Bible—the son of a U.S. Senator—agreed to take his case. The regents eventually settled out of court, granting Richardson back pay and promotion. With Richardson's victory, and Adamian's status inconclusive, Nevada faculty sought broader organizational protection. While the Adamian Defense Committee fund was established with the best of intentions, it withered as his case went into its second and third years.[172]

By April 1972, a group of faculty formed the first Nevada chapter of the National Society for Professors (NSP), an affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA). It was the seed for what would become the Nevada Faculty Alliance, one of the nation's most powerful statewide representative bodies for college and university faculty.[173] At this time, Adamian moved to California. His appeals were just beginning and it was clear that they could continue for years, so he tried to find other teaching positions. He applied to schools across the western states but found that the job market was tight, especially for someone who admitted his activist troubles. He contacted Canadian universities and had similar luck, finding that they were overwhelmed with faculty applicants who wanted to leave the United States. Adamian then turned his attention overseas, applying to schools in volatile countries like Libya and Iran who might be sympathetic to antiwar protestors. In February 1973, the University of Libya offered him a contract, but after investigating the political and cultural climate, Adamian declined.

In April 1972, the District Court ordered Adamian reinstated with back pay and interest, ruling that the regulation used to fire him was too broad. In doing so, the

court struck down a portion of the code modeled "almost word for word" on the AAUP's Statement of Principles from 1940 as "unconstitutional for vagueness and overbreadth."[174] In July, the regents and president Miller made a motion for a rehearing, but Foley stood firm. As if to underscore Foley's decision, the University Code was changed, ending the regents' power to fire faculty. The new regulations stipulated that the presidents would have the final say. In effect, the new code meant that in a case like Adamian's, in which the president wanted only a censure or suspension, the faculty member in question could not be fired by the regents.

The Board of Regents appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (NCCA) in San Francisco. By September 1975, the NCCA overturned Foley's 1973 decision, asserting that while the university regulations were vague, the charges made against Adamian were specific. However, the NCCA also ordered new testimony. In his opinion, Judge Herbert Y. C. Choy explained that a 1963 AAUP document clarified the 1940 Statement of Principles so as to eliminate any overbreadth. Accordingly, Choy argued, because the university adopted nearly verbatim the 1940 version, it could be assumed that it had adopted the 1963 clarification as well. Choy ordered the case sent back to Foley to determine whether the regents' construction of the university's regulation was the same as the 1963 construction.[175] The case was back in Las Vegas in January 1976. When asked if they knew about the 1963 construction, the regents—in a response that surprised no one—said they did. Springer wrote to Adamian at this time, saying that Foley "seemed very anxious to get off the case." For reasons that are not clear, Foley decided to withdraw from the case, and it was sent back to the Federal District Court in Reno. Judge Bruce Thompson, as a former regent, could not hear the case, so he too removed himself.[176] Because the two, and only, district judges removed themselves, an out-of-state judge had to be brought in: Howard B. Turrentine from San Diego.

So, in May 1976, Springer argued his case again, this time to Turrentine, who ruled in favor of the university. According to Richardson (who was an attorney by the time of the interview), Springer wasn't giving it his full attention.

> And I'll never forget one time I went to a federal court. And I go down to observe the hearing, and I walk in the courtroom, and Charlie Springer comes running back and said, "I want you to testify today." This is called case preparation? . . . You usually let people know a day or two in advance that you're going to be a witness in a federal court case. I agreed to do it, because Charlie sounded desperate. . . . So I did it, and I didn't help the cause any. I remember that: not feeling very good about it. But that's a sign of what was going on: just fly by the seat of your pants.[177]

Six years had passed, but the hearing revealed new information. One regent admitted that the regents' actions were intended to discourage future protests. And Richardson

testified that he had heard a regent raise the question as to why Adamian had been "singled out," to which regent Anderson said it was "to make an example" of him. With enough time to review the case and tease out the details of Governor's Day, Charles Springer argued that professor James Hulse was the only faculty member who played a leadership role, since he was the only faculty member who served as a liaison between university officials and the antiwar demonstrators.[178]

Another appeal to the NCCA was filed, and Springer appeared in San Francisco in September, receiving what he called the "bastard calf" treatment from the presiding judges. Judges Duniway and Choy disqualified themselves from the case, and as Hug explained, his own appointment as a federal judge with the NCCA might have had something to do with it:

> it just happened that I was selected as federal judge about the time that his decision was appealed to the Ninth Circuit. Well, that made sense that none of the judges on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals would feel that they should be hearing a case that I was sort of involved in earlier. So that made a lot of sense to bring in judges from another circuit to hear it, along with a district judge that does frequently sit with the court of appeals.[179]

Six months later, different judges were brought in, and they might have known why. In October 1979 the NCCA upheld Turrentine's ruling, leaving Springer no other choice than to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to hear the case in 1980.

In the mid-1970s, NSP and AAUP chapters had formed at Nevada community college campuses.[180] In the early 1980s, the regents were at it again, this time establishing a new code that would unite the NSP and AAUP chapters for a fight that embarrassed the regents on a national level. What garnered so much attention was a provision that gave a university president the right to order psychiatric evaluations of faculty members. The code got the attention of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and others.[181] As Richardson recalled, "It took a year or so of battling and national publicity and embarrassing the heck out of them. But out of that came a decision that we needed to maintain a statewide faculty organization, and so we melded the two organizations." The AAUP and NSP were brought into a coalition, and the organization disaffiliated from the NEA but kept a legal defense program modeled after the NEA's program. It's one of the only programs in the country that provides its members with legal protection, not just advice. Thus, the Nevada Faculty Alliance was born, and would become a powerful lobbying force in the state, affiliated with the AAUP but unique in its legal defense program and its sponsorship of a political action committee. As Richardson summed it up: "If Governor's Day hadn't happened, and particularly if the Code wars hadn't happened, then later, there probably wouldn't be anything like the Nevada Faculty Alliance

existing today, which is kind of ironic when you think about it. And, you know, it's a long story. It's just a long, complicated story.[182]

* * *

Planting Trees in the Desert

In closing this chapter, and bringing this study to a close, I focus on a few of the chronicler reflections on Governor's Day and the Adamian Affair, in the hopes of providing a sense of the larger legacy of the antiwar movement as it played on a small stage at the edge of the desert. As Maher explained, he stopped working on his Ph.D., finding that his academic progress was hindered by what had happened in 1970. He was working as a counselor at the time of his interview. As Maher saw it, Adamian was a convenient scapegoat who simply absorbed the attention that should have been focused on students:

> He was a minor role in the whole thing, and his role was blown up, magnified by the media—the print media, radio, television, all of it. And I suspect it's simply because he was a faculty member, and they would find that a better story than some duped, undergraduate twenty-year-old, which wouldn't be seen as good of a story as a professional . . . the undergraduates didn't want their names blown up as if they were big shots. This was almost exclusively undergraduate organized and almost everything else about it was undergraduate.[183]

Bob Mayberry, an English professor, revealed that Adamian was chosen for his appearance in photographs, just as emeritus professor Anne Howard recalled that Adamian was too visible:

> He was the only one—and we always joke about this—the only one in a sweatshirt, and I think that had a lot of effect on these square people. Excuse me for using language like that, you know, but everybody else looked straight, and Paul looked like *Paul*, you know. And he had sort of wild hair.[184]

As I have argued in preceding chapters, it's doubtful that Adamian was a protest organizer, and his leadership role is also questionable, but no one expressed surprise that Adamian was the one singled out for his actions on Governor's Day. Instead, many observers were upset simply because his actions didn't warrant the charges brought against him.

For those involved in the antiwar movement, however, the high stakes were simply part of the landscape. While many of the protestors lament that Adamian was singled out of 300 or more individuals, there was no sense of regret that Governor's Day happened. At the time of his interview, David Slemmons was a librarian and still

a devoted political activist. As Mayberry and Slemmons (respectively) recalled their motivations during that time, activism was a part of life that had serious consequences:

> We weren't playing at protesting anymore. Instead of the peace movement being dangerous in terms of your reputation, maybe your future in terms of jobs, and putting yourself on line, suddenly it seemed dangerous in terms of your life. And it had never seemed that way before to me. . . . I absented myself from politics. I stopped looking at any newspapers or any television news for about ten years of my life because of those events. It was just a way to save my sanity; I thought I was losing it.[185]

> At that point, I mean, we were seeing things in terms of life and death. You know, we weren't seeing it like "Oh, they're going to flunk you this semester." The question is whether I get drafted at the end of this semester or the end of next semester. I mean, because I thought: it's coming . . . We wouldn't have done what we were doing if we didn't think at some point that we were going to be able to stop the war or create change. I mean, we would have already split for Canada or something.[186]

Adamian didn't blame students, and the students who were involved generally regretted what happened to him, and a few of them admitted that their actions had actually made the situation worse.

On the other hand, those who did not support the Governor's Day protest have very different views of the time, opting for a more hopeful and productive view of Nevada and its universities. In his 2000 interview, Hug expressed no regrets and took great pride in the university's accomplishments:

> What I'm pleased about is the fact that the University of Nevada developed. We got the community college system going, got a medical school going. And see, all of that was during this time, too, during these years and were kind of approved by the legislature with one vote, a majority. We brought the National Judicial College to the campus during that time. . . . We built a lot of new buildings. . . . We had a good relationship with the legislature and were able to expand the university, both in Reno and Las Vegas.[187]

Similarly, Del Papa envisioned the years surrounding Governor's Day as industrious and upbeat:

> You know, we cleaned Manzanita Lake. We planted trees. It was a very productive and, I think, a good year. We changed the calendar system. . . . There were a lot of positive changes. I've given many, many speeches where I mention this period, and I refer to it as very positive, you know.[188]

Overall, under Laxalt's regime, the state of Nevada made a striking transition to a corporate-gaming economy and preserved a university system that was in danger of

being pulled apart. And most of the people who were part of the establishment in 1970 rose up in the ranks to positions of power and influence.

For others, however, the accomplishments of the era also had their costs. While the faculty had increased protection and came together to protect their rights, the atmosphere on campus remained devoid of activism, especially among undergraduates. According to professor David Harvey, the physical improvements on campus belied its political wounds:

> And then the university prospered. It died spiritually, but it prospered physically. You can go look at all the buildings and stuff that we have now. And they left us alone. They left the radicals alone. But, I mean, there at least was about a twenty-year period where academic freedom actually worked a good part of the time, and I think probably Paul [Adamian] bought us some of that. And I think more and more there's a general embarrassment among the people who had gone after him.[189]

As president Crowley saw it, the faculty came together, but the political squabbling and bad blood persisted in ways that no one had anticipated. In effect, the campus came together, but town-gown relations were badly damaged:

> It certainly solidified, I think, the tradition of faculty participation. . . . And I think it hurt us badly in terms of support from the community, in terms of support at the legislature. It didn't necessarily start with that, but certainly by the mid-1970s we seemed to have erected a wall here, or the community helped erect a wall, and we weren't talking. Our relationships were really bad, and in the legislature, it was the same story. We imposed on the people who fought that battle in the legislature a terrible burden that of course we didn't think about it at the time. It hurt not just this institution, but all of public higher education in Nevada.[190]

For Crowley, the protest forced a public debate about the role of the university and the community's perception of it. In his view, Governor's Day placed him in the public eye, which led to his remarkable ascent from SDS faculty advisor to president of the University of Nevada. As he explained, the team-taught "revolutions" course in September 1970 sparked off-campus anger, but ultimately it enabled him rise in the ranks of the university leadership:

> [A course on revolution] seemed a reasonable thing to do . . . and then Governor's Day happened, and that was just the talk of the town for the longest time. . . . It enrolled, I would say, the bulk—if not the entirety—of the campus student radical leadership, but some other people as well . . .
>
> And the next thing I know, there is a guy going around to, I think, just about every media outlet in town—television, radio, and the newspaper—and explaining what was going to happen in this course. And he said that we (this was me really, named) were

> going to teach the students, among other things, how to make bombs, et cetera . . . "a course in how to conduct a revolution." Right here in Reno, Nevada, which was—to anybody who knew me—truly laughable. So, it's in the paper, and it's on the radio . . .
>
> I was an untenured assistant professor at that point. . . . And so, I wrote a letter to the editor [defending the course], and it was tongue-in-cheek. The *Nevada State Journal* ran it as an editorial, and with a little forward that says, "We agree with what Professor Crowley has said." The *Reno Evening Gazette* ran it maybe a day or two later, as simply a letter to the editor, but ran it in its entirety. And to my surprise, I got phone calls and comments from the people I saw on the campus. I think it was just finally—emerging from this chaos and this terrible morale—somebody had said something that was encouraging and that got a good report in at least one of the newspapers, and that I believe really made Bill Raggio angry. [laughter]
>
> So there it was! So I became, in a very small way, a kind of public figure, and certainly on this campus. . . . Well, as it happened, there was an opening on the faculty senate, and so I was elected. I mean, I didn't run, but I was elected. And then, in 1971, I became the vice chair, and then I became the senate chair. I wouldn't have been elected, wouldn't been vice chair, wouldn't have been senate chair without Paul Adamian and Governor's Day, if you can see that train of events. Had I not been faculty senate chair in 1972–1973, I would not have been acting president, in my opinion, in 1978. I've always believed, and do to this day, that I ended up in this job, which subsequently I got as the regular president, with Governor's Day.[191]

The vast networks of causation can be difficult to discern—and quite compelling, in retrospect. In the case of the University of Nevada, the small campus and its fairly limited cast of characters provides an intriguing analogue for the outcome of the antiwar movement, as it's clear that those who worked within the system went on to secure positions of power within that system, whereas individuals like Maher and Adamian found themselves persecuted not for what they did, but because the case against them suited a larger political agenda prompted by the media, the citizenry, the legislature, and the regents.

When his uncle died in 1973, Adamian purchased a commercial fishing boat with the inheritance money and worked the waters outside of Bodega Bay, California, where he would stay until 1978. When the fishing industry became less lucrative, Adamian sold his boat and lived in a nearby commune, working sporadically at a gas station, a lumber mill, and seasonal work in commercial fishing:

> I just lived in a shack that had no electricity or running water, no indoor toilet or anything like that. But there was no rent to pay. We had a garden there. We had our own sheep and chickens and turkeys and stuff. And so with the little money that I was able to make like that and the very little that I spent on myself—I've never been the kind of person that was into fancy cars or expensive toys or anything like that. I was able to get by, you know, barely.

In May 1980, Adamian moved up to Washington State, where he continued to work odd jobs and at the time of his interview was living in retirement. Aside from random letters written to Springer, and an interview in 1975, Adamian had not been in contact with anyone from Reno until I contacted him in 1998.[192]

It seems fitting that this chapter, and this book, should end with a chronicler's words, rather than my own. I give Adamian the "last word" here because I believe the entire sequence of events resulted in distorted historical pictures of campus events in Nevada. Adamian's reflections on his 1970 experiences stand in striking contrast to Crowley's. Adamian's comments underscore, I think, the sense of obligation that compelled activists during the Vietnam era as much as it registers the multifaceted narratives that emerged from "the Sixties": thousands of stories about a social and political movement that we need to understand in all of its complexity.

> So basically, looking back on it, I feel as though there wasn't a lot of choice; there really wasn't any other choice. It was either do something that was disruptive or sort of illegal—at least in terms of their notions of due process and that kind of thing—or nothing at all. And there was no way, given what was going on and given how strongly I felt about them, that I could have done nothing.
>
> To some extent this was just sort of a matter of timing. I mean, it happened because I was at the University of Nevada. If it had been a different *kind* of university, then the Governor's Day thing would never have happened. I would never have been involved in something like that. My career wouldn't have come to an end. And even after all these years I haven't really been able to think of any particular thing that, if I had the chance, I would have done differently or that would have had any different kind of consequence. There certainly have been times when I've missed the classroom, I've missed students. I always liked the classroom, I like students. I hated administrators, you know. But it just never happened; it just never came together.
>
> So who knows what the outcome of this is going to be? To some extent, the Left lost all of their goals. I mean, their economic changes never happened. We were talking about participatory democracy: more help for the poor, elevating the bottom of the whole structure, and equal opportunity and all of that sort of thing, and I'm certain that nobody is going to stand *today* thirty years later with a straight face and say that these things have come about. So, the Right really won on those issues—where they lost was culturally.
>
> And as for myself, I just kind of see myself as one person, a kind of a grain of sand in a huge sand dune that some wind came along and moved. And I certainly wasn't a sand dune. I certainly never saw myself that way. But in retrospect, I guess, I could say I was a grain in there, and I feel OK about that. In fact, I feel better than OK. I feel good about that.

Notes

Chapter One Introduction: The Open Hand and the University

1. See Adams, *Peacework*; Beattie, *The Scar that Binds*; Gioglio, *Days of Decision*; Morrison and Morrison, *From Camelot to Kent State*; Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*; Tollefson, *The Strength Not to Fight*; Lieberman, *Prairie Power*, 2004.
2. The project emerged from the prompting of librarian Kenneth Carpenter. Mary Ellen Glass, Marian Rendall, and Ruth Hilts, interview, tape recording, June 24, 1970.
3. Glass and her colleagues found some of the chroniclers "reluctant to talk," and some chroniclers took the option to have restrictions placed on the interviews. A few restricted their oral histories to researchers and other qualified scholars, and some placed time limits ranging from a few months to several years. Among Glass and her colleagues, some of the discussion centered on basic interviewing techniques, from encouraging feedback to disclosing questions before the interview began. The questions, in order, were as follows:

> What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia? In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus? What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country, also related to this Cambodia decision? What did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day? What was your reaction to the demonstration? How do you feel about the necessity of participating in the demonstration? What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and of the Governor's Day observance? What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved up there—the demonstrators, the ROTC, the university administration? What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombing? What category of participating in various affairs of those weeks: the students, the faculty or outsiders, do you think was most important in fomenting violence on the campus? Do you think outsiders were important? What actions did you feel were most effective in cooling off the situation after the fire bombing? How do you think the events on campus affect the university's image outside? In the dealing with this conflict on campus? What should the university be doing to focus on those things? Do you think that issues of academic freedom were involved in participating in the demonstration? How can students and faculty be effective politically? Should they try to influence? Where do you think the peace movement in this area is going now?

4. The university archivist was Karen Gash.
5. At the time of this writing, the case against Professor Ward Churchill is particularly compelling, and has been called a "test case" in a renewed conservative effort to eliminate tenure and increase state control over universities. See "Countering Counterculture," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 10, 2005, p. B2; Stanley Fish, "Chickens: The Ward Churchill and Larry Summers Story," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 13, 2005, p. B9; Kyle Henley, "Colorado Case Reopens Debate About Tenure," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 11, 2005, p. 3; David Horowitz, "College Professors Should be Made to Teach, Not Preach," *USA Today*, March 24, 2005.
6. Other definitions should be considered. According to Jame Hoopes, oral history is "the collecting of any individual's spoken memories of his life, of people he has known, and events he has witnessed or participated in." According to Donald Ritchie oral history "collects spoken memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews." And for Starr, it's "the primary source material obtained by recording the spoken words—generally by means of planned, tape-recorded interviews—of persons deemed to harbor hitherto unavailable information worth preserving." Hoopes, *Oral History*, p. 7; Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, p. 1; Starr, "Oral History," p. 4.
7. In the Vatican archives Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie discovered approximately 500 depositions from Montaillou villagers in France who were suspected of heresy and subsequently interviewed (and just as in current oral history practice, chroniclers had the opportunity to correct transcripts of their interview). Likewise, in 1832 the U.S. Congress interviewed thousands of Revolutionary War veterans to determine their eligibility for pension benefits; this resulted in thousands of written reminiscences recorded about life during the Revolution. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, p. 93.
8. In a reversal of classical practice, *kairos* (timeliness) can be assessed not to guide the oration, but determined from the oration.
9. As oral historians David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum argue in their preface to *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, each application of oral history "relies on a manner particular to its field; each uses that information in unique fashion—each shares the difficulties inherent in working with oral sources," p. xiv.
10. As Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg explain, "Instead of examining everything, rhetorical argument [for Aristotle] builds whenever possible on assumptions the audience already holds. Rhetoric is thus a mode of inquiry for non-experts, but what they 'discover' if the rhetorical argument is conducted properly is only what scientific demonstration or dialectic has already established," Bizzell and Herzberg, *The Rhetorical Tradition*, p. 145.
11. Ronald Grele maintains, "The production of real narrative, in which narrative schemes govern the construction of the testimony, is rare in oral history, and the reason is that the interviewer refuses to allow it to develop" ("History," p. 14). Ruth Finnegan explains, oral forms are "deeply affected by the kinds of audiences to which they are addressed on any particular occasion. The audience is there, face to face, inescapable . . ." Grele, *Envelopes of Sound*, p. 113.
12. Grele writes, "No matter what the construction of the narrative, the product we create is a conversational narrative and *can only be understood by understanding the various relationships contained within this structure*," ibid., p. 135 (emphasis added). See also Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* and Phelan, *Narrative as Rhetoric*. In conjunction with

Grele's argument for oral history as "conversational narratives," Alessandro Portelli argues for a narrative methodology in examining interviews, drawing on the work of Gerard Genette and the Russian formalist school of literary criticism. Portelli also asserts the primacy of orality in oral history, recalling Socrates's warnings against writing and the often underemphasized oratorical tradition that is the foundation of rhetoric. Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," pp. 64–67.

13. Grele maintains that "oral history interviews are constructed, for better or for worse, by the active intervention of the historian," *Envelopes of Sound*, p. 133.
14. Gerald Nelms in "The History of Oral History" argues that the "interviewer and the informant of an oral history interview . . . collaborate in the discovery or creation of historical meaning. Together, they participate in what rhetoricians call *invention*," p. 378.
15. In "Oral History as Communicative Event," Charles Joyner sees oral history interviews as a rhetorical situation he calls a "communicative event," similar to Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of "speech genres." Regarding interview analysis, Joyner uses sociolinguistics to catalogue discourse formations that seem likely candidates for rhetorical and narrative analysis:

    > Such elements of an oral history testimony as the degree of explicitness, the use of conventional phrases and formulations, the use of direct vs. indirect speech, modes of addressing and referring to other persons, the means of issuing commands and requests, means of indicating politeness or rudeness, and the means of opening and closing conversations *are not accidental.* They have both linguistic and social meaning and are analyzable for *historical meaning* in ways that written documents are not. (Emphasis added)
    >
    > In what would otherwise be a strong claim for the presence of rhetoric in the "communicative event," Joyner relegates the discursive dynamics to interpretive methodology that results in historiographical benefits alone. Joyner, "Oral History as Communicative Event," p. 303; see Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*.

16. Jensen, "Evolving Protest Rhetoric," p. 28.
17. Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, p. 43 and Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action*, p. 6.
18. At the University of Michigan, Newton Edd Miller, Jr., had written a dissertation in 1952 entitled "The Effect of Group Size on Decision-Making Discussions." With William M. Sattler, he cowrote a successful communications textbook that was published in two editions: *Discussion and Conference*.
19. Herbert W. Simons, "Confrontation as a Pattern of Persuasion in University Settings," unpublished paper, 1969, quoted in Bailey, "Confrontation as an Extension of Communication," p. 185. Parke G. Burgess makes a similar point: "The victim must be convinced that dire consequences are likely, not to say certain, *before* he can feel coerced to comply, just as he must become convinced of the coercer's probable capacity and intent to commit the act of violence *before* he can conclude that the act is likely to follow noncompliance." Burgess, "Crisis Rhetoric," p. 69. See also Stewart et al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, p. 16.
20. Emphasis added. Bosmajian, "Introduction," *Dissent*, p. 5.
21. Some rhetoricians define such agitation as "lateral deviance," and its effects: "If they do not understand, establishment leaders will discover explanations for the dissenters' actions based on their own view of the world," Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 8.

22. From the 1962 "Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society."
23. Bailey, "Confrontation as an Extension of Communication," p. 182.
24. According to Zeno, the open hand symbolized the persuasive discourse of orators (and their ingratiating ways), whereas the closed fist represented the tight logic of the philosopher. Corbett drastically changed the meaning of Zeno's metaphors.
25. Corbett, "The Rhetoric of the Open Hand and the Rhetoric of the Closed Fist," p. 76.
26. Ibid., p. 78.
27. Emphasis added. Scott and Smith, "The Rhetoric of Confrontation," p. 178.
28. Leland Griffin coined the term "body rhetoric" in "The Rhetorical Structure of the 'New Left' Movement," p. 127.
29. For Adamian, the Armenian genocide might have been a cause of "intergenerational trauma," though I resist any further analysis here.
30. According to survey results in the late 1960s, the differing views about the war were not caused by a generation gap. Contrary to popular belief, perspectives for and against the war did not split along the same lines dividing the young from old. Many older Americans opposed the war and many young people fully supported it. See Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!*, p. 54; Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. 39–40.
31. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 13.
32. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 161–162; also in "Stokely Carmichael," Robert L. Scott and Wayne Brockriede make a similar argument about the media's distortion of Black Power messages.

Chapter Two Motley, Mongrel, and Growing: The University in America

1. The idea of a guaranteed, or permanent, position was an anomaly, even though it was proposed early on. A case in 1790 argued that professors were entitled to life appointments and could not be terminated without just cause and a fair hearing, but the court ruled in favor of the university. Similar arguments would surface throughout the 1800s, but oddly enough would become inverted after the Civil War, when some faculty argued that they should be considered first as employees who had contractual protections. The latter cases were inconclusive, as some resulted in findings that faculty contracts could not be nullified by state governing boards, whereas others gave the boards supreme power over the hiring and firing of faculty. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 460–465.
2. The word "university" was not initially connected with the universality of learning but instead with the definition of a corporate group: it was a collective identity used for leverage and power against the surrounding community. In some cases a university would move if local conditions were unsatisfactory, for the university existed because of the students not the physical plant. In some configurations, gilds of students comprised the university and hired their faculty, whereas in others, the gilds of masters prevailed. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 19; Haskins, "The Earliest Universities," p. 23; Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," p. 4.
3. In Paris, this dynamic was formalized in 1200, when King Philip Augustus exempted students from local laws: the jurisdiction of the layperson would simply not apply to

university students. By 1231, the papal bull *Parens scientarium* would reinforce such privilege, giving chancellors discretion. Haskins, "The Earliest Universities," p. 27.

4. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, e.g., oaths were required of both faculty and students. Instead of being assessed through our modern accountability instruments (tests, quizzes, etc.), a thirteenth-century student would simply vow that he had indeed attended lectures, and he would swear that he had completed his readings—and for the faculty, the student's word would suffice. Stewart, *The Year of the Oath*, p. 93; see Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*.
5. An exception was the University of Leiden, founded in 1575, which was one of the first universities to support a policy of academic freedom, requiring no commitments of religious doctrine or political perspective. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 3, 71, 62, 64.
6. A theology school, the University of Paris, became the model for higher education in Europe, and others would follow its lead: Oxford, Cambridge, and later the University of Heidelberg. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 5, 28; Haskins, "The Earliest Universities," p. 29.
7. Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," p. 13.
8. President Henry Dunster asked the General Court for financial support, which led instead to new powers to the governing board, the Harvard Overseers. In protest, Dunster challenged doctrine by not presenting his fourth child for baptism and later disrupting a Cambridge baptismal service to speak out against infant baptism. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 83–90.
9. The colleges were not autonomous and were run by men other than faculty. The boards comprised of laymen would become a defining trait of universities in the United States and Canada. Ibid., pp. 114, 120–122.
10. The bulk of teaching was handled by tutors and other short-term instructors, so faculty governance was simply inconceivable. Ibid., pp. 123–124, 144, 148.
11. For example, in 1757 Harvard's John Winthrop took Reverend Thomas Prince to task for his amateur-science views about lightning rods and religious doctrine. Also in 1757, Provost William Smith at the University of Pennsylvania was jailed with a friend after being charged with libel against the Pennsylvania Assembly, yet strangely the college trustees allowed him to continue to teach classes—from his jail cell. Ibid., pp. 197–198, 205.
12. In the 1790s, Harvard witnessed seven years of rebellion over its exam system and low-quality food, and an 1806 revolt at Princeton resulted in the expulsion of half of the student body. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 279–280, 307–309; Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. 128–129, 135.
13. Metzger, "The Age of the University," p. 308; Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 232–233, 236.
14. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 277–278, 298, 314–315.
15. Larger social and political interests valued science only as a practical or utilitarian enterprise. The demands of teaching kept college science from flourishing to its full potential, as did a prevailing attitude that new ideas could be validated only by their moral advantages. Ibid., pp. 284–288. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 196, 228–229.
16. One striking departure from the typical state university was Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia that provided improved job security for faculty and a more

democratic system of faculty governance—one that replaced the traditional office of the president with a chairmanship chosen by the faculty. Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 223, 230–231, 239, 246.

17. Ibid., pp. 256, 258, 261.
18. Thomas Cooper of South Carolina College articulated one of the earliest arguments for academic freedom following a pamphlet war in the 1830s that insulted community religious sensibilities and led the legislature to demand his resignation. The Board of Trustees took his side and Cooper won using the state constitution's provisions on freedom of the press and freedom of religion. However, the public outrage was unstoppable: Cooper *and his entire faculty* had to resign a few years later when it was clear that the citizenry had revoked all forms of support for the college. Ibid., pp. 264–269.
19. In 1780 there were only 9 American colleges, and by 1799 the number had grown to 25 (then to 49 in 1830, and then a huge jump to 182 by 1861). Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. 12–13; Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, p. 407; Morson, "Dissent in the War of 1812," pp. 3–31; Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," pp. 211, 225.
20. In 1783 New York Governor George Clinton offered a military plan that was a precursor to the ROTC. He proposed that colleges—one in every state—should be responsible for military training, producing graduates who would then be required to serve as officers in a national army, but U.S. Congress did not fund his proposal. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, pp. 15–16.
21. The University of Georgia was the only institution with a military training program. Ibid., p. 18.
22. Pollard, *Military Training in the Land-Grant Colleges and Universities*, p. 57; Solberg, *University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 207–213, 319–326; Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin: 1848–1925*, pp. 412–418; Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 138.
23. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 15.
24. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, p. 372.
25. Ibid., p. 372.
26. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 29–30.
27. Stability for the country meant greater need for efficiency on campus, resulting in the use of teaching assistants and concerns about faculty productivity: Was it better to be a good teacher with an effective pedagogy or a good researcher who discovered new knowledge? At this time, the first serious debates began over the value of research faculty versus the value of faculty who primarily teach.
28. With the state providing budgetary control, most German universities exercised great autonomy and held to a vision of academic freedom defined by two dynamics. One was *Lernfreiheit*, the freedom for students to determine and pursue their own educational goals in whatever manner they saw fit, and the other was *Lehrfreiheit*, the freedom for faculty to conduct academic inquiry in any area of knowledge, unhindered by administrative mandates about teaching methods or subject matter. For student and faculty alike, these freedoms marked a substantial change in social status: young boys left the Gymnasium to attend the University as men, and faculty rose above the ranks of mere civil servitude to a higher order. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 372, 377, 386–389.
29. Ibid., p. 378.
30. Ibid., pp. 341–343.

31. According to one study, from 1860 to 1900 the percentage of clergy dropped from 39% to 23% (and fell to 7% by 1930). McGrath, "The Control of Higher Education in America," pp. 259–279.
32. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 10.
33. Ross's topics ranged from finance to immigration. Mrs. (Jane Lathrop) Leland Stanford—who founded the university with her husband in 189—was the impetus behind firing Ross, overriding the efforts of president David Starr Jordan.
34. The AEA didn't necessarily aim to make history, or it most likely would have taken a different approach with more authority and purpose. Instead, the investigating committee was set up as an informal body (not an official arm of the AEA), and it set out neither for redemption nor restitution. Instead, it aimed to answer one question: "What were the reasons which led Mrs. Stanford to force Professor Ross's resignation?" The committee had little leverage and was not able to do much with its energies, but it did issue a report that defended academic freedom. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 438–445.
35. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 35–36.
36. The doctrine was carried over from residential practices used at Oxford and Cambridge. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 137.
37. Zanjani, "George Springmeyer and the Quarantine Rebellion of 1902," pp. 287–289.
38. More than 40 colleges and universities offered military training programs by 1900. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 22; Thornton, *Writing in America*, pp. 148–149.
39. As colleges and universities tried to accommodate the growing student population, the number of teachers in higher education also increased to a staggering 90% between 1890 and 1900. Metzger, "The Age of the University," p. 454.
40. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 25.
41. Ibid., pp. 23–26, 29; Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 19; Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," p. 16.
42. The AEA (which had intervened in the Stanford-Ross case) joined the American Sociological Society and the American Political Science Association to draft a set of principles of academic freedom. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 471–474; Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 17.
43. In cases ranging from the persecution of one professor to the mass firings of entire faculty, the AAUP received continual pleas for help. The overwhelming requests continued in the decades that followed, forcing the investigating subcommittees to follow up only on cases that offered new scenarios or could set precedents for future cases. Whenever possible, the AAUP aimed for mediation and its investigative body worked toward gathering and disseminating information, rather than seeking retribution.
44. Anticipating the activity of the AAUP, the Association of American Colleges (AAC), an organization of presidents, formed its own Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. The War and turnover in leadership brought the AAUP and AAC into closer alignment. In 1922, the AAC issued a report that essentially supported the AAUP's position on academic freedom, and a 1925 conference called by the American Council on Education confirmed that higher education would have a common set of documents to define and evaluate academic freedom. Metzger, "The Age of the University," pp. 477–481, 491–492; *AAUP Bulletin*, December 1, 1915, pp. 22–26.

45. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 162; Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," p. 17.
46. According to Walter Lacquer, "The German *Neue Schar* of 1919 were the original hippies: long-haired, sandaled, unwashed, they castigated urban civilization, read Hermann Hesse and Indian philosophy, practiced free love, and distributed in their meetings thousands of asters and chrysanthemums. They danced, sang to the music of the guitar, and attended lectures on the 'Revolution of the Soul.' . . . No one over thirty, they demanded, should in the future be involved in politics." Lacquer, "Reflections on Youth Movements," pp. 34–36.
47. The Student Christian Movement was the largest group in the early 1920s—comprising roughly 5% of the student population—and was dedicated to reforms against war and the blight of industrialism. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 166.
48. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 30; ibid., p. 167.
49. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 33–34.
50. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," pp. 241–243.
51. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. 160, 177; Beard and Beard, *Rise of American Civilization*, p. 470.
52. Kleinman, *Politics on the Endless Frontier*, pp. 18, 45.
53. Statistical data was derived from a sample of 13 private universities and 25 public universities. The numbers would increase to 72% by 1970. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, pp. xv–xvi; Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 16. Statistical data was based on a sample of 13 private universities and 25 public universities.
54. In contrast, by 1970 there would be roughly 7 million students and over 500,000 faculty. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 42.
55. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 170; see John Davis, "Unrest in Negro Colleges," pp. 13–14.
56. Cohen, "Student Activism in the United States, 1905–1960," p. 432.
57. Ibid., p. 437.
58. In 1933, students in England declared, in what became known as "The Oxford Pledge," that they would not fight for king or country. Wechsler, "Revolt on the Campus," p. 287; DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 11.
59. Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," p. 19.
60. Wechsler, "Revolt on the Campus," pp. 284, 287–289.
61. A group of Princeton students assembled in 1936 as the Veterans of *Future* Wars and made a symbolic demand for their bonus checks, paid in advance. The concept spread to roughly 400 schools. Because they played on the activism of the WWI Veterans' "Bonus Expeditionary Forces" strike on Washington, DC, the student group died out by the year's end in the face of hostile opposition from the real VFW, the Veterans of Foreign Wars. (In 1932, some 20,000 jobless veterans had amassed in DC to demand their "bonus checks" for their service in WWI, only to be brutally driven out by Army forces led by Douglas MacArthur, who was convinced that the demonstration was a communist-led insurrection). DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 11; Johnston, "Student Activism in the United States before 1960," pp. 20–21.
62. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, p. 38.
63. The Hatch Act of 1939 aimed to "prevent pernicious political activities" by making it a crime for civil servants to participate in partisan politics, and it was particularly

aimed at communist and labor activity. The Smith Act of 1940 made it illegal for anyone to speak in favor of the violent overthrow of the government.

64. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 49.
65. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 308–318.
66. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 130.
67. Enrollment had dropped from 1.5 million to 800,000 between 1939 and 1944. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, p. 1.
68. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 308–318; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, p.47.
69. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 35.
70. Buhle, "American Student Activism in the 1960s," p. 448.
71. Metzger, "The Age of the University," p. 487.
72. Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," p. 21.
73. See Gimbel, "German Scientists, United States Denazification Policy, and the 'Paperclip Conspiracy' "; Hunt, *Secret Agenda*; Lasby, *Project Paperclip*.
74. Lambert, "DoD, Social Science, and International Studies," p. 95.
75. The report was issued by the Committee on World Regions of the Social Science Resource Council (which coordinated the major social science associations in the United States). Wallerstein, "The Unintended Consequences of Cold War Area Studies," pp. 197, 200.
76. Ohmann, "English and the Cold War," p. 75.
77. See Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*.
78. Metzger, "The Age of the University," p. 505.
79. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 49.
80. The 1942 oath required a signed statement of loyalty to both state and federal constitutions. In some ways, these measures were the end result of a national initiative. In March 1947, Truman had issued an Executive Order establishing criteria for all federal employees to meet regarding their loyalty and disavowal of communism. Gardner, *California Oath Controversy*, pp. 25–26; Zinn, "The Politics of History in the Era of the Cold War," p. 39.
81. Gardner, *California Oath Controversy*, pp. 9–10.
82. According to the AAUP: "there is nothing now apparent in reference to the Communist Party in the United States, or to international conditions, that calls for a departure from the principles of freedom and tenure by which the Association has been guided throughout its history. On the basis of those principles, this Association regards any attempt to subject college teachers to civic limitation not imposed upon other citizens as a threat against the Academic profession, and against the society that profession serves." AAUP, *Bulletin*, 34, no. 1 (Spring 1948): 127–128. Ibid., p. 13.
83. One month after the UW faculty were fired, the California state legislature passed Assembly Concurrent Resolution (ACR) 47 on March 17, 1949, commending the UW regents for fighting the communist menace. However, this was no mere act of state university solidarity; the resolution was intended as a clear message to the *parentis* apparatus of the California campuses: the resolution specified that copies of ACR 47 be sent to the UC regents, as well as the presidents and provosts. Gardner, *California Oath Controversy*, pp. 13–14.
84. The original oath: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of California, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of my office according to the best of my ability." The

text was added to the end: "that I do not believe in, and I am not a member of, nor do I support any party of organization that believes in, advocates, or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government, by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods," Ibid., pp. 14, 23–24.

85. Ibid., pp. 26–30.
86. UC Berkeley president Gordon Sproul included Governor Warren, who held an ex-officio position on the Board of Regents. Warren had been an undergraduate at UC Berkeley, and he was good friends with Sproul, which undoubtedly gave political strength to Sproul's leadership. Ibid., pp. 67, 86, 125.
87. While the UC policy regarding tenure was implicitly understood and had been upheld since the year 1920, there was no official policy at the time (and would not be until 1958). Ibid., pp. 109, 116–117, 150.
88. By July 1950, the number of nonsigning members of the faculty senate was down to 31 professors who organized the Group for Academic Freedom to galvanize resources for the legal battles ahead. The organization was led by faculty who would later play significant roles in the 1960s Free Speech Movement.
89. The Levering oath, as it was known—in honor of its primary author, Assemblyman Harold Levering—would later be written into the state constitution, with nearly two-thirds of the population supporting it. Ibid., pp. 183, 202, 219.
90. By January 1951 every employee had signed it—with the exception of a handful of graduate research and teaching assistants.
91. Gardner, *California Oath Controversy*, pp. 220, 224.
92. Approximately 1,200 faculty representing more than 40 American colleges and universities sent in written protests, supplemented by resolutions sponsored by over 20 professional organizations.
93. Ibid., pp. 225–230, 237.
94. The decision read that "relief must be granted on the ground that state legislation has fully occupied the field." Ibid., pp. 238, 242.
95. Bush's findings were published in *Science—The Endless Frontier* (1945). See Montgomery, *Minds for the Making*, p. 193; Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," pp. 13–15; Kleinman, *Politics on the Endless Frontier*, pp. 145–171; Wolfe, "NSF: The First Six Years," p. 337.
96. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 339–340; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, pp.43–46; Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 141–147.
97. Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," pp. 18–20.
98. Kleinman, *Politics on the Endless Frontier*, pp. 29–72.
99. Ibid., p. 149.
100. Quoted in Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 25.
101. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, pp. 36, 54.
102. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 13; Edward Suchman et al., "Attitudes toward the Korean War," pp. 173, 182.
103. More than 300 directors and writers lost their jobs as a result of the Red Scare. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, p. 138.
104. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 43.
105. See Barson, *Better Red Than Dead*.
106. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 185.
107. Zinn, "The Politics of History in the Era of the Cold War," pp. 41–42.

108. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, p. 65.
109. Ibid., pp. 66, 74.
110. D'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 227.
111. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 135.
112. Ibid., p. 51.
113. Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, pp. 63–65; ibid., p. 54; Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, pp. 7, 13, 18–20.
114. The article was written by University of Illinois historian Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "Aimlessness in Education," *The Scientific Monthly*, August 1952.
115. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 54; Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, pp. 14, 17.
116. Robert Gorrell, Robert Hume, and Charlton Laird were the English faculty. Gorrell would later hire Adamian.
117. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, pp. 18, 21.
118. Supporters of both Stout and the regents would eventually show their appreciation by donating grant monies, offering construction funds, and creating the University News Service headed by a young writer named Robert Laxalt (whose brother Paul, a district attorney in Nevada's Ormsby County, would be elected Governor in 1966). Ibid., pp. 21–23; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, p. 67.
119. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, p. 33.
120. Ibid., p. 50; Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 56.
121. The AAUP set up an investigation committee in 1955 and the censure appeared in its autumn 1956 report. The university would remain on the "Censured Administrations" list until 1959.
122. Seven students were detained, but no charges were pressed; consequently, the names of the seven were obtained by the administration and, without trial or evidence, the students were dismissed from the university—a decision later reversed due to legal pressures.
123. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, pp. 65, 90; Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 57; Glass, *Nevada's Turbulent '50s*, p. 72.
124. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 89–95, 129–134, 159.
125. Seymour Hersh revealed such tactical uses of the weather ("Rainmaking Is Used As Weapon by U.S.," *The New York Times*, July 3, 1972, pp. 1–2) with his disclosure of "Project Popeye," a program that deployed hundreds of cloud-seeding operations to wash out enemy supply roads in Vietnam. The threat of military uses of weather modification was serious enough to prompt an international treaty, "Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques,"1108 U.N.T.S. 151, signed in Geneva in 1977 and ratified by United States by 1980.
126. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, p. 104; Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 60–65.
127. Gearhart, "The 1960s Revolution: UNLV Style," pp. 184–205.
128. Ohmann, *English in America*, p. 274; Ohmann, "English and the Cold War," p. 88.
129. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 17, 19.
130. Ibid., pp. v, 1, 16.
131. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 9.
132. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 61.

133. By 1970, the YAF would have more than 50,000 members on over 500 campuses. Andrew, "Pro-War and Anti-Draft," pp. 1–2, 7.
134. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, pp. 71–72, n. 73; Horowitz, *Student*, p. 82.
135. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 245.
136. Emphasis added. Silvert, "Document 1," p. 47.
137. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 46–47.
138. Wallerstein, "The Unintended Consequences of Cold War Area Studies," p. 227.
139. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. xix.
140. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 7, 124.
141. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, pp. 84, 113–130, 140–150; "Chronology of Events: Three Months of Crisis," p. 36.
142. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, p. n. 224; Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. xx.
143. As Bowers et al. explain, "The rhetorical sophistication of an agitative group is the extent to which its leadership is aware of and able to apply principles [of rhetoric]." Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 143.
144. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*, p. 410.
145. Ibid., p. 441.
146. Ibid., pp. n8, p. 460.
147. The second round of protests began in March, when two UC students were arrested for displaying small signs that read "FUCK" and "SHIT." Fueling the fire was the emergence of *Spider* (an acronym for Sex-Politics-International Communism-Drugs-Extremism-Rock and Roll), a campus magazine that ran activist articles and did not shy from "dirty" words and sex ads. Seven students, including Charles "Charlie Brown" Artman, were eventually brought up on obscenity charges for their activities. Ibid., pp. 487–497, 500–555.
148. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 335–337, 363.
149. Hughes initially pledged $300,000 annually for 20 years, but scaled back the pledge to $200,000 annually. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 68–70, 169.
150. Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 27.
151. Wilson, "Consequential Controversies," p. 47; Kaysen, "Can Universities Cooperate with the Defense Establishment?" p. 35; Abrams, "The U. S. Military and Higher Education," p. 24.
152. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 77.
153. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 46–47.
154. Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!*, p. 74; Silverman, p. 90.
155. David Slemmons, interview with the author, tape recording, July 21, 2001.
156. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 62–64.
157. Ibid., pp. 66–67.
158. Ibid., p. 11.
159. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, p. 206.
160. Glazer, " 'Student Power' in Berkeley," p. 314.
161. Smith, *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*, pp. 20–21.
162. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 249.
163. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 129.
164. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers*, p. 58.

165. N. Edd Miller, interview with the author, tape recording, November 19, 1998.
166. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 127.
167. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
168. John Doherty, interview with the author, tape recording, October 2, 2000.
169. Joseph N. Crowley, interview, tape recording, June 8, 1970.
170. Small, *Covering Dissent*, p. 68.
171. Boruch, "The Faculty Role in Campus Unrest," pp. 21, 50.
172. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001. F. Chandler Young, "The Importance of Students, 1949–1974," pp. 131–156; Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 130.
173. Small, *Covering Dissent*, p. 72; Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching*, p. 228, n. 53.
174. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 250.
175. Crowley, interview, June 8, 1970.

Chapter Three Black and White in Action

1. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 13, 183.
2. The data was supported by a similar survey conducted at the same time. Kenneth Gergen and Mary Gergen, "How the War Affects the Campuses," *Change*, January/February 1971, pp. 10+, p. 70; Report of Harris Survey, May 20–28, 1970.
3. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 5.
4. For example, when black soldiers memorialized King's achievements, white soldiers responded by raising the Confederate flag and burning crosses. Mutinies in Vietnam averaged 240 a year from 1969 to 1971, with a proliferation of fragging incidents against commanding officers—over 2,000 incidents reported in 1970 alone. See Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, pp. 302–304; Herring, *America's Longest War*, p. 280; Maclear, *The Ten Thousand Day War*, p. 243; Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, p. 47.
5. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 87–88; Castleman and Podrazik, *Watching TV*, p. 205.
6. The Motherfuckers took their name from a line in a LeRoi Jones poem, citing a familiar command that police used with suspects.
7. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 163; Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 188; see Sale, *SDS*.
8. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 53.
9. Ibid., pp. 61, 66.
10. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 20, 46.
11. David Slemmons, interview with the author, tape recording, July 21, 2001.
12. John Doherty, interview with the author, tape recording, October 2, 2000.
13. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 187.
14. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 251.
15. The speaker was "the hippie priest" also known as "Charlie Brown" (Artman), one of the seven convicted in the Filthy Speech Movement. Elmer Rusco, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
16. The peace movement at the University of Nevada was quite active, with a core group that tried to take over the Washoe County Democratic Party. They supported Eugene McCarthy and managed to get one delegate for the national convention, but then dissipated as a political force when Hubert Humphrey got the nomination.

17. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," pp. 251–252.
18. Ibid., p. 253.
19. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
20. Emphasis added. Hug, Jr., interview with the author, tape recording, July 25, 2000.
21. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 13; Chomsky, "The Cold War and the University," p. 181.
22. Bayer, *College and University Faculty*, p. 19.
23. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
24. SDS leader Mark Rudd would later admit that they had little interest in the park issue itself but simply used it as a catalyst for their plans. Feuer, *The Conflict of Generations*, pp. 483–484.
25. Ibid., pp. 486–490.
26. Friedland and Edwards, "Confrontation at Cornell," pp. 321–331.
27. Smith argues that rhetorical attacks were meant to be offensive and aimed for "keeping the opponent off balance," whereas the appeals for unity took the form of "black power" and "black is beautiful." Smith, *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*, pp. 3–6.
28. Emphasis added. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, pp. 86, 89, 92.
29. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 229.
30. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
31. Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!*, p. 86.
32. Davis, *Assault on the Left*, p. 111; DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
33. Urban Research Corporation, *Student Protests 1969*, p. 21.
34. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 90–93.
35. Davis, *Assault on the Left*, pp. 113, 118, 124.
36. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
37. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
38. Doherty, interview with the author, October 2, 2000.
39. Reporters notes taken at an interview with Slattery on March 20, 1969. In Warren D'Azevedo Papers, 1959–1987. AC 221, Box 1, NUB June 24, 1951. University Archives, University of Nevada; d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 252.
40. David Harvey, interview with the author, tape recording, July 10, 2000.
41. James Blink, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; Brooke Piper, interview, tape recording, June 17, 1970.
42. FBI report, May 8, 1969.
43. "Governor's Day to Feature ROTC, Anti-War Rallies: Peace Marchers to Join Cadets in Mackay Stadium Ceremonies," *Sagebrush*, May 5, 1970, p. 3; Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
44. Information from University of Nevada police report.
45. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 256.
46. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 167.
47. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 78; Gresham's Law, from Sir Thomas Gresham (1519–1579), is in short form known as "bad money drives out good": with any currency using precious metals, the introduction of counterfeits ("bad money") causes the original currency ("good money") to be pulled from circulation and melted down.

48. Gallup Poll, December 21, 1969.
49. DeConde, "In Perspective," p. 13.
50. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 72.
51. Harvey, interview with the author, July 10, 2000.
52. Quoted in Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p.73.
53. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 184.
54. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 93, 109, 112, 114, 128.
55. Doherty, interview with the author, October 2, 2000.
56. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
57. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, p. 171.
58. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 38.
59. N. Edd Miller, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
60. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
61. Unless noted otherwise, the material in this section derives from two interviews: Paul S. Adamian, tape recordings, December 4, 1998 and June 6, 2000.
62. Adamian's mention of his family's trauma was a brief aside in his oral history, but his experience points to widely documented phenomenon known as "intergenerational trauma," in which survivors of a traumatic event are not only afflicted by the traumatic event, but the traumatized condition reverberates throughout a family dynamic, even affecting their children's children.
63. While at Claremont, Adamian worked under the guidance of noted scholar Marshall Waingrow.
64. Now Oregon State University at Ashland.
65. Kille, *Academic Freedom Imperiled*, p. 25.
66. Anne Howard, interview with the author, tape recording, March 1, 1999.
67. U.S. Government Memorandum, to Special Agent in Charge (SAC) Las Vegas (100–548), October 3, 1967.
68. U.S. Government Memorandum, from SAC Los Angeles (100–70874) to SAC Las Vegas (100–572), January 19, 1968; U.S. Government Memorandum, from SAC Boston (100–572) to SAC Las Vegas (100–572), Feburary 27, 1968.
69. U.S. Government Memorandum, to SAC Las Vegas (100–572), October 30, 1967; U.S. Government Memorandum, from SAC Portland (100–10991) to SAC Las Vegas (100–572), October 30, 1967.
70. Howard, interview with the author, March 1, 1999.
71. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," pp. 245, 255; see Report of the Nevada Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, March 1963.
72. Miller, interview with the author, November 19, 1998.
73. Davis, *Assault on the Left*, p. 162.
74. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 237–242, 261.
75. In a memo to White House Chief of Staff, H. R. Haldeman, Nixon wrote, "From now on, we are going to take a very aggressive 'militant' position against these people, not simply because the public is probably with us, but because we face a national crisis in terms of this disrespect for law, etc., at all levels," March 2, 1970; quoted in Oudes, *From: The President*, pp.103–104.
76. "McKinney Charges Dismissed," *Sagebrush*, March 19, 1970, p. 3; Sheila Caudle, "BSU Concert Settled After Long Debate," *Sagebrush*, March 6, 1970, p. 3.

77. "Council gets Sattwhite Case," *Sagebrush*, March 19, 1970, p. 4.
78. Tim Countis, "Secrecy Shrouds Charges Against Sattwhite," *Sagebrush*, March 13, 1970, pp. 1, 8.
79. Typical of small communities, the social ties in Reno were close and complex: Springer had been a partner in a law firm with Procter Hug, Jr., who had recently been appointed chairman of the Board of Regents, but the two attorneys had parted ways in 1963.
80. "Board of Regents Sends Sattwhite Case to Miller," *Sagebrush*, March 17, 1970, p. 3.
81. "Council Gets Sattwhite Case," *Sagebrush*, p. 4.
82. "McKinney Charges Dismissed," *Sagebrush*, p. 3.
83. "Warrant Issued; McKinney Surrenders," *Sagebrush*, March 31, 1970, p. 6.
84. Slemmons was the son of a respected University of Nevada geologist. "Draft Concert Held in Bowl Sunday," *Sagebrush*, March 17, 1970, p. 3.
85. Bosmajian, "Obscentity and Protest," p. 304.
86. "Students Urged to Fight Draft 'In Any Way,' " *Sagebrush*, March 19, 1970, p. 3.
87. "Council Gets Sattwhite Case." *Sagebrush*, p. 4.
88. "Springer to Ask for Dismissal of Sattwhite Case," *Sagebrush*, March 31, 1970, p. 8.
89. "Council Wants to Hear Sattwhite Case," *Sagebrush*, April 3, 1970, p. 3.
90. "A Tragedy of Errors," *Sagebrush*, April 3, 1970, p. 3.
91. Opinion No. 651: Dickerson, to Neil D. Humphrey, March 31, 1970.
92. Goldberg v. Regents of the University of California, 245 Cal app. 2d 867 (1967).
93. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, pp. 242–244.
94. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," p. 258.
95. "Black Week Starts Tomorrow," March 31, 1970, p. 6.
96. Smith, *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*, pp. 26–40.
97. The speech represented here is a blend of reportage with direct quotation: "N. Edd Miller replies" and " 'Live Together as Brothers or Perish Together as Fools,' " *Sagebrush*, April 3, 1970, p. 5.
98. The Berets were a Mexican-American affiliate of the Black Panther Party and part of La Causa, an activist group founded by grape-strike leader César Chávez.
99. "Brown Berets Plan for U.N.," *Sagebrush*, April 3, 1970, p. 2.
100. The bureau had conducted the 1970 surveys without any black census takers. See "Black Woman Clubbed, Census Row Trial Told," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 19, 1970, p. 1; "League Official: Attention Given to Racism in Reno," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 19, 1970, p. 1.
101. A total of nine demands were read from a list, asking for the following changes: dismissing the EOP staff; bringing more black students, faculty, and counselors to campus; and following the EOP mission with a "meaningful" tutoring program, a work-study program in the community, and a Black Studies program.
102. Sheila Caudle, "Black-White Meeting Turns to Demands," *Sagebrush*, April 17, 1970, p. 2.
103. Sheila Caudle, "News Analysis," *Sagebrush*, April 8, 1970, p. 2.
104. d'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874–1974," pp. 263–264.
105. "Berets, Panthers picket," *Sagebrush*, April 10, 1970, p. 1.
106. Miller, interview with the author, November 19, 1998.
107. Mike Graham, "Sattwhite Gets Probation; SRO Crowd at Hearing," *Sagebrush*, April 17, 1970, p. 3.

108. James T. Richardson, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970.
109. "Fathers Lose Draft Deferment," *Sagebrush*, May 1, 1970, p. 2.
110. "Miller Makes Commitments," *Sagebrush*, April 24, 1970, p. 1.
111. "USA Reacts," *Sagebrush*, April 24, 1970, p. 1.
112. See Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 51; and Charles J. Stewart et al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, p. 153.
113. Adamian recalled his oversight: "it wasn't until I heard that, you know, that I like slapped my head and said, 'Well, of course!' " Adamian's involvement with the BSU was minimal, and as he would later state, "I wish that I had developed a better relationship with them."
114. "Campus Report Indicates Disruptions Exaggerated," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, April 27, 1970, p. 7.
115. See Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 145.
116. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 129–130.
117. Doherty, interview with the author, October 2, 2000; Lorena Stookey, interview with the author, tape recording, March 10, 1999.
118. Davis, *Assault on the Left*, p. 180.
119. "It's No Invasion: Nixon," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 1, 1970, p. 1.
120. "Students Protest War Extension," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 2, 1970, p. 1; "11 Editors Call Strike," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 4, 1970, p. 1.
121. Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, p. 196.
122. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 39.
123. Lamis and Sharkey, *Ohio Politics*, pp. 80–81.
124. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 249.
125. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*, p. 5.
126. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, p. 260.
127. Clardy, *The Management of Dissent*, pp. 31, 83, 120.
128. Brown and Brown, "Moo U and the Cambodian Invasion," pp. 119, 122–132.

Chapter Four Rude and Raucous Catcalls: Governor's Day

1. Wells, *The War within Home*, p. 426; see Bayer, *College and University Faculty*.
2. Brooke Piper, interview, tape recording, June 17, 1970.
3. "Nixon-Cambodia Protest Planned on Reno Campus," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 4, 1970, pp. 1–2.
4. Hundreds of fake "public memos" attributed to Miller were circulated around campus, announcing the cancellation of Governor's Day ceremonies; Gordon L. Foote, letter to Board of Regents, May 11, 1970.
5. Even the headline emphasized the two events, and the article went so far as to detail a full protest route around campus, beginning and ending at the south end of campus. "Governor's Day to Feature ROTC, Anti-War Rallies: Peace Marchers to Join Cadets in Mackay Stadium Ceremonies," *Sagebrush*, May 5, 1970, pp. 1, 3. Even the headline emphasized the two events, and the article went so far as to detail a full protest route around campus, beginning and ending at the south end of campus.
6. James T. Richardson to N. Edd Miller, May 6, 1970.

7. Ben Hazard, interview, tape recording, June 15, 1970.
8. Paul S. Adamian, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 226.
9. John R. Doherty, interview with the author, tape recording, October 2, 2000.
10. David Harvey, interview with the author, tape recording, July 10, 2000. Harvey learned civil disobedience tactics with the Young People's Socialist Party at the University of Illinois.
11. Ibid., Other chroniclers who were present at the Hobbit Hole (Robert Mayberry, James T. Richardson, and Paul S. Adamian) recalled no substantial details that conflicted with the accounts presented in the 1970 interviews.
12. See chapter five for a discussion of Adamian's October 1970 Faculty Senate Committee hearing. I draw from the hearing transcript when useful, noting when the hearing testimony deviates from the oral histories, as well as when it repeats the chronicler's statements recorded earlier. Court testimony is oral evidence, but in the case of this unregulated campus hearing—one that did not follow all court protocols—the veracity of statements in a highly charged university context need to be considered. For some of the hearing witnesses, it is possible that their oral history interviews months earlier had the effect of clarifying their memories, and it appears that oral history accounts are less cautious, but there is no way to support conclusions in either direction.
13. Mary Ellen Glass, Marian Rendall, and Ruth Hilts, interview, tape recording, June 24, 1970.
14. For extended oral history excerpts, chroniclers are identified by name. Unless noted otherwise, quotations derive from those who participated in or witnessed the event firsthand.
15. "20 Kiloton Test Fired Today," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 5, 1970, p. 2.
16. N. Edd Miller, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970; Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970; see also Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 1971; Joel M. Gartenberg, interview, tape recording, June 2, 1970.
17. Emphasis added. Brooke Piper, interview, tape recording, June 17, 1970; Bob Mayberry, interview with the author, tape recording, June 4, 1999.
18. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970.
19. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*.
20. "Governor's Day Activities Planned," *Sagebrush*, May 1, 1970, p. 6.
21. For example, it was a banner day for the university coffers, as the American Medical Association gave $2,500 to the university's medical school and federal grants of $340,000 made their way to the Nevada higher education system. "AMA Donates to Medical School," *Elko Daily Free Press*, May 6, 1970, p. 2; "Federal Grants of $340,000 Due Nevada schools," *Las Vegas Sun*, May 6, 1970, p. 3.
22. "UNR Students Circle Laxalt Auto on Campus," [AP News] *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 5, 1970, p.1; "Anti-War Rally Hits UNR Campus," *Nevada Appeal*, May 5, 1970, p. 1; "Governor's Day Riot Fails: Only Loud Obscene Noise," *Morning Desert Free Press*, May 6, 1970, p. 2; George Frank and Jeanne Rasmussen, "Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 5, 1970, p. 1.
23. Governor Rhodes was indeed seeking the Senate nomination, and in terms of national politics, it was a vital position: one of seven needed to get Republican Control of the Senate for the next year. After eight years in office, Rhodes was being forced out of the Governorship due to term limits. As it would turn out, the combination of a scandal

in the state treasurer's office, and more importantly *Life* magazine suggesting that Rhodes was connected to organized crime, may have prevented him from getting the GOP nomination for U.S. Senate. By a slim margin—6,000 of the 900,000 votes cast—Rhodes lost the nomination to Robert Taft, Jr., who went on to win the race. "Alabama Votes for Governor; White House Watches Closely," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 5, 1970, p.1.

24. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970; see also Charlotte Morse, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970; Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*.
25. William G. Metzger, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 144.
26. Emphasis added. James Hulse to N. Edd Miller, May 8, 1970.
27. Emphasis added. Richardson to N. Edd Miller, May 6, 1970.
28. Kenneth Carpenter, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; Doherty, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970; Lorena Stookey, interview with the author, tape recording, March 10, 1999.
29. Emphasis added. Edward Olsen, interview, tape recording, July 14, 1970.
30. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; a similar account appears in Carrie Lynn Shaw, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 128.
31. James T. Richardson, interview with the author, tape recording, July 26, 2001.
32. Allen A. Chamberlain, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 96.
33. Tom Myers, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 164.
34. Adamian, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 226.
35. They also point to the degree of selective disclosure that chroniclers exercise to account for political exigencies.
36. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970; Charles Seufferle, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970; Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970. The oral histories reinforce the newspaper coverage accurately (e.g., noting a short fistfight) and offer other details that indicate the mood of the demonstration. See Mike Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, May 6, 1970, p1+.
37. (William Michael) Mike Nash, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 73.
38. Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, p. 1+. The student was later identified as William Copren, a graduate student in History.
39. Emphasis added. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
40. Metzger, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 145.
41. Dan McKinney, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 155; Myers, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 164; Ben Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 183–184. As one witness and Hazard contend, at the time of the sit-down protest and the stalled car, Adamian and Hazard were directing foot traffic and lining up demonstrators into rows of four. See also John Benedict Wellinghoff, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 171.
42. As Mayberry recalled, Adamian was singled out as the prime faculty leader due to photographs:

> Only a day or two after Governor's Day I was in Del Papa's office and *somebody came in with the blown-up photographs* that somebody had taken—I think one of the journalists from the paper—and they put them out there. And then he goes, "Bunch of students who can tell, bunch of students," *and there was Paul, and*

he was so visible. I knew from then on he was going to be targeted, and the regents did the same thing. I mean, they targeted him almost immediately and pulled together that committee to look at him and whoever that teaching assistant was (it was Fred Maher), two people they could identify. And so then I knew they were going to pick on him. *The only reason Paul had been picked is because he was photographed*.

Emphasis added. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.

43. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.; Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 204–205.
44. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
45. Ibid.; Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970; Taber Griswold, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
46. Frankie Sue Del Papa, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970.
47. Brad E. Lucas, "Rude and Raucous Catcalls: The Disputes of Governor's Day 1970," *Nevada Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 342.
48. The driver was Clifford R. Miller. See Clifford R. Miller, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 70; Robert H. Hill, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 32–33, 42–43; "Adamian: Investigation Is A 'Witch Hunt,' " *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p.7. Griswold, interview, June 18, 1970; Piper, interview, June 17, 1970 (Piper would later assert the same in his testimony, p. 134); Adamian, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 230.
49. The newspapers identified the wrong military person, naming General Edsall instead of Hill. Frank and Rasmussen, "Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies," *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2. See also corroborating evidence: Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Fred Maher, interview, tape recording, June 15, 1970.
50. According to the newspapers, police were clearly there to assist: they "helped clear the way" and "helped a car carrying Gov. Laxalt get free before the other 17 cars were blocked." However, what wasn't recorded was the absence of the chief of police, president Miller, and Governor Laxalt at the blockade: according to Olsen, "Chief Malone was already up at the empty stadium along with the two officers in the other car and the governor, the general, and the president of the university all at the stadium by themselves [laughter]." Frank and Rasmussen, "Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies," *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2; "UNR Students Circle Laxalt Auto on Campus," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, p. 1. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
51. Emphasis added. James Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
52. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
53. Procter Hug, Jr., interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
54. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
55. Piper, interview, June 17, 1970.
56. There's also a wealth of minutiae that isn't worth presenting as such, but is scattered throughout the chapter as contextual detail. See Frank and Rasmussen, "Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies," *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2.
57. According to Bowers et al., token violence "involves actual, but minor, attacks on representatives of the establishment by a few of the agitators." Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 43.

58. According to one student, "one boy wanted to go up and take a gun from one of the ROTC, and Hazard [said], 'Listen, if you want to make an overt attack against someone there, pick on one of those gentlemen sitting up there. Don't pick on the poor ROTC student who's there, because he has to be there.' " Griswold, interview, June 18, 1970.
59. Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970.
60. Bruce Douglas, interview, tape recording, June 11, 1970. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
61. Gartenberg, interview, June 2, 1970; Beverly Hudson, interview, tape recording, June 10, 1970.
62. Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 184.
63. Such observations allow us to see that the demonstration was not fully galvanized with a clear sense of purpose. They also suggest that the photographs of the march cannot accurately determine the number of protestors who participated throughout the entire event. And perhaps we can even surmise that the word had gotten out—at least to some of the demonstrators—that they had been given the opportunity to march around the stadium "and out" as part of the deal with Hug. See Hudson, interview, June 10, 1970.
64. Robert Harvey challenged the student to fight him first, if he wanted to proceed with such actions, but was also amused at the lack of forethought: there was no U.S. flag to take down, and students did not know how to attach their peace flag to the flagpole rope. See Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970; Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
65. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Robert Harvey, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 208; Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
66. McCollum, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 61; Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 185.
67. A large section of the stadium seating had been roped off to centralize the ROTC audience, but this also had the effect of reserving a vacant staging area for the protesters to sit. The group leaving the stadium may have been heeding the "and out" portion of the Hug-Hulse agreement. See Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970; Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
68. Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
69. Emphasis added. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; also, as Harvey explained in his testimony (p. 212) anyone who had not seen the recently released film *M*A*S*H* would have misunderstood the motive behind the demonstrators' singing. In the movie, two drafted Korean War doctors mocked their military surroundings, singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers" amidst other antics. (Based on a 1968 novel by Richard Hooker, *M*A*S*H* became the third most popular film of 1970 and was nominated for five Academy Awards, including Best Picture and Best Director. It inspired a popular television series that ran for eleven years.)
70. See chapter three for a discussion of the rhetorical uses of obscenity.
71. Douglas, interview, June 1, 1970.
72. Edmund R. Barmettler, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
73. Rothwell, "Verbal Obscenity," p. 240.
74. Letter to the editor, "Peaceful Demonstration," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 16, 1970, p. 12; Maher, interview, June 15, 1970. In such a disruptive environment, of course, interpretations of phenomena differ. One student chronicler found it "disgusting" for

some demonstrators "to run up their peace signs and to hiss and boo and whatever else" during the playing of the national anthem, but another student chronicler noted that students quieted themselves, raised the peace symbol, and stood up during the national anthem out of respect "a way of saying, 'We believe in what our country stands for, and part of that, we feel, is peace.' " Gartenberg, interview, June 2, 1970; Thomas Cosgrove, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970.

75. See Charles J. Stewart, "The Ego Function of Protest Songs" for the cohesion building, self-persuasion, and collective inspiration of group singing; Barmettler, interview, May 29, 1970; Hug, interview, June 18, 1970.
76. Letter to the editor. "Peaceful Demonstration," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 12.
77. Seufferle, interview, June 5, 1970; Cosgrove, interview, June 2, 1970; Del Papa, interview, June 16, 1970; Douglas, interview, June 1, 1970.
78. Piper, interview, June 17, 1970; Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
79. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Frank and Rasmussen, "Protests Delays Reno Ceremonies," *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2.
80. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
81. Emphasis added. Hug, interview, June 18, 1970.
82. Hug's mention of Maher is truly puzzling. In *no* other oral histories, photos, or news accounts was Maher named as a leader or key instigator. But weeks before his oral history interview, Hug had called for the investigations of only two men, Adamian and Maher. If Hug simply intended to say "Hazard" but mentioned "Maher" by mistake, then it *still* remains a mystery why Hug didn't name Hazard when he called for an investigation (Hazard's lack of cheering or other factors such as his race may have exempted him from persecution). However, if Hug's naming of Maher was *not* a mistake, then it would suggest that his memory was severely distorted.
83. Elizabeth Anderson, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
84. The *Reno Evening Gazette* featured a front-page photo of protestors in stands with open-handed salutes. Adamian and Hazard are clearly identifiable, with both men standing apart from the bottom front row, centered in photograph—with Adamian smiling.
85. "I didn't say, 'Peace now! Peace now!' I said it too many times already. I know what it means. I don't have to tell them. I didn't have to wear an armband; the color of my skin is the armband I can never get rid of." Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970; Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970. Jim Blink, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; David Keller, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
86. See Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*; Benjamin, "Performatives as a Rhetorical Construct."
87. The logical fallacy of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* ("after this therefore because of this"). Just because one phenomena follows another does not necessarily indicate causation.
88. The student was Dan Teglia. Miller, interview, June 18, 1970; Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
89. Emphasis added. Hulse, to N. Edd Miller, May 8, 1970. In his oral history, however, Hulse did not repeat this key insight. The other details in Hulse's letter are consistent with his oral history a month later.
90. Richardson, interview, June16, 1970.
91. Frank and Rasmussen, "Protest Delays Reno Ceremonies," *Reno Evening Gazette*, pp. 1–2; Letter to the editor, "Peaceful Demonstration," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 12.

92. Richardson to Miller, May 6, 1970; Hulse to Miller, May 8, 1970.
93. Griswold, interview, June 18, 1970.
94. Edward L. Pine, interview, tape recording, June 2, 1970.
95. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
96. Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970; See the epigraph for this section, as well as the following text:

> "Then another student jumps up, "Let's go down on the field."
>
> I said, "What the hell you want to go out on the field for? You want to go down on the field?"
>
> "Yes, I want to go down on the field. I can't sit up there."
>
> "Well, go ahead on. If you really feel like you want to go down there, you go down there. Why would it take a whole mob to back you up? Are you that insecure? Do you really believe in it? If you really believe in it, you don't need anybody to go with you. Or you don't want to be noticed? You want to be hidden in the crowd. See, that's what happened at Kent. All those three kids that were killed, not a one of them were even in the demonstration! The odds are always for you! I've seen them at Berkeley. I've seen them shot down in the street. Not one kid was really doing it—the rock throwing, the bottle throwing—no, those guys don't get shot. It's all the other ones that get shot. Sure, you call the whole crowd down. Let them follow you down there, and let them get wiped out, and you get away free. Man, you go down. If you want to go down one by one, you go down."
>
> And the tension was getting really hot then.

97. Piper, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 135, 138.
98. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Ty Cobb, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 20.
99. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970. In her oral history, Frankie Sue Del Papa also makes reference to the "trickle down" motion of the demonstrators. Del Papa, interview, June 16, 1970.
100. Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970.
101. Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970.
102. Nash, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 73.
103. Hazard would later testify to a similar progression of actions during Adamian's trial.
104. Hug, interview with the author, July 25, 2000.
105. David Harvey, interview with the author, July 10, 2000.
106. Hulse, interview, June 12, 1970.
107. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
108. Hazard testified that he intervened when a lieutenant was ordered to remove the demonstrators forcibly, but Hazard intervened, knowing that it would be seen as a provocation: "bugging them now would be like agitating." See McKinney, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 153; Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, pp. 185–186.
109. Blink, interview, May 27, 1970.

110. The university might have been concerned about perceptions lingering from the Sattwhite and McKinney troubles, but there's no evidence to prove that such arrangements were made.
111. Chamberlain, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 101; Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 187; Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
112. Myers, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 166; Bruce Douglas, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 86; Metzger, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 147.
113. Blink, interview, May 27, 1970.
114. Anderson, interview, May 29, 1970.
115. Richardson, interview, June 16, 1970; Del Papa, interview, June 16, 1970.
116. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001.
117. Emphasis added. Hudson, interview, June 10, 1970.
118. Emphasis added. When asked (in 2000) about Ralf's command to attack, Hug responded: "I never heard . . . [laughter] I don't remember any such thing." Gartenberg, interview, June 2, 1970; Blink, interview, May 27, 1970; Hug, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970; Procter Hug, Jr., interview with the author, tape recording, July 25, 2000.
119. Adamian was assisted by Vietnam Veteran and former Green Beret, Doug Sherman, a.k.a. the "hippie cop" (See chapter five). Joseph Alvin Elliott, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 125; Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970; see Hazard, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 188.
120. Hulse had left the field. Harvey, Hazard, Adamian, Backman, and Richardson were the remaining monitors on the field. See Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
121. According to David Harvey, Backman was stabbed in the back when one of the cadets went by, and the bayonet was close enough to rip his coat. See David Harvey, interview with the author, July 10, 2000; Richardson to N. Edd Miller, May 6, 1970.
122. *Morning Desert Free Press*, May 6, 1970, p. 2.
123. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Seufferle, interview, June 5, 1970.
124. Anderson, interview, May 29, 1970.
125. James Johnson, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 112.
126. Chamberlain, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 105.
127. *Morning Desert Free Press*, May 6, 1970, p. 2.
128. Del Papa, interview, June 16, 1970; Richard G. Patterson, Jr., interview with the author, tape recording, June 3, 1970; Doherty, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970.
129. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970; Miller, interview, June 18, 1970.
130. Hazard, interview, June 15, 1970.
131. Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, p. 1+; Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970; Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
132. Hulse, interview with the author, November 17, 1998.
133. Joseph Crowley, interview with the author, tape recording, February 12, 1999. Crowley went on to become president of the university, and at the time of his interview in 1999, had been one of the longest-standing university presidents in the country.
134. Paul S. Adamian, interview, tape recording, December 4, 1998.
135. Emphasis added. Ibid.

Chapter Five The January Deadline, the Adamian Affair, and Everything After

1. Using the work of James Wilkie, Eva McMahan notes that "elite" oral histories focus on "persons who develop accounts of their involvement in controlling society . . ." McMahan, *Elite Oral History Discourse*, p. 30. The focus on such elite chroniclers can lead to distortion, certainly, that may preclude some interpretations, and Ron Grele questions the role of such chroniclers because they are selected for their traditional (often elite) societal roles: "not because they present some abstract statistical norm, but because they typify historical processes" Grele, *Envelopes of Sound*, p. 131.
2. For example, had the activists responded to the focus on Adamian by targeting Hug, Miller, or Laxalt (and rallied their supporters against one individual like the regents had done), they might have had greater success as a social movement. See Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 35.
3. James T. Richardson, interview with the author, tape recording, July 26, 2001.
4. Fred Maher, interview, tape recording, June 15, 1970; Mike Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, May 6, 1970, p. 1+; "Student-Policeman Helped Organize Reno Campus Protest," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 5, 1970, p. 1+; Taber Griswold, interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
5. "Week of Tension Starts Communication," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 3; Bob Mayberry, interview with the author, tape recording, June 4, 1999; Elmer Rusco, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
6. Miller refused to cancel classes for the strike. Robert Harvey, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970; Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970; Kenneth Carpenter, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; "UNR Anti-War Strike Friday," *Carson City Appeal*, May 6, 1970, p. 3.
7. Mike Graham, "Adamian Affair: A Chronology," *Sagebrush*, November 13, 1970, p. 8.
8. Brooke Piper, interview, tape recording, June 17, 1970.
9. Glen Atkinson, interview, tape recording, June 4, 1970.
10. Carl Backman, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970.
11. See psychologist Elizabeth Young-Bruehl's exhaustive analysis of obsessive prejudices in *The Anatomy of Prejudices*. She explains, "Obsessionals are often attracted to large bureaucratic institutions where they can be both lost in the crowd and enormously powerful in a small sphere of activity where they can treat people like scum, dirt to be cleaned up, or like uncivilized children. . . . Initially, the socially directed defense mechanism most frequently resorted to is displacement: obsessionals purge themselves of polluting thoughts and desires by displacing them onto others, who then are experienced as dirty and assertively polluting. . . . they must make sure that their enemies are identifiable, that they cannot hide in a crowd or—worse—infiltrate the obsessional's own group, spreading their pollution through sexual contact or intellectual takeover" pp. 213–218. Also, while there are rhetorical theories that differentiate between "banish" and "exile" and "purge" (see Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, p. 58), I use the terms interchangeably to indicate the obsessional's general desire to remove the perceived threat.
12. "Nevada Students Planning Memorial, Boycott Friday," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 6, 1970, p. 1+.
13. Joseph C. Caldwell quoted in ibid.

14. Emphasis added. Ty Cobb, "Sweeping Away—The Cobbwebs," *Nevada State Journal*, May 6, 1970, p. 2.
15. Nash, "Cadets Praised as Dissidents Mar Ceremony," *Nevada State Journal*, p. 1+.
16. James T. Richardson, letter to N. Edd Miller, May 6, 1970.
17. John Marschall, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970.
18. James Hulse, interview with the author, November 17, 1998.
19. "Strike Called for Friday," *Sagebrush*, May 7, 1970, p. 2.
20. Emphasis added. Brian Whalen, Police Incident Report, statement to Police Chief Bob Malone, May 7, 1970.
21. Emphasis added. Jim Gardner, memo to Police Chief Bob Malone, May 7, 1970.
22. Lawrence Kirk, interview, tape recording, June 12, 1970.
23. Edward Olsen, interview, tape recording, July 14, 1970.
24. N. Edd Miller, interview with the author, tape recording, November 19, 1998. Mike O'Callaghan, Hank Thornley, Albert Viller, and Don Weber were all running for Governor in 1970.
25. "ASUN Senate Surrounded By 300 Pros and Cons," *Sagebrush*, May 7, 1970, p. 3. In the audience, four Reno residents who "repeatedly interjected loud remarks" would later be dubbed "the outside agitators" from California.
26. Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
27. According to Stanford SDS activist Lenny Siegel, the destruction of campus property was part of the "tantrum tactic" intended to force a response from the administration. Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!*, p. 52.
28. Felony Crime Report #2475, May 7, 1970; Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970; Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
29. Bob Malone, interview, tape recording, June 1, 1970.
30. "Reno Campus Bombed" [AP News], *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 5/7, p. 1; "University of Nevada Firebombed," *Nevada Appeal*, May 7, 1970, p. 1.
31. "Reno Campus ROTC Is Firebombed, An Action Laxalt Says Is Criminal," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 7, 1970, p. 1+; "Laxalt Blasts UNR Violence," *Nevada Appeal*, May 7, 1970, p. 1.
32. Telegrams that day came from Churchill County Commissioners, City of Fallon Councilmen. Others congratulated Laxalt for "taking a stand" against the "revolting students" and "criminals" on campus. Other telegrams came in with apologies on behalf of the university, with some eyewitnesses coming forward who could identify the leaders of the protest. Nevada State Archives: GOV-0488 #010; GOV-0458 #025; GOV-0526 #023.
33. "Reno Campus ROTC is Firebombed, An Action Laxalt Says Is Criminal," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1.
34. Griswold, interview, June 18, 1970.
35. Piper, interview, June 17, 1970.
36. Emphasis added. David Slemmons, interview with the author, tape recording, July 21, 2001.
37. According to Bowers et al., *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, rumors can flourish when officials cannot explain a dramatic incident, the incident itself allows multiple interpretations, and those spreading the rumor find the incident relevant, pp. 16–17.
38. Jim Blink, interview, tape recording, May 27, 1970; Joel Gartenberg, interview, tape recording, June 2, 1970.

39. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Blink, interview, May 27, 1970.
40. Attending were Chief Malone, Judge Hyde, Sam Basta (dean of Student Affairs), Gary Peltier (Faculty Senate president), Ed Pine (University business manager), Louis Test (ASUN Senate president), and Bob Mayberry. "Miller Deplores Bombing," *Sagebrush*, May 8, 1970, p. 2; Olsen, interview, July 14, 1970; Gary Peltier, interview, tape recording, June 9, 1970; Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970.
41. "Miller Deplores Bombing," *Sagebrush*, p. 2.
42. Ibid.
43. Edmund Barmettler, interview, tape recording, May 29, 1970.
44. "Students Draft Letter, Make Plea For Unity, Decry Firebombing," *Sagebrush*, May 8, 1970, p. 2.
45. As Miller recalled, the "outsiders" were hardly the likely suspects for all that was happening on campus: "to blame it all on them is a mistake. They were nice—and I really mean this—fine young people from Reno and Sparks and Fernley and Las Vegas and Hawthorne, as well as California and other places, who I think just got carried away in what turned out to be, in my opinion, a most unfortunate disruptive situation." Miller, interview, June 18, 1970. Slemmons recalled that they had all gone to Reno High School. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
46. "UNR Strike Leaders Urge Students to Boycott Class," *Nevada Appeal*, May 8, 1970, p. 1.
47. John Doherty, "Consensus at the Bowl: Close It Down—Nonviolently," *Sagebrush*, May 8, 1970, p. 3.
48. Ibid., Elmer Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970.
49. The strike began at 8:00 a.m. Friday, and officials said 700 students didn't show for class. George Frank, "Bombing Probed; Protest Goes On At University," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 8, 1970, p. 1+.
50. "Strike Nonviolent," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 2+; Piper, interview, June 17, 1920; Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
51. Sam Basta, interview, tape recording, June 12, 1970.
52. "N. State, Nevada Collegians Modify War Protest Tactics," *The Sacramento Bee*, May 9, 1970, p. A12; "Strike Nonviolent," *Sagebrush*, p. 2.
53. Basta, interview, June 12, 1970.
54. "Strike Nonviolent," *Sagebrush*, p. 5; ibid.
55. "Strike Nonviolent," *Sagebrush*, p. 2; Hyde, interview, May 29, 1970; Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970. William Thornton announced the establishment of an annual peace prize during the memorial service: "awarded annually to a student who by word or by deed best puts forward the proposition that the use of force is not an acceptable means of settling disputes." The award is still given out annually at the university. Frank, "Bombing Probed; Protest Goes On At University," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1+.
56. Carpenter, interview, May 27, 1970; Basta, interview, June 12, 1970.
57. Dennis Flynn, interview, tape recording, June 3, 1970.
58. "Regents Order Two Professors, Students Probed," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 9, 1970, p. 5; "Regents Don't Discuss Campus Unrest," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 9, 1970, p. 3.
59. Small, *Covering Dissent*, pp. 130–131.
60. The accusation was that Maher was inappropriate in the classroom.

61. Maher was actually a teaching assistant and was promptly reassigned to a Research Assistant position, one that would limit his contact with students. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970; Board of Regents, Minutes, May 1970.
62. Regent James Bilbray was one of the more moderate voices in the room, calling for a month-long cooling off period before the regents continued with their policy changes and charges against faculty members. There was explicit instruction that a copy of the meeting transcript be sent to Governor Laxalt, along with the regents' apology for the protest. Both president Miller and chancellor Humphrey wrote similar apologies to Laxalt. Nevada State Archives: GOV-0526 #023.
63. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
64. Charles Seufferle, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970.
65. As a target, Adamian was quick to point out this possibility: "I hope this isn't an attempt of the board of regents to simply pick out a couple of scape goats in order to satisfy those applying pressure on the board to do something. And it seems peculiar to me that the Board of Regents hasn't directed itself in its meeting this weekend to the issues that have been raised by the activities on campus this week.' " "UN Regents Investigate Campus Riot," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 10, 1970, p. 2.
66. George Frank, "Investigation On Campus Draws Protest Petition; Regents: No Witch Hunt," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 11, 1970, p. 1.
67. Emphasis added. Procter Hug, Jr., interview, tape recording, June 18, 1970.
68. "Del Papa: Could Be Worse," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 3; Bruce Douglas, interview, tape recording, June 11, 1970.
69. "Laxalt Leaves," *Nevada Appeal*, May 10, 1970, p. 1.
70. "Laxalt Calls Nixon Talk 'Brilliant,' " *Nevada Appeal*, May 12, 1970, p. 1.
71. Emphasis added. Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970.
72. Altogether, there were petitions with over 800 signatures from irate Nevadans. University of Nevada Archives: AC20, box 1.
73. Emphasis added. Miller, interview, June 18, 1970.
74. George Frank, "Investigation on Campus Draws Protest Petition; Regents: No Witch Hunt," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1; "AAUP Starts Inquiry," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 2+; "Charges Filed Against Adamian, Maher," *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970, p. 1.
75. Marv Vyars (Byers construction); Jim Thornton (contractor); Jim Gardner (mechanical engineer); Thomas Reviglio (Western Nevada Supply); Terry Markwell (civil engineer); Robert M. Hawkins (Goodbody and Co.); Gary Bullis (attorney).
76. "Alumni, Citizens Support Regents," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 12, 1970, p.1+; "Alum, Citizen Group Supports Regents' Action," *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970, p. 3.
77. "Slattery Demands," *Morning Desert Free Press*, May 12, 1970, p. 1; David Keller, interview, tape recording, May 28, 1970; Piper, interview, June 17, 1970; Richardson, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970; George Frank, "Campus Scene Is Calm As Requested By Officials," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 13, 1970, p. 1+ [UPI].
78. In Randall M. Fisher's assessment of McCarthy, we can see striking similarities to the Nevada dynamic: "[McCarthy] had a crisis perception created for him by others; the devil cause had already been named; the solution was especially simple—just vote out the dupes and elect the get-tough-on-the-commie candidates like Joe and his friends. . . ." Fisher, *Rhetoric and American Democracy*, pp. 107–111, 133. Cf. Richard Weaver on "Devil terms," in *Ethics of Rhetoric*, and Stephen Goldzweig on demagogue rhetoric, "A Social Movement Perspective on Demagoguery."

79. Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
80. "Week of Tension Starts Communication," *Sagebrush*, p. 3.
81. The other roommates were Ward Ryan and Woody Woodward.
82. Witnesses included Lacey Louis, Frank Polari, and Janet Harvey.
83. The description here is a composite drawn from the following accounts: John Doherty, "Sagebrush Reporter Awakes to Flames," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 1; "Firebomb Burns Building Used By Nevada Protestors," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 1+; John Crosley, "Blast Rumored Retaliation for ROTC Fire," *Nevada Appeal*, May 12, 1970, p. 1; Sheila Caudle, "Residents escape unhurt at 3 a.m.: Students Report Seeing Cougar Speed from Scene," *Sagebrush*, May 12, 1970, p. 1. John Doherty, interview with the author, tape recording, May 12, 1970.
84. Economics professor Glen Atkinson. "Volunteer Crew Works to Rebuild Hobbit Hole," *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970, p. 1; "Are Professors Slaves Or Citizens?" *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970, p. 2; "University Inquiry Due In 10–15 Days," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 12, 1970, p. 1+; Rusco, interview, May 29, 1970.
85. Douglas, interview, June 11, 1970.
86. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
87. Weeks earlier, Reno District Attorney Raggio had announced that he would seek a U.S. senate seat, with Nixon's help. "Raggio Seeks Senate Seat," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 3, 1970, p. 1.
88. In order of appearance, the senators were Floyd Lamb, James Gibson, Archie Pozzi, and Coe Swobe. Douglas Webb, "Unrest Jeopardizes Funds for University—Senators," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 15, 1970, p. 1.
89. Frank, "Campus Scene Is Calm As Requested By Officials," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1+. "Avoid Political Issue On Campus Problems, Miller Asks Nevadans," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 15, 1970, p1+; "Unrest Jeopardizes Funds For University—Senators," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p.1; Kirk, interview, June 12, 1970.
90. Hug, interview, June 18, 1970.
91. "New Firebombing On Campus." *The Sparks Tribune*, May 14, 1970, p. 3.
92. George Frank, "Campus Hearing Notices Given," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 14, 1970, p. 1+.
93. "Miller Tells Alumni, 'Can't Promise Campus Without Disturbance,' " *Nevada State Journal*, May 19, 1970, p. 12.
94. "Cannon: Dissent, But No Violence," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 18, 1970, p. 1+.
95. "Alumni Association Backs Miller in Efforts to Solve Problems," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 19, 1970, p. 1; "Legion Supports Regents In Reno Campus Hearings," *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 18, 1970, p. 1.
96. Charlotte Morse, interview, tape recording, June 5, 1970; Joseph Crowley, interview, tape recording, June 8, 1970.
97. An Italian nobleman who had taught foreign language for the university, Dandini was instrumental in securing land for the Desert Research Institute in the mid-1960s. Dandini was appointed University Marshal in 1958 (see Board of Regents Minutes, vol. 7, pp. 449–476, April 12, 1958) and held the title until 1974. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, p. 95.
98. Robert Harvey, interview, June 1, 1970.
99. Police Statement, University of Nevada Police Department.

100. A graduate student, perhaps spreading misinformation, suggested that "law enforcement agencies have suspects with evidence of the people who burned the Hobbit Hole, but are refusing to arrest anybody until they also find some substantial suspects who they can take to court with a good case for the people who supposedly burned Hartman Hall." Anonymous, interview with the author.
101. Paul S. Adamian, interview, tape recording, June 6, 2000.
102. Hug asked chancellor Humphrey to develop documents based on University of Oregon and University of Michigan procedures for similar interim codes.
103. "Rules prohibiting all members of university community from (1) use of force or violence against members or guests of university (2) interference with the freedom of movement of persons or vehicles (3) disruptions or interruptions of classes (4) disruption or interruptions of any university activity (5) unauthorized occupation of university facilities (6) destruction or removal of property (7) repeated use of vulgar, obscene, or abusive language in the classroom or public meetings (8) disorderly, lewd, or indecent conduct (9) use of threats or violence to secure preferential treatment (10) causing or threatening personal injury (11) academic cheating or plagiarism (12) supplying false information to the university with intent to deceive (13) forgery, alteration, or misuse of university documents, records, or ID cards (14) malicious destruction, damage, or misuse of university property (15) theft or conversion of university property (16) possession of weapons or firearms (17) inciting others to commit any of the aforementioned acts (18) other conduct prohibited elsewhere in catalogs or student handbooks . . . For Graduate Assistants, Graduate Teaching Fellows, and members of the Faculty (1) repeated discussion in the classroom of topics unrelated to the course of instruction (2) repeated failure to meet classes assigned without advance notification of the Dept Chairman or Dean of college."
104. Ironically, after Hug had proposed the code, construction of a campus plaza was announced. It would be named in honor of Albert Hilliard, Reno attorney and former regent who was "a champion of academic freedom for instructors." Neil Humphrey, letter to N. Edd Miller, May 29, 1970; "Campus Area Being Named Hilliard Plaza," *Nevada State Journal*, May 24, 1970, p. 8.
105. Richardson, interview, tape recording, June 16, 1970.
106. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
107. University of Nevada Archives: AC 20, Box 1.
108. Emphasis added. Hug, interview, June 18, 1970.
109. Emphasis added. Richardson wrote to Hug and the regents, citing extensive passages from the University Code, and apologizing for "circumventing the usual channels of communication" but noting that Hug and the others had "circumvented usual channels by virtue of the procedure you have suggested for implementing your proposed code." Richardson, to Hug and Board of Regents, May 30, 1970.
110. Richardson, interview, June 16, 1970; David Harvey and James T. Richardson, memo to professor Richard Siegel [n.d.]. University Archives: AC 221, box 3.
111. Goldwater found that foul language was used, but it was not slanderous; a voluntary discussion happened in Maher's class, and he offered opinions only when asked; most students called him a fair, honest, and excellent teacher who followed his syllabus and allowed free discussion without overdoing his own political beliefs (even announcing at the beginning of the semester that he didn't want to discuss the Vietnam War).

112. Mike Graham, "Politics or Civic Concern?" *Sagebrush*, 18 August, 1970, p. 2.
113. The regents authorized $7900 of Special Projects Funds for history professor James Hulse to write *The University of Nevada: A Centennial History* over the following two years. This was certainly a challenging exigency for a historian: regents provided him with system funds to write about, among other events, a protest (in which he was a participant) against the system that resulted in a lawsuit against the regents. "Professor Barred From Teaching Pending Hearing," *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 10, 1970, p. 1+.
114. "Politics of Obscenity Draw a Prof's Answer," *Nevada State Journal*, August 29, 1970, p. 1.
115. "Professor Barred From Teaching Pending Hearing," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1+.
116. Adamian called the Western Regional Office of the AAUP, which sent telegrams to both Miller and Hug. Dan Adler (director, AAUP), letter to Paul Adamian, September 15, 1970.
117. "Professor Barred from Teaching Pending Hearing," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1; "Adamian Not Allowed To Teach," *Sagebrush*, September 15, 1970, p. 1.
118. Emphasis added. Mayberry, interview with the author, tape recording, June 4, 1999.
119. Anne Howard, interview with the author, March 1, 1999.
120. David Harvey, interview with the author, July 10, 2000.
121. Stewart et al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, p. 82.
122. "Paint On the Windows," *Sagebrush*, November 10, 1970, p. 2.
123. To his "utter dismay," Thomas O'Brien (dean of the Graduate School) was appointed head of the Ad Hoc committee that would hear Adamian's case in October, and attorney William Thornton was asked to serve as legal counsel. "Professor Barred From Teaching Pending Hearing," *Reno Evening Gazette*, p. 1+; Thomas O'Brien, testimony, *Before a Faculty Hearing Committee*, p. 4. Minutes of the Faculty Senate, September 17, 1970.
124. "Raggio, Regent Respond to Adamian Accusations," *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 18, 1970, p. 1.
125. "Sweeping Away—The Cobbwebs," *Nevada State Journal*, September 20, 1970, p. 10.
126. John W. Swobe [Nevada Alumni Association], letter to Thomas G. Bell [Vice Chairman, Board of Regents].
127. "Appeal To Witnesses," *Sagebrush*, October 6, 1970, p. 2.
128. "Miller Points to Positive Side of University," *Sagebrush*, October 9, 1970, pp. 4–5.
129. Valerie Weems, "Paul Adamian Outlines 'Inevitable Changes,' " *Sagebrush*, October 13, 1970, p. 3; "Regents Hear Five Problems," *Sagebrush*, October 13, 1970, p. 7.
130. "Hearing Open If Adamian Agrees," *Sagebrush*, October 13, 1970, p. 1.
131. Emerging in the mid-1960s, the tactics of guerilla theatre—small, mobile groups using simple tactics and the element of surprise—are an exemplary form of symbolic action, a guerilla rhetoric that aims via disruption to draw attention to a message. See Richard Schneider, "Guerrilla Theatre: May 1970," *The Drama Review*, 14, no. 3 (1970): 163–168.
132. "Council Hears Testimony," *Sagebrush*, October 13, 1970, p. 6.
133. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
134. Robert Harvey, memorandum "for the record" October 14, 1970; Adamian, open letter, October 21, 1970; Robert Harvey, memo to Kirkpatrick, October 21, 1970.
135. Adamian, interview, June 6, 2000.

136. The Ad Hoc committee consisted of O'Brien and three other faculty members: Phillip A. Altick (College of Arts and Sciences); Charles V. Wells (foreign languages), and Holyoke P. Adams (agriculture). George Frank, "Adamian Claims Role As Monitor," *Reno Evening Gazette*, October 14, 1970, p. 1; Carol Haviland, "Adamian Tells Of Participation In Governor's Day," *Nevada State Journal*, October 14, 1970, p. 1; "Reno Professor's Discipline Hearing Ends, Ruling Pends," *Sacramento Bee*, October 14, 1970, p. C5.
137. Sheila Caudle, "Hearing Over For Adamian," *Sagebrush*, October 16, 1970, p1+.
138. "It Began At 9:31 a.m.," *Sagebrush*, October 16, 1970, pp. 4–5.
139. John Swobe, president Carson City chapter of Nevada Alumni Association, letter to N. Edd Miller.
140. "Adamian Petition To Be Circulated," *Sagebrush*, October 27, 1970, p. 1; "Adamian Petition," *Sagebrush*, November 17, 1970, p. 8; Dave Slemmons, "A Written Reprimand," *Sagebrush*, October 27, 1970, p. 5; "Speakers Discuss Adamian Petition," *Sagebrush*, November 3, 1970, p. 3.
141. Group consists of 30 African-Americans, 9 Mexican Americans, 5 American Indians, 5 Caucasian, and 1 Asian American. John West was kept on as director, with Rich Patterson and Jesse Sattwhite as new staff members. Funding was increased from 35 students to 50 students. Press release sent to *Sagebrush* from John P. West, October 20, 1970.
142. Mike Graham, "Closed Session Scheduled," *Sagebrush*, November 17, 1970, p. 1.
143. "Adamian Only Censured," *Morning Desert Free Press*, November 9, 1970, p. 1; see also Mike McGowen, "Censure Recommended for Adamian," *Sagebrush*, November 10, 1970, p. 1.
144. "Miller: Penalty Due But Not Termination," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, November 22, 1970, p. 1; *Sagebrush*, November 13, 1970, p. 2.
145. "Adamian Affair May End Soon At Regents UNLV Meeting," *Morning Desert Free Press*, November 18, 1970, p. 1; Graham, "Closed Session Scheduled," *Sagebrush*, p. 1; "Disruption Statements Planned," *Sagebrush*, December 4, 1970, p. 1; University Archives: AC 027, folder 27/3.
146. Only regents Anderson and Bilbray voted to have an open session. "Adamian Matter Is Protested," *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 11, 1970, p. 1.
147. A flyer circulated to provide an "Agenda" for the Friday rally: "1. Opposition to Indochina war, resumed bombing of North Vietnam, Commando raids, etc. 2. Show of support for Dr. Paul Adamian 3. Opposition to the Regents' tyrannical rule over the University of Nevada 4. Opposition to mandatory ROTC on campus 5. Opposition to censorship of publications 6. Opposition to the high price of food in the snack bar 7. Opposition to the bandit bookstore 8. Opposition to the way this institution is being run 9. etc, etc." George Frank, "Adamian is fired by the regents," *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 12, 1970, p. 1+.
148. See Arthur Waskow's analysis of the early incidents of "creative disorder" in *From Race-Riot to Sit-In*, p. 225.
149. Three students and "all persons acting in concert therewith" were cited, with the Board of Regents and N. Edd Miller as plaintiffs.
150. Walsh wrote that defendants "have made unreasonable and illegal and unconstitutional demands . . . that the Board of Regents immediately adopt and pass said illegal and unconstitutional demands before the Board leaves the room." The student demands were the regents' resignations; a reconstituted board with four students,

four faculty, and five citizens (with a separate faculty-student-citizen oversight committee). The new board would be given the task of making education free, reviewing ten years of personnel decisions, and ending the "university's role as a Capitalist, imperialist, racist, chauvanist, elitist institution."

151. As Bob Mayberry recalled, Del Papa sought out equal numbers of students who could speak against Adamian. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999; See *Nevada State Journal*, December 13, 1970; George Frank, "Adamian Is Fired by the Regents," *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 12, 1970, p. 1+.
152. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
153. Hug, interview with the author, July 25, 2000.
154. Molly Knudtsen and James Bilbray opposed terminating Adamian, and the regents discussed Adamian's control and leadership. Bilbray was the only dissenting vote. Board of Regents, Minutes, Executive Session, December 12, 1970, p. 114; George Frank, "Adamian Is Fired by the Regents," *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 12, 1970, p. 1+; Carl Haviland, "U Of N Regents Dismiss Dr. Paul Adamian," *Nevada State Journal*, December 13, 1970, p. 1+.
155. Case No. 266527.
156. Faculty Senate Minutes, January 7, 1971; Adamian, to Dan Adler, director AAUP, January 27, 1971.
157. Peter Frank [of Franck, Hill, Stender, Ziegler and Hendon], to Eugene Grotegut, January 29, 1971.
158. The committee was chaired by Richardson, with professor Glen Atkison as treasurer, and undergraduate Bob Mayberry serving as secretary.
159. Hulse, *The University of Nevada*, pp. 75–76, 87, 176.
160. Of the $8000 needed for legal fees that had been raised, roughly $3000—about one-quarter of Adamian's annual salary—had been pledged. *Morning Desert Free Press*, 8, no. 1 (January 4, 1971); Paul Adamian Defense Committee Newsletter, February 3, 1971; Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
161. "Mordy Sues University For $567, 733," *Reno Evening Gazette*, July 11, 1971, p. 1.
162. In March, Adamian wrote to the ACLU for support, and Richardson asked Miller to change Governor's Day, warning that few faculty would be "there to help keep order" in the event of another protest. Combined with the existing Honors Convocation, the 1971 ceremony was held in the secure confines of the school's gymnasium, where Crowley was awarded the first Thornton Peace Prize. Adamian, interview, tape recording, December 4, 1998; Adamian, to Hazel Erskine, Secretary, ACLU, March 17, 1971; James T. Richardson, to N. Edd Miller, March 21, 1971; "Crowley Receives Peace Prize," *Sagebrush*, May 14, 1971, p. 1.
163. Civil No. R-2530, July 23, 1971; Appellee's Brief, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, p. 6.
164. Miller, interview with the author, November 19, 1998. Miller also noted that "Sattwhite was one of the nominal leaders of the group . . . it was very clear that he was not making decisions; he was told what to do and say."
165. *Nevada State Journal*, October 29, 1971, p. 1+.
166. Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
167. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001.
168. During the November Board meeting, several regents expressed their dissatisfaction with Miller's handling of the Reno campus, so Miller submitted his resignation, which was refused. And prior to the November election, David Towell used

Adamian's name (and Bilbray's dissenting vote) as a campaign wedge against regent Bilbray for a seat in Congress. Towell won the election. Springer placed third in the 1970 Governor's Race, and in 1974 ran for a Supreme Court Justice position, which he lost to John Mowbray but would win another attempt in 1981. "Adamian Still In Court," *Sagebrush*, April 21, 1972.

169. The case was initially assigned to District Judge Bruce R. Thompson, but he suffered a heart attack and the case was reassigned.
170. "Reno Professor Promoted," *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 13, 1972. Richardson's promotion was approved by his department, dean, and president Miller. Sheila Caudle, "Professor Denied Promotion by Regents," *Sagebrush*, May 7, 1971, p. 3.
171. Richardson's letter was not intended to vindicate himself, but rather to speak out against the university's replacement of one-year teaching appointments with one-semester "Letter of Appointment" contracts that offered more flexibility in firing adjuncts and graduate students. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001; Richardson, to Paul Leonard, June 3, 1971.
172. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001; "Reno Professor Promoted," *Reno Evening Gazette*; David Harvey, interview, July 10, 2000.
173. "Professors Form Group to Bargain with Regents," *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 4, 1972.
174. It applied the "standard of vagueness" under the due-process clause of the 14th amendment, claiming the regulation was so overbroad that it could justify termination simply "for utterances which were inaccurate." "Court Strikes Down Version of AAUP Statement," *Advocate*, Winter 1974.
175. AAUP, "Advisory Letter No. 11." Case law suggests that the court's ruling on the AAUP construction *before* the remand to district court was improper. See *Harrison v. NAACP*, 360 U.S. 167 (1959); *Grayned v. City of Rockford*, 408 U.S. 104 (1972); *Gooding v. Wilson*, 405 U.S. 518 (1972).
176. Thompson also had served as a defense attorney for professor Frank Richardson in the 1950's Stout affair.
177. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001.
178. *Paul S. Adamian v. The University of Nevada, et al.*, May 24–25, 1976. Case No. R-2530. pp. 16, 48, 61.
179. Hug, interview with the author, July 25, 2000.
180. Richardson, interview with the author, July 26, 2001.
181. See, e.g., "University of Nevada Faculty Reacts to Rules on Mental Tests and Tenure," *The Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1983, p. I1.
182. Ibid.
183. Maher, interview, June 15, 1970.
184. Howard, interview, March 1, 1999.
185. Bob Mayberry, interview with the author, June 4, 1999.
186. Slemmons, interview with the author, July 21, 2001.
187. Hug, interview with the author, July 25, 2000.
188. Frankie Sue Del Papa, interview with the author, tape recording, December 14, 1998.
189. David Harvey, interview, July 10, 2000.
190. Joseph N. Crowley, interview with the author, tape recording, February 12, 1999.
191. Ibid.
192. Dennis Myers, "Paul Adamian, Again," *Sagebrush*, September 30, 1975, pp. 6–7.

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Adamian, Paul Serop: English professor
Anderson, Elizabeth: Wife of the Dean of Engineering
Atkinson, Glen: Economics professor
Backman, Carl: Professor, Sociology
Barmettler, Edmund R.: Agriculture professor
Basta, Sam M.: Dean of Student Affairs
Blink, James: Undergraduate student, ROTC drill team commander
Carpenter, Kenneth J.: Associate Director of Library
Cosgrove Thomas: Program Coordinator, Center for Religion and Life
Crowley, Joseph N.: Political Science professor

Doherty, John: Undergraduate student, *Sagebrush* reporter
Douglas, Bruce: Civil Engineering professor
Dwyer, Larry: Undergraduate student
Flynn, Dennis: Undergraduate student
Gartenberg, Joel M.: Graduate student
Griswold, Taber: Undergraduate student, USA member
Harvey, Robert: English professor
Hazard, Ben (Benjamin): Art professor
Hudson, Beverly: Graduate student, publications director for National College of State Trial Judges
Hug, Procter, Jr.: Chair, Board of Regents
Hulse, James: History professor
Hyde, Laurance Jr.: Dean, National College of State Trial Judges
Keller, David: Undergraduate student, ROTC
Kirk, Lawrence M.: Faculty, College of Agriculture
Kunstler, William Moses: Civil Rights activist
Maher, Fred: Graduate student, English teaching assistant
Malone, Bob: Police chief, University of Nevada
Marschall, John: Director, Center for Religion and Life
Miller, N. Edd: University President
Morse, Charlotte: Undergraduate student
Olsen, Edward: Director of Information
Patterson, Richard G., Jr.: Undergraduate student, USA member
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Pine, Edward L.: University business manager, Director of physical plant.
Piper, Brooke: Undergraduate student, USA member
Richardson, James T.: Sociology professor
Robertson, Joseph: Plant Science professor
Ross, Charles W.: Art professor, Department Chair
Rusco, Elmer: Political Science professor
Ryall, Alan S.: Physics professor
Sellers, Joseph: Graduate student, President of Sundowners (unofficial "Cowboy" club)
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Sherwood, Richard: Undergraduate student, ROTC
Richard, Siegel: Political Science professor
Teglia, Dan: Undergraduate student
Test, Louis: Undergraduate student
Thornton, William: Attorney, past President, University Alumni Association
Valline, William: Undergraduate student, ROTC
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Oral History Interviews 1998–2001

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Del Papa, Frankie Sue: Attorney General, State of Nevada
Doherty, John R.: Desert Research Institute
Harvey, David: Sociology professor
Harvey, Robert: English professor
Howard, Anne: English professor
Hug, Procter, Jr.: Judge, Ninth Judicial Circuit Court
Hulse, James: History professor
Maher, Fred: Counselor, Sparks, Nevada
Mayberry, Bob: English professor
Miller, N. Edd: President, retired
Richardson, James T.: Program Director, Judicial Studies; Former President, AAUP
Slemmons, David: Oklahoma Library for the Blind and Physically Handicapped
Stookey, Lorena: English faculty

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