

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Stanley Hebert ✓
Mr. Merle M. McCurdy

DATE: December 5, 1967

FROM : Nathaniel R. Jones *N.R.J.*

SUBJECT: Central State University Disorders

Attached are additional newspaper clippings on the disorders that occurred at Central State University in Xenia, Ohio.

With regard to a follow up, be advised that I have scheduled some talks with attorney John H. Bustamante in Cleveland next week.

Atch.



CORRESPONDENCE

College	Location	Date	General Nature
Grambling College	Grambling Louisiana	OCT 27, 1967	demonstration
Compton District Junior College	Compton, California	NOV 17, 1967	picketing
Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Alabama	?	peaceful march
South Carolina State College	Columbia, S.C.	FEB 1968	violent
Berea College	Berea, Kentucky	DEC 8, 1967	meetings (probably not demonstrations)
California State College	Los Angeles, Calif	NOV 10, 1967	threatened newspaper editor
San Francisco State College	San Francisco, Calif	NOV 1967	violence
University of Iowa	Iowa City, Iowa	DEC 5, 1967	(anti-war)
University of California	Berkeley	DEC 1, 1967	"

Central State University

Wilmington, Ohio

Nov 67

Violence

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

038A

CLASH 2/11 AJ
NIGHT LD

BY WILLIAM COTTERRELL

ORANGEBURG, S. C. (UPI)--NATIONAL GUARDSMEN CLAMPED AN ARMORED RING AROUND TROUBLED SOUTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE SUNDAY IN THE FACE OF A KU KLUX KLAN RALLY AND A MEETING BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

THE MOVE WAS AIMED AT PREVENTING, IF POSSIBLE, ANY CONFRONTATION BETWEEN WHITE SUPREMISTS AND BLACK POWER ADVOCATES.

THE NEGRO SCHOOL REMAINED QUIET DURING THE WEEKEND WHILE A FEDERAL INVESTIGATION WAS UNDERWAY INTO THE RACIAL VIOLENCE THAT CLAIMED THREE LIVES DURING PITCHED BATTLES BETWEEN NEGROES AND POLICE EARLIER IN THE WEEK.

STATE POLICE, BACKED UP BY MORE THAN 600 NATIONAL GUARDSMEN WITH FIVE ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS, BLOCKADED THE CITY'S MAIN HIGHWAY, REROUTING TRAFFIC AND SEARCHING ANY AUTOMOBILE THEY FOUND SUSPICIOUS.

"I THINK WE ARE IN PRETTY GOOD SHAPE," SAID COL. ROBERT L. MCCRADY, A LIASON OFFICER FOR THE GUARD, "THE COMMUNITY IS FUNCTIONING PRETTY MUCH AS NORMAL."

CHIEF J. P. STROM OF THE STATE LAW ENFORCEMENT DIVISION SAID HIS MEN PLANNED TO HALT A KU KLUX KLAN RALLY SCHEDULED OUTSIDE THE CITY LIMITS SUNDAY AFTERNOON. STROM SAID STATE POLICE WERE EXTENDING A STATE OF EMERGENCY PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY GOV. ROBERT E. MCNAIR TO COVER THE ENTIRE COUNTY, THUS, "THE GOVERNOR GIVES US AUTHORITY TO CLOSE THAT MEETING."

STROM TOLD NEWSMEN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS MAKING A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION INTO THE DEATH OF THREE NEGRO YOUTHS SHOT DURING THE CITY'S WORST RACIAL VIOLENCE THURSDAY NIGHT. AT LEAST 36 OTHERS WERE INJURED.

"WE WILL BE MOST HAPPY TO CO-OPERATE WITH ANY INVESTIGATION RIGHT DOWN THE LINE," STROM SAID. "WE ARE GLAD TO HAVE THE FEDERAL INVESTIGATORS."

THE ARMORED BLOCKADE OF THE COLLEGE WAS ORDERED ON A 24-HOUR BASIS SATURDAY AFTERNOON AFTER A WASHINGTON NEWSMAN WAS BEATEN BY A NEGRO YOUTH ON THE CAMPUS. A DUSK-TO-DAWN CURFEW WAS EXTENDED INDEFINITELY FOR THE CITY.

"WE DON'T WANT TO SAY BY ANY STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION THAT THERE IS A CURFEW ALL OVER ORANGEBURG COUNTY BECAUSE THERE ISN'T," SAID STROM. HE STRESSED THAT THE CURFEW WOULD APPLY ONLY TO THE CITY AND THAT THE POLICE AND GUARDSMEN WOULD NOT IMPEDE ANY MOTORISTS WHO COULD EXPLAIN A WORTHWHILE PURPOSE FOR BEING OUT AFTER DARK.

1230PES..

PRESERVATION COPY

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220A

CLASH 2/11 AJ
NIGHT LD

BY WILLIAM COTTERELL

ORANGEBURG, S. C. (UPI)--THE KU KLUX KLAN, YIELDING TO PRESSURE FROM STATE POLICE, SUNDAY CANCELLED A RALLY THAT AUTHORITIES HAD FEARED MIGHT FAN NEW RACIAL VIOLENCE IN THIS TROUBLED COLLEGE TOWN.

A SPOKESMAN FOR THE ORANGEBURG COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE SAID THE KLAN HAD AGREED TO CALL OFF THE RALLY AND "THEY ARE NOT GOING TO MEET."

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN HAD CLAMPED AN ARMORED RING AROUND SOUTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE IN THE FACE OF THE PLANNED KLAN RALLY AND A MEETING BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. THEY FEARED THE MEETINGS MIGHT SET OFF NEW BATTLES SUCH AS THE ONES OF LAST WEEK THAT CLAIMED THREE LIVES AND DOZENS OF INJURIES.

THE NAACP RALLY, AT TRINITY METHODIST CHURCH, WAS NOT CANCELLED.

THE NEGRO SCHOOL CAMPUS WAS VIRTUALLY DESERTED AND REMAINED QUIET SUNDAY. H. V. MANNING, PRESIDENT OF ADJOINING CLAFIN COLLEGE ANNOUNCED THAT HIS SCHOOL WAS SUSPENDING CLASSES--JUST AS HAD SOUTH CAROLINA STATE--AND THEY WOULD RESUME "WHEN THE TENSE SITUATION HAS SUBSIDED."

MEANWHILE A FEDERAL INVESTIGATION WAS UNDERWAY INTO THE CAUSE OF PITCHED BATTLES BETWEEN NEGROES AND POLICE LAST WEEK.

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NEGRO STUDENTS PROTEST AT BEREA

College Is Jolted by Charges of Hypocrisy on Race

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

BEREA, Ky., Dec. 8—Berea College, a pre-Civil War pioneer institution in interracial education in the South, is undergoing an unexpected test of its dedication that is posed by black student militants.

For a month students and faculty members on the campus here in the Appalachian foothills have been astir over the activities of the Black Students of Berea College. This group of fewer than 50 Negroes and a handful of white students was organized at a meeting on Nov. 7 to "expose the hypocrisy of the all white college administration and faculty and the 95 per cent white student body." The meeting came as a jolt here.

Berea is committed under its 1859 constitution to "promote the cause of Christ." In its early years, before Kentucky adopted a Jim Crow education law in 1904, most of the students were Negroes. Negroes did not return until 1950.

5 Per Cent Are Negro

College spokesmen point out that "there are very few Negroes in the 230 mountain counties, from West Virginia south, from which come 90 per cent of the students here." About 5 per cent of the 1,600

students are from African and Asian countries, reflecting Berea's missionary association, and 5 per cent are Negroes, largely from cities in Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama.

Negro students here say that the "Christian ideal" at Berea is "just a pale reflection" and that the administration's "neutrality" on race is a "redundant contradiction of the founding principles."

The Negro students have published a list of demands—Negroes on the faculty and administrative staff, where there are none; more visits by Negro lecturers and artists, a course in Negro history.

But their real aims appear to go further. In interviews, Negro students said the college "must abandon neutrality and tokenism, recognize the black revolution in America and stop turning bigots loose on the world."

Denies Integration

Two Negro students, Kenneth Miller, a 23-year-old sophomore, and Barbara Durr, 21, a senior, said, "We're not trying to indict Berea; we're trying to show that it's no more integrated, despite what it says it stands for, than the rest of our society."

Most college officials have reacted with stunned disapproval and dismay to the rise of black power at an institution founded on uncompromising principles of brotherhood. The concern is that Negro militancy will polarize the submerged prejudices of a largely white student body from the Appalachian South and "rock the boat." Negroes say this re-

flects a "hypocritical worry about image."

In an interview, James Orwig, dean of men, said, "We don't want to aggravate a white lunatic group and stir this thing up on the other side, because then where would we be as an interracial community that is supposed to have this commitment?"

The dean said that he had joined with other campus officials in ordering the removal of a sign summoning "black students" to a meeting that appeared last month in the Alumni Memorial Center, the student union. Negro student leaders were told then that "racially exclusive" meetings were against Berea's policy and "as inappropriate as an appeal to white power."

Demands Are Published

The Negro students, joined by a few whites, have continued to meet, however. On Nov. 25 — homecoming weekend at Berea—they published in The Pinnacle, the student newspaper, a half-page list of demands.

"Black students do not intend to be showpieces of racist toleration" by whites, the statement said. It complained that "racist dorm mothers" had interfered with interracial dating.

The statement scoffed at the administration's explanation that it had not hired Negro faculty members because it sought "only the best."

"Any student at Berea is aware of the fact that Berea does not employ 'the best' white instructors," the statement declared.

REMEMBER THE NEEDS!

THE BLACK REVOLT HITS THE WHITE CAMPUS

BY ERNEST DUNBAR
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

TIME WAS WHEN THE occasional Negro accepted at an Ivy League school felt so happy to squeak in that he worked fanatically to become what he imagined was a proper college gentleman. Today, a new breed of black cat is tearing up white campuses, poking holes in some ivy-covered notions about integration and tracking Watts and Newark into the fastidious halls of many of the nation's most hallowed institutions of higher learning.

In late 1962, eight Negro undergraduates at Columbia University met to talk over their condition as black students in a predominantly white university. One of the eight, Hilton Clark, son of the pioneering New York psychologist Dr. Kenneth Clark, recalls: "We felt we were lost, mentally, in a white college. I realize the words 'identity crisis' have become a cliché, but we really didn't know who we were, and we were trying to become something we could not be. We had lost all connections with the reality of what we were. The average black sought to go out for all the school activities, go on to some place like Yale Law School and then probably join some company and be the 'corporation's nigger.' While he was at Columbia, he didn't talk to any other Negroes, joined a white fraternity if he could and became what we call a 'white nigger.' There was Harlem all around him, but not only did he refuse to talk about it or exert any of his energies and potential toward solving Harlem's problems, he took the same attitude toward Harlem that many whites have, such as, 'These people are not making it because they are lazy,' or, 'If they would only clean themselves up and try a little, they might make it!'"

Clark and his seven colleagues then called a conference of some 32 blacks attending various divisions of Columbia (it was the largest gathering of Negroes, as such, that the school had ever

had), and out of this nucleus was born Columbia's Students' Afro-American Society. "We had our first big battle over whether we were going to admit white students or not," says Clark. While sas's charter does not prohibit white membership (university rules ban racially restrictive clauses), in fact no whites belong to the organization.

At about the same time that the Columbia blacks were organizing, an American Negro and

In many predominantly white colleges, ghetto-bred blacks are shaking up the ivory tower. Forming all-black clubs, challenging what is taught, prodding administrators to integrate faculties and sometimes refusing to talk to their white advisers, the newcomers are causing soul-searching by apprehensive deans and puzzled white students alike.

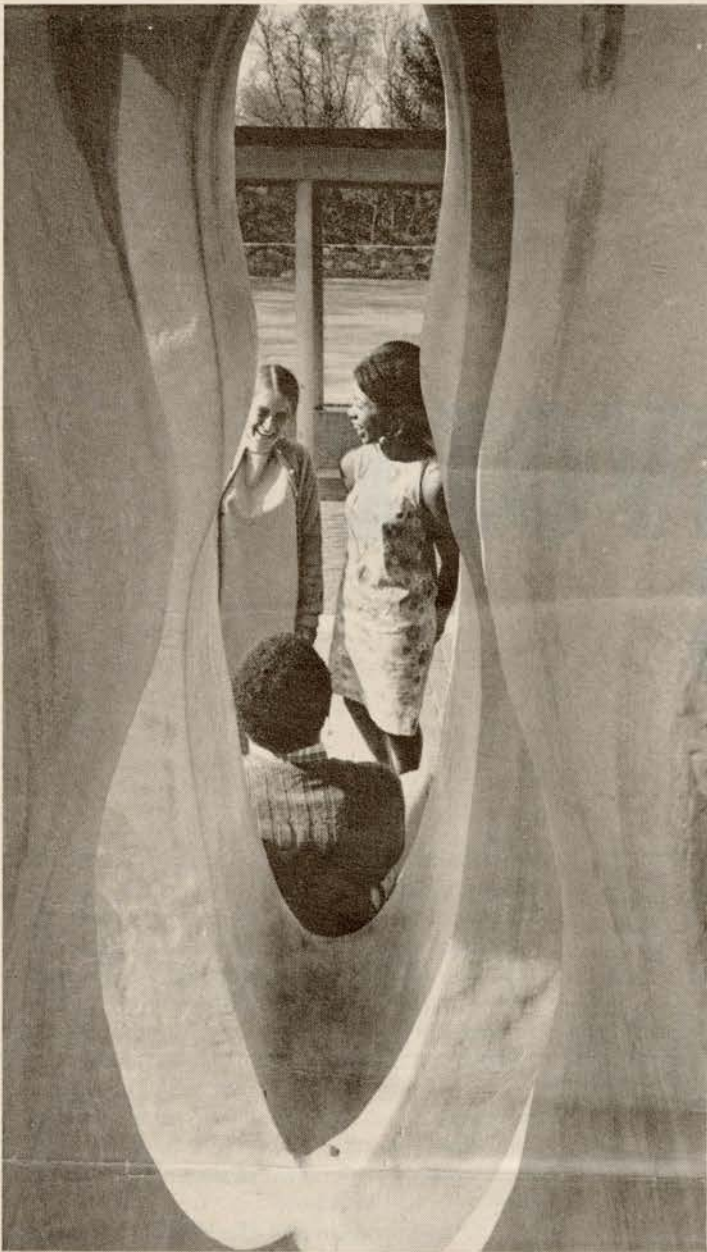
a Ghanaian had created a similar group, the Association of African and Afro-American Students at Harvard and Radcliffe. Its first president was a chemistry major from Nigeria. AAAS arose out of the same sort of mood that brought on the Columbia organization: a feeling of isolation, of having to conform to standards and values that held little meaning or enrichment for Negroes, and an awareness of losing something valuable in their own background as they attempted to fit in. Equally important was a desire somehow to funnel some of their talent into the local black ghetto, even while they were still in school.

Columbia's SAS and Harvard's AAAS are part of a recent but spreading phenomenon at largely white colleges around the nation: the birth of "Afro" or all-black clubs and societies that are causing considerable headscratching among university officials, consternation in some faculties and reactions ranging from apprehension to puzzlement from white students. Blacks themselves are debating the value of such groups.

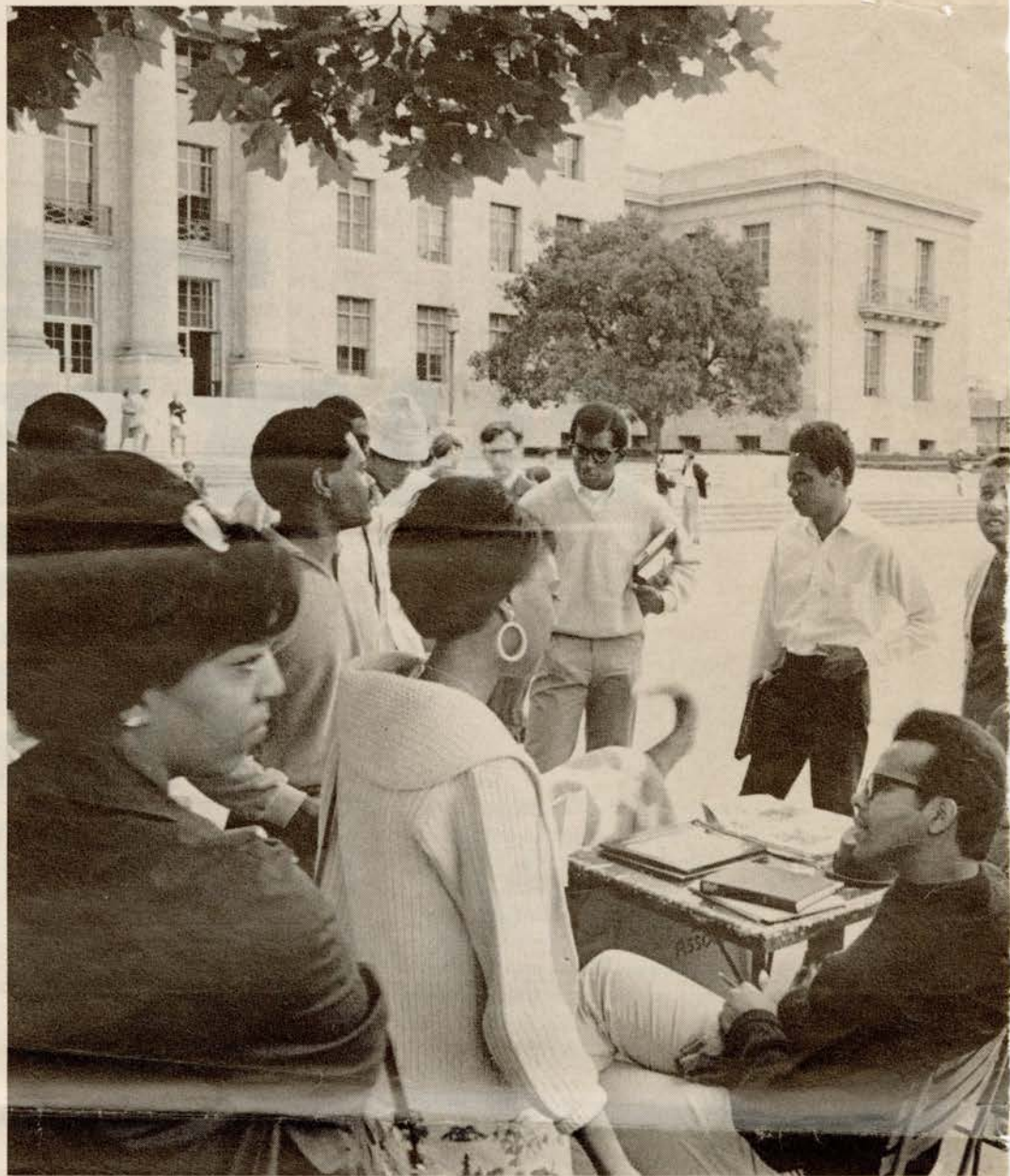
When a regional conference of Afro groups convened at Columbia in December 1966, some 300 delegates came from 30 schools in the Northeast. Yale was represented by its Black Students Alliance; Princeton, by its Association of Black Collegians, and Dartmouth, by its Afro-American Society. ("The general idea is to get away from the word 'Negro' which doesn't really define anything," explained one Harvard AAAS member.) Most of the students attending were financed by the administrations of their schools in response to a plea by the conference's organizers.

The Afro college movement is proving a strenuous test of the sagacity of many a college administrator, required to be blind to considerations of color in campus organizations. "The administra-

continued



Ethos's Fran Rusan jokes with her white roommate.



The Berkeley split: Black activists are drawn to Afro-American Student Union table, whites to that of

BLACK REVOLT CONTINUED

tion had a hard time forming an attitude toward our group," says Hilton Clark, "because they didn't know what the group was going to do. Hell, we didn't even know!" Yet, a number of deans have expressed a cautious optimism about the Afro groups, and Columbia's Vice-President David B. Truman has said, "These students do not, on the whole, act from a policy of deliberate separatism. They want to associate together because they wish to avoid being lost in the white majority, to which they do not want to be compelled to assimilate totally, and partly because they do not wish to dissociate themselves from the Negro community outside the University. These are reasonable and understandable purposes."

Harvard's faculty accreditation committee at first voted against chartering that school's black group, then, a year later, after the AAAS dropped its restrictive clause, gave it the go-ahead. (Curious whites have sporadically attended meetings, but none have joined. "When you start talking about 'my black brothers,' these white cats can't relate," says a Negro sophomore.)

John Monro, former dean of Harvard College, says: "We had quite a row over a restrictive clause in the AAAS's charter—it was to be confined to people of African descent—and this troubled me as a precedent. I think such a statement is bad no matter what the ethnic makeup of the people who do

it. It is my hope that as this organization matures, they will be able to admit some Caucasians and the thing won't suffer, but obviously, at the moment, that's not the way it's running."

Afro groups are formed for a wide variety of reasons. Among them is the feeling that the curriculum in American universities has blanked out the Afro-American's contribution to the nation's history and that the outlook of most white college students is different from that of most Negro collegians because of their differing backgrounds.

Francille Rusan, an officer of Wellesley's Ethos, calls it "a way of beginning to think about yourself that will be important when you get out of here. There are a lot of white girls here who've gone to private schools or to the best public schools and whose families have money. Their very expectations about life and what they are going to do after graduation are quite different from ours. Being a Negro is sometimes incidental, but at other times, it's fundamental, and we wanted to explore this fundamental aspect."

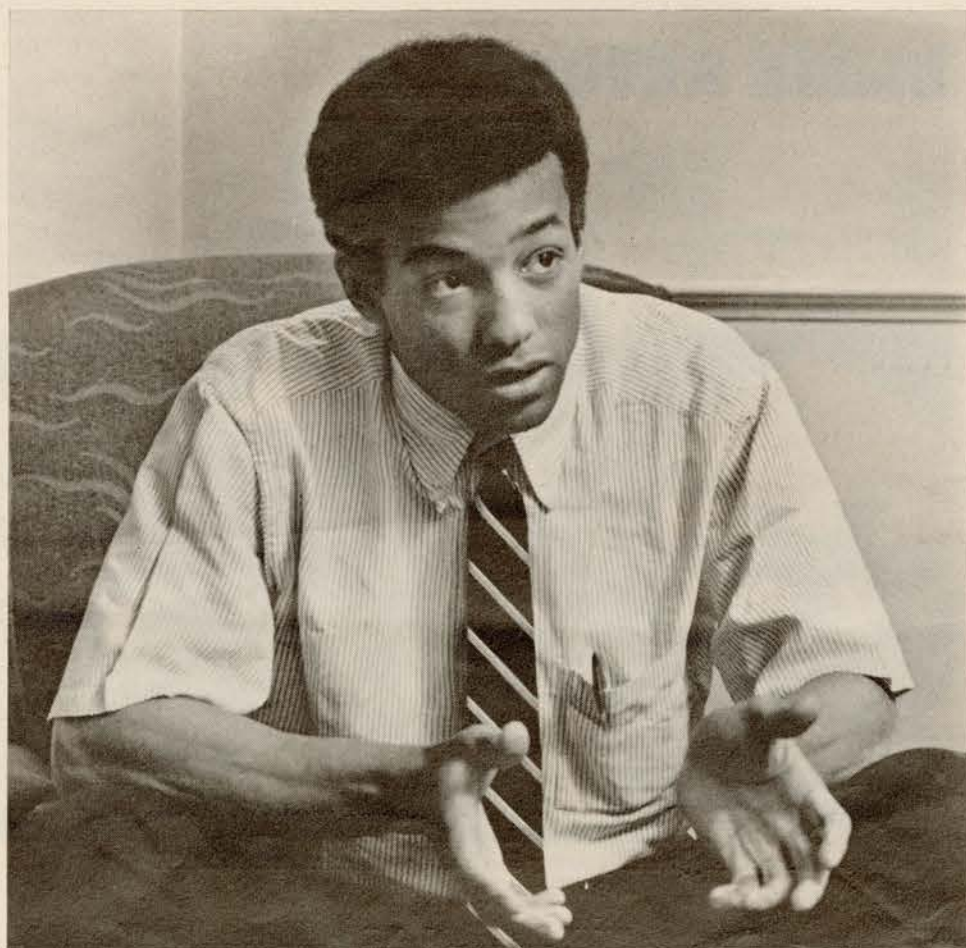
Crucial to the rise of the Afro groups are the growing militancy among black students and the desire of many of them in prestigious colleges to invest their energies in the black communities instead of turning their backs on their less fortunate fellows. This feeling, in itself, represents a sharp break from the kind of black student who formerly made up the tiny Negro colony at Ivy League schools, and who saw his diploma as a passport out of the more oppressive regions of race.

"Few of the Negroes who went to Ivy League colleges in the past have contributed significantly to the civil-rights movement," says Dr. Kenneth Clark. "With very few exceptions, most of its leaders have come from Negro colleges and universities." Clark believes that the Afro groups indicate an important shift in emphasis. "What they are saying is that the privilege of going to these schools must be paid for with commitment and concern for the greater black community."

Is joining an Afro group a kind of self-segregation? "Yes," Clark answers, "but with a dynamic difference. It's voluntary, not enforced segregation. It's a voluntary association that these students believe has value in helping them as individuals in dealing with the realities of college. This kind of grouping is not to be equated with an administration's telling them they *must* have a Negro roommate. The predicament of Negro college youngsters before this was pathetic. They were thrown into a situation in which some sank and some swam. But even the pets paid a price."

The AAAS publishes the *Harvard Journal of Negro Affairs*, and SAS has its own publication, *The Black Student*, but the Afro groups are out to achieve more than just a forum for communication among Negro students at white institutions. A members have set up a seminar on Negro politics at Harvard's John F. Kennedy Institute ("The Kennedy Institute took us as we were," said one student. "They realized *we* weren't going to cede and they wanted the spontaneity we bring

PHOTOGRAPHED BY RICHARD SA



A middle-class Negro discovers his race

Tom Williamson, Jr., a senior at Harvard College, member of the Signet Society, the Undergraduate Council and the Crimson football team, says: "I've finally proved enough things to myself, pursuing the goals and norms of white middle-class America, to know how artificial that was for me. There's no end

to the contest if you're just a black man trying to excel so thoroughly that people will forget you are black. I began to see that as a fruitless struggle and sought to develop a sense of individuality. Part of that individuality is being a Negro." But Williamson feels ambivalent about joining an "Afro" group.

Students for a Democratic Society (right).

tutorial program for flagging black students and a Negro history course organized by AAAS member Robert Hall for the black inmates of Massachusetts's Norfolk state prison, where the late Malcolm X (an Afro group hero) was once an inmate. Others have instituted "Freedom Workshop" education courses in Boston's Roxbury Negro ghetto.

At Merritt College, in Oakland, Calif., an Afro group called EROS (Endeavor to Raise Our Size) has expanded its tutorial program to help not only Negro but Spanish-American, American-Indian and foreign students. EROS's president, Harriet Smith, raised \$1,000 to help scholarship students because: "It's hard to study with wrinkles in your belly." She is also president of the Merritt College student body.

Similarly, the Black Students' Union of San Francisco State College generated enough political clout to wrest a grant from a startled state legislature to bring Negro poet-playwright LeRoi Jones to the SFSC campus as a writer-in-residence.

BSU president Jimmy Garrett, veteran of three years as a SNCC worker in the South, decries the absence in State's poetry courses of works by Negro or American-Indian poets. "We are being indoctrinated with an alien culture," he argues. Garrett, a lean's list student, is pushing for the establishment of an interdisciplinary "Black Studies" program, leading to a master's degree, that would be based upon the researches of African and Afro-social scientists.

While most Afro groups are working to estab-

lish links between the campus and the ghetto, they are also needling university officials to integrate faculties (Columbia College, for example, is a white island on the edge of Harlem; it has no black faculty members.) and revise curricula that ignore the Negro or assume the universality of white middle-class values. At Columbia, SAS members joined a demonstration to demand higher wages for the lunchroom employees, mostly Puerto Ricans.

Although the Afro movement supports the right of blacks to have voluntary all-Negro associations, one of its chief goals is integrated university housing facilities. Wellesley's Ethos organization this year campaigned successfully for the end of an ancient administration custom of rooming all Negro freshman girls together regardless of their preference, a practice that Wellesley Negro women had put up with out of fear of protesting.

An important factor in the rise of the Afro groups is the current expansion in Negro enrollment at white schools, as university officials (encouraged by Federal scholarship funds) attempt to provide higher education for many blacks who might previously have gone to Negro institutions or not gone to college at all. At Berkeley (total enrollment 27,500), the Negro contingent of 300 more than doubled last month with 370 incoming Negro freshmen. At Harvard College (total enrollment 4,800), 110 Negro upperclassmen were joined by 60 black freshmen. (In 1964, the College had only 15 American Negroes, 5 Africans.) Nearby Radcliffe's 16 Negro girls were

reinforced by the arrival of 15 newcomers.

With the dramatic increase in numbers, which has given previously isolated blacks greater confidence to speak out, has come also an infusion of blunt-talking, ghetto-bred youngsters turned up by special university talent searchers. These youths are drastically different from the traditional Ivy League (or Pacific Coast League, for that matter) Negro. Their presence has been educational, if disturbing, for the more sheltered blacks and upper-class whites as well.

Listen to the testimony of Tom Williamson, Jr., a Harvard senior from a comfortable California town where his was the only Negro family and he the only black in the local high school. "I don't believe in romanticizing the ghetto," he says, "but part of the cost of living in the kind of environment I came from is not to have had the broadening experience of knowing other Negroes and not to be sensitive to them. Soon after I got here, I grew up. I had to revise some of my basic assumptions."

Williamson, a safety on Harvard's football team, a top student and a member of Signet, an exclusive literary luncheon club, has learned that "part of my individuality is being a Negro. I've found that a great source of strength here. It's a new focus to grow upon and a much more realistic one. The AAAS seemed to me at first to be an artificial thing upon which to build an identity because it seemed negative, keyed on exclusiveness, and most of my friends—and my girl—are white. But the idea of a distinctive Negro group *did* appeal to

continued

BLACK REVOLT

CONTINUED



Assistant Dean Archie Epps sees growing black-student alienation at Harvard.

“The number of Harvard Negro undergrads with severe mental difficulties is increasing.”

me. I don't like the idea of people telling me that black people can't do something by themselves. Irish people, Italian people do things by themselves, and so should black people if they want to.” He admits to some hesitation about joining the AAAS “because, for one thing, my girl could not attend its meetings,” but feels he may soon sign up.

Not so Frank Snowden, a senior from Washington, D.C., who manages the Crimson track team, runs the quarter mile and has become the first Negro in one of Harvard's prestigious “final clubs.” He says, “We are trying to get away from classifying people by color, and when you start a group based on that, it's a backward step.”

But if the black-student population at white institutions is becoming more representative, it is also reverberating with the same stresses that are jangling the society beyond campus.

Archie Epps III, an assistant dean and the sole Negro in Harvard's administration, spends the greater part of his day counseling black students. “There is an increasing militancy among the Negro students,” he says, “some of whom will not even talk to their white advisers. They come in as freshmen and are very friendly. Then, during the second semester of their first year, they become hostile to white faculty persons and grow more hostile as time goes on. This is a difficult problem for all of us. Some faculty people have complained to me that they have difficulty communicating with their black students.” Epps says he has suggested that faculty members read up on Negroes to inform themselves about the origin of the attitudes blacks hold. At the same time, he counsels black students against assuming bias or “square” notions on the part of their white teachers.

At Harvard, as at many other largely white institutions, black students tend to congregate at certain campus spots (At Berkeley, it's the Bear's Lair of the Student Union; at Columbia, the Lion's Den of Ferris Booth Hall.) or eat together at the “Soul [Negro] Table” in the dining halls. White students often puzzle over why Negro students

choose to sit together, but, says AAAS president Jeff Howard, Harvard '69, “The cats from Andover eat together, the cats from Exeter eat together, the football types eat together and nobody sees that as exclusiveness. When we eat together, whites somehow feel threatened!”

The need to commune with other black students, felt so keenly by some black Ivy Leaguers, has led to a festive tradition called “Spook Week-ends” at Yale, in which black undergraduates of both sexes from many Northeastern colleges gather to party and debate for two intense days.

Among the spin-offs of the Afro explosion has been a split between black and white activists of the Left. While many Afro group members are also active in integrated nonpolitical campus activities, there is a tendency for them to drop out of radical organizations like the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to pursue Black-Power-oriented programs of the Afro associations. “SDS has all the Marx and the rhetoric,” says San Francisco State's Jimmy Garrett, “but hell, I've studied Marx too, so I blow that right back on them! We want *them* to go out and organize *white* people to reform this society; until they've done that, all this talk of theirs is irrelevant!”

Sometimes, the schism on the Left assumes ludicrous forms. A Berkeley SDS group invited Stokely Carmichael to give a lecture at the University of California. But Berkeley's Afro-American Student Union objected, arguing that SDS was just trying to capitalize on Carmichael's publicity value to boom its own projects. After a good deal of wrangling, Carmichael wound up making a private blacks-only talk to the Afro group before giving his SDS-sponsored lecture.

In theory, most Afro group members feel that it is vital that they do not appear to be running out on the blacks in the ghetto, and they spend considerable time in trying to construct some worthwhile effort for the benefit of the ghetto-dweller. A few Harvard Negroes have tried to counsel inhabitants of Roxbury on everything from how to

spend a dollar wisely to how best to get action from a municipal agency when one has a complaint. Still, many well-to-do blacks run into the same kind of skepticism from slum inhabitants that well-meaning whites encounter, a skepticism born of decades of manipulation in the guise of charity. And for the wealthier blacks out of suburban homes, the trip to the ghetto is a longer voyage than the actual distance on a map.

At the same time, there have been a few outstanding examples of community mobilization by the Afros: San Francisco State's Black Students' Union helped galvanize an apathetic Negro area into electing black militant, 31-year-old SFSC alumnus Ron Dellums to the Berkeley city council.

For every successful student crusader, there are a half-dozen others with hang-ups. The twin tensions of academic competition and race are burdensome. Says Dean Monro: “A Negro kid feels he's here in this sort of frivolous atmosphere, while over in Roxbury black people are being oppressed, and his conscience asks him if he shouldn't be over there. But once he gets involved over there, his grades start to fall here, anxiety sets in, and he's pulled apart. Then the problem becomes who around here does he turn to for counsel that he can really respect, and that's tough! Is there any white man he can go to, to talk about it? Probably not—at least *he* may see it that way—then it's who among the Negroes on the faculty here, and there aren't that many.” (Harvard College has two Negro faculty members.) To complicate matters further, the institution's psychiatric service is overloaded with white students.

Dean Epps, to whom many black youngsters go for advice (and who, as a graduate student, was one of the founders of Harvard's Afro group), confirms Monro's analysis of the growing problem among the school's blacks. “The number of Negro undergraduates with severe mental difficulties at Harvard is increasing,” he says, “partly because the number of Negroes is increasing, but also because of these other pressures.”

The Harvard blues echo through other institutions. At the University of California's Berkeley campus, a special scholarship program begun last year with Federal funds has brought in about 400 students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Some 65 percent of them are Negroes, most of whom would not have gone to college otherwise. While admissions standards were relaxed to permit them to enter Berkeley, the first 175 had academic marks slightly better than the school average, to the pleasure of the program's sponsors. But the same kind of dilemmas persist. Donald R. Hopkins, assistant to the executive vice-chancellor and a Negro, says: “Our most angry and articulate black students are not doing well. Many see their professors as racists for assigning them to read people like Hemingway and Faulkner instead of Alain Locke or some of the other good Negro authors. Indeed, some of our best students have left for this reason.”

Hopkins, like Harvard's Epps, was a founder of an Afro unit at his school, and counsels Cal Negroes, who tend to avoid white advisers. In a recent talk to Negro youths, Hopkins said: “Many black people are coming to an awareness of their essential worthiness as a people. Not surprising much of this is coming during the freshman sophomore years. They see the evils and injuries that exist in this society, and want desperately to do something about it. They seek their counsel among the young, and you will be sought for advice is that you remember that the facts are complex, and it takes a developed intelligence to get at them. The same powers of critical thought you develop by studying Greek civilization

of critical importance in making an independent analysis of this one, or that of the ancient kingdom of Ghana. Many young black revolutionaries are turning their back on that critical fact; and by blinding themselves with hate and despair too early are crippling their chances of ever being capable or effective reconstructors of this or any other society. The premature revolutionary is one of the saddest casualties of the black war against white racism. Don't become such a casualty."

To Don Hopkins, Cal's Afro-American Student Union is a worthwhile psychological aid for the blacks at Berkeley. He explains: "Cal is a huge school, and a student feels cut off if he is not plugged into some club or group. Moreover, a lot of these black kids are being thrown into an integrated school situation for the first time in their lives. AASU raises a lot of fears because it implies the Negro's psychological independence, and that bothers whites who cannot accept that notion. But I don't agree. As long as there is some provision for those whites who wish to associate themselves with it, I feel the group is valuable."

Dean Monro concurs: "Just the fact that AAAS is there and making sense seems to me to provide a kind of black community within the white community that the black student can 'go home' to. It may seem paradoxical, but in integration, sometimes the short way in is the long way around. I don't want integration to mean assimilation and the loss of a whole value system that I have come to regard as important. But I wouldn't know how to define it myself yet, and I'm depending on these kids and their magazine to tell me about it." (Though Monro doesn't talk about them, difficulties with Harvard's rising Negro enrollment arouse some resentment among alumni, 50 percent of whose sons are turned down as Harvard pursues a deliberate policy of recruiting from diverse regional, economic and ethnic backgrounds.)

Columbia's Vice-President Truman, who has talked his institution into helping fund its Students' Afro-American Society, says, "I confess we are feeling our way with this group to get a better idea of what Negro students' problems are."

Occasionally, an Afro group carries militancy past the acceptable limits of even tolerant administrations. In May, members of Columbia's SAS seized 1,500 copies of the school's undergraduate humor magazine and burned them after the publication of an article satirizing Columbia's treatment of black students. The action drew a stern reprimand from Truman. On some campuses, too, a few way-outers have tried to ostracize those whom they term "day-time Black Nationalists," (i.e., blacks who condemn "whitey" in public, but who surreptitiously carry on interracial romances).

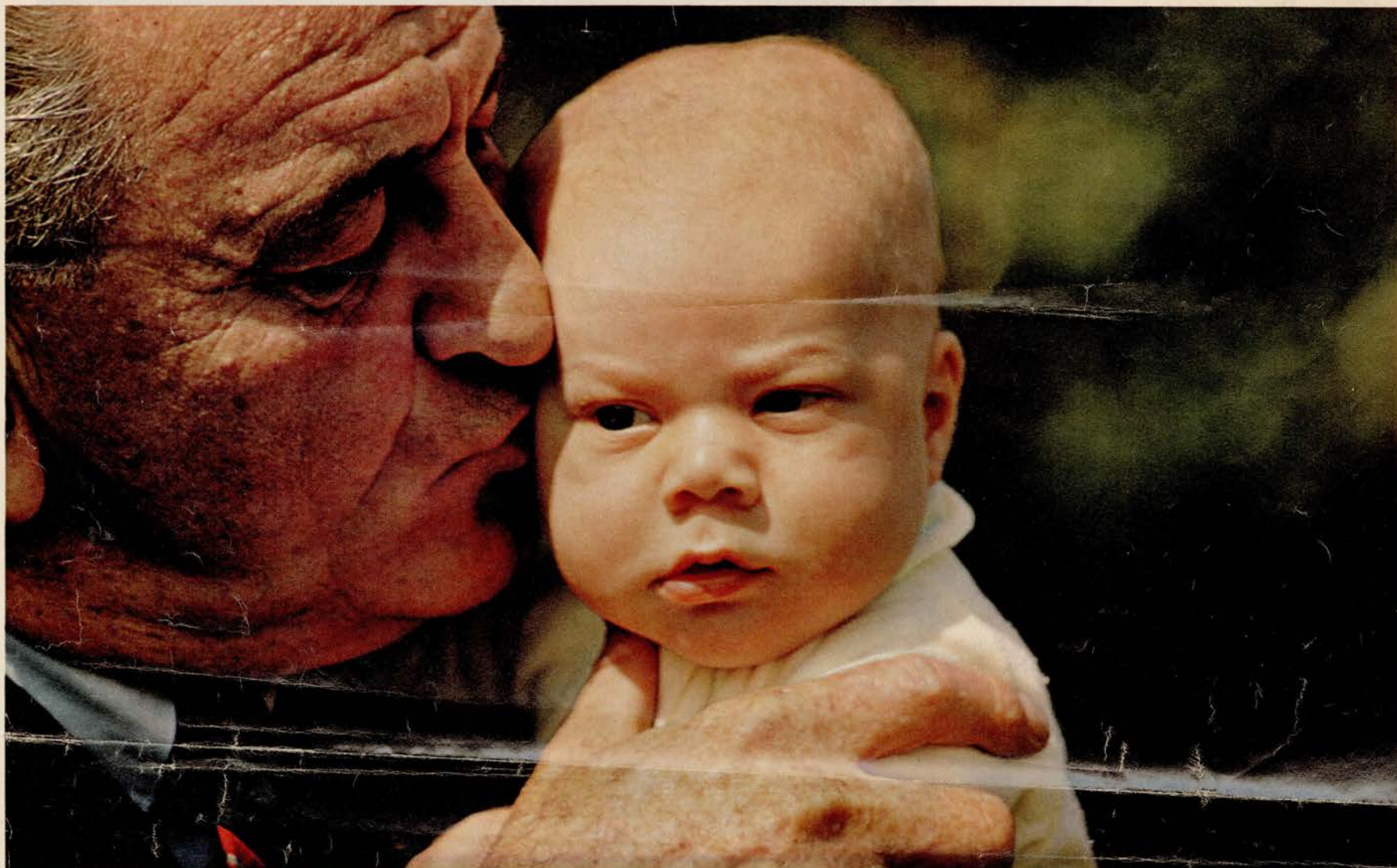
As Dr. Kenneth Clark assesses the university Afro movement, he says: "I believe these groups will help bridge the transitional stage between where whites and blacks are now and the day of a truly raceless society. At the moment, they are strongly influenced by Black Nationalism and the campus equivalent of Black Power. There is some verbal extremism and posturing. But I have faith in these kids. I think they will work out these things and come out of this with more effective personal power than their mothers and fathers had. After all, a person cannot be really effective if he has deep, gnawing doubts about himself, especially if these doubts are motivated by race. The Afro groups are, I feel, laying down the basis for a genuine functional pride."

While all the results of the black groups on white campuses are hard to foresee, it is obvious that students, administrators, faculty and parents are in for a kind of education that few expected.



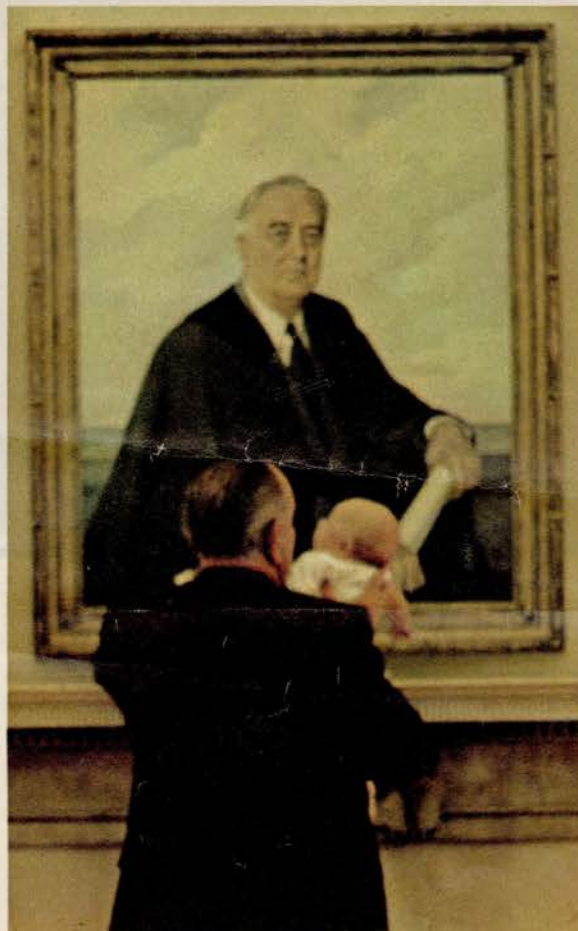
In Harvard dining hall, the "Soul Table" (above) is occupied entirely by blacks. Jeff Howard (center, with Boston U. co-ed Leslie Word) heads Harvard's Afro-American association. Says one Harvard black: "This is the first opportunity many of us have had to get together with people who think like we do."

A TINY NEW TEXAN VISITS LBJ



The President's grandson doesn't know it yet, but he is a revolutionary. He has surprised Americans with the strange sight of a politician who kisses a baby—and means it.

What baby has the power to change the White House into a nursery, the Secret Service into a diaper detail and the President of the U. S. into a cooing grandfather? Why, little Lyn Nugent—that's who!



"He was so soft," one White House staffer whispered. "Naturally, he seemed a little shy, a tiny bit awed," said another. Still other admirers came away from the nursery with descriptions like "affectionate" and "warm" and that "he seemed so happy." They were referring, of course, to Lyndon B. Johnson, the President and Commander in Chief of the United States. But Patrick Lyndon Nugent—who summoned up all these private qualities in his granddad—got good reviews too. While Luci and her husband took a "second honeymoon," their small son not only gave the First Family its first two-week test in diaper-changing grandparenthood but also took over the title as the most sleep-loving White House resident since Calvin Coolidge and his famous 16-hour snoozes. Once awake, however, Lyn matched Lyndon's delight in fast-paced activities, including alfresco romps with Yuki, LBJ's favorite new mongrel-in-residence. Moreover, so often did curious reporters and photographers come a-calling on his distinguished little guest that the Grandfather-President, cradling Lyn in his large arms, confided to him, "You're having more press conferences these two weeks than I've had!"
continue.

Lyn shares the sights dearest to Grandpa's heart, from a new portrait of FDR (LBJ: "He was like a daddy to me") to Yuki, an amiable stray Luci picked up at a gas station in hometown Austin, Texas.

PRODUCED BY WILLIAM HEDGEPEETH
PHOTOGRAPHED BY STANLEY TRETICK

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

U & Colleges 9

TO : Merle M. McCurdy
Stanley Hebert

DATE: November 30, 1967

FROM : Nathaniel R. Jones

SUBJECT: Central State University Disorders

The disorders at Central State University resulted from an escalation of tension beginning with the intrusion of Unity for Unity into the wage dispute, through to the attempt to remove Senior Michael Warren from the campus following his November 9 expulsion. During the course of this escalation, additional recruits were collected at each stage so that when the final encounter took place, Unity for Unity, a black power organization on campus, was joined by numerous students ignorant of the history of the violent confrontation. And to them the presence of non-campus police and National Guard appeared to be provocative and their response excessive. As more students apparently entered the fray, and tensions continued to mount, it was a matter of calling in additional forces or closing down the institution, bearing in mind, also, the discovery of molotov cocktails, the low water pressure and the fire stations being unmanned.

In the course of ascertaining facts surrounding the disorders, I interviewed President Harry E. Groves, President Rembert Stokes, Attorney John H. Bustamante, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of CSU, Sidney O. Davis, President of the Greene County Branch of the NAACP, Curtis Tribble and Marcia Williams of Youngstown, Ohio, students at CSU and Attorney William J. Davis of Columbus, Chairman of the NAACP Legal Redress Committee. I also obtained a number of newspaper clippings from the Dayton Daily News, the Springfield Journal Herald, Xenia Gazette, Yellow Springs News, the Youngstown Vindicator, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Cleveland Call and Post, and the Columbus Dispatch. I am attaching copies of those news accounts to this memorandum as Exhibit A. Special note should be taken of the statement made by Dr. Groves to the press, outlining the full course of events.

The following emerge as the critical factors in the CSU situation:

- 1) A black power organization, Unity for Unity, was chartered by the University a year ago. Its principal leaders are Michael Warren and Alton Patterson.



2) This organization began to preach and teach "black awareness" and "black pride." Some of its members lived off campus in Yellow Springs, Ohio.

6W 3) During the Fall quarter, the Unity for Unity people developed a relationship with representatives of SNCC from Atlanta. Some of the SNCC people who appeared on and around the campus were a Mr. Ware, Simon Schultz and Ernest Stevens. 1

4) With the appearance of the SNCC organizers came a stronger and more violent front.

5) In October the Unity for Unity group decided to demonstrate on behalf of the non-academic employees who were seeking pay increases. At this time the CSU Board of Trustees and the Public Employees Union were negotiating an agreement on wages. Without the knowledge of the students, the two reached agreement. When advised of the agreement Unity for Unity then moved to another grievance and demanded that the administration stand aside while the white students were driven off the campus. This occurred on November 1, 1967.

6) On November 2 and 3, demonstrations and sit-ins were conducted. On the latter date Michael Warren, head of the Unity for Unity, allegedly threatened the life of the president of adjoining Wilberforce University. The President, Dr. Rembert Stokes, then filed a complaint with the President of Central State University, Dr. Harry Groves. Formal charges followed and a hearing was held by the vice-president, at the direction of Dr. Groves. A finding of guilty was made and Warren was expelled from the University on November 9, 1967.

7) However, on November 13, Warren defied the expulsion order and returned to class on the campus. He and associates proceeded to erect a barricade in the halls of the Wesley Classroom Building. This consisted of chairs and tables pulled from classrooms. Dr. Groves was apprised of this development as well as of the odor of gasoline within the building. The security chief further advised that his 3-man force could not cope with the situation.

8) Dr. Groves then requested the Sheriff and the Ohio State Highway Patrol to come to the campus. When the sergeant of the State Patrol entered the building where Warren was barricaded, a coat was thrown over his head. As he was freeing himself, the content of a fire extinguisher was sprayed into his face.

9) The aforementioned incident prompted the conclusion by the sheriff that the police present were too few in number to restore order without resorting to weapons. Thus, he requested the Governor's Office to authorize use of the National Guard. The National Guard appeared in late afternoon. Resentment among students heightened at this display of armed force on the campus. Many now were involved than just the Unity for Unity group. They had succeeded in whipping up emotions by criticizing "white police on black campus to suppress black people." At the request of Dr. Groves, the police moved from the campus. Students had a meeting at Wesley Hall and planned another at Galloway Auditorium for that night.

*What about
the other
members of
the patrol?*

10) About 10 p.m. there was an eruption, following a meeting in Galloway Hall. Civil authorities were accused of using unnecessary force in putting down the disorder. Ninety-two persons were arrested, including 2 SNCC organizers. The use of night sticks reportedly led to the retaliation by students. This took the form of rock throwing, hurling fire extinguishers, screens, car burnings, and the destruction of dormitory rooms. Students who manned the fire department had walked off their jobs. Water mains were left open thus reducing the water pressure to a perilously low level. This situation, together with reports of beatings and intimidation of white students, the impounding of an automobile that contained over 56 molotov cocktails and 15 vials with acids, used in chemical warfare, caused the Board of Trustees, headed by Attorney John H. Bustamante, to close down the University. The car was owned by Stanley Strickland, a CSU student who lives in Yellow Springs, Ohio. He is now facing criminal charges in the wake of his finger prints being found on some of the molotov cocktails.

Tribble, a student at Central State, prepared a statement attached hereto as Exhibit B.

Sidney O. Davis, NAACP leader in Greene County, is an engineer at the Wright Patterson Air Base. When asked for his views as to the causes of the disorders at CSU, he stated the following:

Dr. Groves, the President, is a "cold-fish" and has no rapport with the students.

Black, dignity-oriented students decided to support non-academic employees in their quest for pay increases. Leaders were Michael Warren and Alton Patterson, each of whom is a strong speaker.

The President disputed their right to do this.

When a meeting was held on the adjacent Wilberforce Campus on November 3, led by Warren, President Stokes of that University appeared and was invited to speak. Later, Warren proceeded (in his words) to take a picture of a "Tom" against the wishes of President Stokes, because he wanted to see what a "Tom" looks like. President Stokes then said Warren made threats. CSU's President Groves subsequently called Warren to a hearing before a vice-president and he subsequently was expelled. A campus security guard, on November 9, was summoned to escort Warren to the gate and toss him off the campus. There was no transportation provided. Warren lived off-campus in Yellow Springs, Ohio. (He is reported to be an out-of-state student, and the nephew of Cleveland Councilman John Kellogg.)

Warren returned to the campus on Monday, November 13 and entered his classroom. President Groves sent the guard to throw him off. It was at this point that Warren and his friends erected a barricade. Captain Bell of the campus police department did not execute the order. The President then sent for the sheriff and the Ohio State Highway Patrol. Students then formed a shield around Warren and led him to a hall where a meeting was held. Warren spoke.

The grievances, as defined by Davis, in addition to the expulsion, are as follows:

- 1) The abolition of the Home Economics Department headed by a Negro Ph.D.--Dr. Durham, and the placing of a white person with less credentials over her. Now the subject is treated as just a course in the curriculum.
- 2) The general policy of hiring whites with less credentials than those possessed by Negroes previously serving. (Negro faculty members are afraid to speak out.)
- 3) White students.
- 4) Dr. Groves' inability to establish rapport and his lack of awareness of the black power movement on campuses all over the USA. The student body has no respect for him. He's not in tune.

5) The rapid physical expansion of Wright State University several miles away. The State should have expanded CSU instead.

In elaborating on the grievances Davis stated the following:

Unity for Unity developed in a vacuum created by an administration that did not encourage student participation in University affairs.

Dr. Charles Flowers, Dean of Men, encouraged the group in obtaining a charter and becoming an organization. This they did. During this time the NAACP had been unsuccessfully attempting to establish a chapter on campus. Students felt that the NAACP was behind the times. A chapter of the NAACP would have given students a real choice and not let black power people have things all to themselves. Campus debates were held between Davis of the NAACP and the black power people on integration vs. separatism. It was during one of these debates that some SNCC representatives announced their intention to form a chapter on campus. Davis says that he questioned the integrity of SNCC leadership by asking where the travel money comes from for Rap Brown and Carmichael. He added that it seems like "white power" money, because Negroes do not give so generously for such purposes.

In discussing the objections to white faculty members, Davis declared that whites are insensitive to the backgrounds of Negroes, thus are unable to cope with the Negro cultural patterns. "The Negro schools have been a panacea for students with these problems. Dr. Groves is basically insensitive to this cultural pattern, is isolated and this was reflected in his hiring of a white person as public relations director for a predominantly Negro university at the brink of integration." (The person referred to was one of the first white persons to graduate from CSU.)

Davis made arrangements for students arrested to be released on bail. Over \$3000 was raised for that purpose and for providing legal counsel. The chairman of the Columbus, Ohio NAACP Legal Redress Committee, William J. Davis, made appearances with the students. In addition, he filed a lawsuit in Federal Court on behalf of Michael Warren, Alton Patterson, Charles Milles, Jon Perry Bowman, Antoinette Dunbar, Walter Johnson, Dr. Bruce Green, Ella Mae Parker and Walter Hinson. Defendants are the Governor of Ohio, University officials, State and local police and prosecuting authorities.

In their first cause of action it is alleged that defendants, under color of law, have schemed to deprive plaintiffs of their rights by enforcement of the "riot act," without any basis in fact. It is further alleged in the complaint that arrests were made solely for the purpose of "silencing speech protected by the First Amendment..." Furthermore, it is asserted that Unity for Unity has been attempting, "through peaceful and nonviolent means" to achieve the "elimination of all forms of racial segregation in the United States and the State of Ohio."

Warren complains that his expulsion was illegal and did not follow established due process, in that the charges were heard by the vice-president instead of the President. He seeks a restraining order upon the university officials, law enforcement and judicial officers to prevent them from expelling and/or prosecuting him.

The University's View

Dr. Groves

Dr. Harry Groves has been the president of CSU for about two years. A Negro, he formerly served as a professor at the University of Washington and at the University of Singapore. He is also a lawyer.

Dr. Groves became president of that institution when it was at the brink of administrative and fiscal collapse. He is generally credited with rescuing it from virtual bankruptcy, expanding departments, creating new administrative and academic structures.

On Saturday, November 25, Dr. Groves announced his intention of resigning his post at the end of May. He gave as his reason: "I've just grown weary." He criticized students, faculty and alumni for being bogged down in trivia. He stated that he was prepared to fight the larger battle--i.e. raising academic standards and restoring fiscal responsibility but not prepared for the "trivia."

The Issue

Dr. Groves states that the "desire on the part of a small number of Negro students to make Central State an all-black campus was and is the core of the trouble." In a press conference on Wednesday, November 22, Dr. Groves set out the position of the University. A copy of excerpts of that conference is attached, as Exhibit C. The university authorities

assert that leaders of the black power movement wanted assurances that white students and white faculty would be removed from the campus within 24 hours. This demand was rejected by President Groves and Chairman Bustamante as being illegal and immoral. White students have since been beaten up and intimidated. There were reports reaching the administration of other outsiders planning to come to the campus to join with Warren, Patterson and the SNCC representatives. These events, together with low water pressure, the lack of firemen and discovery of molotov cocktails, compelled authorities to suspend classes. Dr. Groves is of the view that the Black Power group had been searching for an issue which would provide a magnet for other students. Thus, the wage issue, which was really not a student matter, (since the employees were being represented by the American Federation of State-County, Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO,) was seized upon as a rallying point. However, upon learning that the union and the University had come to an agreement, the Black Power representatives then moved to the question of white presence on the campus.

Advocates of black power had pushed their cause last Spring but became more violent-prone upon their return to the campus this Fall. And there also appeared on campus some non-students who became allied with student black power advocates. (They include Simon Schultz of Atlanta, Ernest Stevens of Alabama, and a Mr. Ware of Atlanta, all identified as SNCC organizers. Schultz and Stevens were arrested during this disorder).

With regard to specific issues, the President issued a report on the Warren expulsion case. It is attached hereto as Exhibit D. The president maintains that the procedure followed in expelling Warren meets the test of due process. Also attached are copies of Unity handbills, marked Exhibits E and F, a Statement on Rights issued by President Groves, Exhibit H. General news accounts are attached and marked as Exhibit A.

Dr. Groves, in a plea, asks this Commission to face up to the menace of destructive black power that is about to "destroy" predominantly Negro or Negro institutions. He is convinced that those who have moved against the established authority at Central State, i.e. student government leaders and administrators, are bent on destroying the institution. The demands that have been made for removal of whites are impractical, illegal and immoral, says the President and he refused to bow to them. Dr. Groves urges the Commission to consider remedies that will assist his and other institutions to meet the crisis.

On the issue of violence, the Unity group managed to stir groups of students to the point that threats were made to burn down the President's house, and large rocks were found on his lawn following a demonstration. He also refers to the threat made to Dr. Stokes, the beating of white students, and the attack on the state patrol sergeant.

Dr. Groves feels that there is a strategy and organization behind the disorders at Central State.

Attorney John Bustamante

Attorney Bustamante is a Cleveland lawyer who serves as Chairman of the Board of Central State University.

He gives the following information and observations:

Unity for Unity came on the campus last year. Although its stated purposes were "way out" we chartered it as part of our attempt to accomodate a number of views. Unity for Unity met the other criteria and was granted recognition, which permitted it to disseminate information on campus and to withdraw funds from a special account. Toward the end of last year the Unity for Unity got "rather rough" but Dr. Groves tried to work with it and engaged in dialogue.

During the Summer, I have been advised, some of the members received "scholarships" to attend a conference somewhere in Canada, expense free. We yet do not know who financed this. Instructions were given in guerrilla warfare, constitutional law, parliamentary procedure, group dynamics, etc. (Note the Unity for Unity instructions set out in a Handbill, Exhibit E. Also there is evidence that when Unity for Unity barricaded Warren in Wesley Hall, some members entered with wet bandages, anticipating the use of tear gas by authorities.)

When the Fall quarter commenced, Unity for Unity became even more militant and demanding. In October its members entered the pay raise controversy on the side of non-academic employees. To this end, Unity for Unity solicited the support of all campus groups--student and faculty alike.

On the last day of October the University, without the knowledge of Unity for Unity, reached an accord. On November 1, Unity for Unity and others decided to hold a demonstration in the Bundy Hall, Administration building, led by Michael Warren. They met, decided to boycott classes and for several hours, conducted a sit-in that went past 5:00 p.m. Their presence prevented employees from going home. During this sit-in vile and obscene language was directed against administrators. Dr. Groves attempted to negotiate with them. In exasperation, Dr. Groves asked them what it was they wanted. They replied--a pay increase for non-academic employees. Upon learning there had been an accord and that the union

really didn't need their help, they made a new demand of Dr. Groves. It was permission to drive white teachers and students off the campus without opposition or punishment from the administration. The same demand was made of me in a 2-hour telephone conversation. This demand was rejected as being immoral and illegal. Later, they became more insistent and wanted the administration to remove all white persons within 24 hours. This was refused. I told them this would not be done in 24 hours, 24 days or 24 months.

On November 9, Warren was expelled for threatening Dr. Rembert Stokes of Wilberforce University. This followed the filing of written charges, notice, and hearing. However, on November 13 he returned in defiance of this expulsion order. When attempts were made by campus police to reach Warren the barricading incident occurred. When the president sent for Warren to come to his office, he was prepared to go, but SNCC representatives prevailed upon him not to go.

Of great significance to Bustamante were the following:

- 1) Students went to Wesley Hall on November 13 with wet bandages.
- 2) They took command of the lights and the fire extinguishers.
- 3) Immobilized a sergeant from the Ohio State Patrol by throwing a coat over his head and spraying him with a fire extinguisher.
- 4) Firemen (all students) were apparently ordered to abandon their posts.
- 5) Water mains were left open thus reducing water pressure. (CSU operates water and sewage plants for CSU, Wilberforce and 1000 area homes.)
- 6) Authorities impounded a car owned by Stanley Strickland that contained 56 molotov cocktails and 15 vials of acid used in chemical warfare. (Strickland's fingerprints match some of those lifted from bottles in the car. He is to be charged with a felony.)
- 7) Black Power people began pulling white students out of classrooms, one being beaten into unconsciousness in the ROTC building.
- 8) SNCC people went through dormitories announcing that female students were being beaten and raped by guardsmen.
- 9) The large number of knives found at Wesley Hall.

- 10) Only two of the 90 persons arrested were SNCC. The other ring leaders had withdrawn and gone back to Yellow Springs after things got underway.
- 11) Presence of Ware, Schultz and Stevens on campus at the rallies in recent weeks.
- 12) The persistent reports of the sophisticated duplicating equipment possessed by the Unity for Unity in Yellow Springs.
- 13) Reports that Ware and other people went to Detroit for the weekend. (Warren was reported to be in Knoxville, Tennessee.)
- 14) The stoning and firing of police cars by students.

Attorney Bustamante is anxious to develop further information about the Canadian conference previously referred to. His sources promise to advise him as to the sponsorship of the conference, and the financial backing for it. This information will be made available to the Commission, along with other intelligence that may be developed.

During one demonstration (November 3) the students wanted the dining room kept open until after the demonstrations ended. This demand was refused.

It is his view that "we're not just dealing with the ordinary student uprising." He believes that Yellow Springs, Ohio, is the "staging area" for the campaign against Central State.

As for Dr. Groves, Attorney Bustamante is saddened by his attempt to resign and hopes that he will be prevailed upon to reconsider. He called Dr. Groves last Friday and passed on to him information he had picked up, to the effect that Dr. Groves was marked for assassination by snipers should he go to his farm. The following day Dr. Groves announced his resignation.

Other grievances that were aired prior to the brutality issue (raised after outside police suppressed the disorder) was the initiation of a quarter system, the hiring of white counselors and faculty, a strong push for academic excellence and a higher level of performance by students.

Conclusion

It appears clear that the developments at CSU spring from a movement that is receiving some type of direction and stimulation. Other campuses are experiencing or will experience similar incidents on a modified scale.

Many of the students who are involved in the Black Power drive come from Negro middle class homes. Where this will lead in terms of next Summer is speculation at this point. What is clear, however, is that many of the Negro college students caught up in the Black Power-Administration crossfire identify with the former. This could have disastrous consequences in the Nation's cities next Summer.

I recommend that a select number of college administration leaders and students be interviewed to measure the extent of the Black Power strength on campuses and whether they are violence-prone.

Attachments

92

SECRET FOR
(UPI Cablephoto)

Central State Reopens With Quiet Ceremony

By Press Ohio Bureau

XENIA — Central State University, closed Nov. 14 because of rioting on the campus, opened here with an appearance of normalacy today. Dr. Harry E. Groves, who resigned as president last weekend, presided at an orderly midmorning convocation. Earlier story on Page C 1.

END TRAN TRAN

Exhibit A

Central State's President Cites Trivia in Resignation



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WILBERFORCE, (AP)—The President of predominantly Negro Central State University announced his resignation Saturday, two days before the scheduled reopening of the racially troubled school.

But Dr. Harry E. Groves made no direct reference to the rioting that shut down the University 11 days ago and said he would stay on for six months or until a replacement is named.

He was "disgusted with trivia," he said, from certain faculty members and others who "deeply and bitterly resented change."

Central State, scene of a Nov. 13 riot blamed on a group of about 40 black power advocates, is scheduled to reopen Monday under previously announced plans for conferences leading to a return to classrooms.

—United Press International Telephoto
Dr. Harry E. Groves

(Continued on Pg. A-2, Col. 4)

CSU's Prexy Says "Trivia" Disgust Him

(Continued from Page One)

Some 700 National Guardsmen joined Ohio Highway Patrolmen and sheriff's deputies to quell the bottle and brick-throwing riot. Groves closed the school Nov. 14 but revealed plans earlier this week to re-open classes to all students, subject to possible disciplinary actions.

His resignation came in a prepared statement he read at a news conference. He declined to answer questions whether the rioting figured in his decision. But his statement said:

"In this hour of genuine institutional crisis brought about by elements determined to destroy the university, I find many students, parents, alumni, and faculty members not discussing the basic problems.

"They said that I changed the route of march to graduation. I was prepared for the larger battle but disgusted with the trivia."

Chancellor John D. Millett of the Ohio Board of Regents said he was "very sorry" to hear of Groves' resignation and added "He has done a very fine job administratively. I believe a lot of people at Central State have failed to give him credit for cleaning up the financial irregularities he found there."

Groves described in his statement what he said was "academic and administrative chaos" when he became President Dec. 1, 1965.

Among other things, Groves said, he found reports to state and federal agencies in arrears up to a year, files and folders stuffed with cash and checks, and a bill of more than \$200,000 due the university for a Peace Corps training program on which no effort had been made to collect.

"I feel I have done my job bringing CSU from the brink of administrative and fiscal collapse to a respected university but I no longer can face the petty trivia."

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Central State Head to

WILBERFORCE, O. (AP) — Dr. Harry E. Groves, president of racially troubled Central State University, yesterday announced his resignation.

Groves' announcement came at the beginning of a news conference on the campus which was shut down by rioting Nov. 13.

GROVES, WHO became president of the 2,700-stu-

dent university in 1965, said the effective date of his resignation will be the end of May.

"I was prepared to fight the larger battle," Groves said, listing what he said were the accomplishments of his administration.

But he said there were "some people" on the campus who were "very comfortable" with the institution as it used to be and "they deeply and bitterly resented change."

Groves' resignation came just two days before resumption of classes at the school which he ordered closed after student rioting resulted in use of about 700 national guard troops.

Groves said that when he became president of Central State he found "academic and fiscal chaos." He said various reports for the state and federal governments were in arrears as much as a year.

"I feel I have done my job in bringing CSU from the brink of administrative and



Dr. Harry E. Groves

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1967

to Leave Job in May

fiscal collapse to a respect- he "no longer can face the
ed university." But he said petty trivia."

Educator's Decision Prompted by Trivia

"I've just grown weary, that's all."

Thus did Dr. Harry E. Groves bow out yesterday as president of Central State Uni-

NEWSMAKER

versity, almost two years to the day after he was named to the post.

DR. GROVES said his resignation was prompted by a buildup of attacks and harassment on "so many little things."

The president of the predominately Negro college, plagued by disputes and under investigation by the Ohio Board of Regents, said many students, parents, alumni, and faculty members were bogged down in trivia.

They were not discussing improvement of the university or the basic issues threatening its life, he said.

Dr. Groves said the critics had also overlooked the many big changes made at the school — its rescue from a state of virtual bankruptcy, the expansion of departments and the new administrative and academic structures.

"THEY HAVE chosen to attack on such trivial things, the most recent of which was the changing of the march route in commencement exercises," said Dr. Groves. "And I've just grown weary."

Dr. Groves said this month's riot at the school, sparked after expulsion of a black power advocate who allegedly threatened the Negro president of nearby Wilberforce University, was part of the general circumstances surrounding his resignation, but not the main cause.

Nor, he said, was talk of merger with Wright State University, 15 miles away, which he thinks is unlikely to come about.

DR. GROVES, 46, came to Central State from the University of Washington, where he had been a visiting professor since 1964. Before that he served four years on the faculty at the University of Singapore.

He is married and has a son.

By contract, Dr. Groves must give Central State six months' notice. He said he had no future plans to announce.

9d

some cutting—but only after the tax bill
7-67 Cleveland Press

Trivia Takes Its Toll on CSU's Dr. Groves

Central State University, scene of recent student riots, has lost its president, Dr. Harry E. Groves.

The riots apparently started over the suspension of one student.

Dr. Groves, who had a notable record as an educator, said he was prepared to deal with "the larger battles" at the university, but was "disgusted by the trivia."

This has been the case in many campus riots—trouble over relatively minor issues, not major problems.

Before the university was temporarily closed to avoid more trouble, Dr. Groves had said he would not interfere with lawful expression of opinion, but would not tolerate "violence, threats, intimidation or damage to property."

This is the only perspective an educational institution can abide, and the minority of students who took part in the disorder can thank their impulsive devotion to trivia for having deprived their university of a leader they needed in accomplishing their life purpose, a sound education.

Not Up to Scratch

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YELLOW SPR ^{9e}

First in General Excellence, '63 Nat'l, '64

Vol. 88, No. 46

Yellow Springs, Ohio, Wednesday

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Local Men Involved in CSU Arrests

Yellow Springs residents were among those directly or indirectly involved in the controversy at Central State University, much in the press and on the air, in recent days.

Michael Warren, Cleveland, senior whose expulsion from Central State allegedly occasioned demonstrations which led to disorders, had been making his home in Yellow Springs at 305 W. Center College St.

Student View of Central State Issues — page 4

since returning to school in the fall. Thomas B. Hopkins, 9 W. Herman St., teacher aide at Bryan School, and William Hawkins, Jr., 242 N. Stafford St., CSU senior, were others of the total of 92 arrested during disorders Monday night at the Wilberforce school.

In the center of the spotlight on the other side of the contending forces was sheriff Russell Bradley, former Yellow Springs police chief.

Numerous other local people—a score or more—members of the faculty or staff of the university—also were present at the scene as they came and went for their duties there.

Surrendered to Police Here

Warren himself walked into Yellow Springs police headquarters shortly before 1 a.m. Tuesday and told officers Tom Newsome, Eddie Furay and Dick Turner that he understood he was being sought by Greene County sheriff deputies. Police in turn called sheriff Bradley's office in Xenia and, upon learning that Warren was wanted for "trespassing" on Central State property, turned him over to sheriff's deputies.

Warren, a senior, after his expulsion from Central State last week was ordered not to return to the campus. His return to class Monday morning was followed by refusal of students to allow others into the room and later the building where Warren was. Sheriff Bradley, seeking to arrest Warren for trespassing, was driven from the building by a stream of water from a fire hose or fire extinguisher.

Later Bradley called on the Ohio highway patrol and law officers for communities to help maintain order on the campus. But students refused to go to their rooms about 10 p.m. Monday even after Bradley read the riot act. Officers were then showered with rocks and other missiles and Bradley asked for the help of 600 National Guardsmen, whose muster at the Greene County fairgrounds is said to have been authorized early in the afternoon by Gov-

(Continued on Page 4)

Local Men Involved

(Continued from Page 1)

ernor James Rhodes' administrative aide Mark MacElroy (Rhodes was in Brazil on a trade mission).

Late yesterday afternoon, as uneasiness continued on the campus Central State president Harry E. Groves announced that the trustees of the university had authorized the discontinuance of classes and asked students to return to their homes as soon as possible. Speculations are that classes will not resume until after Thanksgiving.

NAACP Enters Case

Another local man, Sidney O. Davis, became involved as president of the Greene County chapter of the NAACP, after he witnessed what he regards as violations of the students' rights by law enforcement officers. Davis has been in Greene County court today with William J. Davis, of Columbus, NAACP legal redress attorney, and William Boyland and James Kozelek, both of Columbus, attorneys representing the Ohio Civil Liberties Union. The three have appeared in behalf of the 91 students arrested.

All but four of the students have been released on \$25 bail each and the cases have

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Involved in CSU Case

been continued indefinitely. Davis reports that an Antioch student, Walter Johnson, is still held under \$1025 bond on charges of carrying a concealed weapon, a cue stick. Another, a CSU student, is held under \$2500 bond for carrying a concealed weapon (a gun) and two students are in need of \$25 bond to post on charges of failing to comply with an order. Persons wishing to aid these students financially are asked to contact Sidney Davis at 767-7816.

XENIA DAILY GAZET

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XENIA, OHIO, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1967

Officers Ma As Student

BULLETIN

WILBERFORCE — Five hundred Ohio National Guardsmen today were called "into active duty to suppress a riot" at Central State University.

John McElroy, chief aid to Gov. James A. Rhodes, said the units were from the Springfield - Dayton area. He issued the order to active duty at the request of authorities here.

WILBERFORCE — A former student from Cleveland who was dismissed from Central State University returned to the campus this morning and at noon a confrontation between some students and police officers appeared imminent.

At noon a conference was underway between school officials and law enforcement officers from neighboring counties were being called in.

Michael Warren, a senior, who was dismissed from school Thursday after a hearing and told he would be arrested if he returned to the campus, was reported to be in a classroom at Wesley Hall this morning.

Dr. Harry E. Groves, president, had said at the time Warren was dismissed that the administration would run the school. Action this morning appeared to be a test of this policy.

* * *

SHERIFF Russell A. Bradley summoned aid from sheriff's departments in Warren, Clinton, Clark, Montgomery,



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*WEATHER: Colder
18 Pages Today*

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PRICE 10 CENTS

Class At CSU Returns

and Fayette Counties and police departments in Xenia, Fairborn, Washington C.H. and Springfield, asking for all men available. The State Highway Patrol also called in units from other posts, and off duty deputies in Greene County were summoned to the campus.

Gazette reporter, Bob Burns, on the campus, said the conference between officers and Dr. Groves began about 11:40 a.m. Presence of the officers on the campus appeared to rile up the demonstrating students, estimated at about 50, while

upwards of 400 students watched from the other side of the street, near Wesley Hall of Science which Warren reportedly entered about 10:10 a.m.

Capt. Archellus Bell of the CSU security police and school officials talked to the students in a first floor classroom in the Wesley building but a group of students stood around the door of the classroom where Warren was and would not permit anyone in the room.

Students began grouping around Wesley Hall about 9:30, carrying signs including one that said "Mike Warren Unjustly Teated."

A flyer was distributed on campus Sunday saying that Warren would return to his 10 a.m. class Monday. The flyer also said "we will not let him be captured by the man!" "The man" was not identified. Plans for a "dig - it" tonight at 8:30 at Galloway Hall also were announced on the flyer.

Warren, who has been identified as a militant leader of the Unity for Unit group on campus, was dismissed for allegedly telling Dr. Rembert Stokes of adjoining Wilberforce University he would kill him "when the revolution comes."

Scheduled To Reopen Nov. 27

Central State Faculty Backs Trustee Bd., Administration

CINCINNATI -- Following the closing of classes at Central State due to students' disorders last week the Faculty at the University issued a statement.

The statement read: "We the faculty at Central State University wish to make known to our students and their parents, our friends and the general public our position in the present emergency in which the Board of Trustees and the Administration found it necessary to close the University, temporarily.

"We hereby affirm our support of president Harry E. Groves and his administration in his attempts to develop and maintain a climate conducive to academic excellence for all who seriously seek such excellence. As a scholar in his own right, he has contributed greatly to the intellectual atmosphere of this university.

"It has been the concern of the president and the faculty to maintain the high standards and heritage of the past in planning educational programs at this institution for all students regardless of race, color, or creed and to direct students in their efforts to resolve problems of contemporary life. We are cognizant of the fact that the major task of the University lies in contributing to the development of each person involved in the educational adventure of our times.

"Despite the weaknesses and inadequacies in many aspects of the American way of life,

we reaffirm our faith in democracy. We have considered our program at Central State University an opportunity to develop the skills and habits as well as attitudes and behaviors considered requisite for the experience of living in a democratic society. We concur with president Groves in his conviction that: 'Freedom of speech which includes the spoken word, the written word and even actions such as marching is a democratic tradition both respected and upheld by this University. Violence, threats, intimidation and interfering with the lawful rights of others are not a part of anybody's rights and will not be condoned by

this University.

"We believe that the majority of our students feel the same way.

"We, the faculty, support the Board and the president in their beliefs that there is no justification for second-class or second-rate goals or processes or content in planning and implementing the educational

program of this university. We believe that each student at the University should have the opportunity to enter the mainstream of society without handicap.

"We eagerly await the reopening of the University and the return of the students on November 27 to continue the educational task at hand."

OF, FOR, BY YOU:
Your Gazette

XENIA

86th YEAR, NO. 298



Black Power Group Is Outlawed At CSU; To Increase Security Force

WILBERFORCE—Under heavy guard, Central State University's board of trustees in a special meeting Thursday night "outlawed" a Black Power organization blamed for Monday night's violence, ordered "punishment" of its participants and authorized strong beefing up of the school's security force.

It also was announced after the meeting that Central State will reopen Monday, Nov. 27. The lost time will be made up by delaying start of the Christmas vacation, scheduled Dec. 15, until Dec. 22, a spokesman said.

Then trustees, in actions that emphasized their faith in the university's future also:

Approved low bids totaling \$557,000, for construction of a new building for the School of Business Administration;

Authorized the administration to reactivate the school's airplane runway on the South

farm and add courses in aeronautical instruction.

STATE PATROLMEN guarded the Student Union Building while trustees were in previously - unannounced session. Even university officials were barred from the building.

After the meeting, a terse report on the meeting was made by Dr. Harry E. Groves, president.

He said that trustees voted:

ONE— To "outlaw" Unity for Unity, the campus Black Power group;

TWO—To direct "punishment," by the administration "of members of this group

for participating in unlawful activities on the campus;"

THREE—To authorize increasing strength of the campus security force—now three regular and one part-time policemen — up to 25 men, with the number left to the discretion of the administration;

FOUR—To approve low bid of \$557,000 by the B. G. Danis Co., Dayton, to build the new College of Business Administration, cost of which had been estimated at \$620,000.

"We will go forward with construction of the building immediately," Dr. Groves said.

FIVE—To reactivate the uni- See UNIVERSITY Page 11

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DAIRY

KENIA, OHIO, FRIDAY,

University...

(Continued from Page 1)

versity farm airstrip and added courses in aeronautics.

The aeronautics program was suggested at the Nov. 2 trustees' meeting by the board's newest member, Dr. Carl Jenkins of Springfield, who is a flyer.

Dr. Groves did not comment on the actions against the Black Power organization, blamed for inciting the confrontation with State Highway Patrolmen broken up by 91 arrests Monday night. His remarks were relayed by Mrs. Jeanie Strand, public relations directors.

Trustees closed the university Tuesday afternoon "to protect the safety and welfare of students."

University officials tried to keep presence of trustees on campus Thursday afternoon and night a secret.

There were unconfirmed reports that several had been threatened.

Newsman went to the Student Union when word leaked out that trustees were in session, but State Highway patrolmen — part of a 25-man "task force" controlling the nearly-deserted campus—denied admittance to the reporters.

The names of the trustees present, said to be seven of the nine, were not revealed.

After the meeting, trustees' individual cars were escorted by Patrol cruisers as they left campus.

There were unconfirmed reports that the trustees, plus President Groves, would meet today with Gov. James A. Rhodes in Columbus.

A university spokesman pointed out that the trustees' "punishment" directive for students involved in the violence leaves nature of discipline up to the administration.

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The spokesman noted that results of current investigations by the State Patrol and university officials "obviously would be the deciding factor."

The trustees' action also did not spell out "unlawful activities." But it was agreed they include violations of the riot act, the charge all but a handful face in Xenia Municipal Court.

Apparently some of the students face expulsion.

Trustees Chairman John H. Bustamante, Cleveland attorney who was at the special meeting, said Thursday:

"We are going to clean that Black Power thing out."

Shut Central State, Fight Black Power

WILBERFORCE, Ohio (AP)—Officials at the predominantly Negro Central State University—scene of violent rioting—moved today to weed out what they call organized Black Power elements on campus.

School officials confirmed that some radical students may be expelled.

Central State President Harry Groves ordered the school closed until after the Thanksgiving holidays following Monday night's rioting that resulted in 94 arrests.

Snow, Wind, Cold Strike In Northeast

(By The Associated Press)

Heavy snows riding gale-force winds pasted the eastern Great Lakes region today as an intense cold snap bore down on the Northeast.

Snow squalls spawned by the fast-moving storm system dumped more than a foot of snow on sections of upstate New York south of Buffalo. Winds accompanying the storm whipped the snow into 4-foot drifts. Police reported road surfaces were slippery and visibility was poor.

Three deaths in the Buffalo area were related to snow show-

Troops on Patrol

Most students had left the campus by Tuesday night, but armed National Guard troops patrolled the campus amid intermittent snow and rain.

Highway patrolmen and Greene County sheriff's deputies sealed off the university, setting up five checkpoints at campus gates.

Though the rioting was touched off by the expulsion of one student, university officials say a Black Power movement is involved.

"We're going to clean that (Black Power) thing out and this gave us the opportunity," said John H. Bustamonte, chairman of the school's board of (Continued on Page 12, Col. 1)

General Extent

It extended T T C U . . .

Central State Closes; Fights Black Power

(Continued from Page One)
trustees, commenting on the rioting that resulted in the hospitalization of one highway patrolman and damage to campus dormitories.

"It is not just something to be shoved aside and dealt with as a normal student demonstration," Bustamonte added.

Contacted at his home in Cleveland, Bustamonte said that campus Black Power advocates were a "well financed, highly organized disciplined group."

The rioting was triggered by the expulsion last week of Mike Warren, a 23-year-old student from Cleveland. Central State officials accused him of threatening the life of Rembert Stokes, president of Wilberforce University, another predominantly Negro school here.

Court Appearances Today

Those arrested are scheduled to appear in municipal court at nearby Xenia today. Most are charged with disorderly conduct.

"Many people arrested may be innocent," said Jean Strand, a public relations official at the school. She added that school officials will await the outcome of court appearances before taking any action.

Asked how many Black Power advocates were on the campus. Mrs. Strand said, "There are only about 20 hard core people really behind this. Most of them already have identified themselves by their actions on campus."

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Students Speak Out

Lack Of Communication Cited As Factor In Central State Riots

A lack of communication between the student body and administration at Central State University, was the contributing factor in the tense disturbance which resulted in the arrest of 93 students and the closing of the institution last week, three CSU students told The CALL & POST this week.

Jesse Wood, 1389 Summit St., a 20-year old junior, said the alleged statement of Michael Warren who reportedly threatened to kill Dr. Rembert Stokes, President of Wilberforce University, "was ridiculous." "I don't think the trouble would have developed as it did had Warren been tried by the Student Court instead of by the administration." The presence of the National Guard, State Patrol, "did not help the situation at all," he suggested.

Wood said he only observed two incidents in which students were abused by patrolmen. One boy was hit on the head with a club, and the other was beaten on the legs during the disturbance on Monday night, Nov. 13, he said.

Pointing out that he regrets that the school was closed, Wood said that "I personally, along with other students have a lot of money and time involved in this particular quarter. Although the closing of the school will cost me a great set back, I'm definitely going back as soon as classes resume. I don't think the students should allow this situation to interfere with their education."

"I am hoping for the best, but I really don't know what to expect when I return. It's very much like a freshman entering college, he just doesn't know what to expect," he concluded.

Audrey Norman, 1437 Hawthorne Ave., a senior, said it was a terrifying experience. We were in the lounge of Williamson Hall with several girls and "their callers" when the rioting started, she recalled. We had been sitting there about

(Continued on Page 2A)

Students Speak Out

(Continued from Page 1A).

30 minutes and suddenly looked up and saw a group of state troopers "storming into the lounge carrying clubs and wearing riot helmets. They took the boys from the lounge and we became hysterical because we knew the boys had not been involved in the disturbance," she said.

"Amid chaos and confusion, we became hysterical until someone assured us that the



AUDREY NORMAN

... chaos, fear

boys were being taken to their dormitory. However, the following morning we learned that the boys were all arrested and taken to jail in Xenia. They charged them with disturbing the peace at first, but later changed the charge to inciting a riot," she lamented.

Commenting further, she said "I feel that the officers handled

the situation very poorly. And the mere fact that the troopers and guardmen were present on the campus, caused a feeling of unrest and fear among the students. Had they not been there, I think the situation would not have gotten out of hand as it did.

Miss Norman, who is majoring in English, expressed the feeling that a total lack of communication between the students and administration was primarily responsible for the uprising. As an example, she said that a lot of students attended a rally concerning the Warren incident, "because we thought President Grove was going to speak to the students, but he didn't even show up."

Of the Unity for Unity group, branded as Black Power advocates, Miss Norman said that this group consist of about 50 students out of a total of 2600.

Right now, she said, "my primary concern is what are we going to face when we return to the campus next Monday...state troopers, threats of innocent people being expelled who weren't actually involved in the incident, or return to normalcy. The latter, I pray, will prevail," she said.

Another senior, who asked not to be identified, said I'm not saying that the Black Power group started all the trouble, but they are wrong and they surely contributed to its development, she said. However, she went on, "there are many trouble-making factors there, a major one being the lack of communication between the student body and the administration."

This student, who observed the disturbance from her dormitory window, suggested that the patrolmen "did a lot of unnecessary things." As an example, she recalled that three male members of a Choral Ensemble returned from a singing engagement in Columbus during the riot and was enroute to their dormitory when ordered to come to the girls quarters. Patrolmen broke the door glass to gain admittance, when all they had to do was ring the bell and I'm sure the House Mother would have let them in. They took one of the boys away, while the other two hid in one of the girls room.



JESSE WOOD

... regrets closing

The youth said she was quite disappointed at the closing of the school because "I'm a senior and want to graduate in June and I cannot appreciate missing any classes these days. I feel that most students, especially the seniors, feel the same as I do," she concluded.

Central State Will Allow Black Power Some Freedom

By ROBERT E. MILLER

COLUMBUS (AP) — Advocates to Black Power apparently will have a sounding board at riot-scarred Central State University but they will obey the law and won't run the predominantly Negro school, its president said here Wednesday.

Dr. Harry E. Groves gave that word at a news conference at which he said the 2,700-student school — closed last week by rioting that brought out 700 National Guardsmen — will reopen next Monday.

He blamed the rioting that led to arrest of 93 persons on "a small group of Negro students . . . who tried to make Central State an all-black campus" and he said that group "was and is the core of our trouble."

Groves said university trustees made certain "modifications" in rules and procedures which were interpreted by some newsmen as a significant concession to the Black Power element — particularly to a campus group named Unity for Unity.

Trustees Change Minds
Trustees earlier refused to recognize the Black Power group and ordered its estimated 40 members expelled. But among the "modifications" outlined by Groves was a plan for Unity for Unity members to return to class Monday on probation. He said they also will be permitted to reapply for recognition "if they change some of their policies and agree not to incite trouble."

As for those persons arrested during the rioting, Groves said they may return to the campus on probation subject to disposition of their cases in the courts. Only those convicted will face disciplinary action by the university, he said.

Groves said the university will stick to its decision to expel Michael Warren, Black Power advocate from Cleveland accused of threatening the life of Dr. Rembert Stokes, president of Wilberforce University.

Warren participated in a demonstration Nov. 1 on the Wilberforce campus which is adjacent to Central State.

Leaves Loophole
The Central State administrator didn't rule out the possibility that Warren might some day be readmitted "under the same procedure for all students who are expelled" but he called him "not admissible at this time."

Groves disagreed with a reporter's evaluation that policy changes approved by the board amounted to "general amnesty" for the students involved in the rioting and "major concessions" to the Black Power element which was blamed for it.

It appears, he said, "that both the advocates of Black Power and the university are going to have to seek to understand inescapable facts of existence. The university does not wish to suppress legitimate thought."

Groves said too many people are limited in their understanding of Black Power "to just those two words. It goes much further. There's nothing wrong with Negroes trying to make better people of themselves as long as they are lawful. I can see nothing wrong with that concept," he added.

The president said there is no plan to request outside police help for the resumption of classes. Monday's activities will include a campus convocation and student-faculty group discussions aimed to restoring normal campus operations.

Groves said students had been requested to bring along their parents to be guests of the school that day.

Stoltzfus Will Speak On Crisis in Vietnam

A former director of community development in Vietnam will speak Saturday at a joint meeting of the Newman Club and the University Christian Movement of Youngstown State University.

Gene Stoltzfus, who is now with the American Friends Service Committee, will discuss "The Crisis in Vietnam" at the 8 p.m. meeting, at St. John's Episcopal Church. The Rev. Burton Cantrell, YSU Protestant chaplain, will preside.

Stoltzfus returned from Vietnam in September. He had been associate director of International Voluntary Service, a civilian organization working closely with the rural populations in South Vietnam.

He spent two years working in rural education and community development, and a year as team leader in the Corps II area of South Vietnam. Stoltzfus resigned Sept. 19, because of disagreement with current American Vietnam policy.

No Peace in Sight At Taylor-Winfield

WARREN — The 23-day-old strike at Taylor-Winfield Corp. here continues with no settlement in sight.

Talks between management and Steelworkers Local 6529 all day Tuesday were fruitless. No new talks are scheduled.

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Call and Post Editorial Page

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1967

The Affair At Central State

Admittedly Central State University is predominantly attended by and operated by Negroes. This condition continues to exist on the Xenia, Ohio campus despite continuing efforts to advance integration at this state-supported educational institution of higher learning.

Last week, a small segment of Central State's student body, augmented by off-campus militants, so disrupted the orderly program of the school that trustees deemed necessary to call out the National Guard, some State Highway Patrolmen, and sheriff's deputies, to restore a semblance of peace.

At the moment, most of the student criticism, and much of the metropolitan press reaction, has been directed at the university's trustee board for its action in closing down the school to safeguard the safety of the majority of the student body not involved in the controversy sparked by the suspension of a student "Black Power" advocate charged with uttering threats against the life of the Negro president of nearby Wilberforce University.

Students who were sent home post-haste, well in advance of the traditional Thanksgiving break, and those remaining behind but confined to the campus, were loudest in their caustic criticism of school officials. The general concensus of student charges being that the trustees overrated the danger of the situation and thus acted out of unrealistic and unfounded alarm.

This overlooks the fact that no responsible administration of either a school, a business or a political subdivision, can for long permit an unruly and intemperate, perhaps

violent minority, "take charge" of its affairs, even though it seems the fashionable thing at some major universities to yield, more and more, to the pressures from off-beat student agitators and propagandists.

Of more concern to those who know the history and background of Central State University, is the invitation provided those who wish to see this institution taken out of the hands of Negro directors, to mount demands for either its merger with other state-supported colleges, or as a last resort, for its liquidation.

These latter critics conveniently overlook the fact that Central State University is what it is because a long succession of Ohio Regents deliberately spawned its Negro image. It was much easier in years past to do so than to admit more than token numbers of Negroes into the then existing state-supported big universities.

This sudden solicitude for "full integration" also disregards the great strides that a dedicated president, faculty and board of trustees have taken in recent years to elevate the standards at Central State; efforts that have won its full accreditation and university status.

Last week's disturbances, in truth, grew largely out of an insistence by officials on top quality scholarship, full compliance with the rules, and a crackdown on student license and abuses formerly tolerated on the campus.

For serious students and their parents, anxious for quality education under state sponsorship, such a policy should command respect and support.

Filed By NAACP

Central State Unrest Brings Federal Suit

By John Sweeny
Journal Herald Staff Writer

The Greene county chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed suit in federal court yesterday challenging the actions of Governor Rhodes, Greene county police and Central State university officials in the riot there last week.

Nine persons, including students and parents of students at Central State and Wilberforce universities, were named as plaintiffs.

William M. Kunstler, an attorney for notional black power militant H. Rep. Brown, is one of six attorneys for the plaintiffs.

William J. Davis, who recently filed a similar suit against Dayton city and police officials, drafted the petition. He said the action is financed from donations collected by Sidney Davis of the Greene county NAACP.

The 12-page petition essentially says arrests made during the riot were part of a "scheme" by the defendants to deprive the plaintiffs of their constitutional right to free speech.

Michael Warren, an undergraduate whose presence on the campus Nov. 13 (after he had been expelled and banned from the school) touched off the riot, headed the list of plaintiffs.

The suit asks for the immediate convening of a three-judge Federal District court to hear the matter. Davis asks for a preliminary injunction to:

— Restrain the defendants from enforcing on the campus the state laws of trespassing, carrying a concealed weapon, impeding an officer and prohibition against riots.

— Restrain them from hindering members, friends and supporters of Unity for Unity (a Black Power organization on

campus) from exercising their constitutional rights.

— Restrain them from proceeding with prosecution of those arrested.

— Restrain them from interfering with their rights to remain at Central State as students.

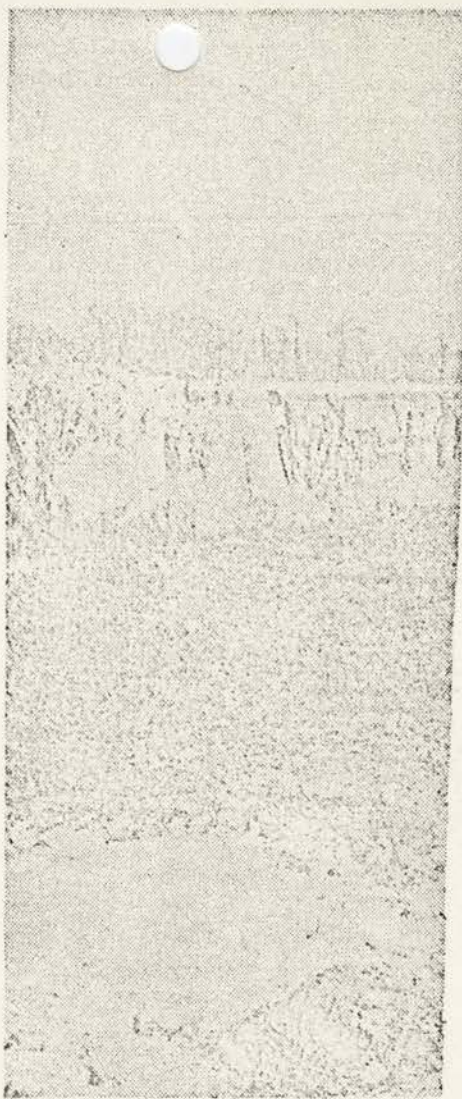
Named as defendants are: Harry E. Groves, Central State president; Rembert Stokes, Wilberforce president; John H. Bustamante, chairman of Central State's board of trustees; Governor Rhodes; Archellus Bells, captain Central State security police;

Also Russell A. Bradley, Greene county sheriff; Marshall Peterson, Greene county prosecutor; Harold Miller, Xenia police chief; Phillip Aultman, Xenia city solicitor; and Col. Robert M. Chairamonte, state highway patrol superintendent.

Davis, a Columbus attorney, is now involved in about a half dozen court cases involving Negroes in the Dayton area.

He is attorney for Will E. Dixon, accused of stabbing to death a Wilbur Wright football coach. He also has drafted a racial discrimination suit filed against Wright Patterson Air Force Base.

And he is representing about four of the men arrested during the September disturbances in West Dayton.



Suit I

JOURNAL HERALD

(SEE OTHER SIDE) Vall

Tuesday, November

To Pay For Salary
Greene Ho

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State Patrol Lauded For Efforts At CSU

By Richard Zimmerman
Journal Herald Columbus Correspondent

COLUMBUS—Trained on-the-scene observers generally agreed that Ohio's State Highway Patrol, which normally cannot be mobilized in riot situations, performed admirably during last week's disturbances at Central State university.

The patrol's performance again raised the question of whether state law should be changed to permit the deployment of state patrolmen to aid local law enforcement officials under all circumstances. Under present law, patrolmen have general police powers only when state property is involved.

Despite some students' charges of police brutality, reporters on the scene said they witnessed no instances of patrolmen using excessive force. While these newsmen were for the most part white, they also were not directly involved and most are not noted for being either pro or anti-police.

"They were very cool at all times," said one veteran reporter of the state patrolmen. "Their sticks (billy clubs) were used sparingly and I never saw a revolver drawn.

"Even after helping an injured, limping patrolman into the headquarters, I didn't hear anyone yell 'now let's go back and get them for this.' Even the injured ones seemed kinda resigned."

"My men took terrible verbal abuse and never opened their mouths," contended Patrol Major H. J. Cardwell, commander of the detail of 150 patrolmen. Newsmen agreed.

As to charges of police brutality, Cardwell replied: "I'd call it student brutality. I had

seven men in the hospital. They (the students) didn't get hurt."

Because the question involves a matter of legislative policy, Cardwell sidestepped the question of whether the state patrol should have broader police powers. "If the people of Ohio think we should have these powers, we'll be ready to perform them. We have a well-trained and mobile force," he said.

Mobility and training are two of the major reasons advanced as to why the patrol should have the power to step in before local authorities consider calling on the national guard.

According to Cardwell, an all-out call went for state patrolmen at 11 a.m. Monday. By 1:30 p.m., he said, a sizable force had reached the campus.

It may take the guard four hours or longer to organize and reach the scene of a riot.

But Greene county Sheriff Russell Bradley is among those who believes there is no need to give state patrolmen broader police powers. While he found no fault with the patrol's performance, Bradley said, "They just don't have the manpower."

Races Canceled; Cycle Fans Riot

TOKYO—(AP)—Fans rioted in nearby Kawaguchi Sunday when faulty tracks forced the cancellation of motorcycle races.

Angry fans burned down a newsstand, hurled rocks and clashed with 1,200 police. More than 30 police and 20 fans were hurt.

There are just under 900 state patrolmen in Ohio.

Bradley, like patrol officials, was generous in his praise of the guardsmen's conduct at Central State. "Let me volunteer this—the guard's performance was just excellent," the sheriff said.

"The guard backed us up real well," said Cardwell. He went on to note that perhaps three-fourths of the arrests on campus were made before the guard was called to the scene.

Small Claims Court To Begin In Warren

LEBANON, O.—Small claims court set up by an Ohio legislature act Aug. 14, will officially go into action in Warren county municipal and county courts today.

The small claims court provides for recovery of money for accounts not exceeding \$150. The only filing fee is \$2, posted with the clerk of each court.

Trials on the claims are held within no less than 10 or more than 20 days after the action is commenced.

There will be four courts in Warren county. County court, presided over by Judge Paul Herdman, and Municipal court, with Judge J. T. Riley in Franklin, Judge John Zopff, in Mason, and Judge Albert Herrick, in Lebanon.

The act provides for an attorney being appointed as referee in municipal proceedings. The appearance of an attorney representing the plaintiff is not required.

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YELLOW SPRINGS NEWS
22 NOV 1967

NAACP Says Students' Rights Violated in Central State Arrests

The Greene County chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Monday filed suit in Federal District Court in Dayton against state officials who they claim denied students at Central State University their constitutional rights during and after violence on the campus on Nov. 13.

A local man, Sidney O. Davis, president of the county chapter, said that the suit

asks for immediate reopening of the university and immediate reinstatement of those students arrested during the violence.

Named in the suit are Ohio Gov. James A. Rhodes, Dr. Harry E. Groves, Central State president, John H. Bustamente, chairman of the CSU board of trustees, Dr. Rembert Stokes, president of Wilberforce University, Greene County sheriff Russell A. Bradley and other state officials.

The NAACP branch last week brought attorney William J. Davis, Ohio NAACP legal redress committee chairman, to Xenia to represent students arrested in the demonstrations and charged with disturbance of the peace at the University. The branch's action was challenged by Edward K. Clarke, a local man, executive secretary of the branch, in a letter printed in the Xenia Gazette Saturday, but a meeting of the branch executive committee Sunday declared Clarke spoke as an individual and that the branch intended to defend students it felt were innocent of charges filed during their last week's arrest.

A spokesman in attorney Davis' office yesterday denied Clarke's charge that the chapter is not an official one. It is in good standing at headquarters, she said.

The federal case asks two actions. (1) It seeks a restraining order against state officials who deprive students of their constitutional rights to free speech, free assembly and redress of grievances, and (2) asserts that Michael Warren, a senior, 305 W. Center College St., Yellow Springs, was deprived of due process in his dismissal from the university.

■ ■ ■

NAACP Suit Filed *XENIA GAZETTE 21 NOV 1967* Over 94 Arrests

Greene County Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, filed suit in Federal District Court at Dayton yesterday seeking to halt prosecution of 94 persons arrested during disturbances at Central State University last week.

The NAACP suit was filed in behalf of nine persons, all of whom are present or past students at Central State or neighboring Wilberforce University, or their parents.

Among the plaintiffs is Mi-

chael Warren, the CSU student who was expelled for allegedly threatening the life of Wilberforce President Rembert Stokes. His expulsion triggered the violence which saw Ohio National Guardsmen, State Highway Patrol officers and sheriff's deputies ordered onto the CSU campus.

The suit asks that a three-judge federal court be convened immediately to hear the case.

It also seeks an order restraining university, state, county and city officials from enforcing on the CSU campus

state laws against trespassing, carrying a concealed weapon and rioting.

Also sought is an order barring any hindrance of members, friends or supporters of Unity for Unity, a campus Black Power group, from exercising their constitutional rights.

CSU officials blamed the militant group, which they say has only 25 active members, for inciting much of last week's trouble. They said Black Power advocates would be "weeded out" before classes resume.

The school was closed, and students were sent home, last Tuesday following a major disturbance Monday night. It is scheduled to reopen next Monday.

The 12-page petition filed in Federal Court named 10 defendants, including Gov. James A. Rhodes, president of the two universities, Sheriff Russel A. Bradley, Prosecutor Marshall E. Peterson, Xenia Police Chief Harold W. Miller, Xenia Solicitor Philip Aultman, Col. Robert M. Chiaramonte who heads the State Highway Patrol and CSU trustees and security force personnel.

The petition alleges that arrests made during the outbreak were part of a "scheme" by the defendants to deprive the plaintiffs of their constitutional right to free speech.

High Daily NEWS
**Auto at Central State
23 NOV 1967
Had Acid in the Trunk**

The Daily News Greene County Bureau
62 1/2 E. Main St., Xenia.

XENIA—The Greene county sheriff's department has received confirmation that the substance found in the trunk of a car on the Central State campus last week was an irritant. But now the question is what to do about it.

The owner of the auto in which the substance was found, Stanley Strickland, a Central State student who lives in Yellow Springs, reported his car stolen.

Deputies told him they had

found it on the campus. He gave them permission to open the trunk. There they found the acid, now identified as a substance that wouldn't kill but, nevertheless, would cause considerable discomfort.

Strickland has denied he had anything to do with it. While mere discovery of the stuff in his vehicle may have made Strickland a suspect, the sheriff's department has had no way—up to now—to prove that either Strickland, his friends, or some stranger, placed it there.

DAYTON DAILY NEWS
21 NOV 1967

Greene NAACP Split

By HENRY SAEMAN The Daily News Greene County Bureau
62 1/2 E. Main St., Xenia

XENIA—Greene county's NAACP executive committee was split today on its position involving the Central State university disturbances last week.

Two sides developed when 10 members of the executive committee denounced a statement by Edward P. Clarke, secretary of the chapter and a member of the committee, supporting Dr. Harry E. Groves, president of CSU.

CLARKE HAD said:

"There is no room in the NAACP for any concepts of hatred or violence or separatism or anti-Semitism."

Clarke also supported CSU President Harry Groves in efforts to curb the campus black power movement.

BUT 10 OTHER members of the executive committee released a statement Monday, countering Clarke:

"We do not feel that the students at Central State are

upset without any reason, for history has shown us that where there is smoke it is a wise one who decides there must be some fire."

Clarke today declared that the Greene county NAACP executive committee does not speak for the Greene county chapter, which includes the entire membership.

He said the Greene executive committee was told at the NAACP national convention in August that it was "hand-picked, maladjusted and non-representative of the membership."

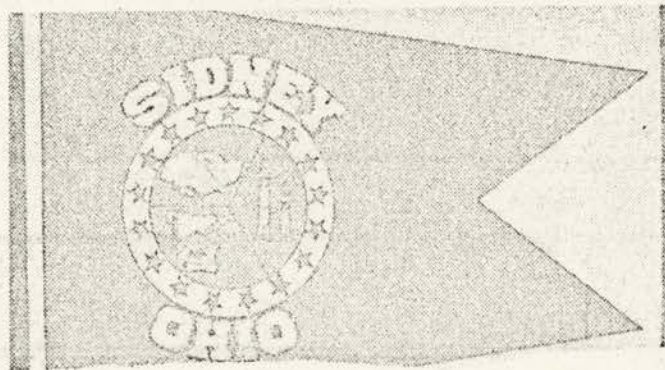
Clarke said the executive committee was given direction on how to adjust but "hasn't done so."

"I AM NOT questioning the right of Sidney O. Davis, president of the NAACP chapter to speak as president but the executive committee doesn't represent the NAACP branch (chapter)," he continued.

Clarke said several allegations by the 10 executive com-

New Flag to Fly in Si

Daily News Shelby County Bureau



(SEE OTHER SIDE for SOIT)

lit Over Central State

mitteemen who supported the students were false.

He mentioned among them the claim that Michael Warren, expelled CSU student, didn't have a hearing. Clarke countered that he did.

DAVIS, PRESIDENT of the Greene county NAACP chapter, prepared the statement supporting the students, signed by nine other executive board members.

Davis' group also maintained that:

- Lawful right of peaceful assembly is being denied at Central State.
- Due process of law has been denied and resulted in conviction without a hearing, an apparent reference to the expulsion of Michael Warren that set off the dispute on the campus.
- Students are being denied involvement in school affairs and shaping of policy.
- The black power label is emotionally charged and may

have been misconstrued for student power brought to focus because of university conditions.

- Calling of the National Guard was unnecessary, resulting in innocent students being "brutalized."

Davis' group stated the university shouldn't have been closed.

The letter asked these questions:

WHAT ARE THE subtle aspects of the problem? How secure is the Central State staff? Is there a standard of justice for whites and another for Negroes? Have qualified Negro teachers and department heads been shifted to give preference to whites?

"Are white students given preferential treatment? Is the Negro student and teacher getting a fair chance at Central State? What is the future of Central State and is that future in jeopardy? Why is the alumni disturbed so deeply by recent happenings under the present administration?"

99



REP. C. J. McLIN
'A Lot of Understanding'

Rep. McLin Keeps Tab On CSU

By CRAIG A. PALMER
Daily News Staff Writer

State Rep. C. J. McLin Jr. is taking an increasing interest in the affairs of Central State university.

He met Sunday with a group of students and mothers of Central State and Monday night with the mothers group and CSU President Harry Groves at Groves' home in Xenia.

McLin said Groves told the group there would be no law enforcement officers, other than the school security force (which has been beefed up), on campus when the students return Monday, that all students arrested would not be dismissed, that the university would not participate in pressing charges against the students (with some exceptions) and that he would have an assembly with the students.

"I wouldn't call them concessions," McLin said. "I'd say we go a lot of understanding."

Central State was wracked by student disturbances last week which led to the school being closed.

McLIN'S INTEREST can be explained in several ways.

"Of course, you know this is going to be brought up in January," he said, referring to the General Assembly. He would not speculate further.

With him at Monday night's meeting was State Rep. William F. Bowen of Cincinnati.

McLin has many Central State students and parents in his district.

"I'm concerned about the students and maintaining Central State," he said.

ALTHOUGH he arranged Monday night's meeting, McLin said he wants to remain in the background, in an advisory capacity.

"I'm trying to push the mothers' club and the alumni association."

Other Dayton Negro spokesmen participated in the Sunday and Monday meetings with McLin. Charles Tate of the Dayton Alliance for Racial Equality was at Sunday's student meeting at the Wesley center, 2301 W. Third St., and Jessie Gooding of the Non-violent Direct Action committee and FORCE attended both meetings.

GOODING SAID Groves discussed the decision to ban the Unity for Unity organization from campus and said it was a decision of the board of trustees.

McLin quoted Groves as saying, in effect, that he did not concur with the decision.

Mrs. Nancy K. Mason, president of the Dayton chapter of the Mothers of Central State, said Groves indicated that if expelled student Michael Warren were to reapply for admission, there is a possibility he could be readmitted.

Warren's dismissal led to the student violence.



XENIA GAZETTE ~ 22 NOV 1967

CSU Board Backs Off On Ousting Militants

COLUMBUS, Ohio (UPI) — Officials of Central State University will use conciliation instead of force to try and avoid a recurrence of rioting that erupted there last week.

University President Harry E. Groves told a news conference here today the school has backed off from its announced intention of "weeding out" black power elements before classes resume.

"The university does not wish to suppress legitimate thought," Groves said. "To that end, the Board of Trustees has agreed

to modify its earlier stated position. The organization, Unity for Unity, which the board has ordered removed from the list of approved organizations may re-apply for approval."

University officials believed that leaders of Unity for Unity, a militant black power organization, were responsible for instigating trouble that erupted into violent clashes between students and police and National Guardsmen on Nov. 13.

On Nov. 14, while guardsmen and state Highway Patrolmen enforced an uneasy calm on

campus, classes were called off and students were ordered to go home.

Classes will resume next Monday and Groves said he does not expect to have any outside police force on hand when students return to the predominantly Negro school.

"It is our hope that many parents will accompany their children to the campus Monday and will stay with them during the first day of classes as guests of the university," he added.

Groves said other "amnesty"

action taken by the Board of Trustees includes rescinding its order for expulsion of all members of Unity for Unity.

In addition, no disciplinary action will be taken against students arrested during the riots until they are convicted in a civil court of some crime.

There were a total of 94 people arrested during or immediately following the rock-throwing, window-smashing outbreaks by about 200 students shouting black power slogans.

Groves sought to stifle talk, in the wake of the riots, that perhaps Central State, with about 80 per cent of its 2,600 students Negro, be combined with another state university.

"Both the riot and the times demonstrate that some Negro students do need an institution with which they can fully identify," where they can see other Negroes in leadership roles, where their own social and cultural interests get a full hearing," Groves said.

"It is obvious, however, that they cannot be permitted to visit violence upon those with whom they disagree nor exclude persons of any color," he added.

Grover blamed the unrest

See CONFERENCE Page 14

Conference...

(Continued from Page 1)

among Central State students on black separatists.

"A desire on the part of a small number of Negro students to make Central State an all black campus was and is the core of the trouble at our institution," he said.

He said that the decision to close the school Nov. 14, even though 600 Ohio National Guardsmen were standing by along with about 200 Highway Patrolmen and sheriff's deputies, was made because of "a series of at increasingly alarming developments."

Among those, he said, was evidence of "more outside agitators" coming to the campus, and several attacks on white students.

"And the element became so bold as to enter classes and order white students to leave," he said.

"It thus appeared to me that the violence of the preceeding night was but a prelude to far more dangerous events and for that reason I reluctantly recommended ... temporary closing of the university," Groves said.

He pointed out that because of the Thanksgiving holiday only about six class days were lost and they would probably be made up by cutting Christmas vacation short.

"But should violence return with the students and the school again have to be closed this term, no way of making up the lost time would present itself and no one could receive credit for the first quarter of the year," Groves added.

Hearing For Expelled Student, Violence By Law Seen as CSU Issues by Students

By Pat Matthews

Whether or not a student should be discharged from Central State University without a hearing and whether or not students there are to have a voice in what happens at the university which they attend are seen as the issues in the controversy at Central State by one Yellow Springs man and numerous others who attend the university or who are acquainted with the situation.

Thomas Hopkins, 321 Pleasant St., one of those charged with disorderly conduct, forfeited his \$25 bond today in order to go to work at Bryan School this morning. Hopkins, a graduate of Ohio University, Athens, was until two weeks ago a part-time graduate student at Central State.

He told the NEWS today that he felt the news media throughout the country have been biased in reporting the situation. He said the real issue which led to the demonstrations was a request by CSU students to be represented in policy making at the university.

List Student Resentments

Students have resented three things, he said: (1) they were criticized by the administration for striking with non-academic employes who struck two weeks ago for a union (he pointed out that when Ohio University students acted similarly in Athens, the administration did not call in outside help); (2) the unwillingness of university officials to hold a public hearing for the expelled student, Michael Warren; and (3) law enforcement officers treating the entire student body as they would people in riot-torn areas when no physical difficulties had occurred until students were forced out of dormitories and off the campus grounds with tear gas and wielding of night

sticks by police.

Hopkins cited an example of officers entering a dormitory room and arresting a Negro but telling the white roommate to remain in his room. He also said that when he asked the arresting officer on what charge he himself was being taken to jail, the officer replied, "We'll find a charge."

"When the students saw 99½% white law enforcement officers coming toward them with guns and clubs, they had to choose to run or stand firmly on their constitutional right for peaceful assembly. They chose the latter."

Gary Cordell's Story

Gary Cordell, a local boy and a senior at CSU, confirms Hopkins' report of the situation and says that the majority of the students were united in their feelings toward the administration. He feels that "Black Power," as charged in some news stories, was not behind the demonstration, that a greater consciousness came because of the violence of law enforcement officers—particularly when students, returning to their dormitories Monday night after studying at the library, began the activities that led to some being taken to jail. Students were attacked by patrolmen and National Guardsmen, Cordell says. "It was then that we became aware of black consciousness and black awareness." He also said that stu-

dents tried peaceful assembly but on three separate occasions were kept waiting more than an hour for a meeting with Central State president Harry Groves without his appearing.

Saw Students Clubbed

Greene County NAACP president Sidney O. Davis, who lives at 686 Omar Circle here, says that during Monday night's disturbances he personally witnessed (1) officers making derogatory remarks to the students; (2) physical and unnecessary force used by highway patrolmen who pushed and hit students with night sticks; and (3) a girl knocked unconscious by a lawman. "It was at this point," he said, "that the kids retaliated by throwing rocks." He added, "I personally saw kids hit over the heads with night sticks and many of them were only trying to return to their rooms after studying at the library." He also complained that the CSU administration refused to allow him to confer with the students and signed statements he had secured from students "disappeared."

James Kozelek, a Columbus attorney, talked with this reporter shortly after noon today and said that ACLU and NAACP attorneys are considering the "constitutional issue of this situation and the possibility that circumstances of the arrests may have been lodged without probable cause."

Local Men Involved in CSU Case

(Continued from Page 1)

ernor James Rhodes' administrative aide Mark MacElroy (Rhodes was in Brazil on a trade mission).

Late yesterday afternoon, as uneasiness continued on the campus Central State president Harry E. Groves announced that the trustees of the university had authorized the discontinuance of classes and asked students to return to their homes as soon as possible. Speculations are that classes will not resume until after Thanksgiving

been continued indefinitely. Davis reports that an Antioch student, Walter Johnson, is still held under \$1025 bond on charges of carrying a concealed weapon, a cue stick. Another, a CSU student, is held under \$2500 bond for carrying a concealed weapon (a gun) and two students are in need of \$25 bond to post on charges of failing to comply with an order. Persons wishing to aid these students financially are asked to contact Sidney Davis at 767-7816.

will not resume until after Thanksgiving

NAACP Enters Case

Another local man, Sidney O. Davis, became involved as president of the Greene County chapter of the NAACP, after he witnessed what he regards as violations of the students' rights by law enforcement officers. Davis has been in Greene County court today with William J. Davis, of Columbus, NAACP legal redress attorney, and William Boyland and James Kozelek, both of Columbus, attorneys representing the Ohio Civil Liberties Union. The three have appeared in behalf of the 91 students arrested.

All but four of the students have been released on \$25 bail each and the cases have

Stand Is Reversed

Banned CSU Group Can Reapply

By Richard Zimmerman
Journal Herald Columbus Correspondent

COLUMBUS, O. — Central State university reversed course yesterday on a decision to ban a militant, black power student organization and said the group may reapply for "approved" status on campus.

The organization, known as "Unity for Unity," was banned by university trustees following student rioting Nov. 13.

The board also had indicated it wanted members of "Unity" expelled.

Yesterday, however, at a press conference at Columbus,

university president Harry E. Groves said, "The board has modified its order for the expulsion of all members of Unity for Unity. All such members will be permitted to return to the university on probation."

He added, however, that disciplinary action will be brought

against all students who engaged in unlawful acts on the campus."

Ninety-two students were arrested during the rioting. Most face charges of disorderly conduct.

McLin Played Role

Meanwhile, State Rep. C. J. McLin (D-Montgomery) said yesterday that he had played a role in convincing university officials to moderate their policies.

McLin, a Negro, said he and another Negro state representative conferred with Groves Monday at the president's home. "We felt it was very unfair to oust all members of Unity for Unity just for belonging. This was a recognized campus organization."

The university has estimated there are about 40 members of the group.

Groves said "the board of trustees has agreed to modify its earlier stated position" on the suppression of Unity for Unity.

"The organization, Unity for Unity, which the board has ordered removed from the list of approved organizations, may reapply for approval. It will, of course, be expected, if it seeks approval, to demonstrate that it will meet the acceptable standards of organization behavior."

JOURNAL, HERALD

Valley News

Thursday, November 23, 1967, Dayton, Ohio

Page 33

the acceptable
of organization

In explaining the new policies, Groves said in a prepared, 20-page statement that "it appears that both the militant advocates of Black Power and the university are going to have to seek to understand the inescapable facts of existence. The university does not wish to suppress legitimate thought."

During a question period following the release of his prepared statement, Groves suggested that since Unity for Unity was an approved campus group "many students may have chosen to join the organization for what were acceptable reasons . . . and many of these students may not have been caught up in the unlawful activities."

"Black Awareness . . . Power"

Asked if the goal of Unity for Unity was segregation, Groves replied:

"I say the goal of this organization is Black awareness and Black power and this might be interpreted by many as segregation."

"And certainly the activities of many of the students who are also members of this organization would have to be determined a desire for segregation—that is, the desire to create an all-Black campus at Central State is obviously a desire for segregation."

But Groves continued:

". . . The expression of the Black Power concept will not be forbidden at our university and I would hope would not be forbidden at any university, just as I suppose the expression of viewpoints of Birchers should not be forbidden . . . at other universities."

"What we are and should be concerned with are acts that flow from views . . . if the acts violate normal standards."

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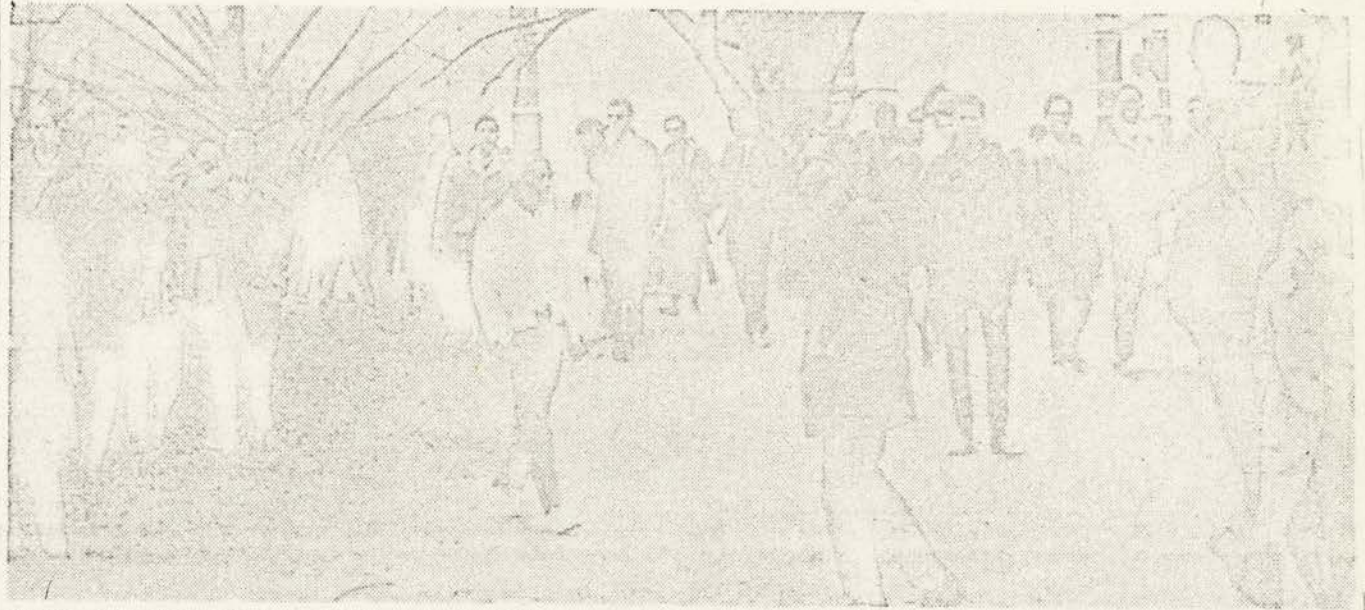
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46 PAGES

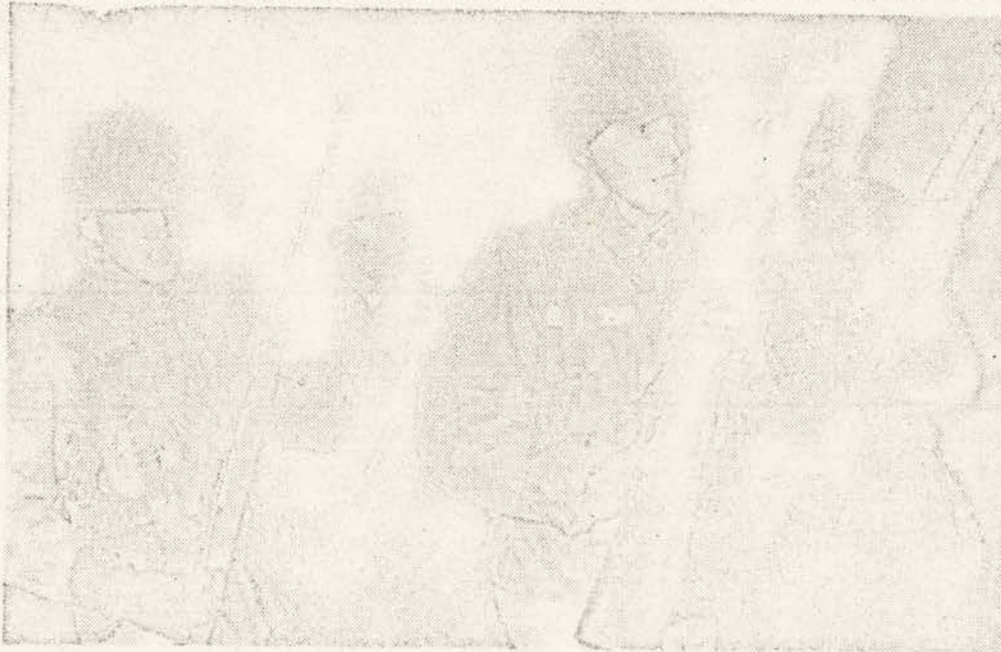
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YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1967

Expelled Student Sets Off College Riot



OHIO COLLEGE DISTURBANCE SCENE—Wilberforce, Ohio—Central State University students mill around early Monday in front of the building in which they had barricaded themselves with an expelled student who returned to the classroom. Six hundred National Guardsmen restored order in a riot late last night. Gov. James A. Rhodes ordered the Guard out earlier.



GUARDSMEN AT DISTURBANCE—Portion of a squad of Ohio National Guardsmen run through a pavilion at dormitory on campus of Central State Monday night during a general disturbance by students. Several highway patrolmen were injured.



—Associated Press Wirephotos
DEFIES UNIVERSITY—Michael Warren, who had been expelled from Central State for threatening the president of neighboring Wilberforce University barricaded himself in a classroom building.

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600 Troops Quell Negroes; Highway Police Hurt-- Arrest 91 at Central State

WILBERFORCE, Ohio (AP)—National Guardsmen who helped put down a student riot at Central State University early this morning were enforcing an uneasy armistice today.

Broken glass and furniture thrown through dormitory windows still littered the campus, scene of a riot that resulted in 91 student arrests and left at least 10 state patrolmen injured, including one with a broken leg. Classes were resumed at the predominantly Negro school, but some students were reported staying in the dormitories into which they had been herded by highway patrolmen and sheriff's officers.

Hold Security Meeting
University, law enforcement and military officials were in what the governor's office described as a "security meeting," probably to decide whether to try to keep classes going.

The Greene County sheriff's office said between 300 and 400 students were involved. Several of those arrested also complained of injuries.

About 600 National Guardsmen moved into the area Monday night to help put down the riot. About half moved onto the campus and the others were on standby at the county fairgrounds four miles away.

Several fires, most of them minor, were reported on and off the campus. The display window was shot out of a furniture store two miles from campus and a fire caused damage to a grocery at Xenia, four miles

from the campus. The highway patrol reported 12 of its patrol cars and three sheriff's cars damaged.

The disturbance started at midmorning Monday along with the return to the campus of an expelled student, Michael Warren, 23, of Cleveland.

He had been ordered off the campus last week after allegedly threatening harm to President Rembert Stokes of neighboring Wilberforce University, also a predominantly Negro school.

Black Power Involved
Warren allegedly threatened to kill Stokes "when the revolution comes." His alleged remark was reported made while he was on the Wilberforce campus to get supporters for a Central State demonstration.

Warren's plans to return to campus were announced at a campus movie Sunday night by
(Continued on Page 12 Col. 3)

Some Students May Be Ousted

YENIA GAZETTE

NOV 16, 1967

Reopening Date Is Eyed By CSU Board

By TOM McCATHERINE
GAZETTE News Editor

WILBERFORCE—Trustees of Central State University today were to discuss a reopening date for the school, shut down following a mass disturbance Monday night.

The school's 2,600 students were sent home Tuesday and school officials went to work "cleaning out" the Black Power elements believed behind the rock and brick throwing spree.

More than 600 National Guardsmen sent to assist in controlling the disorder were sent home Wednesday. Three hundred had been called into active duty Monday night and the others were poised for action nearby.

The outbreak Monday night and its aftermath resulted in 94 arrests, unestimated damage and nine law enforcement officers with injuries.

SCHOOL officials said some of the students involved may be expelled.

"The school probably will not reopen with the Black Power element still there," John McElroy, chief aide of Gov. James A. Rhodes said, adding, "If disturbances like the one Monday night continue, it could be the first step toward dissolution of the university."

Some students not involved in the disturbance did not think

the outbreak merited closing of the school.

But John H. Bustamante, chairman of the school's board of trustees, said:

"It's not just something to be shoved aside and dealt with as a normal student demonstration."

He said the campus Black Power advocates were a "well-financed, highly - organized, disciplined group."

Bustamante said he thought there were outsiders who helped whip things up but said he had "no tangible evidence" to link militants to any

national organization by name.

Two of those arrested Monday, however, identified themselves as workers for the Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee.

"We were going to clean

See DISORDER Page 11

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Disorder...

(Continued from Page 1)

that Black Power thing out," Bustamante said, "and this gave us the opportunity. I don't think a few people should be permitted to infringe upon and restrict the rights of others. This is undemocratic."

A CSU spokesman said there are "only about 20" hard-core people behind the Black Power move, adding that they have already identified themselves by their actions on campus.

* * *

TROUBLE developed Monday morning when Michael Warren, who had been expelled last week, returned to campus in defiance of a college order not to return.

School officials said Warren threatened to "kill" Dr. Rembert Stokes, president of adjoining Wilberforce University, on Nov. 2.

* * *

...WITH THE closing of the school, only 61 students remained on campus today. Ten are foreign students, 25 are engaged in student teaching programs and 27 are members of the basketball team, which opens its season Dec. 2.

Command post for the State Highway Patrol and sheriff's deputies still guarding the CSU campus was shifted from Lucinda Cook School to Bundy Hall, permitting the reopening today of elementary classes at Cook School.

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Stokes Signed Exemption Slip For Warren

WILBERFORCE — Central State University records show that Carl B. Stokes, elected mayor of Cleveland last week and a former state representative, signed a tuition exemption certificate for Michael Warren to exempt him from payment of tuition at the school.



GAZETTE Photo By Dave Myers

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN line up at fairgrounds to leave area.

Ankeney Counsels Against Hasty Decisions On CSU

State Rep. Herman K. Ankeney of Beavercreek Twp. today cautioned against any hasty decisions on the future of Central State University in light of campus disorder this week.

"I don't think we should go jumping off the deep end of legislation; I don't think that Central State should be abandoned; I don't think it should be changed from its present status," Ankeney told The Gazette.

The Greene County representative said he would favor a study of the matter by the legislative Service Commission or by an independent, appointed committee, if one is preferred by Gov. James A. Rhodes.

"I have confidence in President (Dr. Harry) Groves and I have a lot of sympathy for the students who have been interrupted right in the middle of their college year," Rep. Ankeney said.

an "ethnic - oriented" school should be nearer the large centers of population, Rep. Ankeney said:

"I don't know why. Why shouldn't the city boys and girls be allowed to come to a campus such as they have at Central State which has plenty of room for expansion?"

* * *

IT WAS noted by Rep. Ankeney that he sponsored bills in two sessions of the Ohio Legislature to make Central State a university and was a co-sponsor of the bill which finally passed.

He added that he has handled other legislation for the school and always has been interested in CSU. He concluded:

"I think that a lot of careful, deep study should be made before any of this talk about closing the school, changing its location or combining it

with Wright State is developed. I think there should be a lot of deep study made of that, and certainly nothing done in the near future except opening the university and letting the good students come back to their classrooms."

* * *

STATE SEN. David Holcomb, whose district includes all of Greene County, also has suggested a study of CSU's future. He also has called for increased state financial support of the school.

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Warren is the student expelled by CSU last week and whose return to campus Monday sparked the campus disturbance.

Warren, who now lists a Yellow Springs address, has used a Cleveland address in the past. School records show him with an address in Indianapolis, Ind., however.

He added:

"I think the college can go back in operation if they take care of the 'hard core', as they call it, because the great majority of students at Central State are sincere in their purpose to get an education."

REP ANKENY acknowledged that there has been "considerable talk . . . no definite action" about combining CSU with Wright State University.

"I can't see that," he said flatly.

Referring to a statement attributed to John McElroy, chief assistant to Gov. Rhodes, that

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XENIA DAILY GAZETTE

196

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XENIA, OHIO, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER

Acid Area Still Policed

By MARGARET DANA

Q. I would like very much to use a certain brand of gelatin but it lists some sounding ingredients on the label. Can you tell me if any of these are harmful: Adipic acid, sodium phosphate, calcium carbonate, magnesium carbonate?

A. Before any food processor may use food additives in his product, he must get acceptance from the Food Drug Administration as to the safety of the amounts used. The additives you mention have strange names to us not familiar with the industry, but they are a fairly simple ingredient intended to add to the qualities, texture, flavor of the gelatin.

If the company which you mention is going to have trouble of labeling its product without first clearing it with the DA, it will be a rather silly procedure.

DA field inspectors usually check labels and labels using them. They usually use improper ingredients to try to conceal the list such on their part.

Q. Can you talk to the makers of men's socks and get them to do something about dark socks fast color? Don't they at least wash the surplus dye before they put them on?

A. Fast color dyes are still one of the problems for consumers and manufacturers. Actually, no dark color any fabric is completely fast. But in men's socks there is a considerable difference in the quality of dyes used. Cheap socks often

Cases Of Disturbances

BULLETIN

WILBERFORCE -- With the school closed and students en route home, National Guard troops were alerted today to leave the virtually deserted Central State University. Guard officials said a pullout of troops would be completed later today.

By BOB BURNS
GAZETTE Staff Writer

Cases of 91 young men, all but six students arrested in connection with disturbances at Central State University, were continued indefinitely this morning at scheduled arraignment on charges—chiefly violations of the riot act—in Municipal Court.

Judge Joseph L. Hagler Jr. granted the continuances requested by two Columbus attorneys representing the accused, 92 of whom were arrested Monday night in the clash between an estimated 200 students and law enforcement officers at Central State.

As he asked for continuances for 91 of the defendants, Columbus Attorney William J. Davis, legal council for the Ohio Division of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that he did "not seek to delay" the proceedings, but needs time to prepare defenses.

Patrol, appeared before Judge Hagler this morning.

Walter R. Johnson, 22, Antietam College student from Cincinnati, was granted continuances on two charges—violation of the riot act and carrying a concealed weapon. The affidavit said that he had a pool cue stick up his sleeve.

Judge Hagler set his bond at \$25 on the riot act count and \$1,000 on the weapon charge.

Karl Nelson, 22, Springfield laborer, picked up as an alleged campus loiterer Tuesday night, was granted a continuance as an alleged riot act violator. His bond was set at \$25, same bail as others so charged.

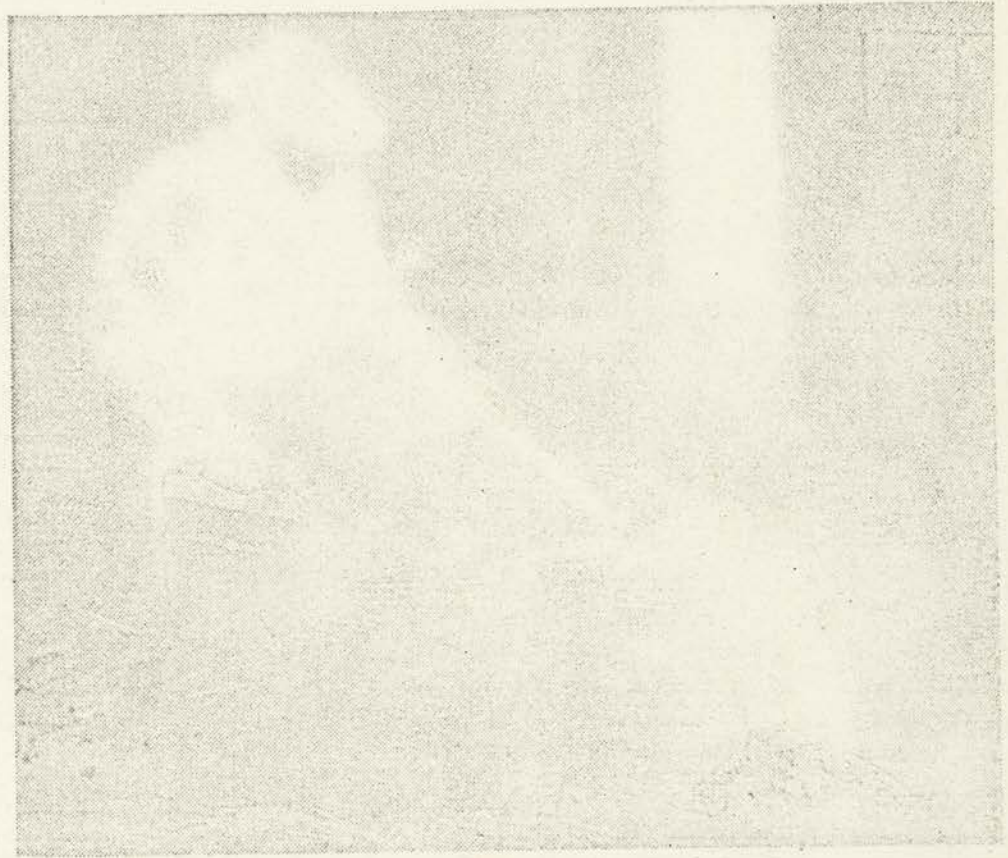
They were represented by James Kozelek of Columbus, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union.

THE CASES granted continuances at the request of NAACP lawyer Davis included those of Mike Warren, 22, expelled Central State senior from Cleveland who is the key figure in the disturbances, charged with trespassing, and another CSU student, Charles E. Miller of Warren, accused of carrying a concealed weapon—a .22-caliber pistol.

The charge against Warren

See ARRAIGN Page 15

94 Arrested In ce Continued



GAZETTE Photo by Bob Burns

TWO DUD "Molotov Cocktails," tossed against a wall under a window of Wilberforce University's new men's dormitory on Bickett Rd., are inspected by Sheriff's Sgt. Neal Stanley. Wilberforce officials found the

unexploded fire bombs late Tuesday afternoon, after a front window was broken, apparently when struck by an instrument. Both incidents are still under investigation.

to file motions in the
possibly change in the

pare defenses.

Davis also reserved the right to file motions in the cases, possibly challenging the constitutionality of the riot act, which all but two of his clients are accused of violating.

* * *

CENTRAL STATE closed down at 2 p.m. yesterday when Dr. Harry E. Groves, president, read a proclamation to newsmen which said in part:

"By order of the Board of Trustees, Central State University is closed, effective immediately, for the safety and welfare of the student body. All students are advised to leave the dormitories and proceed to their homes at the earliest possible time. . . Students will be advised of the time of the reopening of school."

Today at the university, where only administrative offices were open, a spokesman said only a "comparatively few" students remained in dorms and many of these expected to leave today.

Although the proclamation set no date for school reopening, most likely date is Nov. 27, which would be the end of the normal Thanksgiving holiday.

The campus was still policed by 200 National Guardsmen, 100 State Highway Patrolmen and the augmented Greene County Sheriff's Department. Guardsmen standing by at the Greene County Fairgrounds were relieved of duty and left Xenia shortly after noon today.

There was no indication when the patrol would cut its force.

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TWO YOUNG men, arrested on Central State campus Tuesday night by the State Highway

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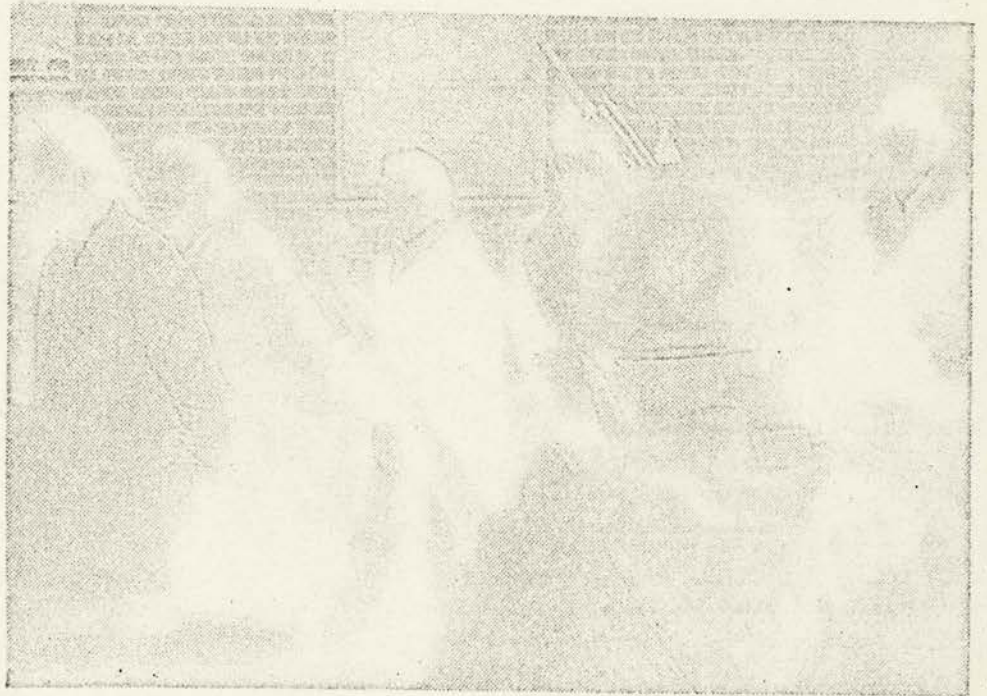
SHOP, COMPARE
Gazette Ads

XENIA

86th YEAR, NO. 295

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Central Stat



A GROUP of arrested rioters move past National Guardsmen on their way from Lucinda Cook

GAZETTE Photo By Dave Myers school to a bus to take them to City Jail.

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DAILY GAZETTE

WEATHER
14 Pages

XENIA, OHIO, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1967

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te Is Ordered Close

(BULLETIN)

"By order of the Board of Trustees, Central State University is closed (effective immediately) for the safety and welfare of the student body," President Harry E. Groves said this afternoon in a proclamation. The president said that all students were being advised to leave the dormitories and proceed to their homes as early as possible, and that they would be advised of reopening. It was reported reopening was not expected until after Thanksgiving.

By BOB BURNS, GAZETTE Staff Writer

WILBERFORCE—An uneasy quiet prevailed today at Central State University, scene of a violent clash Monday night between an estimated 200 militant students and an equal number of State Highway Patrolmen and sheriff's deputies.

Ninety-one students were arrested and booked at Xenia jail on charges of disorderly conduct.

Mike Warren, the 22-year-old senior from Cleveland, who is the key figure in the disturbance, also was jailed early today. He is charged with trespassing.

Four state patrolmen and a Warren county sheriff's officer received injuries serious enough to require treatment at

Greene Memorial Hospital.

Many other lawmen complained of minor hurts suffered when they were hit with rocks, bottles and other projectiles, but were given first aid at the scene by the Greene County Rescue Unit.

But none of the students arrested "had a mark on him," a state patrol officer said.

There was no indication this morning when the situation would justify removal of Na-

tional Guardsmen and the State Highway Patrolmen.

* * *

AFTER A conference in the office of Dr. Harry E. Groves, university president, this morning, Sheriff Russell A. Bradley reported:

"Some isolated groups, just a few people, are trying to disrupt classes."

Also a delegation of students—including several arrested—conferred with Dr. Groves this morning, but the word from the president's office was no statement would be issued immediately.

* * *

ALTHOUGH CLASSES assembled as usual this morning, a spokesman estimated one-third of students were absent.

Meanwhile, patrol cruisers moved slowly on campus

—including several arrested—
conferred with Dr. Groves this
morning, but the word from
the president's office was no
statement would be issued im-
mediately.

* * *

ALTHOUGH CLASSES assem-
bled as usual this morning, a
spokesman estimated one-third
of students were absent.

Meanwhile, patrol cruisers
moved slowly on campus
streets and roads.

Each contained two patrol-
men and two National Guards-
men, holding rifles, in the
rear seat.

An estimated 300 Guardsmen
were stationed at Lucinda

... school, along with 100 state patrolmen. There were no classes today at the Cook School.

Most seriously hurt in the clash was Cpl. L. P. Karrick of the Xenia post, who suffered a fractured ankle. He reportedly was hit by a fire extinguisher tossed from a Lane Hall window.

Treated for severe cuts were Sgt. C. W. Gaudier of Springfield, Ptl. T. J. Bicknell of Lebanon, Cpl. F. E. Scott of Piqua and Capt. Roy Wallace of the Warren County Sheriff's Department.

Capt. Dwight Carey of the patrol's Wilmington district office said this morning:

"We made some 90 arrests, five officers required hospital treatment, numerous others were less seriously injured, but not one student had a mark on him.

"This typifies the fine police action. I don't think we could ask for a finer tribute to a group of men."

The students started a "Dig It" rally at 8:30 p.m. in Galloway Hall that lasted 45 minutes.

About 10 p.m., an estimated 200 students gathered at the rear of Pinn and Hughes Hall.

* * *
SHERIFF BRADLEY, sitting in a cruiser read the riot act. As he was speaking a thrown rock broke the windshield of his cruiser.

Then the sheriff told lawmen assembled: "We'll give them another 10 minutes to break up."

As the time limit expired, about 40 state patrolmen advanced toward the students. They were the target of small articles, particularly bottles thrown from Lane Hall.

The patrolmen grabbed students and dragged them back across the lawn toward Cook School, where they were

See CAMPUS Page 14

GAZETTE Photo by Bob Burns

STATE Highway Patrolmen and National Guardsmen line the sidewalk to the entrance of Bundy Hall, the administration building at Central State University, this morning. In the background is the library.

Dayton Daily News ~ 15 Nov

Angry Students Quit Campus Battlefield

By HENRY SAEMAN The Daily News Greene County Bureau
62½ E. Main St., Xenia

WILBERFORCE -- Incredible realities affecting the involved and uninvolved Monday in Central State university violence—believed a 10-90 per cent ratio—suddenly flashed very real Tuesday afternoon.

All of it was wrapped in a terse four-line statement by CSU President Harry E. Groves.

Suspension of classes was to become more poignant as students packed their suitcases, their laundry and their books preparing for the trip home.

IT WAS TO take on even further meaning as they stood shivering in 30-degree weather awaiting arrival of buses chartered to transport them home to other cities.

Many related their bitterness bluntly. Few favored the enforced vacation. From the students' viewpoint, the "goats" in the episode were President Groves and the police.

Many students felt Groves acted hastily and there wouldn't have been trouble if the troops had not been called.

Blame less vehemently directed against Michael Warren and his antics in returning to class after being expelled.

BUT THE SCHOOL'S closing hit as the real shocker, an incredible ending to the tensions that had prevailed on the campus for over 24 hours.

Students, waiting for the buses, seemed unwilling and unable to accept explanation as to why President Groves should expell a student outright—without "going through channels—without a hearing before a student court.

It was this point alone that seemed to bother many departing students. They seemed unprepared to accept an overall view that Groves, as president, is empowered to act decisively and without student consent in the operation of the university.



SOME STUDENTS WERE accusing their president of "lack of communications." One student said, "If he only would have come over to talk to us Monday (during a two-hour meeting in Galloway auditorium). "We wanted him to explain what this was all about. We wanted him to tell us. But he refused to come.

This mood persisted among other students who criticized their president by depicting him as a sort of introvert who had failed to meet some basic student needs—for explanation—at a crucial hour.

And the other overriding issue expressed by students about to board buses—all of whom incidentally refused to be identified by name—was their resentment against the calling of the highway patrol forces and National Guard to the campus.

THEY DID NOT reflect on Dr. Groves' forewarning last week which spelled out student rights and asked for caution and restraint against overzealous campus dissenters.

More than one student thought there was no trouble until the patrol and other troops arrived. Had these people not been on "their campus," it wouldn't have happened. More than one viewed no such stern disposition.

All this was part of the second-guessing as the realities of these tense days became clearer and clearer.

40 at Antioch Back Warren

XENIA — About 40 persons, who said they were from Antioch college in Yellow Springs, picketed for more than an hour in front of the Municipal building late Tuesday afternoon.

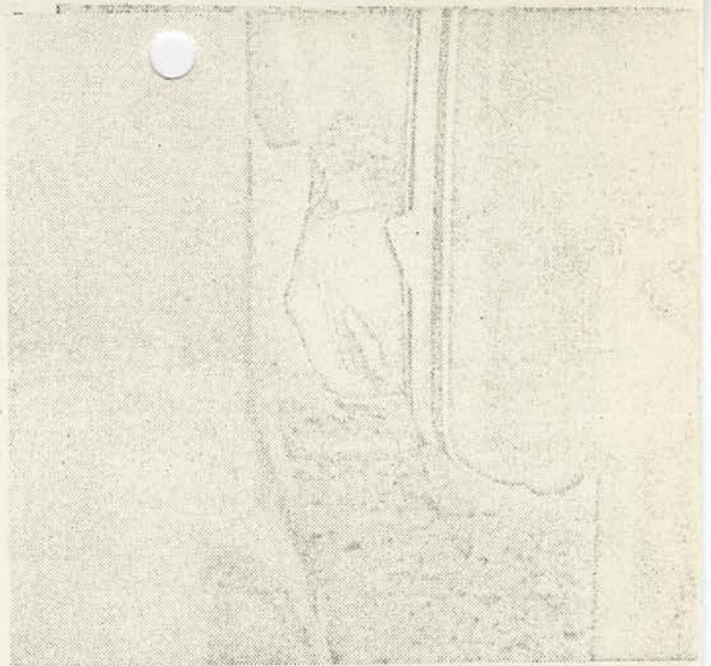
They carried signs indicating support for 91 persons arrested during a disorder at Central State university Monday night.

"End Marshal Law at Central State university," one sign stated. Others read, "We Support Mike Warren" and "A Fair Trial for Mike Warren."

Xenia Police Chief Harold W. Miller told the pickets they could demonstrate peacefully as long as they wished. He warned them not to interfere with National Guardsmen on duty at the city building.

The pickets moved on to the nearby Greene county courthouse before breaking up. No incidents were reported.

Joan Lowell Dies at 67



Snow Swirls Around Coed as She Wa

Five Non-Student

The Daily News Greene County Bureau
62½ E. Main St., Xenia

XENIA—Five non-students, two of them workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating committee, were among the 92 people arrested Monday night at the Central State university campus.

The five include Simon B. Schutz, 21, of Atlanta, Ga., who identified himself as field secretary for SNCC, and Ernest C. Stevens, 26, of Tuskegee, Ala., who said he is a SNCC worker.

OTHERS JAILED INCLUDED Thomas B. Hopkins, 22, of 9 W. Herman St., Yellow Springs, a teacher; Ronald C. Liggins, 24, of RR 5, Xenia, employed by McCall's Corp., Dayton, and Michael W. Warren, 22, of 305 W. Center Collete St., Yellow Springs. His parents bailed him out of jail, putting up \$100. He was charged with trespassing after his expulsion from the university. The four others were charged with disorderly conduct.

Charles E. Miller, a student from Warren, remained in jail charged with carrying a concealed weapon, a .22-calibre automatic pistol. He and Jon P. Bowman of Champaign, Ill., were also charged with violating a recently passed "riot act." Bowman turned 20 Tuesday, and, like Miller, remained in jail in lieu of bail.

Others were identified as:

ORMAND A. DAVIS, 19, Finn hall, CSU; Marvin Whiting, 20, Broadus hall; Brian Bowles, 20, Lane hall; Nathaniel Stewart, 19, Wilberforce Box 144; Bruce C. Odon, 19, Penn hall; John E. Barkey, 18, Cincinnati; Paul Tyus, 22, Wilberforce Box 362.

Dan T. Jordan, 21, Ambler, Pa.; Gary L. Thompson, 20, Dayton; Orson Oliphant, 21, South Ozont Park, N. Y.; Fred Kane, 19, Painesville; John L. Wilkins, 19, Syracuse, N. Y.; Johnny L. Barnes Jr., 20, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; Ted Williams, 20,

"I'm supposed to have exams on Dec. 11. Our last two weeks were supposed to be for review. I'm worried," said one student.

DR. HARRY GROVES
Target of Critics

THERE was one in the group who thought his draft deferment would be in jeopardy because it is contingent on school attendance.

Some students indicated they were hard pressed for

money to get home and had to borrow from friends. The university was extending loans to students for their round-trip tickets.

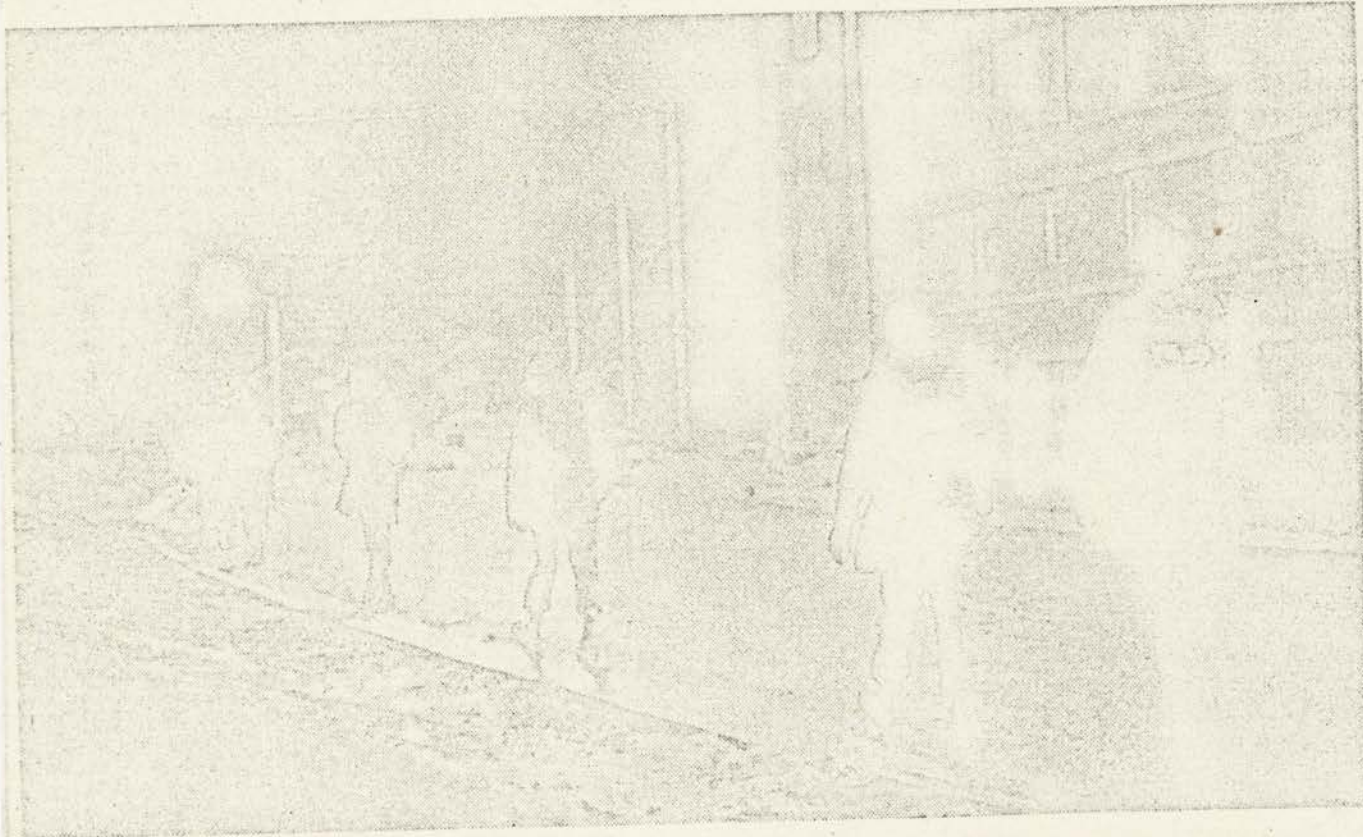
Staff Photos

By Roberts,

Saeman

its Amid Luggage for a Ride Home

ents Among 92 Arrested



National Guardsmen, Some Wearing Parkas Against the Cold, Patrol Campus

BRASILIA—(P)—Joan Lowell, American author of the 1929 best-seller "Cradle of the Deep," died Tuesday at her ranch 25 miles from Brasilia.

She was about 67.

Police said the cause of her death was still unknown.

Miss Lowell's purportedly autobiographical story of growing up aboard her father's schooner with sailors for her tutors was a Book-of-the-Month Club selection and was favorably reviewed.

Later skeptics questioned its

authenticity, contending Miss Lowell had spent most of her childhood in her native Berkeley, Calif. The Book-of-the-Month Club told 65,000 subscribers they could have their money back but said there was evidence that the author had spent some of her childhood at sea and had some of the experiences told in the book.

"Any damn fool can be accurate—and dull," said Miss Lowell in an interview. She maintained the real art was to intrigue readers with color and adventure.

Dayton.

Aaron Wheeler, 20, Cleveland; George Sanford, 21, Hamilton; Arthur Hutchinson, 20, New York City; Leroy Abrams, 21, Cincinnati; Allen Register, 20, Cleveland; Anthony Thornhill, 21, New York City; Robert A. Sankey, 19, Dayton; Leon Reed, 20, Cleveland.

DUANE ROBINSON, 19, Akron; Alexander Davis, 19, Toledo; Luzern W. Washington, 20, Worthington; Phillip Lee, 20, Lane hall; Charles L. Wheeler, 21, Cleveland; James G. Johnson, 19, Cincinnati; O'Neal T. Tutin, 24, Elmsford, N. Y.; Lawrence E. Stephens, 18, Broadus hall; Michael D. Winfield, 18, Hughes hall.

Lawrence O. Johnson, 18, Hughes hall; Lyle A. Modesty, 18, Cleveland; Michael R. Brown, 18, Dayton; James C. Spencer, 21, Wilberforce Box 67; David K. Smith, 20, Marion; Calvin Cain, 20, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Stephen Black, 19, Lane hall; Alan T. Askew, 20, Lane hall; Reuben A. Gilbert, 30, Lane hall.

Robert F. Harris, 18, Youngstown; John T. Jackson, 20, Lane hall; Arthur L. Overton, 23, Lane hall; Allen T. Johnson Jr., 19, Columbus.

SPURGEON B. SMITH, 21, Wilberforce Box 321; Olubandele Dada, 25, Lane hall; James L. Eberhardt, 28, Cincinnati; Warren Vann, 23, of 820 E. Main St.; Ronald Mays, 19, Pinn hall; Donald L. Barkey, 21, Page hall; David L. Henderson, 22, Lane hall; David M. Vinson, 23, Lane hall.

Paul M. Wilson, 19, Cleveland; Leroy A. Williams, 22, Ann Arbor, Mich.; William R. Knight, 22, Wilberforce Box 22; Morris Jackson, 21, Lane hall; Frederick Grigsby, 20, Broadus hall; James A. Atkins, 19, Hughes hall.

Eldridge Thomas, 25, Camden, N. J.; Ernest C. Stevens, 26, of Tuskegee, Ala.; Brooks E. Clark, 18, Burton; Azell L. Cunningham, 19, New York City; Robert G. Everhardt Jr., 18, Chicago.

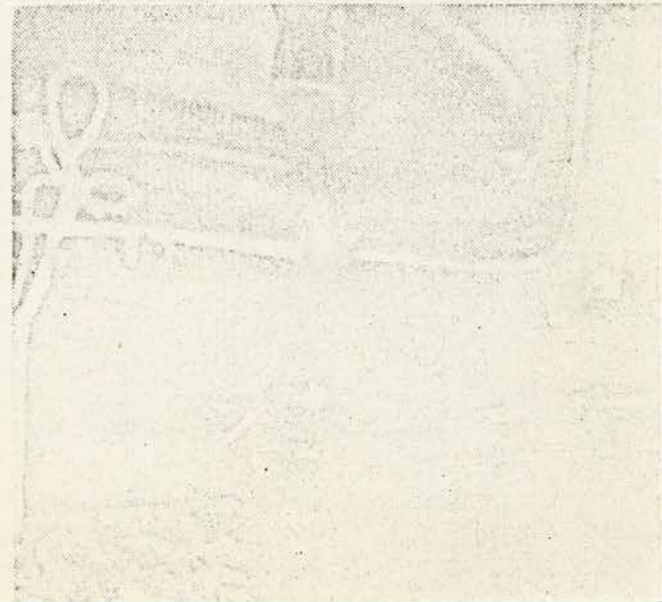
Joseph D. Glenn, 18, Cleveland; George C. Staples Jr., 20, Springfield; James H. Bailly, 23, Dayton; Gilbert C. Trosler, 20, Old Saybrook, Conn.; Delbert E. Smith, 21, Smithfield; Samuel H. Walden, 21, Rochester, N. Y.; James H. Gay, 20, Youngstown.



Staff Photos
By Roberts,
Saeman

DR. HARRY GROVES
Target of Critics

THINKING was one in the group who thought his draft deferment would be in jeopardy because it is contingent on school attendance. Some students indicated for trip tickets. they were hard pressed for money to get home and had to borrow from friends. The university was extending loans to students for their round-trip tickets.



Timetable of Unrest

MONDAY

- 10:15 A.M.—Officials learn that rumored arrival of Michael Warren on campus is a reality and he and his supporters have barricaded themselves in Wesley hall. Several students are roughed up in the hallways.
- 10:25 A.M.—Sheriff Russell Bradley arrives on campus and decides to summon additional help.
- 10:30 TO NOON—Sheriff Bradley, President Harry Groves and students confer. A decision is made to recall officers from campus but keep them in immediate vicinity. Decision to call National Guard is made and Warren and his followers slip from Wesley hall to Galloway hall.
- 12:15 P.M.—Police officers and sheriff's deputies in neighboring municipalities and counties are notified to report to Central State.
- 12:42 P.M.—State officials take steps to mobilize 500 Guardsmen.
- 3:00 P.M.—Students swarm from Galloway hall where a meeting apparently had been held.
- 4:30 P.M.—Advance units of National Guard begin arriving in Xenia. Police and patrol units in abandoned farmyard near Wilberforce disperse to report later. Dr. Groves holds brief press conference.
- 8:30 P.M.—Students begin organizing around Galloway hall for meeting called by demonstrators.

- 9:30 P.M.—Meeting gets under way in Galloway auditorium.
- 10:05 P.M.—Students leave hall and begin gathering on campus.
- 10:20 P.M.—Sheriff Bradley reads riot act and officers move on mob as rock breaks cruiser's windshield. The National Guard is summoned.
- 10:40 P.M.—Guardsmen arrive from Xenia and move in to assist.

TUESDAY

- 12:07 A.M.—A Molotov cocktail starts blaze in Xenia supermarket and heavily damages a truck parked outside.
- 12:30 A.M.—Authorities report that calm has returned to campus.
- 8:00 A.M.—Arrested students begin posting bond at Xenia city jail pending Municipal court appearance.
- 11:00 A.M.—Michael Warren, central figure in CSU disturbance, is bailed out of jail by his parents. Trespassing charge against him calls for \$100 bond.
- 2:00 P.M.—All but two students are bailed out of jail.
- 2:10 P.M.—Dr. Groves issues proclamation that university is closed indefinitely and students should make arrangements to leave campus as soon as possible.
- 5:00 P.M.—Nearly two hundred Antioch college and other area youths stage demonstration in front of Xenia Municipal building against Warren's expulsion from CSU.

This mood persisted among other students who criticized their president by depicting him as a sort of introvert who had failed to meet some basic student needs—for explanation—at a crucial hour.

And the other overriding issue expressed by students about board buses—all of whom incidentally refused to be identified by name—was their resentment against the calling of the highway patrol forces and National Guard to the campus.

THEY DID NOT reflect on Dr. Groves' forewarning last week which spelled out student rights and asked for caution and restraint against overzealous campus dissenters.

More than one student thought there was no trouble until the patrol and other troops arrived. Had these people not been on "their campus," it wouldn't have happened. More than one viewed no such step disposition.

967

'I'm Supposed to Have Exams on Dec. 11. Our Last Two Weeks Were Supposed to Be for Review. I'm Worried.'

NAACP Chief Raps Groves

The Daily News Greene County Bureau
621 1/2 E. Main St., Nanta

WILBERFORCE — Sidney O. Davis, chairman of the Greene county NAACP, Tuesday became an immediate critic of Dr. Harry Groves, president of Central State, in his decision to close the university.

"This is worse than Mississippi," he told students as they were waiting in freezing temperatures for their chartered buses.

Davis blamed Gov. James A. Rhodes and took issue with the handling of the situation by Dr. Groves.

DAVIS ALSO complained that students were being hastily forced from their dormitories and should have been given more time.

The student view also reflected disappointment and dismay about such items as money lost as a result of an abbreviated school year, whether the absence from class would affect their grades.

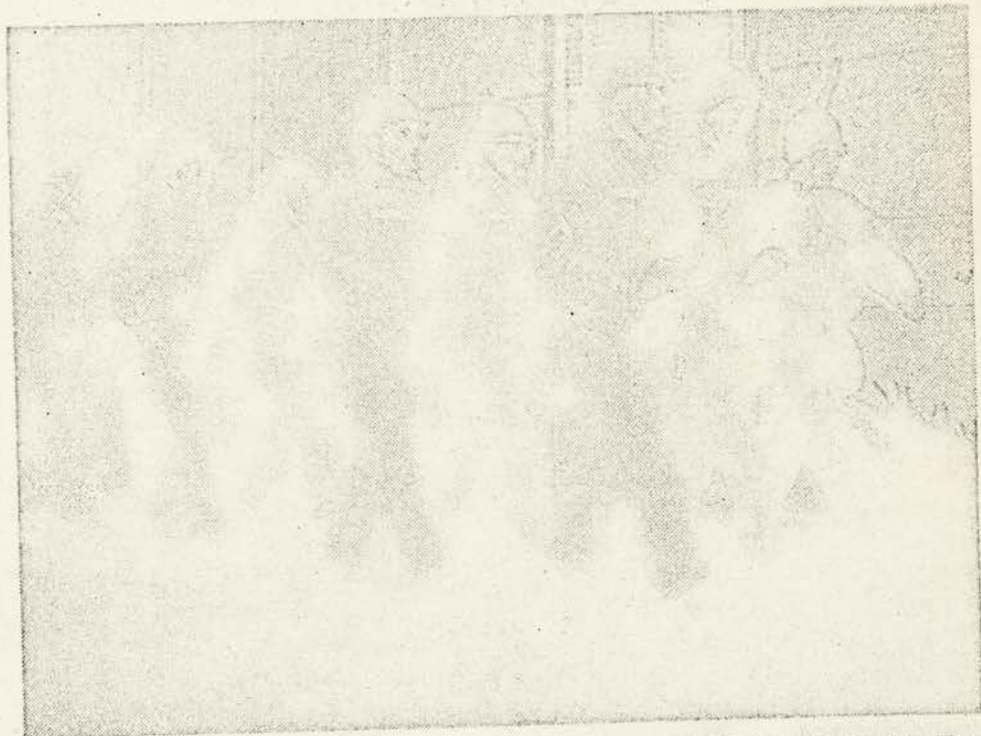


SOME STUDENTS WERE ACCUSING their president of "lack of communications." One student said...

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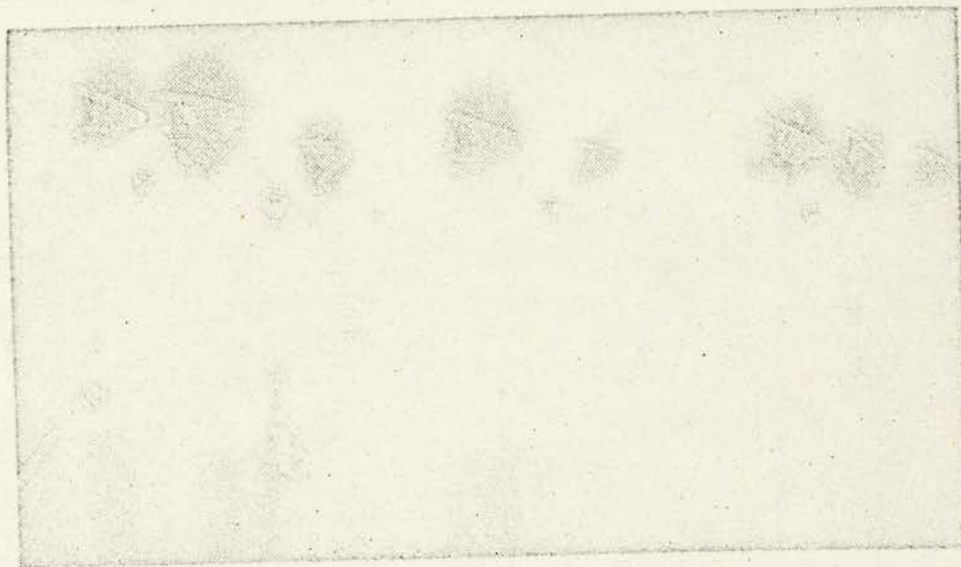
XI



GAZETTE Photos By Dave Myers

NATIONAL Guardsmen march past
Lucinda Cook School en route to aid

sheriff's deputies and state patrolmen
in riot.



STATE HIGHWAY Patrolmen line
up at Lucinda Cook School on Cen-

tral State campus before moving in to
meet rioters.

2 SNCC Leaders Among 92 Arrested In Riots

By TOM McCATHERINE

Incor all but 32 of the nei-lane Hall: Charles I. Wheeler

XENIA DAILY GAZETTE

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XENIA, OHIO, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1956

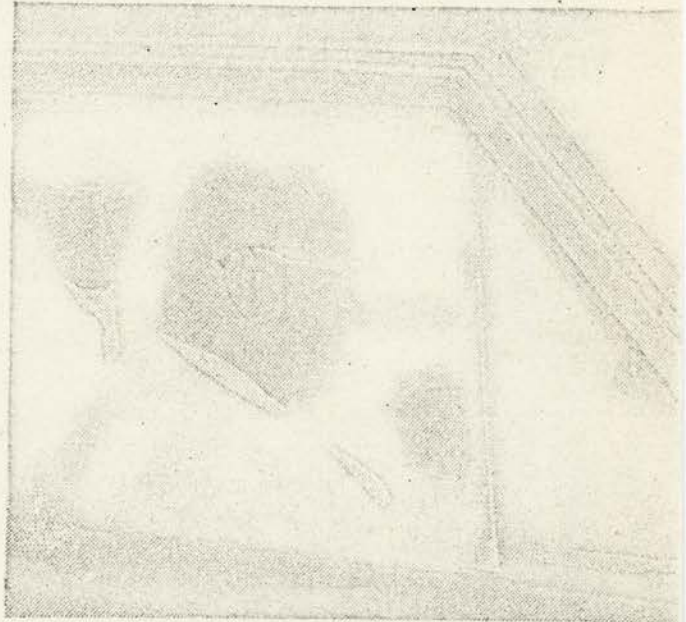


GAZETTE Photos By Dave Myers
sheriff's deputies and state patrolmen
n riot.



al State campus before moving in to
ect rioters.

ers Among a Riots



SHERIFF Russell A. Bradley reads the riot act over a cruiser speaker to rioters at Central State University. Sheriff's Sgt. Sam Morgan is in the background. Moments after the picture was taken a rock broke the windshield of the cruiser.

Campus Under Patrol Today Class Attendance Is Down

(Continued from Page 1)

turned over to sheriff's deputies.

After officers toured the four men's dorms to arrest more students, the prisoners were loaded into two school buses for transport to Xenia jail.

With the patrol and sheriff's men making cleanup arrests, about 150 National Guardsmen moved into the area. Three molotov cocktails were dropped into their ranks from a window of Pinn Hall, but only one ignited, a witness said.

Despite the violence, property damage was "comparatively minor," a university spokesman said this morning. Four chairs were broken in Wesley Hall and seven or eight windows smashed in the men's dorms, he reported. One car was burned.



DR. HARRY GROVES
...talks to newsmen

Groves' office to discuss...

Two men who identified themselves as workers for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee were among five non-students arrested in last night's disturbance at Central State University.

The two identified themselves as Simon B. Schultz, 21, Atlanta, Ga., field secretary for SNCC, and Ernest C. Stevens, 26, Tuskegee, Ala., who said he is a worker for SNCC.

Others booked into the city jail at Xenia today included Thomas B. Hopkins, 22, of 9 W. Herman St., Yellow Springs, who identified himself as a teacher; Ronald C. Liggins, 24, Xenia Route 5, employed by McCall's in Dayton, and Michael W. Warren, 22, of 305 W. Center College St., Yellow Springs, whose expulsion from CSU last week touched off disturbances at the school.

All remaining of the 92 taken into custody were identified as students at CSU and neighboring Wilberforce University.

All were photographed, fingerprinted and booked in a methodic process at City Hall today. Called from cells individually, the men were permitted to make telephone calls to arrange for bail.

* * *

WARREN IS charged with trespassing and was placed under bond of \$100. Charles E. Miller, a student from Warren, O., was charged with carrying a concealed weapon after authorities found a .22-caliber automatic pistol in his possession after he was taken into custody. There was no incident involving the pistol, however, a spokesman said.

All others were charged with disturbing the peace, with hands set at \$25 a piece. By

noon, all but 32 of the prisoners had been released on bail.

National Guardsmen maintained vigilance at all City Hall entrances throughout the morning, and were expected to remain on post there for most of the day.

At one point, troops held bayonets ready when spectators congregating in front of City Hall reportedly became boisterous and disorderly, shouting obscenities.

Racial obscenities also were scrawled on walls of city cellblocks, officers discovered on inspecting one cellblock after its occupants had been released on bail.

* * *

FOLLOWING IS a list of those booked at city jail this morning:

Ormond A. Davis, 19, Pinn Hall, CSU; Marvin Whiting, 20, Broadus Hall; Brian Bowles, 20, Lane Hall; Nathaniel Stewart, 19, Wilberforce Box 144; Bruce C. Oden, 19, Pinn Hall; John E. Barkey, 18, Cincinnati; Paul Tyus, 22, Wilberforce Box 362;

Dan T. Jordan, 21, Ambler, Pa.; Gary L. Thompson, 20, Dayton; Orson Oliphant, 21, South Ozont Park, N.Y.; Fred Kane, 19, Painesville; John L. Wilkins, 19, Syracuse, N.Y.; Johnny L. Barnes Jr., 20, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; Ted Williams, 20, Dayton;

Aaron Wheeler, 20, Cleveland; George Sanford, 21, Hamillon; Arthur Hutchinson, 20, New York City; Leroy Abrams, 21, Cincinnati; Allen Register, 20, Cleveland; Anthony Thornhill, 21, New York City; Robert A. Sankey, 19, Dayton; Leon Reed, 20, Cleveland;

Duane Robinson, 19, Akron; Alexander Davis, 19, Toledo; Luzern W. Washington, 20, Worthington; Phillip Lee, 20

Lane Hall; Charles L. Wheeler, 21, Cleveland; James G. Johnson, 18, Cincinnati; O'Neal T. Tutein, 24, Elmsford, N.Y.; Lawrence E. Stephens, 18, Broadus Hall; Michael D. Windfield, 18, Hughes Hall;

Lawrence O. Johnson, 18, Hughes Hall; Lyle A. Modesty, 18, Cleveland; Michael R. Brown, 18, Dayton; James C. Spencer, 21, Wilberforce Box 67; David K. Smith, 20, Marion; Calvin Cain, 20, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Stephen Black, 19, Lane Hall; Alan T. Askew, 20, Lane Hall; Reuben A. Gilbert, 30, Lane Hall;

Robert F. Harris, 18, Youngstown; John T. Jackson, 20, Lane Hall; Arthur L. Overton, 23, Lane Hall; Ronald C. Liggins, 24, Xenia Route 5; Allen T. Johnson Jr., 19, Columbus;

Spurgeon B. Smith, 21, Wilberforce Box 321; Olubande Dada, 25, Lane Hall; James L. Eberhardt, 28, Cincinnati; Warren Vann, 23, of 820 E. Main St.; Ronald Mays, 19, Pinn Hall; Donald L. Markey, 21, Page Hall; David L. Henderson, 22, Lane Hall; David M. Vinson, 23, Lane Hall;

Paul M. Wilson, 19, Cleveland; Leroy A. Williams, 22, Ann Arbor, Mich.; William R. Knight, 22, Wilberforce Box 2; Morris Jackson, 21, Lane Hall; Frederick Grigsby, 20, Broadus Hall; James A. Atkins, 19, Hughes Hall; Thomas B. Hopkins, 22, of 9 W. Herman St., Yellow Springs;

Phillip B. Harewood, 19, Broadus Hall; Kirk Mack Jr., 21, Lane Hall; John E. Walker, 20, Springfield; Virgil Clayton, 22, Cleveland; William S. Hawkins, 22, of 242 N. Stafford St., Yellow Springs;

Michael W. Warren, 22, of 305 W. Center College St., Yellow Springs; Eldridge Thomas, 25, Camden, N.J.; Ernest C. Stevens, 26, Tuskegee, Ala.;

* * *

CENTRAL STATE confrontation with its more militant students began Nov. 1 when 250-300 students, men and women, met in Galloway Hall and marched to Bundy Hall, the administration.

They burst into Bundy and for two hours permitted no one to leave or enter the building. President Groves was among those trapped in the building.

The demonstration broke up after demonstration leaders, several of whom have been identified with Unity for Unity, a "black power" organization, conferred with the president.

The students insisted the demonstration was in support of non-academic employees then negotiating with the university for a wages-benefit agreement. The agreement since has been signed.

* * *

EXPLUSION for Warren was announced by the university Thursday.

The charge, said a spokesman, was that during a student meeting at nearby Wilberforce University Warren allegedly said to Dr. Rembert Stokes, Wilberforce president.

"When the revolution comes, I will kill you."

As he was escorted off campus, Warren was told that if he returned to campus he would be arrested for trespassing.

Sunday an unsigned flyer distributed on campus which announced "Mike Warren Returns. . . to his 10 a.m. class, Monday, November, 13, 1967—Welsey Hall."

Monday morning deputies and state-patrolmen began donning riot helmets, checking shotguns and tear gas canisters.

Then Bradley, Sgt. Clark and

situation with the university president.

Shortly after noon the sheriff announced he had asked for the National Guard.

He also disclosed that he had asked for help from the Clinton, Warren, Montgomery, Clark and Fayette County sheriff's departments and Xenia, Fairborn and Springfield police departments.

Officers then drove the cruisers from the scene.

They assembled at the farmhouse of the university's farm, south of the school on U.S. Route 42. In the next couple hours, they were joined by 200 deputies and policemen as the neighboring departments responded to the help plea.

* * *

BUT, ABOUT 1 p.m. Warren and the students, said to be about 100 in number, ran from Wesley Hall to adjacent Galloway Hall.

Then began a meeting, attended by several hundred at peak, that lasted until about 3 p.m. The students dispersed to dormitories and campus hangouts.

The conference in President Groves' office ended about 4 p.m.

During the session, several groups of students entered the president's office, including several involved in the protest.

Dr. Groves, at a brief press conference, said that some of the students, "emissaries" of Warren, "made some demands."

Then he added: "This isn't an opportune time for an exchange of ideas."

* * *

SHORTLY AFTER 11 A. M. Sheriff Bradley and Sgt. Clark entered the west entrance to the building. They soon ran back out.

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Lucane Robinson, 19, Akron; Alexander Davis, 19, Toledo; Luzern W. Washington, 20, Worthington; Phillip Lee, 20,

Yellow Springs:

Phillip B. Harewood, 19, Broadus Hall; Kirk Mack Jr., 21, Lane Hall; John E. Walker, 20, Springfield; Virgil Clayton, 22, Cleveland; William S. Hawkins, 22, of 242 N. Stafford St., Yellow Springs;

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Joseph D. Glenn, 18, Cleveland; George C. Staples Jr., 20, Springfield; James H. Bailty, 23, Dayton; Gilbert C. Troxler, 20, Old Saybrook, Conn.; Delbert E. Smith, 21, Smithfield, O.; Samuel H. Walden, 21, Rochester, N.Y.; James H. Gay, 20, Youngstown;

Charles D. Cox, 19, Teaneck, N.J.; Willie Rambert, 20, Philadelphia, Pa.; Irvin C. Arthur, 19, Westbrookville, N.Y.; Simon B. Schutz, 21, Atlanta, Ga.; Calvin S. Taylor, 29, of 335 E. Church St.; Charles W. Aslton, 21, East Orange, N.J.;

Anthony T. Davidson, 19, Cleveland; Rocklyn G. Willis, 19, Cleveland; Alfred J. Blocker, 18, Cleveland; Louis G. Long, 20, Ft. Leonard Wood, Mo.; Bari E. Goggins, 18, Dayton; Charles E. Miller, Warren, O., and John P. Bowman, Lane Hall.

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conference, said that some of the students, "emissaries" of Warren, "made some demands."

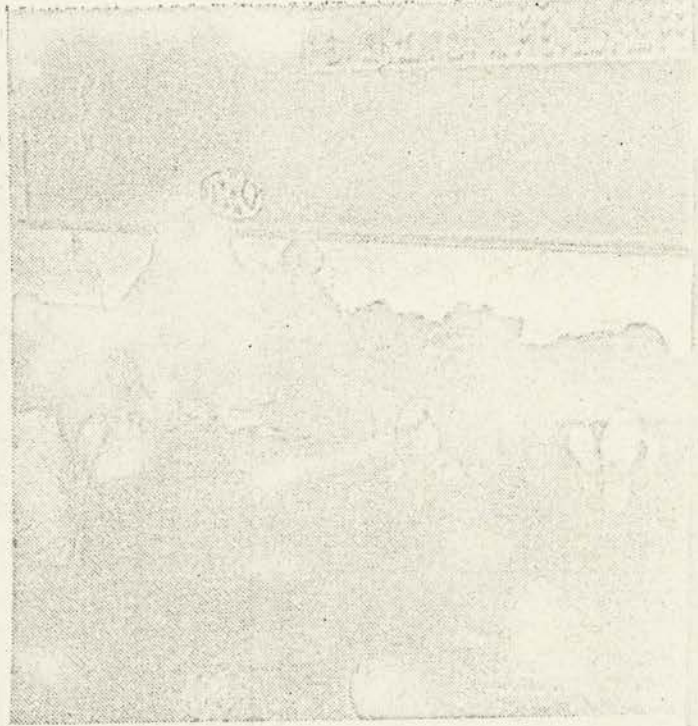
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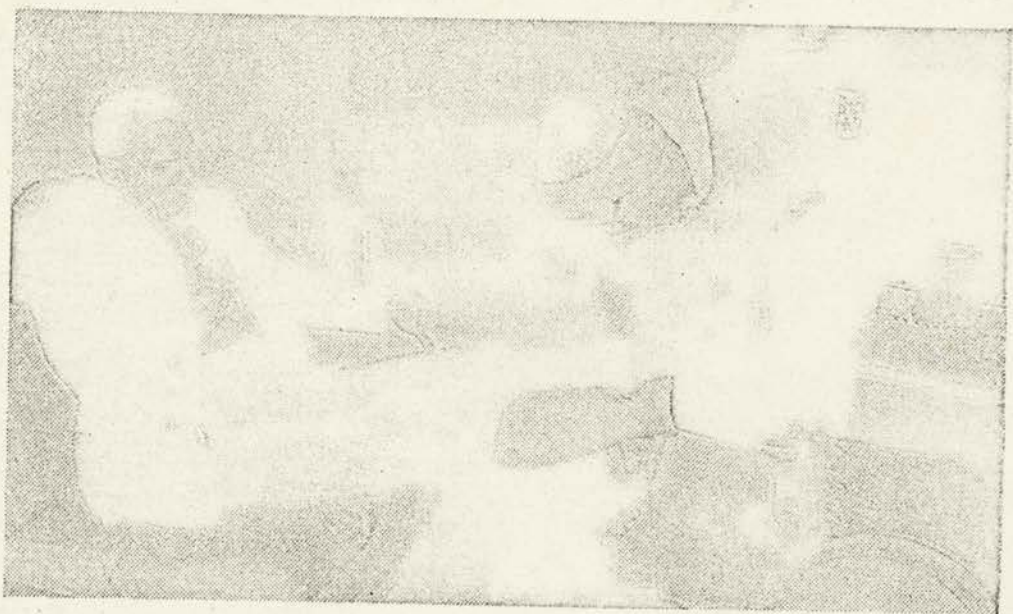
"We met water in a large



TELEPHONEIS—Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Borelli of San Francisco received more than 300 telephone calls after a newspaper ran a story on "Dial the President" for a recorded message from the Chief Executive. The Borelli phone number is the same as LBJ's with the exception of the area code, which was omitted in the story.

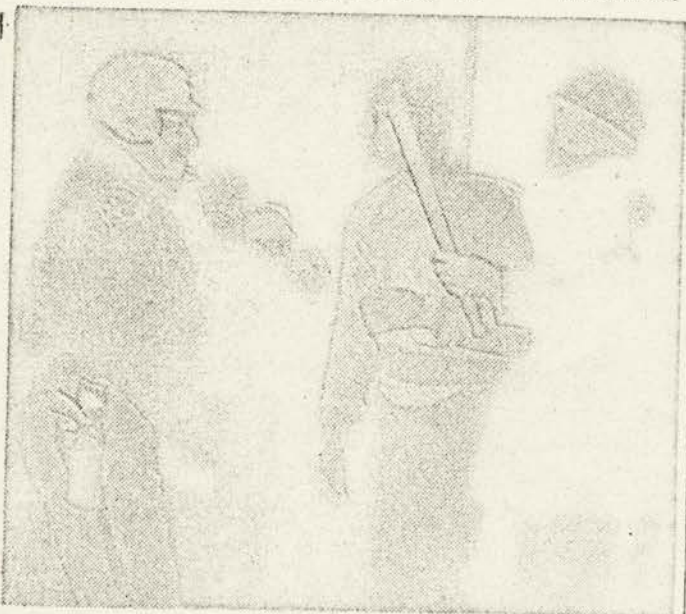


NATIONAL Guardsmen get rest at Cook Sch.



PTL. W. B. HODGES of the Lebanon State Patrol Post, gets first aid from Martin F. Connolly, member of

Greene County Rescue, after being hit on shin by a rock thrown during the melee.



FIRST PERSON to be arrested at the Central State campus Monday night was Nathaniel Stewart 19, of Wilberforce, who reportedly attacked an officer with a rock.

Search Started For Four U.S. Navy Deserters

TOKYO (UPI)—Japanese police put four "patriotic deserters" from the U.S. Navy on their wanted lists today. An antiwar group with knowledge of the sailors refused to tell officers their whereabouts.

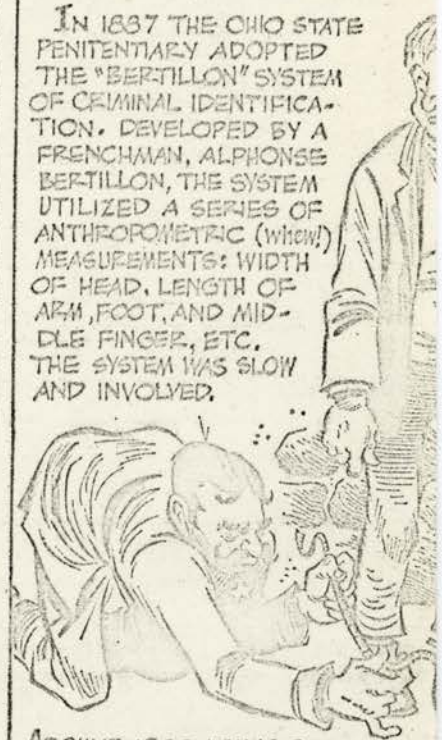
Police questioned leaders of the peace group shortly after it was announced that U.S. authorities had asked for Japanese help in finding the sailors.

They have been absent without leave (AWOL) from the USS Intrepid since Oct. 24. Monday the peace organization showed a movie in which the youths denounced the war and

The Ohio Adventure

INVOLVED IDENTIFICATION

IN 1837 THE OHIO STATE PENITENTIARY ADOPTED THE "BERTILLON" SYSTEM OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION. DEVELOPED BY A FRENCHMAN, ALPHONSE BERTILLON, THE SYSTEM UTILIZED A SERIES OF ANTHROPOMETRIC (when?) MEASUREMENTS: WIDTH OF HEAD, LENGTH OF ARM, FOOT, AND MIDDLE FINGER, ETC. THE SYSTEM WAS SLOW AND INVOLVED.



AROUND 1900, IT WAS REPLACED BY THE MORE PRACTICAL FINGERPRINTING.

B. JAY BECKER

CONTRACT BRIDGE

South dealer.
Both sides vulnerable.

NORTH
 ♠ QJ72
 ♥ A Q 10 8 3
 ♦ 5
 ♣ 9 6 3

WEST
 ♠ 9 6 4
 ♥ 9 7 5
 ♦ A 9 7 5 2
 ♣ J 4

EAST
 ♠ 8 5 3
 ♥ K 6 2
 ♦ K 10 4
 ♣ Q 10 8 7

SOUTH
 ♠ A K 10
 ♥ J 4
 ♦ Q J 6 3
 ♣ A K 5 2

The bidding:
 South West North East
 1♣ Pass 1♥ Pass
 2NT Pass 3♣ Pass

most always to your measure of... For exact where South start how fare. Let's diamond a the king's which South jack. If West : fensive pl jack, South down. East into the let club before nine tricks cure, he re West cashes defeat the But if W and takes

stream," Sheriff Bradley said later.

"I don't know whether the students were using fire hoses or fire extinguishers. We couldn't tell."

He said presence of the National Guard on the campus "is the last thing we want," but "we have to protect all students. . . try to preserve the peace of the institution."

About 4:30 p.m., the patrol, sheriff's and police cruisers moved in a long caravan from the farm property to Lucinda Cook School at the north edge of the campus.

Some 300 National Guardsmen, half the number that had moved into Greene County Fairgrounds earlier in the evening, arrived at Lucinda Cook School about 10:30 p.m.

They were summoned quickly after the initial clash between state patrolmen and sheriff's deputies.

Hearing Held For Hodges

NAPOLEON, Ohio (UPI) — Mark Hodges, 26, RR 1, Lafayette, was back in the Henry County Jail today after a preliminary hearing Monday on a charge of shooting with intent to kill Denise Fortner, 17.

Hodges has also been charged with the murder of Karen Kern, the niece of Senate Minority Leader Frank King of Toledo who is also head of the Ohio AFL-CIO.

Hodges' shooting with intent to kill charge was turned over to the Henry County Grand Jury after a six-hour preliminary hearing in Napoleon Municipal Court.

Hodges was charged with shooting with intent to kill 17-year-old Napoleon High School senior Denise Fortner on Aug. 4.

called themselves "four patriotic deserters from the U.S. Armed Forces."

They were identified as Michael Alfred Lindner, 19, Mount Pocono, Pa.; John M. Barilla, 20, Catonsville, Md.; Richard D. Bailey, 19, Jacksonville, Fla., and Craig W. Anderson, 20, San Jose, Calif.

The antiwar leaders said they would "protect them to the end."

A police spokesman said later the search for the Americans would be conducted nationwide.

No-Strike Pact Is Considered

PITTSBURGH (UPI) — The United Steelworkers Union (USW) is considering an industry-recommended no-strike agreement, including voluntary binding arbitration, for 1968 contract talks, it was revealed Monday night.

R. Conrad Cooper, the steel industry's chief negotiator, said he recommended the union accept the proposal "in the very near immediate future so as to avoid an inventory buildup and accelerated importation of foreign steel."

Attendant Shot

CINCINNATI (UPI) — A gas station attendant was found shot to death early today.

Opening lead — five of diamonds.

The first thing to do when dummy comes down is size up your chances of making the contract.

Generally speaking, when you do this, you come to one of three conclusions: 1. You're sure to make the contract. 2. You're sure to go down. 3. You may or may not make the contract, depending on how the adverse cards are divided, or on how well or badly you or the opponents play the cards.

The first two possibilities are reasonably of academic interest only; it's the third one that at-

—which he has no cut diamonds — through will

However, given the contract. W ten of diamonds South should This duckie contract.

South and the defense diamond and then safely hearts and very much wins or lose

posses, he attract by ph

© 1967, King Features Syndicate

Arnold R. McKinney, Plymouth, ed of wounds.

Transferred from the list of missing to dead in hostile action were Army Pfc. Charles Bowersmith, son of Mrs. Evelyn V. Emale, Delaware, and Pfc. B. Roydes, son of Mr. and Mrs. Jack Roydes, Norwalk.

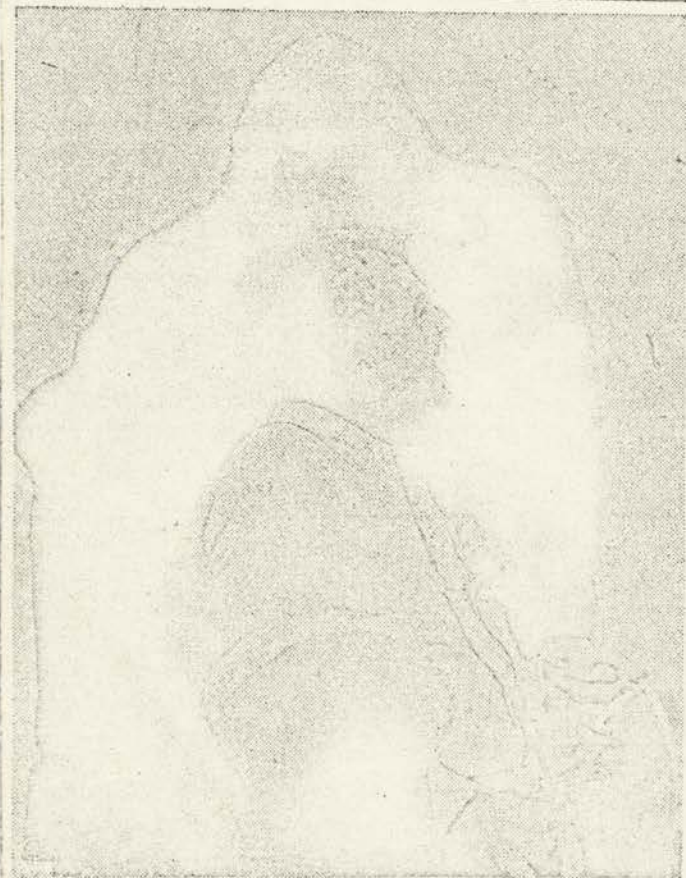
Army Capt. Clifford W. Schneeman Jr., husband of Mrs. Virginia A. Schneeman, Cincinnati was identified as dead not as a result of hostile action.

Transferred from the list of missing to dead of non-hostile causes was Army Spec. 4 Thomas E. Ball Jr., son of Mr. Thomas E. Ball Sr., Copley.

Want Ads Fill Your Needs

in the NEWS Friday at 7 on

Your area is in the spotlight from 7 to 7:30 P.M., when Channel 7 televises "The Big News." It is reported and photographed by regional correspondents Bob Tamaska (left) and Bob Croft (right).



FALS—Robert Noell stops to catch his breath during a round of wrestling and romping with his 500-pound pet gorilla in his backyard in St. Petersburg, Fla.



STEPHANIE CRANE, 17, is a merry lass as "Miss Teenage America" for 1968. She was chosen in Dallas, Tex., lives in High Ridge, Mo.

...found of wrestling and jumping with his 200-pound pet gorilla in his backyard in St. Petersburg, Fla.

...America" for 1958. She was chosen in Dallas, Tex., lives in High Ridge, Mo.

Big Star Food Store Set Afire

A fire at the Big Star Discount Food Store at 425 Dayton Ave. early Tuesday was definitely arson, firemen said today.

In fact there were four fires at the front and rear of the store at the same time and a witness reported a small car was seen leaving the scene shortly before the fires were discovered.

Fire and store officials were unable to estimate the damage this morning as repairs were underway, but the store, formerly known as Albers, was open as usual.

Earl Payne, assistant manager said damage was being

repaired as much as possible this morning.

FIREMEN WERE summoned at 12:11 a.m. and found a window in the front of the store had been broken and the right front corner of the store was ablaze, apparently from a two-gallon can of gasoline thrown into the store.

At the same time, a storage shed at the rear of the store and a semi-trailer were set afire.

The blazes were quickly extinguished, but there was damage from smoke in the building.

... (left) and Bob Croft (right). When it happens in the Miami alley WHIO-TV is there to ring you a ringside seat for some town news. Remember the time, remember the channel: 7 on 7.

This "regional round-up" is featured in the third half-hour "The Big News."

BIG NEWS

Monday thru Friday



GAZETTE Photo by Bob Burns
this morning.

DAYTON
9aa



Trooper Prepares to Shoot Tear Gas Into Dorm Room

Injured Student Arrested

Disorder's Score: 91 Put in Jail, Campus Torn, 9 Officers Hurt

The Daily News Greene County Bureau
62½ E. Main St. Xenia

By HENRY SAEMAN

WILBERFORCE—After a day of tension, violence—as seemed inevitable—finally tore at Central State late Monday. When it was over, the assessment showed:

- Damaged Central State property.
- Nine injured law officers.
- Not a single Central State participant needing hospital treatment.
- Ninety-one participants jailed.

Monday's events—until the disorder—ended in a dead heat between administration and militant students.

For a moment, as early as 11 a.m., it appeared almost a certainty that the sheriff's department would storm Wesley hall where Michael Warren, the expelled student, had forced his way inside aided by his supporters. Sheriff Russell Bradley and Patrol Sgt. C. F. Clark attempted to enter the building but they were met with fire extinguishers.

Bradley realized that he lacked sufficient force and was badly outnumbered. Therefore, a delay was ordered while National Guardsmen were placed on alert and surrounding sheriff's departments summoned.

• Michael Warren still not re-admitted to the university after his expulsion.

• Rumors persisting Warren would again try to return to a class, an action that could easily precipitate recurrence of Monday night's events.

• Adverse effect on Central State's reputation at a time when it strives for academic excellence through a dynamic new leader, Dr. Harry E. Groves, the president of CSU, just starting his second year.

And if the ouster of one student brought on such devastating consequences, what might now be expected if 91 are expelled?

IF THE BOARD OF trustees stays true to its threat, that's precisely what will happen.

Early Tuesday, attorney John Bustamante, the board chairman, said he wants to "make it extremely clear that students will be automatically expelled if they defy lawful authority or are arrested for any reason whatever."

He also indicated that shenanigans by so-called militant elements that infringe on other students' rights would be sternly rejected.

BUSTAMANTE, making a promise to parents of students that student safety is of the utmost concern, requested Gov. James Rhodes to reinforce the National Guard.

IT WAS DURING the interlude—awaiting arrival of reinforcement—that talk between students and administration commenced. It led to temporary withdrawal of cruisers. It led to a meeting in Galloway auditorium lasting almost two hours.

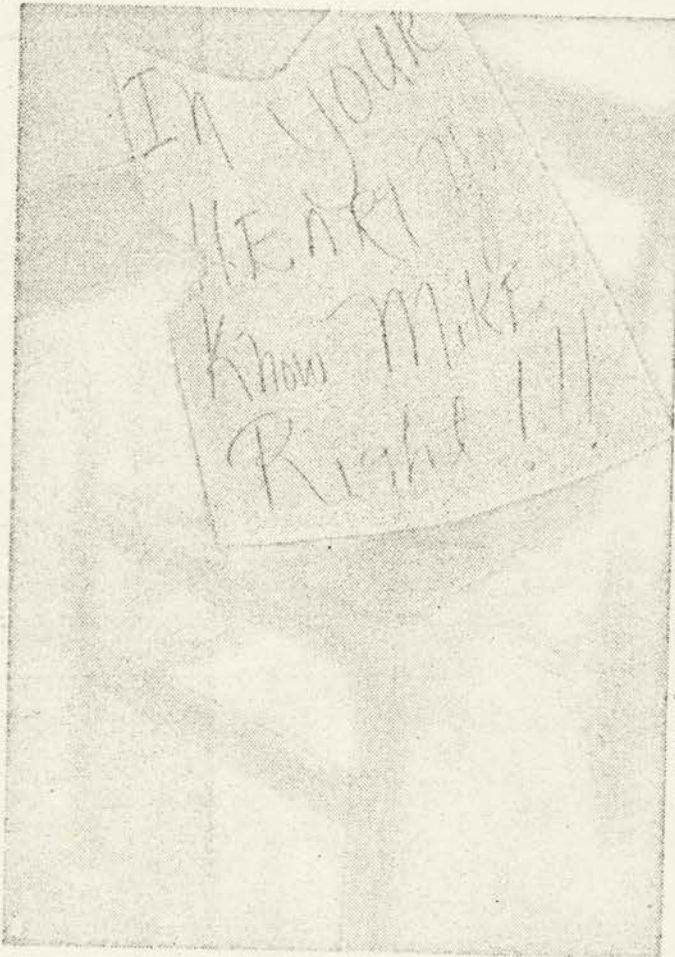
And when that gathering ended, students stormed from the building with Warren in their midst. For a time, it seemed like a tactical victory—a standoff. Warren, though expelled, was aided by some solid student support and managed to defy the law. He did enter a class. And he did manage to leave without arrest even though an affidavit for his apprehension had been filed.

It was 3:30 p.m. then; Warren was off the campus; the enforcement officers waited nearby.

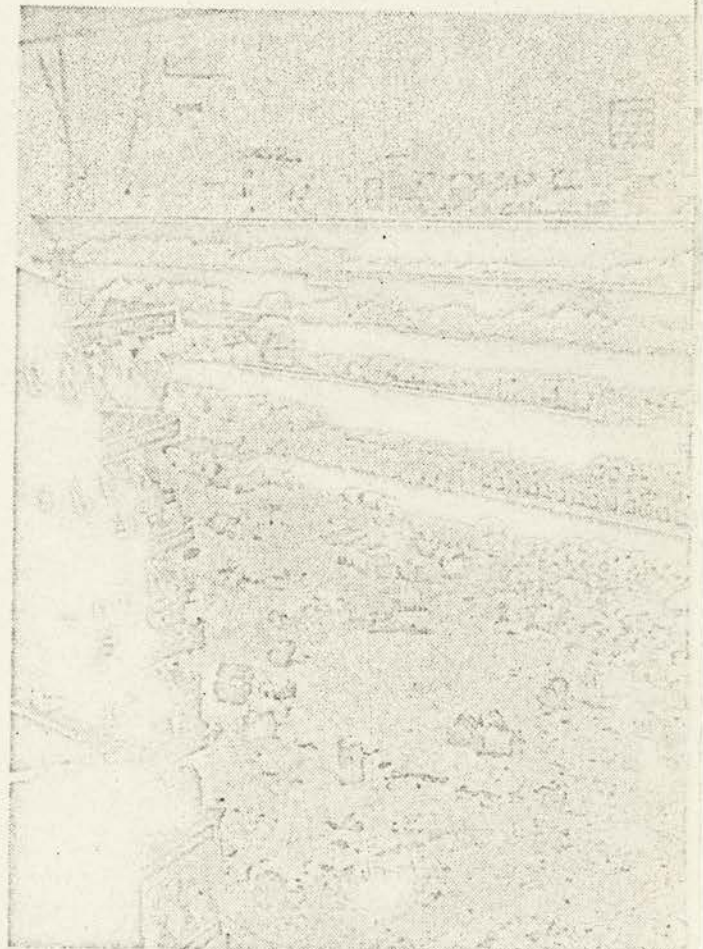
Monday night students hurled rocks, fire extinguishers and screens.

THEY DAMAGED THEIR own buildings. Their rooms were a shambles. The campus was littered. Ninety were arrested. Warren wasn't there. He became the 91st taken into custody.

However, his bond gaining his release would surely be minimal on the charge of trespassing. It raised anew the question confronting Dr. Groves and his administration when he came to work Monday morning. This time, it is: When will Warren try his stunt again?



Sign Refers to Student Michael Warren



Xenia Supermarket Left Scarr'd by

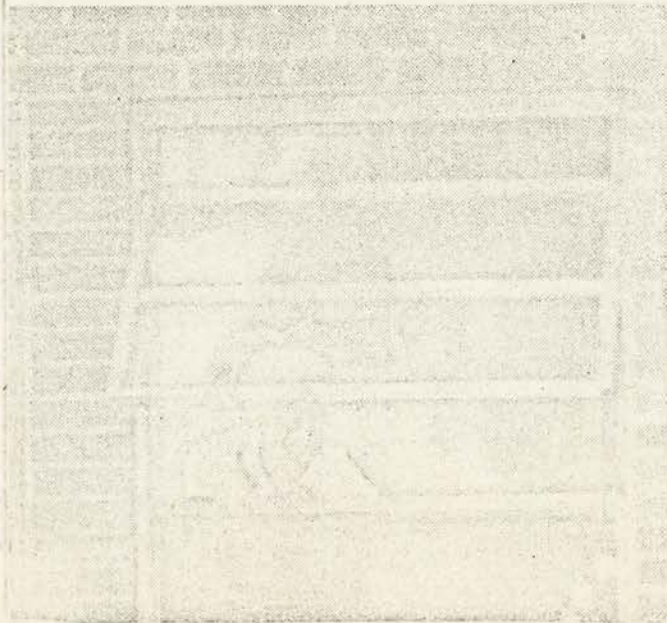
Handcrafted
Portable

ALLY NEWS - 14 NOVEMBER 1972



in Rock-Throwing

Guardsmen Pour Out on One of Campus Main Drags



CSU CONFERENCE

Groves Oils Roiled Water

The Daily News Greene County Bureau
624 E. Main St., Xenia

WILBERFORCE—In the late afternoon yesterday, Dr. Harry Groves, Central State university president, emerged from his office for a long awaited conference with newsmen on the campus.

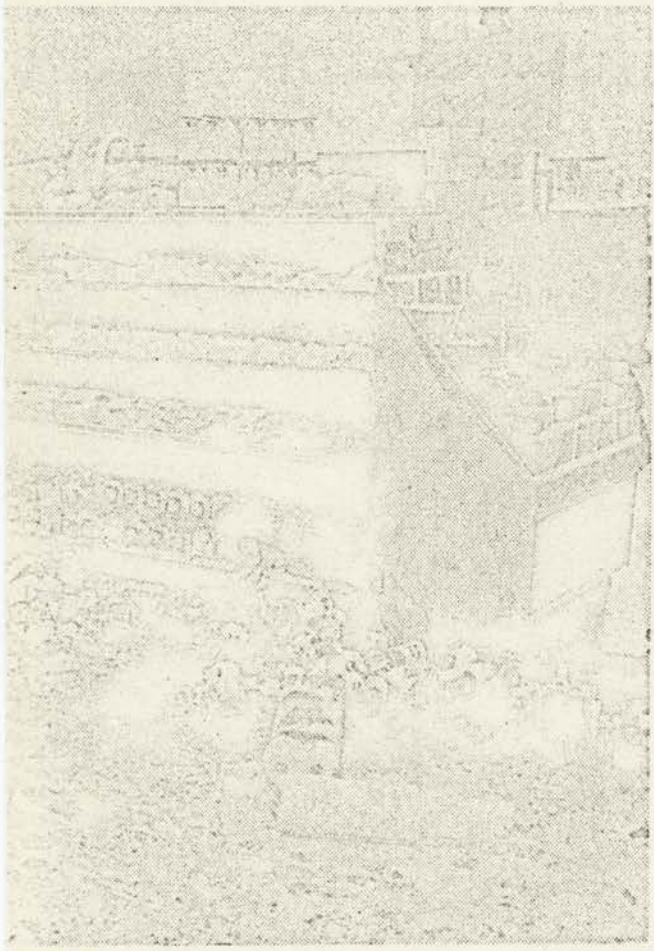
Before he began answering questions, Dr. Groves made a short statement concerning the day's events:

"I REALIZE you're here in
with large numbers because



Girls Yell Abuse From Dorm Window

Staff Photos by Phil Greer,
Charles Steinbrunner



Fire Bomb Thrown About 12:30 a.m.

of the extremely difficult position we find ourselves at the university. I really suppose you have as much information as I do. Currently, the student body seems to be peaceful, scattered about the campus in its dormitories and elsewhere. The day has been most difficult.

"AT THIS POINT, we have made no arrests because the demonstrators finally left Wesley and moved into Gallo-way auditorium for a discussion and debate of their own.

"The students have been asking the president to meet with them. I have decided the time is less than propitious for such a meeting.

"THERE IS to be a meeting of students on the campus this evening (Monday). I don't know our position to this meeting although I do know that I do not plan to attend it.

"At the present time, we are simply trying to keep the campus as calm as possible, avoid the use of force if we possibly can. We are trying to protect all the students on this campus to the extent we can. We are trying to preserve the peace of this institution.

Dr. Groves' brief statement was followed by these questions:

Q—You say no arrests have been made. Is there a warrant for Michael Warren's arrest?

A—"I haven't seen a warrant but there may well be."

Q—Tell us about your meetings with student leaders.

A—"Students have been in and out of my office, but I don't know whether they are leaders of the demonstration. Emissaries for the student, Michael Warren, had been to see me."

Q—Did they make any demands?

A—"The answer to that is yes. Some demands were made."

Q—What was the nature of those demands?

A—"Well, I don't know if I particularly want to specify them at this time."

Q—Were the police removed at your request?

A—"The police were removed at my request."

Q—Will the police stay on until you ask them to come back in?

A—"I think the police will move at my direction."

Q—Will the police remain within a mile of the campus?

A—"There will be forces of police on campus all night—our police, the sheriff's department and the state highway patrol."

Q—Did you request the National Guard to stand by?

A—I have not personally made such a request but I believe the National Guard is standing by.

Q—Do you think it's that serious?

A—At the moment, I'd say no. At the moment, the National Guard will certainly not move on the campus. We hope it stays this way. The last thing we want on the campus is the National Guard or outside forces of any kind.

Q—Will there be any class cancellations?

A—No.

WWW.HH ID 9

1018

966

ON THE CIVIL DISORDER AT CENTRAL STATE UNIVERSITY

The incident of conflict between the civil authorities of the State of Ohio and the students of Central State University came about somewhat spontaneously. A small contingency of students, and possibly some outsiders, came to the campus this fall preaching "black awareness." Black awareness compels the Negro to accept himself as he is and to take pride in his skin color, hair texture, etc. The preaching of black awareness was peaceful, and educational. An issue arose when the cafeteria workers and general laborers on the campus threatened to strike if their wages weren't raised. President Groves called a student convocation and presented facts which led the students to believe that to increase the workers wages would be to necessitate the increase of student tuition per quarter by more than eighty dollars.

It was at this point that "black awareness" changed into "black power." The previously mentioned small contingency of students held a series of open meetings. Among the topics discussed was the idea that the state provided money for raises and that it wouldn't be necessary to raise student tuition. Also, it was shown that substantial raises had been made in the President's salary as well as in the salary of other university officials. It is significant to note that the vast majority of the cafeterial employees are Negroes, for this was the reason for the students interest in the success of the proposed strike. As if to demonstrate the change from peaceful talks to more forceful measures, a group of students marched on Bundy Hall, the administration building, and refused to let students or teachers exit.

To my knowledge the next incident was on the campus of Wilberforce University where Michael Warren is quoted as telling the president of that university that he was a "Tom" and that if the revolution was on he would kill all Toms.

Exhibit B

The President of Wilberforce University took this statement to be a threat and Warren was tried and dismissed from Central State for threatening the President of Wilberforce University. This led to more, now commonly called, student or black power meetings at which was questioned the fairness and legality of the trial given Warren.

On Monday, November 13th, Warren and sympathizers had a peaceful march in front of Wesley Hall then proceeded to barricade themselves in this building. Warren in this way sought to gain admittance to his classes in Wesley for he contested the fairness of his dismissal. It was said that the Central State Security Police attempted to prevent Warren's coming on campus but was unable to do so. Classes in Wesley were dismissed and the State Highway Patrol was called to the scene. All of the patrolmen were Caucasian and came equipped with nightsticks and what appeared to be shotguns (I use appeared because I'm not familiar with firearms but they definitely were displaying firearms which resembled pump action shotguns). The sight of firearms alarmed bystanders, who felt that the use of such weapons was totally unnecessary. The students lifted the barricade and the police left the campus to reportedly mass themselves along Highway 42 which is just off the Campus.

The sympathizing students then held an open meeting in Galloway Hall which showed a very substantial gain in student attendance over previous meetings of this type. At this time many voiced the opinion that it was wrong for white cops to come to a black campus with guns and clubs in order to suppress black people. Michael Warren was present and received word that President Groves wanted to speak with him in the President's office.

Warren was going to meet with President Groves but sympathizers convinced him that the President should come to Galloway Hall and speak to the massive congregation of students. President Groves then supposedly sent word that if the students were peaceful he would come. He failed to attend this meeting and it was decided that the students should boycott classes.

The preceding set a stage of underlying tensions and indirectly led to the actual act of violence. After the meeting the students returned to their dorms and at dinner time (approximately 4:30 p.m.) a procession of at least 150 state patrol cars moved onto the campus. It is noteworthy to mention that at this time Warren was some fifteen miles away in Yellow Springs. It was said that a few students had gone to the parking site of the state police and proceeded to throw rocks at them.

After dark that evening a relatively small group of students began wandering around in a section of the parking lot behind the men's quadrangle. This group of about fifty persons rapidly dispersed when they saw an approximately equal number of armed and helmet patrolmen approaching in drill formation. The dispersed group all filed back onto the parking lot moments later. At this time the patrolmen ordered the group to disperse. When they failed to do so the Riot Act was read and the patrolmen chased the group of students. This was the start of the actual conflict as such.

Bystanding students saw the patrol carry off friends, move into a distant girls dorm and take fellow black students who were visiting their girls (on the grounds that all students were to be in their dorms), and use nightsticks on males as well as a female.

At these sights students in general seemingly began to think of the patrolmen not as law enforcers but as white men using the law to punish the black man. This attitude immediately led to bottle throwing and shouts of profanity against "whitey". The National Guard was called in and the sight of so many more white men carrying automatic weapons and having fixed bayonets only tended to fan the flames of racial hatred more.

Even more appalling were the actions of the state patrolmen as they shoved and prodded their prisoners along with accompanying shouts of "boy" and frequent use of the nightstick. In an effort to stop the civil disorder the patrolmen used teargas on one men's dormitory, and proceeded to search rooms in some dorms looking in particular for those students who had injured patrolmen by throwing bottles and even a fire extinguisher

through the windows down on the patrolmen. ✓ The National Guard restricted themselves to marching in formation.

The searched rooms were usually left in shambles and the patrolmen's constant harassment of the students by shoving and saying "move boy" only forged a greater gap between the patrolmen and students in general.

The complete absence of fire bombs and the uncoordinated defense set up by the students show that the disorder was not preplanned. However, if the school had remained open on November 14th a coordinated battle effort would have been put forth by the students. For it was the general feeling among male students that the civil authorities not only brought about the disorder by being on campus and attempting to disperse students who were behaving peacefully but also indulged, in an unnecessary degree, in racial hatred.

S/ Curt's Tribble
11-22-67

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Excerpts From CSU P

WILBERFORCE -- Excerpts from the statement of Dr. Harry E. Groves, Central State University president, at the news conference in Columbus Wednesday:

"... While the concept of Black Power has been capturing the imaginations of more and more black Americans and frightening more and more white Americans, Central State University has become more attractive to white students and has employed more white faculty members. It took no great visionary ability to see that we in the institution were on a collision course, and we initiated steps that we hoped would enable us to avoid such a collision. We enlarged our counseling service. We added the services of a psychiatrist. We used a substantial portion of our new federal funds to establish an intergroup relations program. We recognized the validity of much of the new interest of Negro students in their African heritage, so we added a new program in African Studies. We sought to reach those positive elements that exist in the Black Power concept. But all of this was unavailing.

* * *

"NO ONE should be expected to explain or apologize for the presence of white students on a formerly Negro campus of a state university. White students, of course, have the same personal and constitutional rights to choose to attend Central State University as Negro students have to attend Ohio State or Kent State or Central State. For anyone to suggest otherwise is to turn from the reality of 100 years of social and legal development in this country.

"But a desire on the part of a small number of Negro students to make Central State an all black campus was and is the core of the trouble at our institution. This small group

the demonstration in the halls began to break up. I immediately called the sheriff to withhold coming to the campus and no police forces appeared.

* * *

"THE FOLLOWING day, Nov. 2, was the day of the statutory meeting of the Board of Trustees. By that is meant that Ohio law provides for two regular meetings of the board per year, one is in June and one is the first Thursday in November. However many other times the board may meet, it must meet on those two dates, the November date being that of the annual election of the officers of the board.

"The agenda for the meeting had been distributed the preceding week, as is our custom, and one item on the agenda was that of the union demands. As I indicated earlier, the union was meeting with our negotiators on Nov. 1. Prior to that meeting the administration members had recommended that we agree to the terms which weeks of negotiations had refined. So on Nov. 2 at its regular meeting the board did agree to conditions that are apparently satisfactory to the union members. The recommendations to the board were determined upon prior to the demonstration of Nov. 1.

"But the students apparently believed that their demonstration not only produced the union agreement but was responsible for what they regarded as a called emergency meeting of the board. It happens that they were in error on both counts. But they obviously drew much strength from their erroneous interpretation. They felt they saw the results of their power, and the feeling was a heady one.

* * *

to be represented, to give testimony, to confront and cross-examine the witnesses against him. He availed himself at these rights at the hearing. Testimony was received from Dr. Stokes and other witnesses on his behalf and from the student and witnesses on his behalf.

"It was the considered judgment of the vice president that the student was guilty as charged. I reviewed the case and on the basis of all the facts ordered the dismissal of the student. Because of the nature of the threat, the fact that this student had been one of the leaders of the violent demonstration and in the forefront of the increasingly violent movement, I deemed it best also to forbid him to return to the campus."

Dr. Groves' statement then included what he called "hate literature" distributed by students which attacked Student Government, Central State's dismissal of senior Mike Warren for allegedly threatening the life of Dr. Rembert E. Stokes, president of nearby Wilberforce University, and announced that Warren would defy the campus ban and attend class at 10 a.m. Monday, Nov. 13.

Dr. Groves' statement to newsmen also included his previous statement, "On Rights," which said the university "will make no attempt to interfere with any lawful expression of opinion... (but) will not tolerate any individual or mob action which contains elements of violence, of threats, of in-

timidation or of damage to property.")

* * *

"... HOWEVER, THE document "On Rights" had no apparent effect on the Black Power element which continued to set the stage for violence on Monday, Nov. 13. On that day it had been announced by his supporters that the dismissed student would return to his classes and would be placed in them and kept there by force, if necessary. During the entire weekend the dean of students had attempted to ward off this violent action, going on more than one occasion to the student's apartment in Yellow Springs in an attempt to dissuade him from his course.

"On the day of his dismissal his parents had been sent telegrams notifying them of the university's action, and I am informed that they too visited him at Yellow Springs and counseled against his planned lawless defiance. But their counsel also was rejected.

"On Monday morning I advised the chief of our security force that Warren should be arrested if he returned to campus but that arrest should

Exhibit C

IMPORTANT

resident's Statement

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take place in a classroom should take place with as little disturbance as possible. A security force then consisted of only one man on an even shift. In midmorning I advised that the student returned and that his posters were erecting a barrier in the halls of Wesleyan room Building. In fact chairs and tables were pulled out of the classrooms and placed in the halls. It also reported that the smell of gasoline was strong within the building. Our security chief stated that he was unable to control the situation.

avoid the use of weapons. After the attack on the patrol sergeant, the sheriff determined that the police forces present were too few in number to restore order without resorting to weapons and he issued the call for the National Guard.

"Late in the afternoon the Guard arrived and an uneasy calm was restored on campus.

"THE POLICE and military command post was established on campus. About 10:30 p.m.

the situation erupted, the riot act was read and just under 100 persons were arrested. . .

"It was our hope that the violence of the night of Nov. 13 would subside with the day and that the university could remain open. This was not the case. A series of increasingly alarming developments were reported to me. These included evidence that more outside agitators were coming to campus; increasing unrest among the students; in midmorning it

was reported that the students manning our fire department had walked off. It was further reported that water mains had been opened to so reduce water pressure as to leave the entire campus vulnerable in the likely event of fire.

"On the adjacent campus of Wilberforce an automobile had been impounded containing something in excess of 40 molotov cocktails or firebombs, together with vials of some unde-

See CSU Page 21



At this time I had requested the sheriff and the day patrol to come to the building. The sergeant in charge of the patrol entered the classroom building where a coat of brown over his head and arms pinioned. While examining himself, he had the backs of fire extinguishers pressed in his face. Throughout the buildup of the confrontation over the two in question I had continuously admonished the police to use no more force than necessary and to

CSU Statement...

(Continued From Page 16)

ermined, but potent, acid. Several incidents were reported to me of white students being wantonly physically attacked. And the element became so bold as to enter classes and order white students to leave.

"It thus appeared to me that the violence of the preceding night was but a prelude to far more dangerous events and for that reason I reluctantly recommended to the Board of Trustees the temporary closing of the university. In fact, hundreds of students had begun leaving the institution on their own or their parents' initiative.

"THE QUESTION now remains what will happen when the university reopens on Nov.

27 and what is the future of the university. . .

"It is certain that the university, if it is to remain open this quarter, must be free of violence. Students must not provoke a situation which makes the calling in of outside force necessary.

"It is our hope that that vast majority of students who have a very large investment of time and money in their education at this university will not permit a minority bent on the destruction of the university to accomplish that purpose. . .

"Many students do not realize that even if they find an institution to which to transfer that grades of D would not normally be transferable. In an institution where he earns the grades and continues to graduation a B will offset a D; but

when one transfers it is usually necessary to repeat all courses in which D's were earned. The closure for the period Nov. 15 through Nov. 24, involving as it does the Thanksgiving holidays has, in fact, meant a loss of only six teaching days. These can without great difficulty be made up by shortening the Christmas holidays from two weeks to one week. But should violence return with the students and the school again has to be closed this term, no way of making up the lost time would present itself and no one could receive credit for the first quarter of the year. . .

"BOTH THE militant advocates of Black Power and the university are going to have to seek to understand the inescapable facts of existence. The university does not wish to suppress legitimate thought.

"To that end, the Board of Trustees has agreed to modify

its earlier stated position. The organization, Unity for unity, which the board ordered removed from the list of approved organizations may apply for approval. It will of course, be expected, if it seeks approval, to demonstrate that it will meet the acceptable standards of organizational behavior.

"Nor does the university seek to punish students who may not be individually guilty of offensive acts.

"To that end, students who were arrested on Nov. 13 are permitted to return to campus on probation. The university will await the results of their trials in the civil courts before taking disciplinary action. Students acquitted in the courts will not be the subject of university discipline.

"Similarly, the boards has modified its order for the expulsion of all members of Unity for Unity. All such members will be permitted to return to the university on probation. The university will bring disciplinary action against all students who engaged in unlawful acts on the campus."

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CENTRAL STATE UNIVERSITY
Wilberforce, Ohio 45384

Office of the President

November 9, 1967

DISCIPLINARY CASE NO. 1 OF 1967-68

A common complaint on many campuses is that of inadequate communications. One of the worst areas of this lack of communication is in the matter of student discipline. When an offense is committed, a few people may know of it and as those few pass the information along it is likely to become distorted. When the matter comes to official attention the disciplinary machinery is set in motion. Often the student is punished, the case disposed of, and again only a few know. Many who heard of the offense may not hear of the punishment and the view may prevail that no punishment occurred. Or, again, the matter of the kind of punishment may be much distorted in the telling and retelling by those who really do not have possession of all the facts.

To remedy this situation, in the future, in cases deemed sufficiently serious, the administration will regularly publish a brief statement of disciplinary cases for the general information of the University community.

The first such case of the current year is herein presented.

On November 2, 1967, the President of Wilberforce University charged that a Central State student said to him in the presence of many persons, "You are an Uncle Tom and if the Revolution was on, I would kill you!" These words were uttered in an atmosphere of hostility and potential violence. On the complaint of the President of Wilberforce, a disciplinary hearing was held before the Vice President of Central State University. The student was given an opportunity to be represented, to have witnesses, to testify and to cross-examine witnesses.

After a full hearing before him, the Vice President on the basis of the evidence, found the student guilty as charged. The President reviewed the case and determined that the student would be dismissed from the University and excluded from the campus. The decision became effective on November 9, 1967.

EX D

PRESERVATION COPY

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BROTHERS AND SISTERS

- 1) There will be no peace on Central State's Campus until the students are free to exercise their power without threats of expulsion and without the presence of white cops. Unity.
- 2) The struggle for freedom is long and tiring. We must not let the man wear us down. We must not submit. Unity. We have been ignored, sold out, and bullshited long enough. unity.
- 3) Like Warren's expulsion is a living example of the oppression and enslavement of every black student at C.S.U.. We must stand-by our brother. Unity.
- 4) It is our fight because not one black instructor or administrator on Central State's campus with the guts to stand up and speak out against the contempt the administration has shown for us. It is our duty to for once in our lives begin to act as human beings, men and women. Let us stand up together. Unity.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TOMORROW:

- 1) Total boycott of all classes will continue indefinitely until our demands are met.
- 2) Liberation forums will be set up in Wesley Hall beginning 10 AM tomorrow morning. Subjects covered will be:
 - a) Black Education vs. White Indoctrination
 - b) The Politics of Black Power
 - c) The History of the Black Liberation struggle in America
 - d) Third World revolution and the nature of Neo-Colonialism

OUR DEMANDS ARE:

- 1) Mike Warren must either be granted a trial before the entire student body or unconditionally reinstated.
- 2) Any dialogue between the administration (President) and Mike Warren be made open to the student body.
- 3) All white cops must be barred from entering our campus.

WE WILL MEET AT WESLEY HALL AT 10 AM TOMORROW.

BLACK UNITY
FOR
BLACK POWER

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PRESERVATION COPY

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CENTRAL STATE UNIVERSITY
Wilberforce, Ohio 45384

Office of the President

November 14, 1967

Dear Parent or Guardian:

We regret to have to report that persons determined to disrupt the educational process at Central State University have been able to foment such trouble on campus that it has become necessary to suspend all activity and close the University from November 14 through November 26. It is anticipated that the University will reopen on November 27. The dormitories will open on November 26.

Two documents recently distributed to students are enclosed. They illustrate the fact that the University resorted to the call of outside force with utmost reluctance. But the other choice was simply that of turning the institution over to a lawless element.

We expect to extend the present term to December 22 to make up for classes missed. We would urge you to counsel with your son or daughter to respect the existing authority and to seek to succeed in the pursuit of educational goals.

Very truly yours,

Harry E. Groves
President

HEG/ahj
Enclosures

ELG

PRESERVATION COPY

ON RIGHTS

In the past eight months two demonstrations have taken place at Central State. In the one during the spring of the past academic year students confined their actions to the sidewalks; they were concerned with the property of the University and with their own image. In the second, more recent, demonstration students invaded the halls of Bundy and for more than two hours prevented ingress and egress into and from rooms and the building itself. These two demonstrations exhibit the difference between the tolerable and the intolerable.

Freedom of speech, which includes the spoken word, the written word and even actions such as marching is a democratic tradition both respected and upheld by this University. Violence, threats, intimidation and interfering with the lawful rights of others are not a part of anybody's rights and will not be condoned by this University.

One problem lies in the fact that a demonstration often lawful in its beginning may very easily turn into a lawless riot. Whether it does and how quickly it does depends upon many things, one being the intent and purpose of that small number, sometimes one, who can too frequently manipulate a mob.

It must be apparent to every reasonable person that this administration has shown great restraint in the handling of these demonstrations. The reasons for the restraint have been many. We know that we are dealing with young people who frequently let their emotions rather than their reasons dictate their actions. We know that mobs of any kind are easily moved and turned by demagogues. We know that force often escalates and we are reluctant to employ the force that exists to protect all persons, students and employees alike, who are a part of this institution.

CLH

But everyone must realize that it is one of the most basic duties of any administration to protect the rights of all people on campus. Indeed, in any priority list of the duties of a university administrator few could stand higher than this.

Therefore, so that everyone connected with Central State University can know the position of the administration the following information is supplied.

1. The University will make no attempt to interfere with any lawful expression of opinion.
2. The University will not tolerate any individual or mob action which contains elements of violence, of threats, of intimidation or of damage to property.
3. In the event a mob forms and appears to be about to engage in unlawful behavior, a spokesman for the University will try to get the mob to disperse.
4. If the mob persists in unlawful activity, the University will immediately call in such assistance as is necessary to restore order.

It may be helpful to know precisely what assistance is available to the University. First is the University's own Security Force, a very small contingent of men. Secondly, the Sheriff of Greene County and his deputies have police duties and responsibilities on this campus. Third, the State Highway Patrol has police duties and responsibilities here. Finally, should the situation seem to warrant it, the University, or the Sheriff, or the Highway Patrol may call upon the Governor for the National Guard.

Obviously no administration wants to contemplate the presence of armed policemen and troops on campus. No one wishes to think that young people pursuing an education should ever make such action necessary.

In truth, only a small number of students probably plan to make such action necessary. The vast majority of students almost certainly desire and expect the University to maintain for them an atmosphere in which they can go in and out of buildings, join fraternities, attend dances or do whatever lawful thing they have a right to choose to do without some unruly mob seeking to direct, determine and control their rights.

A word of caution is in order for those students who do not wish the University to become the victim of a mob. Those persons who plan to create trouble rely heavily on the presence of persons who are often only spectators, onlookers, curiosity seekers. Their presence even around the edges appears to swell the mob and give power to the mob's manipulators. And there is danger in mere presence. When the forces of the law must be called on campus to quell unlawful mob behavior, how can they tell the mere spectator from the active participant? In the midst of a riot what time have they to inquire into each persons's motives for his presence?

The answer is simple and obvious. They cannot. It follows that if you are numbered among those students who do not wish to destroy the University, who do not wish to see its image and yours further damaged, then when the demagogues seek to create the mob, do not join it, do not stay around to see what's happening. Go about the business for which you have invested your time and your money and that of your parents or others who have helped you start on the road to the life you came here to create. Do not turn your future and your fate over to a handful of demagogues who may or may not be around when the real trouble comes. And come it will if we have any repetition of lawless behavior on this campus.

I hope that you will read this carefully, reflect upon it and discuss it with your parents. We intend to protect the rights of all students, all employees, all visitors and others lawfully here, to pursue their business without hindrance on this campus.

H. E. Groves
H. E. Groves, President

CENTRAL STATE UNIVERSITY
Methuen, Massachusetts

Office of the President

November 14, 1967

Dear Parent or Guardian:

We regret to have to report that persons determined to disrupt the educational process at Central State University have been able to accomplish their purpose. In order to insure the safety and necessary to suspend all activities and classes from November 6 through November 20. Classes and tracks at the University will reopen on November 27. The dormitories will be open on October 20.

Two documents, recently distributed by students are enclosed. They illustrate the fact that the University responded to the call of outside force with utmost reluctance. The other document was simply that of informing the faculty for a period of a week's absence.

When the University closed on November 22, a huge un-
labeled sign was seen. It read "We will not be moved with your son or daughter to any part of the world. We will not be moved to accept any aid to the pursuit of educational goals."

Very truly yours,

W. J. ...
Sachse ...

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CENTRAL STATE UNIVERSITY
Wilberforce, Ohio 45384

November 25, 1967

When I took up my appointment as President of Central State University on December 1, 1965, the institution that I found was an administrative shambles. Scarcely any of its periodic reports required of all state schools by the Board of Regents and by the federal educational agencies in Washington were submitted on time. It was simply routine for these agencies repeatedly to have to request and demand late reports from this university. It had even failed to bill the Peace Corps for a training project that it had conducted more than a year earlier and for which the Corps owed the University more than \$211,694.00 which the Corps was eager to pay in order to be able to close its books on the transaction. One of my first acts was to discharge the official directly responsible for this fiasco. When we checked his filing cabinet we found more than \$10,000.00 in cash and in uncashed checks received by the University as much as three years earlier. Even checks from the State of Ohio were found simply stuffed in folders in filing drawers.

Nor was this situation unique. When the Registrar resigned this year we found letters from graduates going back to 1964 requesting transcripts, with checks enclosed to pay for the transcript, which letters were never answered and the checks left undeposited. It was, in fact, difficult for people even to secure routine responses from the University. In the early months of my administration, I received literally scores of letters and long distance telephone calls from people desperately trying to get an answer from a communication to one office or another in the University.

So poorly managed was the University that it kept its large sums of operating cash entirely in checking accounts. One of our first acts was to place appropriate amounts of this money in short term federal treasury notes, thus producing more than \$114,527.00 in annual interest, a source of income previously ignored by the University in all the period of its existence.

The academic organization that I found was no less absurd. All decision making was concentrated in the office of the President. Deans and department heads had the titles of those offices but not the duties and responsibilities of the offices. They had no real role in the hiring of the people under them, often having presidential appointees simply thrust upon them. They did not even know the salaries of the persons under them and had no effective participation in the promotion or termination of the people they allegedly supervised. In the last two years I have completely restructured the academic organization. Academic policy making is now entirely within the control of an academic Senate; and Deans and Department Heads have been given the responsibility and dignity of their offices.

I have given student government many responsibilities previously denied to it. Students are now represented on the Academic Senate. The elected student government has control over its budget of more than \$16,492.00 per year. The management of the student newspaper has been placed in the hands of student editors.

Throughout the past two years the relationship of the University with the neighboring city of Xenia and Greene County has steadily improved.

In all of these developments I have had the constant support of the Board of Trustees, of the Chancellor of the Board of Regents and of the office of the Governor.

Many other persons have been unremitting in their assistance: members of the legislature, particularly Mr. Herman Ankeney, members of the Governor's cabinet, especially Mr. W. O. Walker, members of Congress, notably Representative Clarence J. Brown, Jr. I have had the encouragement of national alumni officers. I have received outstanding support from the present student government leaders, Mr. David Smith and Mr. John Staton, President and Vice President of Student Government. Many members of the faculty have participated in the improvements which have taken place in the University. And I am deeply grateful for the untiring efforts and long and thankless hours given to the University by the administrators who have made the new policies effective, making it possible to bring this university back from the brink of administrative and fiscal collapse to a proudly earned place among Ohio's educational institutions, to an institution which has increased its enrollment in the past year by twenty-two percent and its federal financial support more than twenty-fold.

Of course, my support has by no means been universal. Many members of the University family were very comfortable with the institution they had and deeply and bitterly resented change. Unable to attack me in the significant areas of my work, these persons have subjected me to constant **petty attacks**. These were, however, understandable and hearable in the normal course of events. But in this hour of genuine institutional crisis, brought about by elements determined to destroy the university, I find many students, parents, alumni and faculty members not discussing the improvements and developments of the university, nor even the really basic issues threatening the life of the institution, but calling upon me to defend

an allegation that I changed the route of march for graduation ceremonies and such equally inane charges. I was prepared for the larger battles. I am disgusted by the trivia.

Therefore, with deepest gratitude to all those who have labored long with me to improve this university and with regret, I announce my resignation as President of Central State University.

H. E. Groves

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CENTRAL STATE UNIVERSITY
Wilberforce, Ohio 45384

November 22, 1967

I fully appreciate the deep concern of all Ohio citizens and of many persons outside of the State over the temporary closing of Central State University. This is a traumatic experience for students, faculty and staff; and the causes are deep and disturbing.

The events of the days preceding the closing were so fast moving that it is worth some time to recap them. However, it is simply not possible to understand the immediate occurrences on the campus without some reasonable knowledge of the recent past of the University. For the past two years Central State has been an increasingly active participant in the movement toward academic excellence. In this period of time two new buildings have been constructed. Many new academic programs have been developed. New financial resources have been found; for example, in the fiscal year 1965-66 less than \$59,000 in federal grants were attracted to the University. In the last fiscal year the comparable sum was over a million and a quarter dollars, an increase of over twenty fold. In this same two-year period the administration of the University was changed from essentially a one man operation to a viable decentralization of authority. When I came to the University, for instance, deans and department heads did not even know the salaries of the persons working under them and presumably responsible to them. These persons had never prepared budgets. All that has changed. Deans and departmental chairmen have been assigned the responsibilities and duties which they should possess. Similarly, the responsibility

of non-academic officers has been greatly strengthened in their areas. But however right and necessary and overdue the changes were, they have represented a very real educational revolution at Central State and not everyone has been comfortable with the changes. So an atmosphere charged with the tensions of change has marked the campus for two years.

At the same time, it was necessary to completely reconstruct the fiscal operation of the University to place it upon a sound operating basis. This has been no easy task. The sheer physical effort of the Treasurer-Comptroller, Mr. Waverly Glover, and his staff over the past two years has been enormous. But in that time we have gone from an institution on the verge of bankruptcy to one whose financial soundness has just been attested to by a thorough State audit. But again this achievement has required a great deal of many people and it, like the academic developments, has required changes and in some instances, dismissal of persons who could not or would not adjust to the new requirements. These necessary personnel changes have added to the charged nature of the atmosphere.

And, again, through this very same period a real, often violent, racial revolution has been occurring throughout the United States, especially in the large Northern cities from which most of our Negro students are drawn. While the concept of Black Power has been capturing the imaginations of more and more black Americans and frightening more and more white Americans, Central State University has become more attractive to white students and has employed more white faculty members. It took no great visionary ability to see that we in the institution were on a collision course, and we initiated steps that we hoped would enable us to avoid such a collision. We

enlarged our counseling service. We added the services of a psychiatrist. We used a substantial portion of our new federal funds to establish an intergroup relations program. We recognized the validity of much of the new interest of Negro students in their African heritage, so we added a new program in African Studies. We sought to reach those positive elements that exist in the Black Power concept. But all of this was unavailing.

No one should be expected to explain or apologize for the presence of white students on a formerly Negro campus of a state university. White students, of course, have the same personal and constitutional rights to choose to attend Central State University as Negro students have to attend Ohio State or Kent State or Central State. For anyone to suggest otherwise is to turn from the reality of one hundred years of social and legal development in this country. But a desire on the part of a small number of Negro students to make Central State an all black campus was and is the core of the trouble at our institution. This small group elected to flex their muscles on November 1st.

On the morning of that day word reached my office that the Black Power group of students was planning a demonstration in support of the non-academic employees, who were even on that day engaged in negotiations with the administration on union recognition and conditions of employment. We had, during my administration, only one other student demonstration, which was an essentially orderly, peaceful affair, which was conducted out of doors and by student leaders who even admonished students to stay off the grass. It was our hope that this demonstration would also exhibit some sense of order. My only precaution was to have our one security officer on duty at the door of the administration building to advise the students to confine their demonstration

to the outside of the building. But it quickly became apparent that we were dealing with a far different, vastly more violent, group of students than was the case the preceding spring. It should be here pointed out that while the peaceful demonstration of the spring had been led by the elected student government leaders, the demonstration of November 1st was led by students who had specifically rejected and vilified the elected student government leaders, having labeled them as Uncle Toms for their efforts to understand the problems of the administration and to maintain a working dialogue with the administration. The number of students who joined the November 1st demonstration was smaller than the number in the spring; but their mood was far uglier and more violence-prone.

Upon reaching the administration building, they did not observe the police officer's directions to limit their demonstration to the outside of the building. Instead they broke the door of the building, pushed him aside and swarmed into the halls. There they staged a sit in for more than three hours, employing vile and filthy language in the halls even to senior teachers and administrators, threatening white persons, including visitors to the campus who were caught in the halls of the building, intimidating employees and by their presence disrupting the operations of the University. For more than three hours I attempted to maintain a dialogue with the leaders of the group. I heard them out on their alleged grievances; and I urged them myself and through the Vice President, the Dean of Students and other senior persons to leave the building peacefully. Finally, when five p. m. passed, the hour for the employees to go home, and they were still confined to their offices by this wilful group of students, I called upon the Sheriff of Greene County and the State Highway Patrol to come to the campus and clear the building.

It was shortly before five o'clock that I had the last discussion in my office with the leaders of the group. It did not appear to me that their expressed interest in the non-academic employees was really the heart of the matter, and I asked them what it was they wanted of me, what they were asking of the administration. The answer was very simple. I was told that what was wanted of me was that I stand aside, take no action, while they drove all the white people off the campus.

Now however understanding one may be of the factors that motivate black prejudices towards white people, the proposition was intolerable. Finding me unwilling to give the response they sought to this request, the dialogue broke down and they left my office but not the halls. It was perhaps some thirty minutes later than I put through the call to the Sheriff to come to clear the halls. But in the time that the police forces were assembling in Xenia, the demonstration in the halls began to break up. I immediately called the Sheriff to withhold coming to the campus and no police forces appeared.

The following day, November 2, was the day of the statutory meeting of the Board of Trustees. By that is meant that Ohio law provides for two regular meetings of the Board per year, one is in June and one is the first Thursday in November. However, many other times the Board may meet, it must meet on those two dates, the November date being that of the annual election of the officers of the Board. The agenda for the meeting had been distributed the preceding week, as is our custom, and one item on the agenda was that of the union demands. As I indicated earlier, the union was meeting with our negotiators on November 1st. Prior to that meeting the administration members had recommended that we agree to the terms which weeks of negotiations had refined. So on November 2nd at its regular meeting the Board did agree to conditions

that are apparently satisfactory to the union members. The recommendations to the Board were determined upon prior to the demonstration of November 1st. But the students apparently believed that their demonstration not only produced the union agreement but was responsible for what they regarded as a called emergency meeting of the Board. It happens that they were in error on both counts. But they obviously drew much strength from their erroneous interpretation. They felt they saw the results of their power, and the feeling was a heady one.

Far from ending their demonstrations, this marked only the beginning. On November 3rd, following a rally of the Black Power group which had as its purpose the impeachment of the elected student leaders for not bowing to their demands, they marched on the President's house on campus. On the lawn in front of the house, they chanted their slogans, demanded the appearance of the President and threatened to paint the "white" house black and to burn it to the ground. It happens that no one was in the house on that occasion. Some of the leaders of the group, upon realizing this, turned the mob from the threatened violence. That the threat was real and contemplated by at least some members of the mob was attested to by large rocks found on the lawn in front of the house the following morning.

Leaving the yard of the President's home the mob, in a lighter mood, proceeded to the adjacent campus of Wilberforce University. On that campus the mob encountered President Rembert Stokes of that University. He was invited to address them; and in the course of his remarks the mood of the mob again turned ugly and it was then that a Central State student allegedly said to him words to the effect that, "You are an Uncle Tom, and if this were the revolution I would have to kill you now." Evidence in the subsequent hearing was to the effect that these words were spoken in an atmosphere

of potential violence and that President Stokes regarded them as threatening. This incident had occurred on a Friday night. President Stokes came to my office the following Monday to lodge a complaint against the student in question. There was then no doubt in my mind and no doubt exists now that the accusation was an exceedingly grave one.

Our procedure as set out in the University catalog provides for three kinds of courts: one is a student court, consisting entirely of students, one is called the Committee on Student Services, which consists of personnel officers and students and finally the catalog provides that in sufficiently grave cases the hearing may be before the President. This has at least for the last two years been interpreted to mean such person or body specifically appointed by the President to hear the case. In this instance I designated the Vice President of the University as the hearing officer. He is himself a former Dean of Students and he was scrupulous in following the nationally understood requirements for a fair hearing. That is to say, the student was given written notice of the hearing. He was advised of his right to be represented, to give testimony, to confront and cross-examine the witnesses against him. He availed himself of these rights at the hearing. Testimony was received from Dr. Stokes and other witnesses on his behalf and from the student and witnesses on his behalf. It was the considered judgment of the Vice President that the student was guilty as charged. I reviewed the case and on the basis of all the facts ordered the dismissal of the student. Because of the nature of the threat, the fact that this student had been one of the leaders of the violent demonstration and in the forefront of the increasingly violent movement, I deemed it best also to forbid him to return to the campus.

Hate literature which had characterized the Black Power movement began to flood the campus. On November 2nd the document attacking the student government had read as follows:

A REPEATED FALLACY AND AN APPEAL

The brothers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and members of the Student Body bore testimony to the scandalous situation portrayed by the student government of this university. This situation took place in the Heritage Room of the student union building. We are making this appeal to the students who were absent from the meeting, and also to the students who were there, but out of confusion left the meeting with ambiguous feelings.

A member of S.N.C.C. proposed that the student council make a decision as to whether they would give us the money for the appearance of H. Rap Brown or George Ware. A closed vote was taken in which the outcome was in our favor.

The second issue was in relation to the student council's stand against the strike. A proposal was made by a S.N.C.C. member that the student council support our position paper. At the time of the vote, Roxinne Gazzettee who is a voting member of the student council mysteriously disappeared. For a quorum vote is essential to have nine voting members present, and Roxinne would have been the ninth member. Immediately, John Staton, the President of Student Council, called for the meeting to be adjourned and the motion dropped.

Brothers and sisters must we go any further? The student council by turning their backs on the students, and at the same time masterminding the mysterious disappearance of Roxinne Gazzettee, has exemplified the role of an incompetent, dictatorial, and fallacious organization. David Smith and John Staton mean no more good to black students of Central State, than Lyndon Baines Johnson and Hubert Humphrey to the black people in this country, which means that both are equated oppressors.

Brothers and Sisters we have been oppressed by this system long enough. It is time to act for the maintenance of our survival. We must do away with the leadership positions that now make up the Student Government and Student Council. We must replace them with Black leaders who act in the interest of black students. We must now impeach those traitorous toms before the hour of doom preys upon us.

We of S.N.C.C. cannot do it alone, therefore, we are holding another rally in Galloway Auditorium at 9:00 tonight, Thursday, November 2, 1967. We expect all brothers and sisters to attend. The purpose of the rally is to talk shop among each other (settle our differences), and sign the petitions for the impeachment of these traitors, so that we can move as a solid block.

Remember always, the battle is yours, as well as ours. This is the eve of revolution, which can only result in a change of the existing system.

"Every man must, out of relative obscurity, discover his mission, fulfill it or betray it."

Frantz Fanon

Yours in brotherhood, S.N.C.C.

This was succeeded by increasing calls to violence and condemnation of lawful authority:

THE REAL DEAL

We the Black brothers and sisters of Central State feel that we should let our Black Brothers and sisters at Wilberforce know the facts. Last week when we had our Rally many of you were there. The purpose of the Rally was to unite the students at Wilberforce and Central State. The Rally ended in the stub where the Brothers from Central State made speeches on their views of Black unity.

When President Stokes was asked to speak he made several stupid remarks. Mike Warren a member of SNCC allegedly made a comment in a moment of anger. But this truth was distorted and consequently he was brought before the Administration of Central State and Wilberforce in a trial in a Kangaroo court. We feel that the point of this trial was not what he said but what he stands for.

This is an example of distorting allegations made to use against an organization. But we will not let this happen. Today we learned that Mike Warren was dismissed from school. We know that it is an injustice and we will not let it be. We feel that we will stand behind him until this situation is cleared up.

It is indeed time for the students of both campuses to come to full realization that they must take a stand together and not be taken advantage of. We are asking students of Wilberforce to unite with the students at Central State to clear up this miscarriage of justice. This is not merely a matter for students at Central State because it concerns ALL BLACK students. If we cannot stand up for what we believe in our own black schools then there is indeed NO hope for Black Unity among all.

This is a plea to all those who believe in themselves as black people to come together in a common bond. WE HAVE TO ACT NOW AND WE WILL ACT NOW!!!!!!!

Black Power Advocates of Wilberforce

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

- 1) There will be no peace on Central State's Campus until the students are free to exercise their power without threats of expulsion and without the presence of white cops. Unity.
- 2) The struggle for freedom is long and tiring. We must not let the man wear us down. We must not submit. Unity. We have been ignored, sold out, and bullshited long enough, Unity.
- 3) Mike Warren's expulsion is a living example of the oppression and enslavement of every black student at C.S.U. We must stand-by our brother. Unity.
- 4) It is our fight because not one black instructor or administrator on Central State's campus with the guts to stand up and speak out against the contempt the administration has shown for us. It is our duty to for once in our lives begin to act as human beings, men and women. Let us stand up together. Unity.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TOMORROW:

- 1) Total boycott of all classes will continue indefinitely until our demands are met.
- 2) Liberation forums will be set up in Wesley Hall beginning 10AM tomorrow morning. Subjects covered will be:
 - a) Black Education vs. White Indoctrination
 - b) The Politics of Black Power
 - c) The History of the Black Liberation struggle in America
 - d) Third World revolution and the nature of Neo-Colonialism

OUR DEMANDS ARE:

- 1) Mike Warren must either be granted a trial before the entire student body or unconditionally reinstated.
- 2) Any dialogue between the administration (President) and Mike Warren be made open to the student body.
- 3) All white cops must be barred from entering our campus.

WE WILL MEET AT WESLEY HALL AT 10 AM TOMORROW

Black Unity for Black Power

This Paper Announces A Boycott-Unless?
READ WHY!

"...Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measures of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon us, and these will continue til they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress."

- Frederick Douglass

We are human beings and not mindless things, and as human beings we should make the decisions that control our lives. We have the power. We are the power. Bundy Hall has power only as long as we, the students, do not assert our own power. The only function of student government or the administration is to express the will of the students.

When the administration threw Brother Mike Warren out of school, they acted unilaterally. The administration refused to even consult the will of the students. The administration ignored the student court and made a decision which they had no right to make. The administration threw Mike out because he is spearheading a movement which demands power (control)...for black people and students. Whoever heard of throwing a perons out of school for making a conditional statement? No. Mike was thrown out as a threat which would nip any more moves for power, by black students, from the get go. We say that the administration decision is invalid. (Let us remember that we were able to wield power in the case of the workers strike.) Our decision is that Brother Warren is still a student and we have to enforce that decision by any means necessary. That is our right.

We must ask why Groves and Company want to prevent us from exercising our rightful power. That is obvious. Groves works for the man. The man wants to shut us up, wants to keep us in place. Just like they didn't want to give the workers a square deal, they don't want to let us control our lives as students. We must keep foremost in our minds that our powerlessness as black people and students is neither coincidental nor accidental. It's the mans program. Plantation days are over. We are going to jam the mans program. When Brother Warren comes to school on Monday, if the man tries to arrest him we will resist as an expression of our power. We are going to boycott classes, starting Monday, until the administration changes its decision, as an expression of our power. During the boycott we are going to systematically start defining what kind of University we want, as an expression of our intelligence. From now on students really make the decisions. We must remember that Mike's case is only one issue. We must control the whole Central State environment. On Monday we stand with Brother Warren. Black Unity for Black Power! We are not fighting for student power. We have power and we are going to exercise it.

"But when a long train of abuses and usurptions, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is

their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their security." _____ Declaration of Independence.

In the face of the mounting threats of violence, I undertook to warn the student body of the dangers inherent in the course on which the group of dissidents appeared to be bent. I distributed to all students a document entitled "ON RIGHTS".

ON RIGHTS

In the past eight months two demonstrations have taken place at Central State. In one during the spring of the past academic year students confined their actions to the sidewalks; they were concerned with the property of the University and with their own image. In the second, more recent, demonstration students invaded the halls of Bundy and for more than two hours prevented ingress and egress into and from rooms and the building itself. These two demonstrations exhibit the difference between the tolerable and the intolerable.

Freedom of speech, which includes the spoken word, the written word and even actions such as marching is a democratic tradition both respected and upheld by this University. Violence, threats, intimidation and interfering with the lawful rights of others are not a part of anybody's rights and will not be condoned by this University.

One problem lies in the fact that a demonstration often lawful in its beginning may very easily turn into a lawless riot. Whether it does and how quickly it does depend upon many things, one being the intent and purpose of that small number, sometimes one, who can too frequently manipulate a mob.

It must be apparent to every reasonable person that this administration has shown great restraint in the handling of these demonstrations. The reasons for the restraint have been many. We know that we are dealing with young people who frequently let their emotions rather than their reasons **dictate** their actions. We know that mobs of any kind are easily moved and turned by demagogues. We know that force often escalates and we are reluctant to employ the force that exists to protect all persons, students and employees alike, who are a part of this institution.

But everyone must realize that it is one of the most basic duties of any administration to protect the rights of all people on campus. Indeed, in any priority list of the duties of a university administrator few could stand higher than this.

Therefore, so that everyone connected with Central State University can know the position of the administration the following information is supplied:

1. The University will make no attempt to interfere with any lawful expression of opinion.

2. The University will not tolerate any individual or mob action which contains elements of violence, of threats, of intimidation or of damage to property.
3. In the event a mob forms and appears to be about to engage in unlawful behavior, a spokesman for the University will try to get the mob to disperse.
4. If the mob persists in unlawful activity, the University will immediately call in such assistance as is necessary to restore order.

It may be helpful to know precisely what assistance is available to the University. First is the University's own Security Force, a very small contingent of men. Secondly, the Sheriff of Greene County and his deputies have police duties and responsibilities on this campus. Third, the State Highway Patrol has police duties and responsibilities on this campus. Finally, should the situation seem to warrant it, the University, or the Sheriff, or the Highway Patrol may call upon the Governor for the National Guard.

Obviously no administration want to contemplate the presence of armed policemen and troops on campus. No one wishes to think that young people pursuing an education should ever make such action necessary.

In truth, only a small number of students probably plan to make such action necessary. The vast majority of students almost certainly desire and expect the University to maintain for them an atmosphere in which they can go in and out of buildings, join fraternities, attend dances or do whatever lawful thing they have a right to choose to do without some unruly mob seeking to direct, determine and control their rights.

A word of caution is in order for those students who do not wish the University to become the victim of a mob. Those persons who plan to create trouble rely heavily on the presence of persons who are often only spectators, onlookers, curiosity seekers. Their presence even around the edges appears to swell the mob and give power to the mob's manipulators. And there is danger in mere presence. When the forces of the law must be called on campus to quell unlawful mob behavior, how can they tell the mere spectator from the active participant? In the midst of a riot what time have they to inquire into each person's motives for his presence?

The answer is simple and obvious. They cannot. It follows that if you are numbered among those students who do not wish to destroy the University, who do not wish to see its image and yours further damaged, then when the demagogues seek to create the mob, do not join it, do not stay around to see what's happening. Go about the business for which you have invested your time and your money and that of your parents or others who have helped you start on the road to the life you came here to create. Do not turn your future and your fate over to a handful of demagogues who may or may not be around when the real trouble comes. And come it will if we have any repetition of lawless behavior on this campus.

I hope that you will read this carefully, reflect upon it and discuss it with your parents. We intend to protect the rights of all students, all employees, all visitors and others lawfully here, to pursue their business without hindrance on this campus.

H. E. Groves, President

Indeed, it appeared as if the Black Power element was drunk on what they regarded as their power. They had conveyed the message that they did not approve of fraternities and sororities. And so the sponsors of a sorority dance were fearful that some action might be taken to disrupt their affair. The advisor of a sorority pledge club asked me if they dared hold their planned meeting in the face of the threats of this group. Fear was a very real thing on campus.

However, the document "On Rights" had no apparent effect on the Black Power element which continued to set the stage for violence on Monday, November 13th. On that day it had been announced by his supporters that the dismissed student would return to his classes and would be placed in them and kept there by force, if necessary. During the entire week end the Dean of Students had attempted to ward off this violent action, going on more than one occasion to the student's apartment in Yellow Springs in an attempt to dissuade him from his course. On the day of his dismissal his parents had been sent telegrams notifying them of the University's action, and I am informed that they too visited him at Yellow Springs and counseled against his planned lawless defiance. But their counsel was also rejected.

On Monday morning I advised the chief of our security force that Warren should be arrested if he returned to campus but that arrest should not take place in a classroom and should take place with as little disturbance as possible. Our security force then consisted of only one man on any given shift. In midmorning I was advised

that the student had returned and that his supporters were erecting a barricade in the halls of Wesley Classroom Building. In fact chairs and tables were pulled from the classrooms and massed in the halls. It was also reported that the smell of gasoline was strong within the building. Our Security Chief reported that he was unable to control the situation.

By this time I had requested the Sheriff and the Highway Patrol to come to the campus. The sergeant in charge of the patrol entered the classroom building where a coat was thrown over his head and his arms pinioned. While extracting himself, he had the contents of fire extinguishers sprayed in his face.

Throughout the buildup of the confrontation over the two weeks in question I had constantly admonished the police authorities to use no more force than necessary and to avoid the use of weapons. After the attack on the patrol sergeant, the Sheriff determined that the police forces present were too few in number to restore order without resorting to weapons and he issued the call for the National Guard.

Late in the afternoon the Guard arrived and an uneasy calm was restored on campus.

The police and military command post was established on campus. About 10:30 p.m. the situation erupted, the riot act was read and just under one hundred persons were arrested. Most of the arrests were for disorderly conduct although some more serious charges were filed, including one for carrying a concealed weapon. Also several non-students were arrested. A continuing threat had been the presence of outside persons on campus aiding and abetting the violence.

It was our hope that the violence of the night of November 13th would subside with the day and that the University could remain open. This was not the case. A series of increasingly alarming developments were reported to me. These included evidence that more outside agitators were coming to campus; increasing unrest among the students; in midmorning it was reported that the students manning our fire department had walked off. It was further reported that water mains had been opened to so reduce water pressure as to leave the entire campus vulnerable in the likely event of fire. On the adjacent campus of Wilberforce an automobile had been impounded containing something in excess of forty molotov cocktails or firebombs, together with vials of some undetermined, but potent, acid. Several incidents were reported to me of white students being wantonly physically attacked. And the element became so bold as to enter classes and order white students to leave.

It thus appeared to me that the violence of the preceding night was but a prelude to far more dangerous events and for that reason I reluctantly recommended to the Board of Trustees the temporary closing of the University. In fact, hundreds of students had begun leaving the institution on their own or their parents' initiative.

The question now remains what will happen when the University reopens on November 27th and what is the future of the University.

It is certain that the University if it is to remain open this quarter must be free of violence. Students must not provoke a situation which makes the calling in of outside force necessary.

It is our hope that that vast majority of students who have a very large investment of time and money in their education at this University will not permit a

minority bent on the destruction of the University to accomplish that purpose. It is perfectly clear that troops on campus cannot maintain a learning atmosphere. This can only be done by responsible students themselves and the vast majority must exercise an active responsibility. Many students do not realize that even if they find an institution to which to transfer that grades of D would not normally be transferable. In an institution where he earns the grades and continues to graduation a B will offset a D; but when one transfers it is usually necessary to repeat all courses in which D's were earned. The closure for the period November 15th through November 24th, involving as it does the Thanksgiving holidays has, in fact, meant a loss of only six teaching days. These can without great difficulty be made up by shortening the Christmas holidays from two weeks to one week. But should violence return with the students and the school again have to be closed this term, no way of making up the lost time would present itself and no one could receive credit for the first quarter of the year. We are, therefore, calling upon all our students to abandon the course of action which brought the institution to a close. We intend to run a University. But no university can possibly operate in the atmosphere visited on this institution in the first two weeks of November.

As to the long run future of Central State, there is no doubt in my mind that the institution should continue to exist. It has already demonstrated its capacity for fiscally responsible operation. It has already demonstrated that it has the capacity to move its programs towards excellence. It has shown that it can attract outside sources of support for a more viable and extensive program.

But more importantly the need for the institution remains. Indeed, if the rioting on campus demonstrated anything it demonstrated the enormous overriding need to continue the education of people who need it so desperately.

Moreover, both the riot and the times demonstrate that some Negro students do need an institution with which they can fully identify, where they can see other Negroes in leadership roles where their own social and cultural interests get a full hearing. It is obvious that they cannot be permitted to visit violence upon those with whom they disagree nor exclude persons of any color.

Interestingly enough, nothing could be more false than the charge leveled by some Black Power advocates that white students are displacing Negro students at Central State. Quite the contrary, white students have only added themselves to the mix in larger numbers. No Negro student from Ohio, otherwise eligible, has been denied admission to Central State. Moreover, the presence of Ohio white students actually has made it possible to admit more out of state Negro students than would otherwise be possible. Responding to legislative directive, Ohio universities must limit their out of state enrollment. We admit 25 per cent students from out of state; so for every 75 white Ohio students we can and have admitted 25 Negro student who otherwise would exceed our out of state quota. Since white students have displaced no Ohio Negro students and have enabled the admission of larger numbers of out of state Negroes who might otherwise have had no chance for higher education, Black Power advocates might well reexamine their position on this subject.

They have also protested the increased numbers of white teachers. It is true that both the number and the percentage of white teachers have increased. This is not the result of some deep plot. It results primarily from the fact that the one class of Negro benefitting most from the changes in the country in the last decade has been the college educated Negro. Formerly the Negro with two or more college degrees had few

opportunities to use them except as a teacher in a Negro school. Now he has many of the opportunities in business and government that were formerly only open to white persons. So the actual pool of Negroes interested in college teaching has shrunk while the demand has increased. As a result a department head filling a position on the basis of ability must often select a white person. No school should be expected to apologize for a policy of hiring on the basis of ability without regard to race. This is what parents and students should expect of their institution. It is the policy to which Central State University is committed.

It thus appears that both the militant advocates of Black Power and the University are going to have to seek to understand the inescapable facts of existence. The University does not wish to suppress legitimate thought. To that end, the Board of Trustees has agreed to modify its earlier stated position. The organization, Unity for Unity, which the Board has ordered removed from the list of approved organizations, may reapply for approval. It will, of course, be expected, if it seeks approval, to demonstrate that it will meet the acceptable standards of organizational behavior.

Nor does the University seek to punish students who may not be individually guilty of offensive acts. To that end, students who were arrested on November 13th are permitted to return to campus on probation. The University will await the results of their trials in the civil courts before taking disciplinary action. Students acquitted in the courts will not be the subjects of University discipline. Similarly, the Board has modified its order for the expulsion of all members of Unity for Unity. All such members will be permitted to return to the University on probation. The University will bring disciplinary action against all students who engaged in unlawful acts on the campus.

Persons have recently spoken of the permanent closing of Central State or its merger with some other institution. I submit that neither course is a solution to any problem and certainly not to the continuing struggle of black young people for identity and place. Central State may not have all of the answers to this most troubling problem of modern times; but it is probably the most likely institution in Ohio in which to continue to seek for these answers.

H. E. Groves, President

December 8, 1967

Note To: M. C. Miskovsky
S. P. Hebert

From: *mjc*
M. J. Connell

I believe Carmichael spoke to this group last May. Shall we file for future reference?

**College Editor
Is Threatened**

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 10 (AP) — Plainclothes police guarded the office of the California State College at Los Angeles student newspaper today after militant Negroes allegedly threatened the paper's editor.

Eight Negroes claiming to be members of the Black Student Union marched into the paper's office and demanded that Editor David Shelburne use the word "black" or "Afro-American" instead of "Negro" in stories, said Bob Lerner, campus public relations director.

When Shelburne, 21, refused, an African-robed spokesman for the group told him he will "face the political consequences of your decision," Lerner said.

Los Angeles Police Department officers were called in to supplement campus police, Lerner said, in view of Monday's attack on the San Francisco State College newspaper staff by militant young Negroes.

MJC:acc

290A

STATE 12-6 SX
1ST NIGHT LD 252A
BY DAVID LAMB

11
Hebert
4/14

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)--RIOTING STUDENTS AND OFF-CAMPUS MILITANTS SHUT DOWN SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE WEDNESDAY BY BREAKING INTO LOCKED BUILDINGS, LOOTING A BOOKSTORE AND ASSAULTING NEWSMEN. ALL CLASSES WERE DISMISSED IN THE EARLY AFTERNOON. ADMINISTRATION BUILDING EMPLOYEES WERE SENT HOME EARLIER DURING INITIAL STAGES OF A CAMPUS "MILL-IN."

CAMPUS POLICE WERE INSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING BUT DID NOT INTERFERE WITH THE 350 DEMONSTRATORS. NO OUTSIDE POLICE HELP WAS SUMMONED AND THERE WERE NO ARRESTS DURING THE TWO-HOUR SPREE.

FIRE TRUCKS WERE SUMMONED TO DOUSE SEVERAL MINOR BLAZES STARTED ON THE HUGE 17,000-STUDENT CAMPUS.

MORE THAN 2,000 STUDENTS WATCHED THE PROCEEDINGS BUT DID NOT PARTICIPATE. MANY OF THEM JEERED THE DEMONSTRATORS.

THE RAMPAGE STEMMED FROM A DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING SUSPENSION OF A CAMPUS PERIODICAL CALLED OPEN PROCESS AND SUSPENSION OF ITS EDITOR AND A WRITER. MEMBERS OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNION ALSO JOINED THE DEMONSTRATION TO PROTEST SUSPENSION OF FOUR STUDENTS INVOLVED IN AN ASSAULT ON STAFF MEMBERS OF THE CAMPUS NEWSPAPER.

THE MOB SMASHED THE LOCKED GLASS DOORS TO THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING AND RAN WILD THROUGH HALLWAYS, PULLING DOWN SIGNS OVER OFFICE DOORS, OVERTURNING SAND ASH TRAYS, WRITING SLOGANS ON WALLS AND SCATTERING PAPERS AND BOOKS.

ALSO INVADED WAS THE CAFETERIA WHERE TABLES WERE OVERTURNED, EMPLOYEES HARASSED, DISHES BROKEN AND FOOD AND SILVERWARE SCATTERED.

RIOTERS SMASHED A PLATE GLASS WINDOW IN THE BOOKSTORE AND MADE OFF WITH CIGARETTES, BOOKS AND BRIEF CASES.

THEY ALSO THREATENED TO BURN DOWN THE LIBRARY. SCHOOL OFFICIALS QUICKLY CLOSED ALL CAMPUS BUILDINGS.

A FEW NEWSMEN AND STUDENTS IN THE VICINITY OF THE MOB OF STUDENTS WERE ROUGHED UP.

THE REV. ALFRED DALE, CAMPUS PASTOR, SAID THE INCIDENTS "ILLUSTRATE A HISTORY OF INABILITY TO COMMUNICATE AMONG SEGMENTS OF THE FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATION AND STUDENTS."

"AND I THINK THE BLACK STUDENTS HAVE BEEN PULLED OUT OF SHAPE," HE SAID.

COLLEGE PRESIDENT JOHN SUMMERSKILL, WHO REMAINED IN HIS LOCKED OFFICE DURING THE UPROAR, SAID THE DISRUPTION VERGED ON "CIVIL INSURRECTION."

"I AM THANKFUL THAT A MAJOR HUMAN DISASTER WAS AVOIDED," HE SAID. "BUT IT WILL TAKE LEADERSHIP FROM ALL SEGMENTS OF THE BAY AREA TO RESOLVE THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS WHICH EXPLODED ON THIS CAMPUS TODAY."

PICKUP 7TH PGH 252A: JOHN BARSOTTI ETC. AND ELIMINATE LAST TWO PARAGRAPHS.

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Sgt Fusco
File [initials] 67 Disorders

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APOLLO 12/6 DA5
BY EDWARD K. DELONG
SPACE WRITER

HOUSTON (UPI)--THE NEW MODEL OF
ET HAS PROVED ITSELF VIRTUALLY
EMPTS TO SET IT

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12/

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UPI-125

(CAMPUS)

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IOWA CITY, IOWA--ANTIWAR PROTESTERS STORMED POLICE BARRICADES IN AN ATTEMPT TO EVICT RECRUITERS FROM THE DOW CHEMICAL CO. TODAY AND THEN SWARMED ACROSS THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA CAMPUS.

THE STUDENTS RUSHED INTO THE MEMORIAL UNION BUILDING AND HEADED FOR THE RECRUITERS FROM DOW, WHO HAVE BEEN TARGETS OF MANY CAMPUS PROTESTS BECAUSE THEIR FIRM MAKES NAPALM FOR THE VIETNAM WAR.

THE SHOCK FORCE BROKE A PLYWOOD BARRICADE ERECTED BY POLICE, BUT WAS TURNED BACK WHEN OFFICERS SPRAYED MACE, A CHEMICAL, IN THE FACE OF SOME DEMONSTRATORS. THREE OR FOUR OF THE STUDENTS BECAME NAUSEATED FROM THE SPRAY.

IOWA CITY POLICE AND SHERIFF'S DEPUTIES ARRESTED AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF PROTESTERS.

12/5--EG303PES

UPI-126

UPI-157

(CAMPUS)

BERKELEY, CALIF.--A MILL-IN DEMONSTRATION AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA'S SPROUL HALL LOST MOMENTUM TODAY BUT MILITANT STUDENT LEADERS VOWED TO STAGE PROTESTS UNTIL THE ADMINISTRATION ALLOWED ON-CAMPUS ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS.

ABOUT 300 STUDENTS PARTICIPATED IN THE ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT ADMINISTRATIVE OPERATIONS IN THE FOUR-STORY BUILDING. WHEN THE PROTEST BEGAN WEDNESDAY, THE DEMONSTRATORS NUMBERED ABOUT 1,000.

FOR THE THIRD DAY OF THE DEMONSTRATION, STUDENTS GATHERED AT MID-MORNING ON THE STEPS LEADING TO THE BUILDING. AFTER A FIVE-MINUTE EXHORTATION FROM LEADERS, THEY SWARMED INTO THE BUILDING, SINGING AND CHANTING.

SOME OF THE STUDENTS INVADED THE OFFICE OF DEAN OF MEN JAMES LEMMON, WHILE OTHERS SPRAWLED IN THE HALLWAY OUTSIDE. MANY WORE BEARDS AND FLASHED ANTIWAR "V" FOR VICTORY SIGNS.

THE STUDENTS DEMANDED THAT THE UNIVERSITY HOLD A COLLECTIVE HEARING FOR SEVEN STUDENTS FACING DISCIPLINARY ACTION. THEY WERE CITED WHEN DOW CHEMICAL CO. REPRESENTATIVES HELD JOB INTERVIEWS ON CAMPUS A FEW WEEKS AGO.

12/1--TS 507PES



**NORWOOD, MASS.
 NORFOLK COUNTY
 FREE PRESS**
 W. 4,900
 BOSTON METROPOLITAN AREA
 NOV 22 1967

Schools and Riots
 SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—
 Activities in schools can be a
 major source of tensions lead-
 ing to events triggering riots
 in poverty neighborhoods.
 Conversely, in spite of factors
 beyond their control—sur-
 rounding poverty, misunder-
 stood or unfair police action,
 agitation by militant groups—
 schools can play a big part in
 preventing riots.
 These points are stressed
 in a new government-industry
 systems analysis of the role
 schools play in helping to
 solve urban problems. The
 report was presented to the
 California Board of Educa-
 tion.

The Student Scene: Militant Anger

By NAN ROBERTSON
Special to The New York Times

MADISON, Wis., Nov. 19—
The prevailing mood among student political and social activists in the fall of 1967 is powerlessness. It is also bewilderment, dissension and anger.

The University of Wisconsin here is one of the angriest campuses in the nation. Tomorrow, Navy and Marine recruiters are expected. So, reportedly, are 200 sheriffs, deputies and policemen. There may be a clash with students protesting the war.

In the spring of 1962, an observer journeyed across United States, visiting campuses and interview-

ing hundreds of students and professors.

That year, three movements embroiled activists. They were civil rights; the new student right, led by the militant Young Americans for Freedom; and the peace movement, which focused on the banning of the atomic bomb and the fear of genetic distortion.

Five of the 10 campuses were revisited this month. They were Harvard University at Cambridge, Mass., the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Texas at Austin, Grinnell College in Grinnell, Iowa, and the University of Wisconsin.

Everywhere, both the spirit and the movements of 1962

have changed dramatically. What has happened? This:

1. The civil rights groups have vanished. The white liberals have entered the New Left or the peace movement, or both, and almost all their activity revolves around Vietnam. The Negro students are flocking to separatist groups that encourage race pride and self-pride.

2. The peace movement is entirely engaged in anti-Vietnam war, anti-draft issues. It is impossible to tell exactly how many students oppose the war, but opposition ranges across the spectrum of student ideology —be it active or passive,

Continued on Page 30, Column 1



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The Student Scene: A Feeling of Powerlessness P

CAMPUS PROTEST TAKES NEW SHAPE

Peaceful Dissent Gives Way to Tactics of Obstruction as Old Causes Fade

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

white or black, Republican or Democratic.

3. The super-patriotic Young Americans for Freedom of 1962 have nearly shriveled away.

4. The left of 1967 is far more radical than the left of 1962. The New Left of 1967 also exhibits some striking similarities to the New Right of 1962. Politically, the most extreme students in the New Left advocate revolution and tend towards anarchism. The moderate members are really liberal Democrats with a radical vocabulary.

5. A growing social concern has drawn thousands of previously uninvolved students into welfare movements, particularly on campuses in big cities.

These students make no noise and no headlines, but in terms of numbers they represent the most important single social commitment in 1967. Five years ago they might have chosen to enter the civil rights movement—or to do nothing.

Meantime, the vast middle gets on with the business of going to school: growing, learning, reaching some kind of truce with the status quo. These students look milk fed, scrubbed and not much involved with anything besides books and dating.

The number of militant activists of every stripe has not increased significantly over 1962. At most, they still range from 1 to 10 per cent of the student population. But their tactics, ideology and rhetoric are far more extreme.

What are today's issues? Overwhelmingly, they are Vietnam and what the students regard as the sicknesses of society.

"The war, the war," said one college administrator. "It's getting so that I can't bear to talk or think about it anymore. A meeting on student loans comes as a relief."

The Promise Fades

The bright promise of 1962, that peaceful, simple protest—a sit-in, a boycott, a picket line—could change, indeed, had already changed, deeply rooted institutions and prejudices, has turned into the ugly disruptions of 1967.

The nonviolence and Christian love of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has given



Associated Press

ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION: Sit-in at University of California at Los Angeles recently. Demonstrators were protesting recruitment by Dow Chemical Company, a maker of napalm. Student protest has shifted away from civil rights and toward a peace movement in last five years, focusing on anti-Vietnam war demonstrations and draft-card burnings.

left of 1967 is by and large suspicious of the mass media, liberal teachers and liberal textbooks, the Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

Michael Lerner, for example, a Berkeley student, calls the Soviet Union "the second most important imperialistic power in the world—next to the United States."

New Leftists can also be dogmatic, noisy, skilled at disruptive tactics, philosophically confused, unwilling to compromise and fascinated with rhetoric, other characteristics of the young Americans for Freedom in 1962.

The on-campus New Left gurus include Michael Ansara of Harvard, a 20-year-old major in history and literature, and Robert Cohen of Wisconsin, a 24-year-old philosophy student and teaching assistant, who is in danger of dismissal because of his anti-war activities.

Students hold both of them in awe for their brilliance and dedication to radical causes. Each has a carefully articulated radical philosophy, although neither offers a blueprint for revolution or major change.

Mr. Cohen, however, will say that Cuba has best met its "historical possibilities" toward being a "free, rational and happy society" and that she has done this with far fewer resources than the United States.

Still Rational Discourse

down the funnel of a battleship to assert their principles."

Even their radical faculty heroes have begun to turn against the leftists. At Wisconsin, Professor Williams, a socialist, whose stinging critiques of American foreign policy, are read eagerly by New Leftists, said of them:

"They are the most selfish people I know. They just terrify me. They are acting out a society I'd like to live in as an orangutan.

"They have no experience of the way the world really works, or of coalition politics. They say: 'I'm right and you're wrong and you can't talk because you're wrong.' They think the university president should be leading the revolution—it's ludicrous."

Meantime, the liberal new chancellor of the Madison campus of the university, until recently a popular sociologist, sat forlornly in his big office atop Bascom Hill. He talked of the resentments and mutiny within the students and faculty that followed a bloody put-down of a sit-in Oct. 18 against a recruiter for Dow Chemical Company, which makes napalm.

The chancellor, William Sewell, had just been hooted down the night before at a student forum.

"I'm worried sick," he said. "They talk of tearing the society down, remaking it over. Nobody says how. What has hap-

eral" in terms of the national outlook.

He said:

"They say you can't pick your wars. Well, why not? You're the person who's putting his life on the line and has to take the life of others."

Oct. 21, 1967, has become a sacred date on the campuses. Students revere those who joined the peace march then to the Pentagon.

Everywhere, they point out students who were tear-gassed, or smashed over the head by Federal marshals, or jabbed by soldiers with bayonets.

"It's like German dueling scars," said Prof. Joseph F. Wall of Grinnell, who has been active in the peace movement since 1962.

The opposition to the war and the pull of the New Left have drawn the uncommitted mass of students at Harvard toward the left.

"In 1962 they were armchair liberals. Now they're armchair radicals," complained Harlon Dalton, president of the campus Young Democrats.

In other universities the middle has been alienated. At Texas, where the orientation is traditionally right of center anyway, Professor Silber worries about his students taking what he calls nineteen-twenties "Herbert Hoover" stances about the poor, believing they are poor because they are lazy or stupid.

"Year after year I have sent

tion of white liberal and cal students to the separatist movement is hurt and dispirited. They remember the happy days when it was "black and white together."

Yet, anyone who care question the Negro student who are eager to talk, differs that a sense of self-pride and group identity is being fostered in these organizations.

Leaders for Negroes

Moreover, according to Charles Hamilton of Harvard, "They inculcate responsibility and concern for black people."

Willie Howard of Wisconsin said that Concerned Black People was developing leaders among the professions who "will lift the black people."

Lenneal Henderson of Berkeley, speaking of the white students, whose numbers engaged him, said:

"They never let you forget you were black. We decided to remember we were black."

"We decided to remember our African heroes, our American heroes and our culture decided to stop hating ourselves, trying to look like bleached out hair, straightening our hair. In high school used to hold my big lip in. Then Lenneal, a handsome light tan youth, said:

"Now I wish I were 3 shades darker."

Dwain Harris of Texas, president of the Negro Alliance Progress, said: "All of us are proud that we have someone to identify with. Every man in this country is in a way feeling awareness of self—who he is and what he is and trying to find himself."

Dwain, who is from Houston, burned a Confederate flag; the Texas campus recently gave me a feeling of real faction," he said.

White students angrily proached him for burning the flag, he said, telling him: "Southern daddies fought and died for that flag."

But, he said: "You go in rooms and you see the Confederate flag plastered all over the walls, and you see it flapping from their car aerials and the bumper stickers with words 'Forget, hell.'"

"All that means to you black man is slavery," he said. "It's objectionable. If they go to hang on to that I don't want their friendship."

Only at Grinnell, where Negroes are split between middle-class students and lower-income scholarship students, do most want to be an integrated life.

Still, there is frustration and ambivalence. Roy Walker pressed it this way:

"If I go with the soul group in the North Lounge be categorized as a tradition Negro by the whites. If I go with the soul group will call me Uncle Tom. I want to be an independent individual. He said his "deepest

...love of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has given way to tear gas, clubs and hatred at some colleges and draft-induction centers. Those who found the student scene exhilarating in 1962 find it depressing today.

The 1967 students have no American heroes. The last time around, President Kennedy and Barry Goldwater could arouse enormous fervor.

This fall, Governor Rockefeller, Robert F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Mayor Lindsay, Senator Charles Percy and Mark Hatfield are popular, but the passion is missing. Some voice a we-see-through-him-he-wants-to-be-President distrust of Robert Kennedy.

The Young Democrats and Young Republican clubs largely have become speakers' bureaus or paper organizations.

By at least 4 to 1, the Young Democrats at Harvard, with 800 dues-paying, but largely inactive, members, believe that President Johnson has betrayed his 1964 campaign promises about Vietnam and oppose his 1968 candidacy. The President of the Young Democrats at the University of Texas is equally disaffected.

Vocal students express a sometimes irrational hatred of President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Most students find the judgment extreme and unfair, but the vocal ones call the President a "murderer" for escalating the war.

The most charitable thing they say about Mr. Rusk is that he is "intractable," or perhaps "a blithering idiot."

Many who are close to them say the campuses, in both their activity and apathy, reflect a sickness in American society.

The New Left, led by the Students for a Democratic Society, seems to be experiencing what Prof. William Appleman Williams of Wisconsin calls "a moral revulsion against the bland righteousness of a society shot through with failures."

Products of Society

The New Leftists are probably both a product of, and a reaction against, a society they despise and call grossly materialistic, hypocritical and inhumane. They see divisions—white against black, rich against poor, world humanity against the United States in an unpopular war. They see no hope in America.

Prof. Stanley Hoffman of Harvard says that in 1962, "Some students here were disaffected with their Government, but it was still their Government. They had the basic trust of people brought up to believe it was really theirs."

"They now believe even their Government may be a bunch of liars and cheats."

Like the extreme right-wing students of 1962, the extreme

Still Rational Discourse

On the left, there is still rational discourse about issues, even the war; it is the order of the day in meetings at Harvard and Grinnell.

Similarly, Texas has been calm, although resentment of another sort still lingers from a student rebellion last spring against strict controls over rallies. ("This campus could blow up any minute over some silly little university rule," said Mary Morphis, the student editor.)

At both Texas and Grinnell, however, the nucleus of the New Left sometimes seems to be made up of intellectual hobbits—warm, lovable and a little furry minded.

At Wisconsin and Berkeley it is different. The radicals of the left there shout down opposition, stifle debate over the war, or student power, or faculty power, and call for the destruction of the "corporate-military system," which, they say, includes the universities.

"It's oppressive—this place is really getting sick," said Joel Brenner, editor of The Wisconsin Daily Cardinal.

"The extremists have broken down, intellectually and psychologically," he said. "Instead asking themselves: 'What is the problem? What can be done about it?' They're asking: 'What is the most radical thing to do?'"

Across the country, the radical intellectual students are reading "Repressive Tolerance" by Prof. Herbert Marcuse, a German-born philosopher, who now teaches at the San Diego campus of the University of California. Its thesis is that a liberal society, by encouraging debate and tolerance, emasculates and submerges any radical arguments or alternatives.

On all five campuses visited, the New Leftists were beginning to argue that the "Higher morality" of their protest against an unjust war superseded individual rights such as free speech. The most radical among them displayed total scorn for individual liberties.

Prof. John Silber of the University of Texas, a liberal philosopher who is widely respected on the campus, produced a harsh indictment of extremists of the left.

Furiously, he said: "They are the new Fascists."

He went on: "They are indistinguishable from the far right. One group wants bloody revolution. The other wants to blast the world. They share a contempt for rational political discussion and constitutional, legal solutions."

"Both want to be pure. They know nothing about the virtue of compromise. They know nothing about the horror of sainthood or the wickedness of saints."

The extreme leftists, Professor Silber said, are "Kamikaze liberals," who would "dive

they talk of tearing the society down, remaking it over. Nobody says how. What has happened here has happened in the cities. They are turning from protest to disruption, and the protesters will use force."

Mr. Sewell also spoke of the anger the legislators in the state capitol, near the bottom of Bascom Hill, felt toward the protestors. There have been rumblings about cutting the university budget and of restricting the out-of-state enrollment.

About 28 per cent of the undergraduates are from out of state, most of them from the cities of the Eastern Seaboard or Chicago. It is from this group, as in 1962, that the liberal-left activists come.

At Berkeley, Texas and Wisconsin, the gulf is widening between once sympathetic faculty members and the student left.

Prof. Robert H. Cole of Berkeley, who helped draft a resolution after the Free Speech movement in 1964 that led to drastically liberalized university rules said:

"I was a revolutionary in 1964 — a faculty Young Turk. Now I'm an administrator, and I'm tired, very, very tired. We all are."

George Mosse, a history professor at Wisconsin, who is easily one of the most popular and stimulating men on campus, had this to say:

"The essence of a university is the personal relationship and dialogue between some interesting professors and some interested students. The tactics of confrontation will end this dialogue. It's already becoming more difficult."

The Draft Issue

These tactics center now on the draft.

Unquestionably, the vast majority of male students would serve in the armed forces if drafted. The left, however, wants to disrupt the draft by blocking campus recruiters, sitting in at induction centers, burning or mailing in draft cards, or urging potential draftees to flee to Canada.

David Pratt of Texas, a member of Students for a Democratic society, who served in the Army three years, explained another approach:

"Use any means. Get stoned before you get down to the induction center. Say you're schizoid, a queer. Refuse to sign a disclaimer saying you are not a member of any subversive organization."

"File for conscientious objector. It takes more time. You can't be classified or drafted if your case is under appeal."

Perhaps a more typical anti-Vietnam, anti-draft view comes from Richard Beahrs, the head of the student body at Berkeley. He described himself as a "Percy - Lindsay - Rockefeller-type Republican" in his voting pattern, but "very, very lib-

eral because they are lazy or stupid.

"Year after year I have sent students into slum projects," he said. "I have had to take them deeper and more intimately every semester before they became touched and ashamed by the injustices and inequities of our social life."

Negroes Move Away

Still another, more dramatic, alienation can be found on campus—that of the black separatists. There are enough Negro students now for them to coalesce, which is exactly what they have done.

Go to Wisconsin and you will see them off together in a corner of the Student Union Rathskellar. Go to Berkeley and you will see them in a little knot near the steps of Sproul Hall. Go to Grinnell and you will find them at certain hours in the North Lounge of the Forum.

At Grinnell, the only one of the five campuses visited where a strong all-Negro group had not formed into an official society, the white students call the North Loungers "the sub-culture."

It is difficult to tell precisely how many Negro students are on a campus because anti-discrimination laws forbid identification of race on registration forms.

However, Negro students interviewed seemed to have a clear idea of their numbers, and two surveys—at Texas and Berkeley—confirmed their estimates.

At Berkeley, with 28,000 students, there are 400 to 500 Negroes. Those who belong to the Afro-American Students Union, formed 18 months ago, will not reveal the size of the membership. Some Negroes are in both the union and a Negro fraternity—there are four—or a sorority, of which there are two.

At Harvard, with 15,000 students in the university, there are about 200 Negroes. About 75 belong to the African and Afro-American Society. This was formed in 1963.

At Texas, with 29,000 students, there are some 250 Negroes. Many belong to the Negro Alliance for Progress, formed in 1967.

"They form less than 1 per cent of the student population, which gives you a good idea of the state of higher education in Texas," said Lloyd Doggett, the student government president. He did not know that the percentage was little better at the other campuses.

At Wisconsin, with 33,000 students, there are probably 300 Negroes. Twenty-five belong to Concerned Black People, a political group formed under a slightly different name a year ago. About 80 more belong to three all-Negro fraternities and one Negro sorority.

The almost universal reac-

tion is to demand that Uncle Tom. I want to dev-

as an independent individual. He said his "deepest h had come at college when white room-mate of two ye to whom he is very close, took him for another N student. He seemed to be ing:

"Maybe they really do t we all look alike."

The Berkeley Negroes sp warmly of the educational portunity program that brought most of them to c: pus on scholarships and tuto them "to make sure we s ceed and don't just wit away" in the intense acade competition.

There are strains and pi sures, but by and large Negro students appear heal and tough-minded, even tho all the expressions of the bl separatist movement do not

At Berkeley the other d James Nabors, a Negro, yel racist insults at an all-wh group of 1,200 gathered bel Sproul steps.

"You're the cream of t crop. Well, you look li cream," he said, sneering. "I gonna skim you off!" His listeners remained sile or giggled nervously.

A Student Explains

Paul Glusman, an adhere of Students for a Democra Society, explained the mix feelings.

He said: "I don't like it when th say, 'We're going to take ov this country and paint it bla they spend half their tir attacking the white liberals sellouts."

But I think it is incumbe on us to be accommodati because of their subjugati It's just a stage they're passi through."

Take Over Rally

Two days earlier, Afro-Am ican members led by Nabo seized a noon rally from Vo tion, an Ayn Rand-Laissez fai capitalism group that has swz lowed the Young Republican The date for the rally had bee promised long before by tl university, which gets at lea one request a day for one.

"I've been denied so lor that anything I take is right Nabors shouted. In defendi a Negro accused of killing a Oakland policeman and woun ing another, for whom the Afr Americans are raising mone he said:

"Huey P. Newton committe the crime of protecting bla women first, black children se ond and white policeman last

Nabors is the outer limits black racism heard on tl campuses today.

In most cases the Neg. societies ban whites from the meetings. The Berkeley studen are also touchy about the wo "Negro."

"Negroes is equivalent nigger. It's a name the whi man gave us," Lenneal Hende

PRESERVATION COPY

YORK TIMES DARK NOVEMBER 20, 1967

Verlessness Provokes Anger Among Militants



Associated Press
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tion of white liberal and radical students to the separatist movement is hurt and dismay. They remember the happy days, when it was "black and white together."
Yet, anyone who cares to question the Negro students, who are eager to talk, discovers that a sense of self-pride, race pride and group identity is being fostered in these new organizations.

Leaders for Negroes

Moreover, according to Charles Hamilton of Harvard, "They inculcate responsibility and concern for black people."

Willie Howard of Wisconsin said that Concerned Black People was developing leaders in the professions who "will uplift the black people."

Lenneal Henderson of Berkeley, speaking of the white students, whose numbers engulfed him, said:

"They never let you forget you were black. We decided to remember we were black."

"We decided to remember our African heroes, our American heroes and our culture. We decided to stop hating ourselves, trying to look like you, bleaching our hair, straightening our hair. In high school, I used to hold my big lip in."

Then Lenneal, a handsome, light tan youth, said:

"Now I wish I were 39,000 shades darker."

Dwain Harris of Texas, president of the Negro Alliance for Progress, said: "All of us are proud that we have something to identify with. Every black man in this country is in some way feeling awareness of himself—who he is and what he is, and trying to find himself."

Dwain, who is from Houston, burned a Confederate flag on the Texas campus recently. "It gave me a feeling of real satisfaction," he said.

White students angrily reproached him for burning the flag, he said, telling him: "Their Southern daddies fought and died for that flag."

But, he said: "You go in their rooms and you see the Confederate flag plastered all over the walls, and you see it flying from their car aerials and on the bumper stickers with the words 'Forget, hell.'"

"All that means to you as a black man is slavery," he said. "It's objectionable. If they're going to hang on to that flag I don't want their friendship."

Only at Grinnell, where the Negroes are split between the middle-class students and the lower-income scholarship students, do most want to lead an integrated life.

Still, there is frustration and ambivalence. Roy Walker expressed it this way:

"If I go with the soul-music group in the North Lounge, I'll be categorized as a traditional Negro by the whites. If I don't, the soul group will call me an Uncle Tom. I want to develop as an independent individual."

son said. "America has Chinese-Americans and Italian-Americans. We come from Africa and they call us Negroes."

Stokely Carmichael is their man of the hour. Martin Luther King has receded. In discussing black power, the term Carmichael brought into currency, Frank Jenkins, the president of Afro-American Student Union, said:

"It's the same thing as Jew power. You got the Liebermans and the Goldbergs working away for each other in New York. The Italians help themselves, too. We're giving a birth to an economy and a culture you've stolen from us."

"We're 15 per cent of the population. We should have 15 per cent of the economic power. We ought to be in control of the ghetto."

Some militant Negro students oppose the draft and almost all oppose the war in Vietnam. However, they do not participate generally in white anti-war protests.

Lenneal Henderson will resist the draft.

He says: "White people intellectualize. We have a different reason for not going. We haven't enjoyed the benefits of this society. The whites are resisting as citizens. We resist on the ground that we aren't citizens. He who has no country shouldn't fight for it."

Concern for Poor

Yet, alongside the campus bitterness and shouting about race and war, there is something else—the growing student participation in working with the poor.

This is especially true at Harvard and Berkeley, and what is happening there is reflected on most campuses in great urban areas.

The biggest organization of any kind at Harvard is 60-year-old Phillips Brooks House. It has 1,200 members and its budget has gone from \$52,000 in 1962 to \$127,000 in 1967.

At Berkeley, some 3,000 students—10 per cent of the student population, and ten times the number of those in Students for a Democratic Society—are active in such work.

Emphasis in Change

The student government at Berkeley, which now controls \$250,000 each year, has shifted big chunks of money from the university band and glee club to the Clearinghouse, a campus information center where volunteers can discover what work they do among the poor. The thrust of Phillips Brooks House changed. Five years ago, volunteers were simply placed in agencies that worked with the poor.

"We didn't have any self-contained programs," Benjamin

Phillips Brooks House, said. "The emphasis was on offering social services. Now we are devoted to social change."

The volunteers from Phillips Brooks House have developed tutorial programs in public schools and even housing projects in Boston slums. They have hired professional consultants to guide them.

The volunteers also speak of a growing number of medical and law students who want educations for other reasons than students did in 1962. Now, they say, many seek training so they may defend and succor the poor.

Many observers believe this strain of social thought will persist after the angry demonstrators of today are gone.

Certainly, many teachers and administrators are now saying

to the demonstrators: "Enough."

One professor said: "It's nasty, it's nasty. Kids have got to learn the limits that must be enforced."

Another said: "They're pushing the liberals too far. The students don't have a prayer against the university."

The other night, two visiting fathers at the Wisconsin campus were worrying aloud. They spoke of the dissension and the shouting, and of their children's threats to grind the university to a halt.

Then they turned to a friend. He was a permissive liberal, who had raised his son on Dr. Benjamin Spock. The son is now a leader in Students for a Democratic Society.

"Ultimately and inevitably," said the third father, "They all become 30."

PRESERVATION COPY

at peaceful, simple protest—sit-in, a boycott, a picket line—could change, indeed, had ready changed, deeply rooted institutions and prejudices, has turned into the ugly disruptions of 1967.

The nonviolence and Christian love of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has given way to tear gas, clubs and hatred at some colleges and soft-induction centers. Those who found the student scene exhilarating in 1962 find it depressing today. The 1967 students have no American heroes. The last time around, President Kennedy and Jerry Goldwater could arouse enormous fervor. This fall, Governor Rockefeller, Robert F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Mayor Lindsay, Senator Charles Percy and Mark Whittaker Church are popular, but the passion is missing. Some voice we-see-through-him-he-wants-to-be-President distrust of Robert Kennedy.

The Young Democrats and Young Republican clubs largely have become speakers' bureau paper organizations. By at least 4 to 1, the Young Democrats at Harvard, with 800 dues-paying, but largely inactive, members, believe that President Johnson has betrayed the 1964 campaign promises about Vietnam and oppose his 1968 candidacy. The President the Young Democrats at the University of Texas is equally affected.

Vocal students express a sometimes irrational hatred of President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Most students find the judgment extreme and unfair, but the vocalists call the President a "murderer" for escalating the Vietnam war. The most charitable thing you can say about Mr. Rusk is that he is "intractable," or perhaps "blithering idiot." Many who are close to them at the campuses, in both their activity and apathy, regret a sickness in American society.

The New Left, led by the students for a Democratic Society, seems to be experiencing a crisis. Prof. William Appleman Williams of Wisconsin calls "a general revulsion against the moral righteousness of a socialist shot through with failures."

Products of Society

The New Leftists are probably both a product of, and a reaction against, a society they despise and call grossly materialistic, hypocritical and inhuman. They see divisions—the rich against black, rich against poor, world humanity against the United States in an unpopular war. They see no hope in America.

Prof. Stanley Hoffman of Harvard says that in 1962, the students here were disgusted with their Government. It was still their Government. They had the basic trust in people brought up to believe was really theirs. They now believe even their Government may be a bunch of liars and cheats.

Like the extreme right-wing elements of 1962, the extreme

Mr. Cohen, however, will say that Cuba has best met its "historical possibilities" toward being a "free, rational and happy society" and that she has done this with far fewer resources than the United States.

Still Rational Discourse

On the left, there is still rational discourse about issues, even the war; it is the order of the day in meetings at Harvard and Grinnell.

Similarly, Texas has been calm, although resentment of another sort still lingers from a student rebellion last spring against strict controls over rallies. ("This campus could blow up any minute over some silly little university rule," said Mary Morphis, the student editor.)

At both Texas and Grinnell, however, the nucleus of the New Left sometimes seems to be made up of intellectual hobbits—warm, lovable and a little furry minded.

At Wisconsin and Berkeley it is different. The radicals of the left there shout down opposition, stifle debate over the war, or student power, or faculty power, and call for the destruction of the "corporate-military system," which, they say, includes the universities.

"It's oppressive—this place is really getting sick," said Joel Brenner, editor of The Wisconsin Daily Cardinal.

"The extremists have broken down, intellectually and psychologically," he said. "Instead of asking themselves: 'What is the problem? What can be done about it?' They're asking: 'What is the most radical thing to do?'"

Across the country, the radical intellectual students are reading "Repressive Tolerance" by Prof. Herbert Marcuse, a German-born philosopher, who now teaches at the San Diego campus of the University of California. Its thesis is that a liberal society, by encouraging debate and tolerance, emasculates and submerges any radical arguments or alternatives.

On all five campuses visited, the New Leftists were beginning to argue that the "Higher morality" of their protest against an unjust war superceded individual rights such as free speech. The most radical among them displayed total scorn for individual liberties.

Prof. John Silber of the University of Texas, a liberal philosopher who is widely respected on the campus, produced a harsh indictment of extremists of the left.

Furiously, he said: "They are the new Fascisti."

He went on: "They are indistinguishable from the far right. One group wants bloody revolution. The other wants to blast the world. They share a contempt for rational political discussion and constitutional, legal solutions."

"Both want to be pure. They know nothing about the virtue of compromise. They know nothing about the horror of sainthood or the wickedness of saints."

The extreme leftists, Professor Silber said, are "Kamikaze liberals," who would "drive

me in Oct. 18 against a recruiter for Dow Chemical Company, which makes napalm.

The chancellor, William Sewell, had just been hooted down the night before at a student forum.

"I'm worried sick," he said. "They talk of tearing the society down, remaking it over. Nobody says how. What has happened here has happened in the cities. They are turning from protest to disruption, and the protesters will use force."

Mr. Sewell also spoke of the anger the legislators in the state capitol, near the bottom of Bascom Hill, felt toward the protesters. There have been rumblings about cutting the university budget and of restricting the out-of-state enrollment.

About 28 per cent of the undergraduates are from out of state, most of them from the cities of the Eastern Seaboard or Chicago. It is from this group, as in 1962, that the liberal-left activists come.

At Berkeley, Texas and Wisconsin, the gulf is widening between once sympathetic faculty members and the student left.

Prof. Robert H. Cole of Berkeley, who helped draft a resolution after the Free Speech movement in 1964 that led to drastically liberalized university rules said:

"I was a revolutionary in 1964—a faculty Young Turk. Now I'm an administrator, and I'm tired, very, very tired. We all are."

George Mosse, a history professor at Wisconsin, who is easily one of the most popular and stimulating men on campus, had this to say:

"The essence of a university is the personal relationship and dialogue between some interesting professors and some interested students. The tactics of confrontation will end this dialogue. It's already becoming more difficult."

The Draft Issue

These tactics center now on the draft.

Unquestionably, the vast majority of male students would serve in the armed forces if drafted. The left, however, wants to disrupt the draft by blocking campus recruiters, sitting in at induction centers, burning or mailing in draft cards, or urging potential draftees to flee to Canada.

David Pratt of Texas, a member of Students for a Democratic Society, who served in the Army three years, explained another approach:

"Use any means. Get stoned before you get down to the induction center. Say you're schizoid, a queer. Refuse to sign a disclaimer saying you are not a member of any subversive organization."

"File for conscientious objector. It takes more time. You can't be classified or drafted if your case is under appeal."

Perhaps a more typical anti-Vietnam, anti-draft view comes from Richard Beahrs, the head of the student body at Berkeley. He described himself as a "Percy-Lindsay-Rockefeller-type Republican" in his voting pattern, but "very, very lib-

middle has been alienated. At Texas, where the orientation is traditionally right of center anyway, Professor Silber worries about his students taking what he calls nineteen-twenties "Herbert Hoover" stances about the poor, believing they are poor because they are lazy or stupid.

"Year after year I have sent students into slum projects," he said. "I have had to take them deeper and more intimately every semester before they became touched and ashamed by the injustices and inequities of our social life."

Negroes Move Away

Still another, more dramatic, alienation can be found on campus—that of the black separatists. There are enough Negro students now for them to coalesce, which is exactly what they have done.

Go to Wisconsin and you will see them off together in a corner of the Student Union Rathskellar. Go to Berkeley and you will see them in a little knot near the steps of Sproul Hall. Go to Grinnell and you will find them at certain hours in the North Lounge of the Forum.

At Grinnell, the only one of the five campuses visited where a strong all-Negro group had not formed into an official society, the white students call the North Loungers "the subculture."

It is difficult to tell precisely how many Negro students are on a campus because anti-discrimination laws forbid identification of race on registration forms.

However, Negro students interviewed seemed to have a clear idea of their numbers, and two surveys—at Texas and Berkeley—confirmed their estimates.

At Berkeley, with 28,000 students, there are 400 to 500 Negroes. Those who belong to the Afro-American Students Union, formed 18 months ago, will not reveal the size of the membership. Some Negroes are in both the union and a Negro fraternity—there are four—or a sorority, of which there are two.

At Harvard, with 15,000 students in the university, there are about 200 Negroes. About 75 belong to the African and Afro-American Society. This was formed in 1963.

At Texas, with 29,000 students, there are some 250 Negroes. Many belong to the Negro Alliance for Progress, formed in 1967.

"They form less than 1 per cent of the student population, which gives you a good idea of the state of higher education in Texas, said Lloyd Doggett, the student government president. He did not know that the percentage was little better at the other campuses.

At Wisconsin, with 33,000 students, there are probably 300 Negroes. Twenty-five belong to Concerned Black People, a political group formed under a slightly different name a year ago. About 80 more belong to three all-Negro fraternities and one Negro sorority. The almost universal reac-

an integrated life. Still, there is frustration and ambivalence. Roy Walker expressed it this way:

"If I go with the soul-music group in the North Lounge, I'll be categorized as a traditional Negro by the whites. If I don't, the soul group will call me an Uncle Tom. I want to develop as an independent individual."

He said his "deepest hurt" had come at college when his white room-mate of two years, to whom he is very close, mistook him for another Negro student. He seemed to be saying:

"Maybe they really do think we all look alike."

The Berkeley Negroes spoke warmly of the educational opportunity program that has brought most of them to campus on scholarships and tutored them "to make sure we succeed and don't just wither away" in the intense academic competition.

There are strains and pressures, but by and large the Negro students appear healthy and tough-minded, even though all the expressions of the black separatist movement do not.

At Berkeley the other day, James Nabors, a Negro, yelled racist insults at an all-white group of 1,200 gathered below Sproul steps.

"You're the cream of the crop! Well, you look like cream," he said, sneering. "I'm gonna skim you off!"

His listeners remained silent or giggled nervously.

A Student Explains

Paul Glusman, an adherent of Students for a Democratic Society, explained the mixed feelings.

He said: "I don't like it when they say, 'We're going to take over this country and paint it black.' They spend half their time attacking the white liberals as sellouts.

But I think it is incumbent on us to be accommodating because of their subjugation. It's just a stage they're passing through."

Take Over Rally

Two days earlier, Afro-American members led by Nabors seized a noon rally from Volition, an Ayn Rand-Laissez faire capitalism group that has swallowed the Young Republicans. The date for the rally had been promised long before by the university, which gets at least one request a day for one.

"I've been denied so long that anything I take is right," Nabors shouted. In defending a Negro accused of killing an Oakland policeman and wounding another, for whom the Afro-Americans are raising money, he said:

"Huey P. Newton committed the crime of protecting black women first, black children second and white policeman last."

Nabors is the outer limits of black racism heard on the campuses today.

In most cases the Negro societies ban whites from their meetings. The Berkeley students are also touchy about the word "Negro."

"Negroes is equivalent to nigger. It's a name the white man gave us," Lenneal Hender-