“EDUCATION NOT PTOTECTION”
STUDENT ACTIVISM ON WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA CAMPUSES, 1960S-1970S

A thesis presented to the faculty of the Graduate School of Western Carolina University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of American History. Master of Arts in History.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

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The dialectic between pro-and-anti-Vietnam War supporters has been an overlooked part of the history of Vietnam War student activism. The divided baby boomer generation on college and university campuses during the 1960s and 1970s are the focus demographic of this study. Rather than present them as a coherent group of disaffected youth, as the media and many adults did at the time, this thesis will explore, within the scope of, how three college campuses in western North Carolina underscore the ways that baby boomers disagreed over events that defined their generation. The disagreements expressed by Vietnam war groups would grow into the articulation of the New Left and the New Right politics of the 1960s and 1970s. These separate political affiliations, which developed in the late 1960s, have historically been identified as incubated in two separate spaces. The New Left is famous for its prosperous beginnings on college campuses across the nation, while the New Right gained traction within working-class America during Richard Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign. However, the New Right's values can also be found on college campuses articulated through the public opinions of Vietnam veterans and conservative students. For western North Carolina college students the focus was on campus and student life improvement which dovetails in the womens liberation movement, free speech movement, and anti-censorship movements. The formulation of student's rights movements were articulated on campuses such as Appalachian State University, University of North Carolina at Asheville, and Western Carolina University, which serves as an example of small regionally comprehensive universities student activism which serve larger political purposes than they have been given credit for.

INTRODUCTION

On September 25th, 1969 at Western Carolina University (WCU), a regional university tucked away in the Appalachian Mountains, a young man named J.T. Likes received the same life-altering draft status many young men before him had been assigned. Likes had received his one-way ticket to the Vietnam War through the United States' Selective Service. Likes, from Eden, North Carolina, arrived at WCU in 1969 and was just beginning his college education. After Likes received the news from his parents about his draft status being reclassified as a 1-A, and officially drafted, he stepped back to ponder this new life thrust upon him. What makes Likes a unique draftee figure is the composure he exhibited in the face of his now uncertain future.

Daily American death tolls from Vietnam were a nightly occurrence on every television across the nation, fueling the opposition to the Vietnam War. Those who opposed the draft burned their draft cards, fled the country, protested, refused to go, and faced jail time instead of being one more American sacrificed in the Cold War. Likes gave himself time to process his new future and as the WCU student newspaper reported,

> "J.T did not shrink from fear, nor did he catch the first bus from Sylva to Canada. What he did instead was to wait calmly to Monday and then pick up the telephone on the fourth floor of Madison. "I would like to place a call to the President," J.T. said confidently to the long distance operator. "The President of what?!" was her reply. "The President of the United States of America," J.T. said. The next question the operator asked was a classic, "Are you drunk?!" This did not discourage J.T. Likes however. He simply explained the fate that had befallen him. After a few minutes of red tape, J.T. was speaking to Spiro Agnew, the Vice President of the United States. Agnew told J.T. that President Nixon was in a cabinet meeting at that time, but that he would help if possible. J.T. told Agnew that he had been accepted at another school but had come to Western instead, enrolled as a pre-med student. And then suddenly he had been classified 1-A. Agnew advised J.T. submit a written appeal directly to the President. He also promised to place a message on the President's desk concerning the affair. After the conversation, J.T. felt the hot breath no more."[1]
>
> -Western Carolinian, 2nd October, 1969

[1] Jim Rowell, "Freshman Calls President About Draft Status," *The Western Carolinian*, vol. 35, no. 2, October 2, 1969, final edition in Western Carolina University Special and Digital Collections (accessed February 13, 2021).

We do not know the outcome of this courageous call, but what is significant is that Likes, like many other college students during the Vietnam era, took a stand and was willing to express that to the highest powers of the U.S. federal government. Like's expression of student activism created a sense of comradery around his bravery, and the men who lived on his hall took up a collection to help J.T. pay for his call.

Likes' story demonstrates the multitude of ways to examine student activism in the 1960s and 1970s. This thesis contextualizes several overlapping movements: students' rights, civil rights, both pro-and-anti-Vietnam War protests, and higher education reform. In the process, I analyze how students articulated their growing desire for autonomy. The thesis evaluates student activism on three rural universities in western North Carolina: the University of North Carolina at Asheville (UNCA), Appalachian State University (ASU), and Western Carolina University (WCU). I have chosen these universities, in part, because most historians focus on student activism at larger research institutions. Studying these regional-comprehensive universities broadens our understanding of campuses where student activism by bringing institutions that operated out of the national media spotlight into the conversation. Also, southern student activism has been less studied, though this has picked up recently. The intention is not to be definitive in measuring the success or failure of student activism. Instead, this thesis seeks to explore how students expressed their sentiments towards university administration control on their campuses. Western North Carolina college student politics reflected national trends of students' rights. This thesis explores the different ways that articulations for students' rights and student authority were manifested on each campus. These articulations emerged through student participation in the free speech movement, the early women's rights movement, and opposition

to the Vietnam War. To understand student activism during the 1960s and 1970s, we must first briefly discuss the development and characteristics of the baby boomer generation.

After the end of World War II, there was a massive spike in the population due to families having more children. This spike in the population created the largest generation of people the United States had ever experienced, the baby boomer generation. Likes and his peers were baby boomers. "Between 1960 and 1972, 45 million Americans turned eighteen," explains historian Joseph Fry, "and during the 1960s, the number of college students ballooned from 16 to 25 million." [2] Like many generations who came before, the baby boomer generation often differed from their parents on topics like fashion, politics, music, sexual relations, and alcohol and drug usage. This 'generational gap' that lay between boomers and their elders only seemed to grow as they went off to university and college campuses.

College campuses offered baby boomers a unique opportunity to form bonds to create communities. College students all shared in coursework, hobbies, participated in student organizations, and socialized with like-minded people outside of a classroom setting. Baby boomer college students had all of the conveniences for a grassroots agenda to accelerate, like the peace movement to end the war. What occurred on campuses during the 1960s across America continued the tradition of the new generation's worldviews differing from their parents.

Youthful rebellion is a time-honored tradition, often subconsciously practiced by each generation of Americans during their years of young adulthood. For example, at the turn of the 20th century, young women challenged social norms that their mothers were confined to during the Victorian period such as dress, occupation, civic rights, and their opinionated voices in the

[2] Joseph Fry, "Unpopular Messengers: Student Opposition to the Vietnam War," in *The War That Never Ends: New Perspectives on the Vietnam War*, edited by David L. Anderson John Ernst, (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2007): 221.

public sphere. One contributing factor that allowed for these flapper women to change societal norms was the first World War. Women in this new era were forced to take on roles that were not required of their mothers. The increase in the United States' international affairs after World War I continued to make changes for American society throughout the 20th century.

International affairs changed the mainstream culture of the early 20th century and would continue to change the cultural landscape throughout World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. By the time America became officially involved in the Vietnam conflict, eventually escalating to a full-blown war in 1965, the mainstream cultural landscape of America reflected the youthful engagement in national issues. Historian June Melby Benowitz states in her 2017 book *Challenge and Change,* that "most adults combined all the rebels, whether their rebellion was in terms of protest demonstrations, drugs, colorful and outlandish clothes, long hair, open sexual activity, or alternative lifestyle, into what they loosely defined as a 'counter-culture.'" [3]

This is not to say that the era of social movements is strictly confined to the 1960s and 1970s. Youthful rebellion was influenced by developments such as the pop culture phenomenon of Elvis Presley and Rock n' Roll in the 1950s.[4] Rock n' Roll coincided with the burgeoning of the modern Civil Rights Movement that for college students became an avenue to be involved in social movements to reform and change politics. The foundations of the counter-culture were created before the 1960s, when youthful rebellion was defined as pushing back against accepted American cultural practices and assumptions. The New Left activism was born out of the Civil Rights Movement and flowered into other movements such as the like anti-Vietnam War, free

[3] June Melby Benowitz, *Challenge and Change: Right-Wing Women, Grassroots Activism and the Baby Boom Generation,* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), 219.
[4] Pete Daniel, *Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s,*(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 148-153.

speech, and women's liberation movements. New Left activism and identity politics soon influenced how the New Right approached policies as well.

The generation involved in making larger national decisions during the Vietnam War was concerned about the growing power and disaffection of the baby boomers. Adults were worried because this next generation was challenging the cultural ideals and beliefs of an established world superpower entrenched in the Cold War. Benowitz explained that the elder generation "contended that college students' antiwar demonstrations were defined as 'part of a plot to destroy our country.'"[5] The generation that fought in World War II and the Korean conflict were now not only fighting communism in Vietnam but a cultural war at home. The generational divide could be observed most obviously on college campuses. College campuses offer historians glimpses into pro-and-anti activism during the 1960s and 1970s, which coincided with increasing calls for free speech and student autonomy.

However, not all baby boomers agreed politically. This thesis will discuss the political divides within the baby boomer generation. Rather than present them as a coherent group of disaffected youth, as the media and many adults did at the time, this thesis will explore how three college campuses in western North Carolina underscore the ways that baby boomers disagreed over events that defined their generation. These disagreements would grow into the articulation of the young Democratic and Republican clubs' politics, students' rights, women's rights, and Vietnam War activism. These separate political affiliations, which developed in the late 1960s, have historically been identified as incubated in two separate spaces. The New Left is famous for its prosperous beginnings on college campuses across the nation, while the New Right, is remembered through history, that gained traction through the comingling of political dissatisfaction among working-class as well as suburbanite Americans that coalesced with

[5] Ibid, 221.

Richard Nixon's campaign for president in 1968. However, the New Right's values can also be found on college campuses articulated through the public opinions of conservative students and administrators.

The dichotomy between the New Left and Right is more complex than stark political differences. Historian Lisa McGirr in *Suburban Warriors; The Origins of the New American Right,* discusses the complexities of these two grassroot movements of left and right politics that were so prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s. McGirr argues that, "just as national liberal policy makers were expanding their power in regulating the economy, they were seeking to remove the government as the arbitrator of normative values. American liberalism this seemed to pose a dual threat…"[6] The threat McGirr is discussing is to both conservative men and women in suburbs throughout the United States. She discusses how the policies made by liberal politicians were seen by conservatives as the problems created by the liberal elite. McGirr's argument about the make-up of the New Right was that it was primarily young conservative adults or as she describes suburbanites. As this thesis shows, campuses could be incubators for New Right politics as well. Many of those suburbanites who would go on to be integral to the New Right's political base got their political baptism on college campuses.

University campuses thrived as breeding grounds for social movements because of these three overlapping movements: pro-and anti- Vietnam war activism, the free speech movement, and the push for increased student autonomy. While college campuses were small communities, they were also interwoven with thousands of other university campuses that nurtured small social movements to spread across the country. The unifying thread between ASU, UNC-A, and WCU took the form of pushing for the removal of the administrative dynamic of *in loco parentis* which

[6] Lisa McGuirr, *Suburban Warriors; The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 151.

dovetails into free speech at ASU, desexualizing social regulation at WCU, and ending censorship at UNC-A. I argue that even though these campuses were engaged with broader national movements, the students on UNC-A, ASU, and WCU, were more engaged in changing their campus cultures to fit their specific needs. At ASU, the students advocated for free speech and political equity, which is articulated through pro-and-anti-war protests and the burgeoning voices of the New Left and New Right that swept across college campuses in the era. At WCU students advocated for a stronger unified student government association and less parental social control from the university administration. UNC-A students voiced their yearning for student individualism expressed through critiques of the Vietnam War and the university's tight control of student expression. On all three campuses students advocated for the end of *in loco parentis* administrative control over their lives and manifested this through revisions to the student governments and in student newspapers.

Historiography

"In the beginning was the story. Or rather: many stories, of many places, in many voices, pointing towards many ends"[7]

William Cronon, A Place for Stories, 1992

The popular historical narrative of activism during the 1960s and 1970s is interpreted as a time full of radicals causing unrest in America. Fifteen years after World War II, the United States was locked in a struggle to contain communism around the globe. Something snapped, the American mind or patience, in the 1960s. The birth of the counterculture rejected mainstream American society and seriously questioned the legitimacy of a Cold War-era American imperialist state. The counterculture stood for freedom of expression, psychedelic music, non-monogamous sexual relations, drug usage and experimentation, and alternative clothing and hairstyles. Different from the mostly submissive youth culture of the 1940s and early 1950s, the counterculture questioned authority. As the counterculture and the New Left converged on college campuses, galvanized by the anti-war movement, pro-war students began to publicly articulate their positions that could be viewed as the early rumblings of the New Right.

While there is a multitude of scholarship that surrounds topics related to the Vietnam War, political radicalism, baby boomers, and the counterculture, it is a very broad spectrum of studies. While a wide-ranging national perspective is important when wanting to relate a small incident to the larger narrative, it can sometimes be too broad. This historiography considers both regional and national narratives, as well as various important student activist organizations.

[7] William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History*, no.4, (Spring 1992), http://www.jstor.org/stable2079346 (accessed March 15, 2021).

National Student Protests

Kenneth Heineman's (1993) *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era,* focuses on student activism during the 1960s. Part one of Heineman's book, "A New Generation of Americans," is the focus of this historiography. He begins the discussion with university administrators and their work with the federal government during the Cold War. As early as World War I, federal government funds were being poured into university research projects to further technology and weaponry advancement for the military. College students became the developers and workers, creating new technology for defending the United States against communism. Heineman moves from the government's involvement in universities to faculty peace activists. While discussing the dynamics that identifying as a peace activist created with other faculty, administrators, and students Heineman states it's, "also important to understand increasing political tensions among faculty in Cold War-Vietnam era is the changing role academics played in American society."[8] Finally, Heineman explores 1960s student activists as a whole. Heineman states, "Student activists, their political values shaped their varied classes and cultural backgrounds, also dwelled in separate realities; there wasn't one antiwar movement or one New Left."[9] Heineman says student activists supporting the peace movement were a hodgepodge of activists who also supported other movements like civil rights, women's liberation, and student rights.

Heineman argues that the government, administrators, faculty, and students were all participants in "campus wars" across the country in the 1960s. He specifically studies larger research institutions. Heineman uses the term "campus wars" to describe the nature of

[8] Kenneth Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era,* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1993), 43.
[9] Ibid, 82.

relationships between students, faculty, and administration on university campuses while illustrating how the relationships created an unsettled and hostile environment. Within each group, Heineman defends his argument by examining several key figures who were indeed participants in a campus wars. He also includes psychological evidence for why he claims campuses were at war by providing statistical evidence that peace activists endured both physical and mental abuse from peers and administrators. He concludes his argument by underscoring the influence that the local environment surrounding campuses had on the development of antiwar groups and the numbers they accrued. Heineman uses examples of outside aggressors like the local newspapers that offered the publics' viewpoint about antiwar protestors on campus to build out a well-rounded narrative about how people off of college campuses perceived of student activists.

Heineman's contribution to Vietnam War era scholarship fits into the analysis of the student experience on campuses during the 1960s. Acknowledging and understanding all of the key players in campus wars history creates a helpful insight for understanding campus life in the 1960s. The scope of Heineman's narrative is far-reaching. By focusing on a smaller region, this thesis will be able to dig deeper into what campus life was like for student activists on western North Carolina college campuses during the 1960s. While Heineman's main focus is college-age students who opposed the Vietnam war, Melvin Small expands the focus to the collective group of Americans who supported the antiwar movement.

In Melvin Small's 2002, *Antiwarriors; The Vietnam War and the Battle for America's Hearts and Minds,* he introduces his topic with a preview into his life as a participant-observer of the antiwar movement. During the Vietnam War Small, like many others, believed this war was not in America's national security interests. Throughout his narrative, Small examines major

events, organizations, and politicians that boosted the momentum of the antiwar movement. Beginning with the movement's origin, Small examines how the government turned the civil war in Vietnam into an Americanized war. Next, he follows the grassroots beginnings for student activism that spread to campuses throughout the country. To understand how the antiwar movement influenced policy change, Small includes pieces of presidential history relations with examples like Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon, discussing how they responded to protestors. Finally, Small concludes his broad view of the antiwar protestors with the de-escalation of the war and eventually end the movement altogether.

Small argues that the people who opposed the Vietnam War, or the anti-warriors as he labels them, made a difference with their efforts for federal policy change. Small states, "on at least two occasions, the antiwar movement affected presidential decision making for Vietnam."[10] Small uses evidence from specific events like the 1967 Pentagon Siege and the 1969 Moratorium to support his argument. He evaluates the movement based upon how seriously the government and public officials took the movement. Small confirmed his theory on the evidence of governmental surveillance, undermining the integrity of organizations involved in the movement, and media coverage on the peace movement. Small concludes his argument that "Both presidents discovered that in order to win the war in Vietnam, they had to win the war at home."[11] This leaves the reader wonder is whether the United States government or antiwar activists truly win what they were fighting for.

Small's addition to the scholarship surrounding the Vietnam War protests is an insightful national narrative of the peace movement and a measurement of the American government's

[10] Melvin Small, *Antiwarriors: The Vietnam War and the Battle for America's Hearts and Minds,* (Washington D.C: Library of Congress, 2002), 161.
[11] Ibid, 163.

success in Vietnam. He concludes that both had great influence, but neither won. This is a helpful source for understanding the peace movement and how Americans in the 1960s gauged success. I plan to not only evaluate antiwar activists but prowar activists as well as scaling the narrative into a more focused region of the United States. Small's goal is to analyze the antiwar movement as a collective, whereas Gael Graham uses high schools' across America for her analysis on the differences of student activism within one generation.

Gael Graham's (2006) *Young Activists; American High School Students in the Age of Protest,* is a history of high school age baby boomers and their perspectives on what high school policies they were choosing to engage with to create change. Graham's chapter, "High School Students, the Vietnam War, and Radical Politics" is an intriguing chapter discussing radicalism and the Vietnam War and the high school experience. This chapter expands this historiography into the younger demographic of the baby boomer generation. This younger generation was witnessing the first wave of baby boomers making history for student activism on college campuses across the nation. Graham discusses the rise in high school student activism and the threat of radical influence in high schools which worried administrators, teachers, and parents. Graham gives examples of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) demonstrations and how much influence they had over this younger wave of baby boomers. Graham states, "though hardly posing a threat to schools, these disruptions provided a wonderful copy for the media which intensified public anxiety about SDS." Graham goes on to cite an SDS member, later journalism professor Todd Gitlin, described "how the media seizes issues and frames them to maximize their shock value."[12] This idea of the media seizing and framing radical activism at the college and high school level can be tracked throughout the rest of the chapter. Graham

[12] Gael Graham, *Young Activists; American High School Students in the Age of Protest,* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006), 139.

continues with a discussion of the influence of the high school movement, Black Panther activism in high schools, and the Vietnam War in high schools for students, teachers, and administrators. Graham also covers both pro-and-anti-war activists at the high school level. Graham questions the nick-name "a potent force" the national media gave to young activists, by asking if they really made a difference, or was the timing of the activism off, and finally were high schools truly ready to be transformed?

Graham argues that high school student activists were different from college student activists, making the argument that people of the same generation can be separated in beliefs about what type of restraints were put on high school activism. She supports this argument first by disputing the role of the SDS and its influence on high school students. Graham explores how these young activists responded differently toward pro-and-anti-war movements, Black Panthers, students' rights, and women's liberation. Throughout the entire chapter, Graham questions the timing of their activism and its relation to their effectiveness to enact change. Graham concludes her argument with a critique of administration, teachers, parents, and communities. Graham says, "American high schools were not well equipped to respond swiftly or flexibly to the challenges posed by the activists. These students felt stymied by the adults who controlled the schools."[13] Graham poses the question about age and influence; how could young activists be seen as concerned citizens when the rest of the population still saw them only as children.

Graham's work offers a very insightful analysis of high school activism and how it differs from the popular historical narrative we typically see about 1960s student activism. Graham's analysis of younger baby boomers is an excellent segue into Joseph Fry's analysis of young people during the 1960s and their involvement in student activist organizations.

[13] Ibid, 166.

Joseph Fry writes a chapter in the 2007 edited collection *The War That Never Ends: New Perspectives on the Vietnam War*. In his chapter titled "Unpopular Messengers: Student Opposition to the Vietnam War," Fry discusses student activism against the war on a broad national scale. Fry introduces his topic of 1960s student activism by first giving credit to the generation of youth during this decade, the baby boomers. When baby boomers, Fry points out, " 'came of age', the number of college-age students literally exploded."[14] Taking a broad view of student activism, Fry focuses on the influence of student organizations like the Students for a Democratic Society on college campuses. With this broadened lens Fry discusses only major events that made national news headlines on large university campuses like Kent State, University of Michigan, and the University of California. By using big named schools Fry tracks the evolution of big student protests back to their original roots. During the Vietnam War, the spreading of information for anti-war organizations started with teach-ins on campus. This method began at the University of California at Berkley. These teach-in methods spread like wildfire across the country because it was solidified as an educational and non-violent way to further the agenda of an organization. These teach-ins were held with the perspective that one could reach more people through civility than anger. Fry includes the student activism against the war that created violent situations as well. As the involvement in Vietnam increased, Fry states, "a more violent minority of protestors sought to destroy ROTC buildings."[15] Fry discusses how violence led to more violence and how the American public viewed these student's actions.

> During the war, only 10 percent of the nation's twenty-five hundred colleges and universities experienced violent protests, when combined with mysterious events such as the burning of the Nichols Gymnasium at Kansas State University in December 1968 or the highly visible and violent clashes of students with police at Columbia University in April 1968, in the streets of Chicago in August 1968 during the Democratic National Convention, … such incidents left older

[14] Fry, *Unpopular Messengers*, 222.
[15] Ibid, 229-229.

> Americans shocked and fearful that the nation's political and social fabric was being ripped apart.[16]

Fry argues that the baby boomer generation's wave of student activism was the most widespread collective activism in American history. By supporting this argument, Fry states that this activism was also different from normal American activism. He says it was, "an-activism that was motivated by far more than immediate self-interest and that helped keep the agony of the war before the public, challenge the morality of U.S. actions, and erode national support for the conflict."[17] This is also Fry's argument that for the power of influence student activists had during the 1960s. By using evidence from campuses across the nation, Fry justifies his argument that even though anti-war students were a minority and their message was unpopular among mainstream America, they dared to challenge the involvement in Vietnam. Fry introduced what life was like for student activists but Holly Scott engages with the cultural difference between the elder generation and the baby boomer generation.

Holly Scott's *Younger Than That Now; The Politics of Age in the 1960s* (2016) explores national perspectives on student activism during the 1960s. Scott begins with the early 1960s youth activism, establishing a "youth frame" with the Civil Rights movement and early New Left activity. She then explores the media's influence on youth activism. Scott focused on the fact that the media in the early 1960s only served to critique young activist's actions. Scott shifts the focus to news coverage in the late 1960s, specifically the New Left. Scott also discusses how the media coverage contributed to the perception of out-of-control youth that over-shadowed the larger political issues at the time. Scott addresses her term "youth frame" later in discussion with the New Left's demographics and how it contributed to the rise of identity politics. She uses

[16] Ibid, 230.
[17] Ibid, 219.

political affinity groups like the New Left, feminists, and civil rights activists to compare and contrast how each one contributed to the new youth identity of enacting social change.

Scott's major argument is about her term "youth frame" and how this form of identity with social movements both helped and hindered young activist's efforts. "By the time movements of the 1960s emerged, youth culture was an entrenched and highly visible part of life."[18] Scott argues that young people were becoming activists on the perception that it was a rite of passage of youth culture in America. Some adult critics, Scott argues, also believed in the "youth framing" concept that it was just a phase of adolescence. According to Scott, "both groups were missing a key point: the social movements of the period were bigger than the divides of age. But in casting the issues in terms of life stage, Americans on all sides continued a long tradition of fusing social change into the very definition of youth."[19] Scott argues on behalf of the meaning and memory of youth culture during the 1960s. Tom Hayden, focuses on the actions of those who opposed the war and why they should be remembered as central to the history of the Vietnam conflict.

Tom Hayden wrote the essay "Hell No: The Forgotten Power of the Vietnam Peace Movement" in 2016 before his death. Hayden decided to write this essay in response to the Pentagon's exclusion of veterans, anti-draft activists, and anti-war demonstrators from the Vietnam Memorial. Hayden accuses the government of white-washing peace activists from the history of America's involvement in Vietnam. Hayden, a staunch activist and founding member of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), uses this essay to discuss the history of student activists in the 1960s, the impact of their actions for policy change, and why they should be

[18] Holly Scott, *Younger Than That Now: The Politics of Age in the 1960s,* (Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 16.
[19] Ibid, 17.

remembered as part of the Vietnam War history. Hayden discusses his personal experience of being a peace movement activist, and the collective group experience of the peace movement. Hayden states, "We were young, we were required to learn about Vietnam intellectually on our own, not from dogma, and construct an alternative to the dominant paradigm over our lives; that the Cold War was necessary to stop monolithic international Communism from knocking over 'dominoes' of the 'free world' one by one." [20] Hayden uses this essay not only to describe the experience but to inform the reader of why their history should not be erased from the American memory.

Hayden argues that truth and memory are the first causalities in war, using this essay to defend his stance that all those who protested the war should be remembered in the Vietnam Memorial as well as those who fought in Vietnam. Hayden's goal was to establish the right of remembrance, to keep peace movement activists in the nation's memory as a way to heal.

Hayden's essay is an important document because its purpose is to demand historical memory so that the power of the Vietnam peace movement would not be forgotten in the American historical narrative. Hayden's argument about the importance of remembering the unpopular opinion of those who opposed the Vietnam War is similar to Christopher Broadhurst's argument of being involved in southern student activism against the Vietnam War was a very unpopular opinion to have in the South.

Southern Student Protests

Christopher Broadhurst's 2010 article "We Didn't Fire a Shot, We Didn't Burn a Building": The Student Reaction at North Carolina State University to the Kent State Shootings, May 1970," is a focused narrative of student activism on a southern university campus directly

[20] Tom Hayden, *Hell No: The Forgotten Power of the Vietnam Peace Movement,* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 33.

relating to the reactions to the Kent State shooting. Broadhurst describes student activism at a singular university and to one significant event that had national implications. Broadhurst uses a well-known conservative university in North Carolina, but with a surprisingly encouraging environment for students to be outspoken rather than censored. This environment Broadhurst attributes to have been facilitated by administrators, specifically John Caldwell who was the Chancellor of North Carolina State University from 1959-1975. Broadhurst states, "Caldwell believed that the university was for the exchange of ideas, it had to be free, and that anybody had the right to express any opinions."[21] Caldwell believed in students' rights to protest peacefully and even shared some of his anti-war opinions openly. Caldwell helped to transform North Carolina State University as a place that welcomed open peaceful discourse. Broadhurst uses the Kent State shooting of May 1970 to show how universities across the country reacted differently, and NCSU is one of those examples. Broadhurst also points out that even within the state of North Carolina, college campuses reacted differently. Universities like Duke and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill were more liberal in their reactions and the students reacted in more aggressive ways, holding large protests that sometimes led to outbreaks of violence. In contrast students at NCSU called into action a convocation in the middle of campus that used education and open civil discourse to discuss the events that transpired at Kent State. Broadhurst continued to follow the evolution of activism at NCSU's campus after the first female student body president, Cathy Sterling, was elected in 1970. Under Sterling, the dynamic of student government leadership and support student activism transformed a conservative campus to a more liberated action-oriented campus. Before Sterling was elected, student activism on NCSU's

[21] Christopher Broadhurst, "'We Didn't Fire a Shot, We didn't Burn a Building': The Student Reaction at North Carolina State University to the Kent State Shootings," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, no.3 (July 2010), 285.

campus did not resemble anything like student activism on other campuses across the country, such as UCLA or the University of Michigan. Sterling demanded more action from her peers, that they attend more student activist gatherings, and become more involved in student politics.

Broadhurst argues that not all universities across the country reacted in the same way to events covered by national media. This is perfectly demonstrated in his evaluation of North Carolina State University's evolution of student activism tracking before and after the Kent State shootings. Broadhurst continues to use examples from NCSU's student activism history during the 1960s as proof that there was no consensus on international and national affairs for student activists across the country.

Broadhurst's work with student activism on NCSU's campus is a great example of the conservative activist view on a North Carolina campus. This is an important piece of scholarship that helps expand the regional history of student activism on college campuses during the 1960s and 1970s. My thesis will be similar to Broadhurst's article, although instead of one campus I will be evaluating three North Carolina university campuses. Broadhurst uses NCSU as a case study of 1960s southern student activism while Christopher Huff provides a similar analysis using the University of Georgia as a case study.

Christopher Huff contributes an essay in the 2013, *Rebellion in Black & White; Southern Student Activism in the 1960s.* Huff's chapter, "Conservative Student Activism at the University of Georgia," primarily discusses the everchanging conservative group dynamic on UGA's campus during the 1960s. Huff also evaluates New Right politics and its influence on college students in the South. The Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) chapter on UGA's campus is the conservative student organization example that Huff focuses his narrative around. "At UGA, the debate within YAF between moderate conservatives and right-wingers had been brewing,"

Huff continues, "by1970 the YAF chapter of UGA had grown schizophrenic due to the growing animosity between these two factions."[22] Throughout the chapter, Huff follows the evolution of the chapter of Young Americans for Freedom and the ultra-conservative student group on UGA's campus. Evaluating how other students, administrators, and the public perceived them and interacted with the student group. Huff's work gives the narrative of the radical 1960s a slight tweak. Instead of discussing the New Left, Huff focuses on the New Right and its transformation of conservative politics. From the perspective of dedicated right-wing politicians, the New Right policies were too liberal and forward-thinking by supporting movements like civil rights. By analyzing the New Right, he adds to the conservative political history of the decade, showing how right-wing politics were breaking into factions.

Huff argues that conservative politics were just as transformative as liberal politics during the 1960s. Huff emphasizes that there were factions within both political views, especially the conservatives ,who split up the political parties. Huff offers the viewpoints of these conservative students as well as evidence of how the administration and public perceived this particular group of students. Huff also creates a conversation between conservative organizations on UGA's campus and national conservative organizations. My work will be similar but span over three campuses in the western region of North Carolina. I will evaluate both pro-and-anti-war views and efforts while putting these small western North Carolina schools in conversation with national student activism for and against the war in Vietnam. Huff's case study of UGA and the conservative split with the creation of the New Right is similar to Gregg Michel's subject on the aspect of governmental repression of the New Left in the South.

[22] Christopher Huff, "Conservative Student Activism at the University of Georgia," in *Rebellion in Black and White; Southern Student Activism in the 1960s*, edited by Robert Cohen and David J. Snyder, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 176.

In *Rebellion in Black & White; Southern Student Activism in the 1960s,* Gregg Michel contributes an essay titled "Government Repression of the Southern New Left." Michel discusses how vitally important the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was for the New Left's agenda in the south. The SSOC grounded in the support for the civil rights and anti-war movements and practiced peaceful protests while focusing on education as the best way to spread the organization's message. The SSOC, as Michel states, embraced "the regional distinctiveness of the south, insisting that one could support reformist goals, such as opposing segregation without compromising one's loyalty to the south."[23] Michel focuses on the federal government's involvement in repressing southern student activism throughout this chapter. Using examples like Cassell Carpenters New Left success in Mississippi. In response, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) continually undermined her, used forged letters, and fabricated news stories to have her discredited and disowned by her activist organization. Throughout the chapter, Michel continues to follow the intensive investigations the FBI conducted to undermine young activist organizations. While he primarily focuses on the FBI and its relations toward the activist groups in the south, Michel keeps his narrative in conversation with national events as well. Michel states, "It is an especially important task for historians of New Left activism in the south of the 1960s and 1970s, for documenting such abuses of government power which will be critical in demonstrating that these activists, such as those in SSOC, endured extensive surveillance and harassment by federal, state, and local authorities."[24] Like Michel's evaluation of government repression on southern New Left activism, Gary Sprayberry analyzes the University of Alabama's student radicalism and the local and administration repression they experienced.

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[23] Gregg Michel, "*Government Repression of the Southern New Left*," in *Rebellion in Black and White; Southern Student Activism in the 1960s,* edited by Robert Cohen and David J. Snyder, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 235.
[24] Ibid, 248.

In *The American South and the Vietnam War*, published in 2015, Joseph Fry writes a chapter dedicated to southern college students. Fry uses this chapter to discuss the unique circumstances being a young activist in the South caused during the conflict in Vietnam. These unique circumstances ranged from being arrested during an antiwar protest to being disowned and shunned by your family, friends, and community. Fry compares and contrasts what social life was like for both pro and-anti-war activists. He focuses on a region of the United States that was largely conservative and supportive of the military during the 1960s and 1970s. In the historical record, the southern region of the United States during this period is more associated with the Civil Rights movement. Fry stresses the importance of southern anti-war activism as an important contribution to the wider national campaign to end the war in Vietnam.

Fry argues that the regional difference for anti-war activists is a very important part of this history, and the complexity that the South adds makes a significant alteration to how historians view pro-and-anti Vietnam war activist's during this era. Fry's argument that the South adds a unique complexity is backed by newspaper articles from both student and public papers offering different opinions on the state of activism in the South during the 1960s and 1970s. Fry discusses that any type of student activism in the South, whether it be pro-or-antiwar protests, all faced scrutiny and backlash from mainstream public opinion.

While evaluating this topic as a regional history, Fry continues to keep it in conversation with the broader national history of student activism. I plan to take the same approach as Fry and take it one step further. This paper will strive to bring a small, mostly, rural region of the south into conversation with the American South and national student activism.

Different Historical Interpretations of Student Activism

In *Reaching Back to Move Forward*, published in 2019, academics Katherine Wheatle and Felecia Commodore compare and contrast both the historic and contemporary responsibilities of students and how those roles have influenced the development of higher education policy. They use the student activism of the 1960s and 1970s as the demarcation where students became active shapers in university policy changes. They specifically focus on the student activism of the modern Civil Rights era as a key student and national movement to further their discussion of contemporary issues in university policy.

Wheatle and Commodore elaborate on the complexity of student and administration relationships, and how the dynamics of those relationships began to change in the late 1960s. They attribute the change on university campuses to baby boomers, stating that, "as the demographics of college campuses have transformed, institutional administrations have to confront the ways their campuses have enacted and perpetrated practices and policies that instill, enforce and uphold discrimination, oppression and inequity."[25] They interpret the baby boomer generation as being the first mass dynamic change to the demographics of college campuses. Historically this was the generation to expand the population of college students to the largest the country had ever seen.

As Wheatle and Commodore explore the complexity of changing student and administration relations and how students were active shapers in changing university policy, they also acknowledge the changing needs of college students and what they were advocating for.

[25] Katherine I. E. Wheatle and Felecia Commodore, "Reaching Back to Move Forward: The Historic and Contemporary Role of Student Activism in the Development and Implementation of Higher Education Policy." *Review of Higher Education* 42, (2019), 11.

Similar to Wheatle and Commodore, Timothy Cain and Rachel Dier explore the unique changes wanted by student activists in the deep South.

Historians Timothy Cain and Rachel Dier, in 2020, published the article "Protests and Pushback: Women's Rights, Student Activism, and Institutional Response in the Deep South." They specifically use case studies of two sit-ins at the University of Georgia (UGA) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Cain and Dier argue that student activism for women's rights at UGA demonstrates how both students and administration reacted and shifted their tactics because of external pressures. They explore the reactions to antiquated parental rules over women's lives by students and the "repercussions of challenging the entrenches patriarchal structure."[26]

Cain and Dier's approach to southern student activism is a new analytical perspective of the conservative South and student activism. By specifically focusing on the student activism surrounding women's rights, they provide a fuller understanding of the complexity of college student movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The women's rights movement across the nation has been primarily overshadowed by larger movements like the Civil Rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the student's rights movement. Cain and Dier's interpretation of southern student activism adds further complexity to the understanding of southern student activism. The change in women's regulations on UGA's campus was progressive in contrast to the conservative south.

Cain and Dier analyze how the parental rules and unequal treatment of students and especially female students at UGA were seen as a transgression of women's rights, and how popular tradition-bound college administrations in the rural south opted to oppose progress. Their focus on separate regulations according to gender is an important key aspect of

[26] Timothy Cain and Rachel Dier, "Protests and Pushback: Women's Rights, Student Activism, and Institutional Response in the Deep South", *History of Education Quarterly* 60, no. 4, (2020), 546.

understanding student activism in the 1960s and 1970s. Cain and Dier are indebted to Joan Scott, who asserts the importance of gender as a form of historical analysis.

In 1986, Joan Scott published "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." Scott was part of the wave of new social historians who used not only class and race as forms of analysis but gender as well. Scott argued that gender has influence in all historical events. She insists that "gender is a new topic, a new department of historical investigation."[27] She separates the difference between gender analysis and women's history, because for Scott the key to gender analysis is understanding how constructions of gender norms change over time and influence historical actors.

Scott hinges her definition on two integral connections of gender as a constitutive element in social relationships using the gendered construct between sexes, and how gender is a primary aspect of signifying relationships of power. Scott empowers gender as a method to study social relations and cultural constructs as well as understanding hierarchical power structures that influence history. Scott specifically examines power dynamics between men and women through war, diplomacy, and both foreign and domestic politics throughout the western world. In a 2008 article, "Unanswered Questions," Scott further articulates how constructs of gender are neither static nor permanent. She argues that gender as a term is only useful as a question.[28] Further stressing that gender is a way to interrogate history of politics, power dynamics, and cultural change.

[27] Scott, Joan. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5, (1968), 1057.
[28] Scott, Joan. "Unanswered Questions." *The American Historical Review*, 113, no. 5, (2008), 1422-1429.

In both articles, Scott argues that gender is a study of the relationship surrounding sexuality norms and psyche and labels it a collective fantasy that is a political tool for societal constructs ranging from building a nation or a family structure.

"FROM BERKLEY TO, YES, EVEN BOONE"
THE STDUENT RIGHTS MOVEMENT AT APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY, 1960s AND 1970s

Perched in the Blue Ridge Mountains, Watauga Academy, now Appalachian State University, was founded in 1899 and dedicated to bringing higher education to one of "North Carolina's lost provinces."[29] From its humble beginnings as an emerging teachers college, Appalachian State University transformed from 1955 to 1969 into a multipurpose regional university under president Dr. William H. Plemmons.[30] Student enrollment doubled from 2,400 in 1958 to about 4,800 by 1968.[31] Appalachian State was incorporated into the University of North Carolina system in 1971 under the supervision of Chancellor Dr. Herbert W. Wey who presided over the campus from 1969 to 1979. Under Wey's charge the university enrollment grew to about 9,500 by 1979.[32] Both Plemmons and Wey witnessed and influenced the transformation of the campus. Both men served as administrative leaders during the height of Vietnam War student activism on college campuses and both had different approaches to handling student activists and discussions regarding the conflict in Vietnam.

This chapter analyzes the student's rights movement at ASU and how the school's administration responded to it. In this case study, activism is defined as both verbal or written statements from students relating to student's rights or free speech, as well as both formal and informal political debates on pressing topics for college students at the time like the Vietnam War, U.S. draft policy and student rights. ASU students, like other student bodies during this

[29] " Appalachian's History," Appalachian State University, accessed September 2021, https://www.appstate.edu/about/history/
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

time, were largely divided between liberal and conservative views, but formed a unique cross movement alliance to further student's rights on campus.

Like most Americans, the people of southern Appalachia were not untouched by the politics that shaped the Vietnam War era, particularly students who used their voices and educational platform to express and discuss their individual beliefs. College campuses provided a space for students' freedom of speech to be exercised, although fear of students voices and actions drove administrations to set limitations on students' rights. This chapter focuses on understanding how students advocated to have control over their own lives through the free speech movement, students' rights, and their education and futures beyond higher education. This chapter uses the dynamic between the Young Democrats Club (YDC) of ASU and the Young Republican Club (YRC) of ASU, and their separate relationships with university faculty and administrators, to understand the complexity of university politics. Using a conglomerate of sources such as the student newspaper, *The Appalachian*, correspondence records of university presidents, university communications records, Student Government Association meeting minutes and publications, Board of Trustees minutes, and Faculty Senate minutes, this chapter maps out the fluctuation of these relationships during the Vietnam War. Through this mapping out, it is clear that both campus and national factors influenced student activism and the administration's regulation of student activism.

Terence Renaud argued that the 1960s and 70s New Left political ideologies were embodied most prominently through college students who were libertarian with democratic impulses.[33] Student's used their educational platform to speak out against the class and racial divide in America while also discussing the inequity and oppression of race, class, and gender in

[33] Terence Renaud, *New Lefts: The Making of a Radical Tradition* (Princeton University Press, 2021), 234-275.

American social life. They also opposed the U.S. involvement in Vietnam on the basis of human rights and critique of imperialist foreign affairs policies. The movement itself was seen as un-American whereas Renaud argued the "sixties New Left, movement itself was the revolution."[34] It was a reaction by the new left from the old left to create a more participatory democracy, as can be seen through ASU student activism and student government. Meaning that this revolution of opposing a imperialist motive and rebelling against it to form new ideas of democracy was the most American action, dispelling the belief that the new left ideas and actions were un-American.

The 1960s and 70s New Right political ideologies were embodied by working middle class conservatives spread by grassroot movement through the country, becoming most prevalent in the southwest and southeastern United States. The basis of New Right ideology was an abiding faith in the perceived degradation of American morality, focusing on issues ranging from abortion and state and federal taxes, to affirmative action and homosexuality. These activists also supported America's involvement in Vietnam by considering it a matter of national security against communism. As historian Benjamin Piggot argued, the number of New Right students on campuses was growing just as quickly as the New Left. Piggot attributes this growth and rise of the New Right in young adults to "tensions between sociocultural transformation, on one hand, and rising conservativism based on a declining trust in the promises and institutional foundations of New Deal reform liberalism."[35] The discourse between these two opposing ideologies is a focus of this thesis and is found within the ASU student body during the late '60s and '70s.

[34] Ibid, 234.
[35] Benjamin W. Piggot, "Radicalism in the Cradle of the New Right: The University of California's Irvine Campus in 1960s Orange County," *Southern California Quarterly* 90, no. 1 (2008): 56.

In October 1967, a critique of ASU's student government and university administration was published by *The Appalachian*, stating that, "In the past the university has stood in loco parentis, that is in place of the parent, in its relationship with the student."[36] According to the letter, the university had not recognized its students as full citizens. Rather they had "been kept in a state of second class citizenship."[37] Much like other college students at the time, ASU's student body, as a whole, wanted to tear down the "edifice of *loco parentis*" and replace it with a "true free spirit of inquiry and learning."[38] This column concludes with a plea for students to use their voices and make their opinions known to the SGA, so that the Student Bill of Rights would be put into action.

In the same issue of the newspaper, a letter from Clifford Rorrer, the chairman of the SGA Bill of Rights Committee made a similar plea and critique of the university's power of in *loco parentis*. Rorrer believed that for his generation of college students, civil liberties and student rights were on the forefront of conversations on campuses across the country. Rorrer stated, "There are civil rights, or civil riots as the case may be, state's rights, women's rights, and human rights. Of late there has arisen a discussion of a new set of rights. These are student's rights! All across the United States from Berkley to, yes, even Boone, the question is being debated as to whether the colleges and universities have the right to act in loco parentis or "in place of parents."[39] Rorrer invited the student body to gather and discuss their ideas of what the Student Bill of Rights should include in the first proposal. Both critiques by Rorrer and *The Appalachian* juggle the concept of power that *in loco parentis* had given universities and which they had assumed in the past. Now, however, it was no longer applicable for the new wave of

[36] "Students' Rights What Are They?" *The Appalachian,* 20, October, 1967, 2.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Clifford Kinney Rorrer, "In Loco Parentis," *The Appalachian,* 20, October, 1967, 2.

students who filled campuses during the late 1960s and early 1970s encouraged by the free speech movement. As historians Robert Cohen and Reginald Zelnik argue, through the Free Speech Movement "students brought up to revere the Bill of Rights could mobilize in great numbers when they felt their rights as citizens were in peril."[40] Cohen and Zelnik also made the point that "students linked free speech to notions about their own dignity and freedom, but they often went beyond themselves and saw it as connected to freedom and dignity of others."[41] The stance against the parental power of universities as seen in the debate over the Student Bill of Rights is just a piece of the puzzle of student voices at ASU. Although neither of these articles take a stance on YDC or YRC, there is a common understanding that all ideas were welcome at the open forum discussions about the Student Bill of Rights. This shows the open working relationship of opposing political parties on ASU's campus. The rise of the free speech movement for college students began to push them to advocate for themselves and to demand a say in their education, politics, and be able to control their future. College students became increasingly aware of the decisions they were being limited to during this time like draft status, political voices, and life after higher education. One major university policy that became a contested topic was the North Carolina Speaker Ban of 1963.

In 1963 the North Carolina General Assembly passed the North Carolina Speaker Ban Law. As historian William Link has argued, this law prohibited "the appearance, at any public college and universities, of visiting speakers who were 'known' members of the Communist Party, who were 'known' to advocate the overthrow of the constitution of North Carolina or of the United States, or who pleaded the Fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions about

[40] Cohen, Robert, "The Many Meanings of the FSM: In Lieu of an Introduction," In *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s*, ed. Robert Cohen and Reginald E. Zelnik (University of California Press, 2002), 7.
[41] Ibid.

Communist subversion."[42] Link discusses how this law was created because of legislators' fears that the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's students and faculty had a tendency to embody liberal ideas.[43] This fear of liberalism growing on UNC Chapel Hill's campus and eventually being corrupted into communistic ideals was the push for the North Carolina General Assembly to pass the Speaker Ban Law. The Speaker Ban Law was active from 1963 until its ultimate demise in 1968 when it was deemed unconstitutional in federal district court.

While the contestation of the Speaker Ban Law was playing out in the North Carolina's piedmont region the students at ASU began to notice more enforcement of the Speaker Ban Law because of tensions at UNC Chapel Hill. Consequently, a wave of teach-in's swept ASU's campus, restrictions on student activists expression began to take form and appear in university communications. As tensions between students and university workers grew across the nation so did the fear of losing order on campus. ASU's administration began preparing for the worst. In February of 1967, President William H. Plemmons sent out a memo regarding the Board of Trustee's latest decision about guest speakers. Plemmons addressed all faculty and student leaders, restating that guest speakers were not permitted unless first approved by Plemmons himself or an authorized representative.[44] Plemmons included that these restrictions had not changed since, "the first one was issued September 22, 1965," following the UNC system guidelines for student regulations.[45] The memo clearly outlined the restrictions, "for speaking purposes by any person who,"

> Is a known member of the Communist Party; Is known to advocate the overthrow of the Constitution of the United States or the State of North Carolina; Had pleaded the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States in refusing to answer any question, with

[42] William A. Link, "William Friday and the North Carolina Speaker Ban Crisis, 1963-1968." *The North Carolina Historical Review* 72, no. 2 (1995): 198.
[43] Ibid, 202.
[44] Appalachian State University Special Collections, *Plemmons Presidential Correspondence,* UA. 24002, Box 32, Folder 3, 1967.
[45] Ibid.

> respect to Communist or subversive connections, or activities, before any judicial tribunal, or any executive or administrative board of the United States or any state. [46]

ASU's Board of Trustees was responsible for the regulation of visiting speakers and the freedom of speech and academic freedom. The Board of Trustees stated that, "There is nothing different in the regulations that differs from the procedures used by the college in the past."[47] This memo from the administration is just one example of its growing fear about student unrest on college campuses. As a result, the records found about visiting speaker approvals during the late 1960s display a pattern of approval of speakers who openly supported or represented, what the university considered 'adult voices,' both right and left partisan politics and more importantly were not a threat of causing chaos on campus. The speakers approved to speak at ASU were arguably -- in the eyes of administration -- the "safest" speakers to allow on campus. Those "safe" speakers did not include invite other college age individuals to come speak.

The fear of losing control of orderly conduct on campus concerned the university administration. The frustration of control, censorship, and lack of student representation pushed ASU students to create a formal Student Government Association (SGA) in 1968 to ensure fair and equal representation within university politics. Before the SGA was formed ASU had an Appalachian Student Citizenship Union that organized in the early 1960s. The Constitution of the Appalachian Student Citizenship Union from 1964 illustrates how there was no true fair and equal representation of students' needs under that union. For example, there were separate dues that needed to be paid, apart from university fees, in order to be a part of the union to have them advocate for your needs. Other than this price for membership there were no outlined rights of students spelled out in the constitution, therefore there was nothing promoting the rights of

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

students. The Appalachian Student Citizenship Union was more like a social club rather than a governing body that advocated for students' rights.[48]

After the guest speaker restrictions were placed in 1967, students advocated for and organized a Student Government Association which was eventually established in 1968. Although, not without delay from the Board of Trustees and Faculty Senate that for about a full school term tabled the discussion of the SGA's Student's Bill of Rights, and constantly asked students to revise it. Before we can understand the formation of ASU's SGA we need to understand the fear which drove university personnel to ask for revisions and table the matter, and continue to create limits to students' rights.

In July of 1968, the Board of Directors of the Association of American Colleges (AAC) sent out a pamphlet titled, "Student Unrest."[49] This pamphlet described ways university administrators should handle the "disruptive power of such a minority," and reminded administration of the "historic mission of colleges and universities to prepare each generation for a satisfying personal life and constructive citizenship."[50] The AAC outlined the causation of student unrest as, "the war in Vietnam, Selective Service policies, and the questions of poverty and race."[51] The AAC advised universities to revise their policies and programs to meet contemporary student issues to mold and prepare the next generation for their civil responsibilities. However, the AAC continued to categorize student activists into two groups. First the AAC stated, "most students are committed to respect for personal rights, as the essence of a democratic society, and to the free exchange of ideas, as the life blood of the academic

[48] Ibid.
[49] Appalachian State University Special Collections, *Student Government Association Records*, UA. 25001, Box 7, Folder 1, 1968.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

experience."[52] This statement is not completely out of touch, but it does contradict itself with the information about how to regulate student protestors. If the purpose of higher education is to create a space where there can be a free exchange of ideas, do regulations on certain political viewpoints limit this purpose? The AAC defined the second group to be, "skeptical about existing channels for presentations of their criticism," otherwise known as the students supporting the free speech and anti-war movements.[53] The AAC defined this group as a minority on campuses that were more prone to frustration and in turn may stage a "nihilistic revolt against academic institutions."[54] The AAC recommended that these students should be handled as internal disruptions. Implements disciplinary measures would allow the administration to contain and control the story that was being told. It would also allow the university to keep it out of national and local news coverage as much as possible and eliminate external disciplinary actions like criminal charges. The AAC also recommended that the universities should take the following steps to control what they considered an insubordinate minority.

> (1) To accord students, as members of the academic community, an appropriate share in the determination of institutional policies in respect to both instructional program and its social framework;
> (2) To involve the several components of the academic community in the determination of such rules for the conduct of its members as may be necessary for effective realization of institutional policies;
> (3) To make it known that these rules, representing the common will of the community, will be enforced through procedures that include a guarantee of due process to anyone accused of breaking the rules;
> (4) To establish recognized lines of communication among all parts of the community;
> (5) To make definite plans, including both academic sanctions and resort to civil authorities, for counting any willful attack on the peace and order of the academic community;
> (6) To explain to its external neighbors and constituencies its policies concerning student protests and student disruptions, in the interest of contributing to an improved public understanding, the absence of which frequently leads to distortion and exacerbation of the campus problems themselves.
>
> We commend these measures to our colleagues not only as a defense against internal disruptions and external intervention but more fundamentally because they are a logical expression of the historic role of academic institutions as applied to the needs of our times. [55]

[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

The push for regulation on student activism differed from campus to campus. At ASU, there were already precedents put in place borrowed from other institutions. Some of the policies ASU's student government borrowed were from the University of Virginia. The University of Virginia administration outlined their punishments that "disorderly demonstrations" impeding with academic work has disrupted all students and impacted the entire student body and therefore subjected all students to punishment which would impede with their college career.[56] The University of Virginia stated that, "the rights of minorities, majorities, and individuals are equally respected. This includes the right to dramatize opinions and buttress arguments by public display – so long as the participants do not interfere with the rights of others."[57] The University of Virginia student government regulations on student activism were a model for the Student Bill of Rights for ASU's SGA. The rules and regulations from both the AAC and the University of Virginia directly influenced the way in which student activism was handled on ASU's campus by the SGA and university personnel.

It is precarious how American concepts and ideals of personal freedoms and rights can fluidly shift to fit the desires of a more powerful authority figure. In the case of ASU students' rights, the SGA's Bill of Rights was to fit within the university's definition of student freedom. For example, the Student Bill of Rights was proposed to ASU's faculty senate at the beginning of the year in 1968 but was not approved until October of 1968. The deferment of a student bill of rights written by students for students was a contested topic throughout 1968 for ASU's faculty senate. One of the first drafted student bill of rights by ASU's SGA began, "Universities are composed of scholars, both faculty and students, who are concerned with the pursuit of truth,

[56] Appalachian State University Special Collections, *Student Government Association Records; Statement issued by President Edgar F. Shannon, University of Virginia,* UA. 25001, Box 7, Folder 1, 1968.
[57] Ibid.

knowledge, free inquiry and free expression. These pursuits require freedom, but the freedom can endure only as it is exercised with maturity and responsibility."[58] During 1968, the North Carolina Speaker Ban Law was also judicially overturned as an unfair form of regulation.[59] Meaning that the precedents of students' rights and freedoms had changed. Therefore, over the course of 1968 the SGA would propose a new version of the proposed student bill of rights to the faculty senate with their recommended revisions and month after month the SGA was required to revise and change the wording of students' rights. Although all sections of the document had revisions, the faculty senate seemed to pay special attention to article II, section B. The original version of the first proposal in February of 1968 for students' rights on campus read as follows,

> The freedom of speech, press, peaceable assembly and the petition of grievances shall not be infringed upon. While the student has the right to be free from prejudicial evaluation, he is obligated to extend this same right to faculty, administrators, and other students. As constituents of a university, students shall be free, individually and collectively, to express their views on the issues of institutional policy and on matters of general interest to the student body. Interreference with another's right to express his views by unpeaceable demonstration, undue heckling, or threat of punitive action should be prevented.[60]

By April of 1968 the SGA proposed a revised version responding to the changing climate of student activism across the nation. The revised version stated,

> The freedom of speech, press, peaceable assembly and the petition of grievances shall be protected. As constituents of a university, students shall be free, individually and collectively, to express their views on issues of institutional policy and on matters of general interests to the student body. However, interference with the right of another to express his views by demonstration, heckling, threat of punitive action or other inference shall not be tolerated. Interference with the performance by students, faculty or staff of their assigned duties by demonstration, riotous behavior or other forms of interference shall be prohibited.[61]

Still, this would not be the concluding word on the bill of rights. The final student bill of rights was approved by the faculty senate on October 15, 1968, eight months after the first student bill

[58] Appalachian State University Special Collections, *Faculty Senate Records; Proposed Student Bill of Rights,* UA. 02.02, Box 62, Folder 7, 1968.
[59] Link, "William Friday," 228.
[60] Appalachian State University Special Collections, *Faculty Senate Records; Proposed Student Bill of Rights,* UA.24002, Box 32, Folder 4, 1968.
[61] ASU Special Collections, *Faculty Senate Records,* UA. 02.02, Box 62, Folder 7, 1968, 3.

of rights was proposed. The final approved version of the student bill of rights article II, section B displayed the trepidation the administration and faculty were feeling as student voices grew in number and power.

> The freedom of speech, press, peaceful assembly, petition of grievances and peaceful protest shall be protected as guaranteed by the constitution. Students shall be free to organize to express their views on issues of university policy and practice and on matters of general interest to the student body.
> However, interference with the right of another to express his views by demonstration, heckling, threat of punitive action or other interference shall not be tolerated. Interference with the performance by students, faculty, staff and approved visitors to campus of their normal and assigned duties by demonstration, riotous behavior or other forms of interference shall be forbidden and prevented. Passage through areas where members of the university community have a right to be shall not be blocked by action of demonstrators or protestors. Requirements issued by persons or proper authority to a student or students to desist from specified activities or to leave the premises must be met.
> Any Appalachian student found guilty of violating any of these policies, after proper hearing with due process observed, will be subject to university action, including suspension or expulsion, depending upon the flagrancy of the violation.[62]

The approved version of the student bill of rights was a reflection of its time. The language used throughout the document displays a pattern of fear about losing control of the student body. The language of toleration and prevention of students' freedom of speech change from each revision. The language becomes more intensive regarding actions of uncivil through free speech. The language also becomes more specific moving from voicing opinions about university policy and student body interest to demonstrators and protestors. The language of consequences for uncivil expression shifted from preventable to suspension and expulsion. There was a shift from what one could consider fair but guidelines for expected ordinary behavior on campus, to much more specific and strict regulations placed on very specific behaviors considered uncivil forms of free speech. The regulations placed on freedom of speech and expression are also clearly a product of the visiting speakers regulations put forth by the board of trustees and ASU's president. The push for equal and fair representation and rights did

[62] Appalachian State University Special Collections, *Faculty Senate Records; Approved Student Bill of Rights,* UA.24002, Box 32, Folder 5, 1968.

not begin in 1967 and end in 1968. Through expressions in the student newspaper, *The Appalachian,* students critiqued the power that the SGA itself held and the legitimacy of its role in university politics.

In early February of 1969 the SGA came under fire and serious critique by the student body, questioning its actual efforts as student advocates. The article featured in *The Appalachian,* titled "SGA—Power or Puppet?" is convincing evidence that students had begun advocating for increased decision-making power on campus.[63] The article critiqued how student leaders were not allowed to obtain any power in the SGA. The article describes how, "It is tragic that they are mature and capable of sound judgement. It is tragic that they are not allowed to demonstrate this maturity and judgement."[64] The administration had limited the power of the SGA so that it could not "be a nurturing ground for budding state and national leaders."[65] This critique then asked the question if ASU's SGA were given more power would it not perhaps be the exact model needed for American universities to display a level of respect and trust between administrators and students. It can be argued that this article suggests that the political atmosphere on ASU's campus was similar to bigger campuses across the nation like the University of Michigan and Columbia University. Historian Mitchel Hall uses the University of Michigan as an example of the teach-ins that took place March 24th, 1965.[66] Hall states, "three thousand people attended a series of lectures and debates ran all evening and into the next morning." The University of Michigan had a plethora of students to speak to get active participation in political debates. Students at ASU, which had a smaller student body still had the same type of engagement with political debates, they were just not making national news

[63] "SGA—Power or Puppet?" *The Appalachian,* February, 1969, 2.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Mitchel Hall, "The Vietnam Era Antiwar Movement." *OAH Magazine of History*, 18, no.5, (2004): 13-17.

like Michigan. Within this fluctuation of power given to students and taken away by the administration, there is a challenge from students and hope from ASU students that the administration could allow a balanced model of equal opportunity for the SGA to prove its political seriousness.

Student voices abound in the student newspaper through informative columns or the letters to the editor that help weave together the collective voice of ASU's student body during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In January of 1967 *The Appalachian* published a letter to the editor by an ASU student named Kingsley which discussed the problems students faced in the wake of misunderstandings from the SGA and the perceived dismissal from the faculty senate. Kingsley believed there was a lack of communication from the student government and even more from the faculty and administration. Kingsley expressed his dismay toward the student body for not speaking out on the dismissal of the Student Bill of Rights stating, "This is the time to speak out! This is the time to write our representatives and to acknowledge that, as future educators and leaders we desire to have a voice in the government." [67] Kingsley included a plug for the upcoming guest speaker Donald. R. Kincaid, a state representative for progressive Republicans in the state of North Carolina, sponsored by the YRC. Kingsley's letter to the editor represented a steppingstone for New Right sentiments on ASU's campus. Whereas law historian Louis Michael Seidman analyzes that free speech is neither progressive nor attainable. Seidman also argued that "American free speech tradition is too deeply rooted in ideas about fixed property rights and in a equation of freedom with government inaction to be progressive."[68] The Free Speech movement was supported by students who also supported the New Right, but Seidman offers a pessimistic view of the attainability of free speech. The Free Speech Movement

[67] Bernard Kingsley, "SGA?; Apathy?" *The Appalachian*, 26, January, 1967, 4.
[68] Louis Michael Seidman, "Can Free Speech Be Progressive?" *Columbia Law Review* 118, no. 7 (2018): 2219.

has traditionally been paired with the New Left movement rather than New Left and Right political movements. Both were progressive political offspring from their respective parental political groups, Republicans and Democrats, and should be evaluated as both having vested interest in the Free Speech movement and students' rights. This vested interest from both groups about students' rights and free speech is briefly sought in Kinsley's letter but can also be found on ASU's campus between the YRC and the YDC.

The relationship between the YDC and YRC on ASU's campus can be understood through the student newspaper. During the late 60s and early 70s the YDC and YRC displayed the type of civility campus administrations expected. It is obvious that they did not agree with each other's political views but there was no evidence of open hostility or uncivil actions within the academic space. There is also a thread of activity from both clubs during this time frame. As reported in *The Appalachian,* both clubs seem to have balanced participation through similar enrollment and active member numbers. The YDC and YRC on ASU's campus had a unique relationship with the student body that cannot be categorized through simple language, but rather actions of working together for the common goal of freedom and representation.

As mentioned before, the YDC regularly invited guest speakers to ASU, with the approval of President Plemmons. *The* Appalachian published articles and editorials on guest speakers sponsored by the YDC and approved by President Plemmons throughout the 1960s, but they do start increasingly becoming more obvious about Vietnam toward the late '60s. For example, the YDC invited Olympian and North Carolina House Representative Jim Beatty in November of 1967 to come speak on the, "Responsibilities of Youth and Leadership"[69] The YDC also invited Roger Hillman, Former Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs,

[69] "ASU Hosts Prominent Speakers," *The Appalachian,* November 3, 1967, 1.

speaking on the international political topic of 'Asia and Its Problems Inside and Out." [70] Both of these guest speakers did discuss active political issues at the time like students' rights as well as the Vietnam war. The YDC hosting these speakers and others like them displayed a pattern of concern toward both issues, and sought an open forum of discussion about topics students increasingly cared about. This also underscored the patterned of approval of guest speakers that the administration trusted to only hold civil conversation and debate.

ASU's YDC did not only invite speakers to campus but also were involved with the YDC annual conventions, which took students from ASU to other campuses as representatives of a larger organization. ASU's YDC participate in the North Carolina Young Democratic Club (NCYDC) and the YDC at the national level. Steve Metcalf, a fellow YDC member from ASU was elected as Secretary to the NCYDC, in 1970 with the aspirations "that the Democratic Party must change to meet the needs of the people more. Therefore it will be my goal to be instrumental in carrying out this change, consequentially giving young people a reason for coming to our party."[71] As the article states, many young adults of 1970 did not have faith in either party for acting as, "effective instruments of carrying out the premises of the United States Constitution."[72] Wanting to encourage more voters the YDC advocated that the voting age in North Carolina be lowered to 18. Metcalf's influence and actions display that ASU was a campus that produced young political leaders who were ready to advocate for freedom of speech, students' rights, and the opportunity to dictate their own future.

Similarly, YRC at ASU members were just as active in voicing their opinions on campus and within the student newspaper. Although the YDC and the YRC had differing political views,

[70] Ibid.
[71] "Steve Metcalf Elected to State YDC Post," *The Appalachian*, 29, September, 1970, 3.
[72] Ibid.

there was a collective understanding of school unity which allowed for them to drop partisan politics when threatening forces ensued. "Students Sock SSOC" read the headlines from November 10th, 1967 issue of *The Appalachian.* The Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), a popular anti-Vietnam War organization on its peace tour across North Carolina made a stop at ASU's campus in early November of 1967. The reaction from the student body was an unexpected experience for the SSOC demonstrators. Many students felt that, "other people and groups should not antagonize and disrupt the students of Appalachia."[73] Letters to the editor for weeks after the event took place show that it was a debated topic among students and faculty who wrote in to *The Appalachian*.[74] The letters reflect that some faculty and students wanted the SSOC protestors to stay and have a platform to speak, the majority of the student body and the administration felt that it was an intruding visit from an un-invited party. Student Affairs informed the SSOC that because of the Speaker Ban Law they required permission from the University President and be sponsored by a school sanctioned club. The SSOC had neither permission nor sponsorship. Apparently, a former ASU student Ken Landford who had dropped out only the prior week had tried to organize a sponsorship through the Phi Kappa Delta fraternity but was denied.[75]

The SSOC members were surprised by the negative reception that they received in spite of the anti-war sympathizers among the student body and faculty. This reaction showed the momentary cohesion of the student body to engage in calculated intellectual debates rather than allow surprise political groups into campus and risk sparking chaos and confusion. ASU student Robert Batten stated, "it was a damn good reaction from the ASU student body on a major

[73] "Students Sock SSOC," *The Appalachian,* November 10, 1967, 1.
[74] Ibid, 2.
[75] Ibid.

issue."[76] Other students and faculty lamented, like ASU student Bob Maze, that "it was a shame a meaningful occasion couldn't have been a valuable experience. … boys gripe about being classified 1-A but won't listen when someone says to pull out of Vietnam."[77] The Johnson City Radio Station WETB applauded ASU's students who stood against off-campus groups who they believed sought to create a disruptive atmosphere. The WETB reported, "There is a right to dissent, to be sure—but there is no right to instigate rebellion or preach treason. When groups seek to do these things, they should be confronted with the moral force of the great majority of Americans, on campus and off, who believe in their country and do not intend to stand complacently while rabble-rousers seek to destroy it!" [78] The incident at ASU made local, state, and national news. The Huntley-Brinkley Report ran a story on ASU's student body reaction to the SSOC event by reporting, "with the nation faced with so many anti-war demonstrations it is good to know that there are still some patriotic college students left."[79] Basil Whitner, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from North Carolina, stated his praise for the stand that ASU students took.[80] WETB, Huntley-Brinkley Report, and Whitner embody the Cold War fear that communism and anarchy were making their way into U.S. college campuses through groups like the SSOC.

This response and praise by popular media sources could have proven to give a misleading impression of ASU's administration and student body and ignored how the campus was a place of diverse political voices. Historian Sandra Scanlon argues that "conservative student activism was not diminished by the prevailing liberal climate on many campuses" and

[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

that conservative student activism usually reared its head as a reactionary measure.[81] The reactionary methods of conservative student activism towards new left groups could have given the public the wrong impression of ASU students as primarily conservative. This is not the case, since both of ASU's YDC and YRC groups has active participation and equal opportunity on ASU's campus. ASU students who knew they were not dominated by one political party but rather attending college in a place of open discourse between political ideas as reflected in *The Appalachian's* letters to the editor.

Student opinions about the event were also recorded in letters to the editor to *The Appalachian,* which reflected a different tone from the outside opinions that supported the dismissal of the SSOC. The only pro-war expression from a student in the letters to the editor was from Tommy Mascott who again commended his fellow classmates for their comradery and bravery. Mascott stated that he had an, "appreciation toward the healthy Pro-Vietnam attitude," on campus by also stating that his, "Anti-war friends had a right to their opinion… but no one has the right to instigate rebellion or preach treason!"[82] As historian Gregg Michel points out, "white southern students were not uniformly opposed to the progressive movements of the 1960s."[83] The SSOC traveled across the Southern region of the United States and promoted their group as a uniquely southern, progressive organization. Although there were not completely open receptions throughout southern campuses and like other student groups deemed radical from mainstream American ideologies, the SSOC was turned away and ASU students wrote about their opposition to *The Appalachian.* Anti-war students expressed disagreement with

[81] Sandra Scanlon, *The Pro War Movement; Domestic Support for the Vietnam War and the Making og Modern American Conservativism,* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 242.
[82] "Students Sock SSOC," *The Appalachian,* 1967, 2.
[83]Gregg L. Michel, "Building the New South: The Southern Student Organizing Committee." In *New Left Revisited,* eds. John McMillian and Paul Buhle, (Temple University Press, 2003), 50.

Mascott in their letters and felt the expulsion of SSOC members showed a "herd mentality" or "mob" that swept through campus.[84] In her letter, student Faye Wilborn expressed her dismay toward this mob who was supposed to have supported the right of free speech but then turned those away who were attempting to express that right. Wilborn questioned her classmates actions by stating, "If they were so sure of their stand, if they knew all of the background, if they knew the opinion they had picked out of all the opinions was right why did they feel a need for violently trying to block out a contrasting idea?"[85] Wilborn questioned the violent actions and embarrassing tactics that her classmates took when confronted by the SSOC on campus. Another student, Donald Halucha, questioned the authenticity of his classmates' reactions. Was it all for show or was this a pressing matter? Halucha questioned the legitimacy of this interaction between ASU students and SSOC demonstrators, skeptical that it might have been a media stunt by students as well as administrators to put ASU on the map during the SSOC's North Carolina tour. Halucha stated, "If pro-Vietnam enthusiasts are present on campus, why have they not expressed their views in the past… the student body prefers to remain silent until publicity comes to it."[86] Halucha was not the only one to question the authenticity of the interaction between the groups as several other students wrote in and expressed their skepticism about the entire incident.

Student James Jenkins critiqued his fellow classmates saying their actions were, "indicative of self-righteous sickness on two counts: 1) on the part of the emerging expression of anti-war sentiment on this university campus, and 2) on the part of the basic stupidity of Appalachian's collective herd."[87] Jenkin's critique offered the perspective that there had been a

[84] "Students Sock SSOC," *The Appalachian,* 10, November, 1967, 2.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

long-time pro-war presence on the campus and that the anti-war presence was a new trending occurrence. These statements from students spark new intrigue about the partisan politics of the student body. From this incident between the SSOC and ASU students it is clear that anti-versus-pro-war debate from off-campus speakers would not be permitted by the administration. Rather than allow off-campus speakers, the university had a long-standing debate club where it believed issues such as this should be held in an intellectual and civil manner. From this one incident it can be argued that the presence of New Right and New Left political expressions were becoming realities among ASU students.

The criticism from anti-war students and faculty toward the administration's reaction to SSOC sparked some students to propose that the administration formally invite the SSOC back for a structured debate. A year later, *The Appalachian* called attention to the planned debate between SSOC members and students. What the article reported was a lack of student interest in the form of signing up to debate by specifically calling for students to take the pro-war stance. Was this lack of participation due to the incident the year prior and the backlash from anti-war and New Left students? *The Appalachian* stated that students in order to, "preserve the freedom of speech,… invited SSOC to return,… to debate the Vietnam war with students and/or faculty of ASU in a forum-type discussion."[88] The lack of student interest to support the pro-war stance could be the responses from anti-war students after the last encounter with the SSOC. It could also be argued that the YDC and the YRC are equally engaged in political conversation while inviting their own guest speakers to discuss not only foreign affairs but state and federal political concerns as well.

[88] "You Socked the SSOC Then… But Where are You Now?" *The Appalachian,* 5, April, 1968, 2.

During the late 1960s both the YDC and YRC were arguably more focused on state issues in their activities. The YDC sponsored many North Carolina Democratic politicians as well as leading educators to come speak to their club. The YRC is similar, but rather sponsored more political candidates than educators from the evidence found in *The Appalachian.* [89] Although, there is evidence of the YRC interacting with more nationally focused issues as new president, Richard Nixon, was elected in 1968 and the anticipation for the end of Vietnam War loomed heavily on Americans' minds. Throughout 1969 and into the early 1970s, the ASU YRC demonstrated an increase in New Right concepts through the form of debated, open forums, and guest speakers. In 1969 *The Appalachian* reported that the YRC was hosting a debate for the Young Americans for Freedom Club (YAF) and the Students for Action Club (SFA).[90] The topics for the debate were foreign affairs in Vietnam, student demonstrations, and social legislation. The YRC and YAF both embodied the political ideologies of the New Right within the university setting. They represented the younger generation of the New Right, and challenge the notion that the New Right was made up entirely of white middle class suburban Americans or working-class Sunbelt residents.

Throughout the debate the YAF represented the pro-war stance on the topic of Vietnam. YAF member Mac West stated, "the situation had created a paradox and he questioned whether either side had the right to kill."[91] The topic of student demonstrations was also a hot topic during this debate since the demonstrations at Duke University had recently happened. Historian Christopher Broadhurst compared the similarities of North Carolina University students activism during the late '60s and early '70s. Similar to the student strikes at UNC Chapel Hill and the

[89] Ibid, 5.
[90] "YAF Vs SAF In Peace Debate," *The Appalachian,* 28, February, 1969, 1.
[91] Ibid.

Duke demonstrations Broadhurst states, "students felt compelled by moral dictates of their individual consciousness to divert their energies from academic concerns."[92] The YAF argued that student demonstrations were permissible unless the law was broken, but the demands of the Duke demonstration were unreasonable considering a select group of students wanted preferential treatment. The SFA supported student demonstrations even if they pushed the boundaries of the law stating that, "since students have paid their money to go to a school, they have the right to demonstrate against the policies of the school."[93] The final question was given to the YAF about social legislation that involved social security, Medicare, and minimum wage requirements. Upholding the ideology of the New Right they argued against minimum wage because it hurt the small businessman but if it were removed the economy would revert back to the poor conditions of the 1880s. They also argued that social security should be privatized in order to create less reliability on the federal government. Students and moderators were surprised to see how conservative the YAF was compared to the more liberal SFA. Neither group offered a convincing argument to declare a winner. The debate was labeled a success by *The Appalachian* because it offered an open forum where hot topics could be discussed, and emerging young citizens could interact with social and political ideas and come to their own conclusions. Meanwhile, the SGA continued to encourage student activism on campus. The SGA along with the student body pushed to have their own mini-Woodstock. The SGA was already planning for a rally to take place with live music as a multi-day event as a show of peace and unity. A boycott was to be the cherry on top of this momentous event for the SGA and anti-war sympathizers. The

[92] Christopher Broadhurst, "'There Can Be No Business as Usual': The University of North Carolina and the Student Strike of May 1970." *Southern Cultures* 21, no. 2 (2015): 91-92.
[93] "YAF Vs SAF In Peace Debate," *The Appalachian,* 26, February, 1969, 1.

boycott was successful as large crowds of students gathered throughout campus to demonstrate their opinions about what was happening in Vietnam.

The boycott was a peaceful event and was not met with any outright opposition from students, staff, or faculty who were pro-war. In the eyes of the demonstrators ,ASU's mini-Woodstock as an expression of the anti-war movement was a success. Perhaps the success of this demonstration hinged on the fact that some anti-war demonstrators had experienced success in years prior to 1970. As a result, the mini-Woodstock and the Vietnam Moratorium had been a success as well. The moratorium was not a singular unique event on ASU's campus, but was a nationwide protest set to occur on college and university campuses from 1970 to around 1972.

Figure 1. 1972 Student's gathered on the lawn for the student boycott at the end of the '72 rally week. Photo courtesy of: *Appalachian State University, Library Digital Collections.*

This protest was organized by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other college Democratic and anti-war clubs. The mission of this demonstration was to show a unified front in the streets of Washington D.C. and around the country. The Moratorium that took place on ASU's campus in 1969, was organized by the SGA and executed with help from the administration. This was to be an event that allowed for an open forum of discussion and debate. There were lectures and debates set to discuss the topic of peace for Vietnam. This was an encouraged event from universities because it allowed the university to fulfill its original purpose

to educate and informing by offering new ideas to students and allow them to come to their own conclusions about contested topics. The 1969 moratorium was successful in its first year because of the 1968 Tet Offensive. Historian Mitchell Hall states that, "in the wake of Tet, the American media took an increasingly unfavorable view of U.S. policy."[94] Therefore the '69 moratorium was supported, and most often approved, and sponsored by university approved groups or administrators, suspending normal activities for the entire university. [95]

Subsequent Moratoriums were supposed to be held every month until the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam and peace was established. There was evidence of major support for the first Moratorium event in 1970 but in the following months and years the trend of peace demonstrations seemed to fizzle out on ASU's campus. In 1972 *The Appalachian* reported that the "SGA war moratorium engages small crowd."[96] After the invasion of Cambodia in 1970 the Moratorium produced "the most extensive and tragic protests." By 1972 the major events of the Vietnam War seemed to be in out of American's minds. As the Vietnam War was dwindling and it seemed that the governmental policy in Vietnam had changed after Cambodia in 1970, so did the Moratorium's efforts to end the war. Fewer students were as involved in the anti-war activism by the time the Paris Peace Agreement occurred in January of 1973. The Moratorium had no longer been a useful event to oppose violence in Vietnam.[97] As stated before, the Vietnam War moratorium was not a singular event for time and place. As it will be discussed in subsequent chapters, the Moratorium occurred on all three western North Carolina college campuses studied in this thesis.

[94] Hall, "The Vietnam Era Antiwar Movement," 15.
[95] Ibid.
[96] "SGA war moratorium engages small crowd," *The Appalachian,* 6, May, 1972, 1.
[97] Hall, "The Vietnam Era Antiwar Movement," 15-16.

In the spring of 1972 anti-war voices became more prevalent in *The Appalachian* and now ASU president Dr. Herbert Wey had to deal with more active demonstrations than Dr. Plemmons ever had. In April of 1972 *The Appalachian* reported that there was to be an anti-Vietnam War protest in the form of a class-boycott. Universities throughout the country and in North Carolina were participating in demonstrations against the war, but President Wey heavily discouraged the boycott. ASU's SGA was in charge of organizing the boycott and eventually the boycott was carried out successfully. The SGA's action for taking lead on the boycott signaled a shift in student leaders making headway for students to have power over their own lives. There was no longer seemed to be a student government which tried to meet every request of the faculty and administration, but rather pushed the boundaries of their power. President Wey sent a warning in the newspaper to the students in order to possibly delay or suspend the demonstration's momentum. He stated, "All of us at the University want peace, and we are alarmed at what's happening in Vietnam, but a boycott of classes is not a means of achieving that peace in my opinion. Classes will be taught as scheduled."[98]

The YDC and YRC do not appear in the archival record beyond this point. As it has been discussed earlier, the relationship between the YRC and YDC on ASU's campus had been unique in the fact that they worked together. Their cooperation and civil exchange of ideas converged in the sanctioning of the University Student Party (USP) in 1969. *The Appalachian* reported that, "the USP presents far and away the most dynamic progressive platform to appear in this or any part election at ASU."[99] The USP was essentially the party that would best represent the student body as a whole and was supported by both the YDC and YRC and their shared recommendations for SGA candidates. The establishment of the USP as a combination of

[98] "Class boycott to protest War slated; Wey discourages move," *The Appalachian,* 21, April, 1972, 1.
[99] "USP Sanctioned By YDC, YRC," *The Appalachian,* 24, January, 1969, 2.

both the YDC and YRC showed uniqueness of how these two partisan political parties interacted with each other. The USP also is an extension of the New Right and New Left articulation on ASU's campus and provides hard evidence for why ASU's student politics were uniquely shaped throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

REGULATING GENDER AT WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY, 1966 to 1972

Gender constructs have influenced political movements throughout American history. Historian Kristin Hoganson, in *Fighting for American Manhood* argues that the late nineteenth century concept of gender influenced the foreign policies and political dynamic in both the Spanish-American and Philippine-American War.[100] A perceived crisis of manhood and threat to white masculinity, argues Hoganson, was the driving factor behind these foreign wars. A similar argument can be made about the Vietnam War. This same pattern of gender influenced the foreign policies for America's involvement and eventual withdrawal from the Vietnam War, influencing the American public's view of masculine integrity throughout both endeavors. Angela Smith in "Chicken or Hawk? Heroism, Masculinity and Violence in Vietnam War Narratives," argues that the way masculinity has been constructed and shaped through generations of Americans has created the paradox that for American masculinity to be protected it must be in danger.[101] Smith shows how war and American masculinity has gone hand in hand. Smith discovered that Americans believed that masculinity, much like war, was a zero-sum game; men were either masculine or they were not. The construct of gender not only directly influenced the foreign policy of the Vietnam war, but also affected social and political movements on the home front.

College students across the nation became increasingly more invested and active in the foreign policy decisions of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Looking through the lens of the

[100] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood; How Gender and Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 2-3.
[101] Angela K. Smith, "Chicken or Hawk?: Heroism, Masculinity and Violence in Vietnam War Narratives." In *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations*, ed. Angela K. Smith, (Manchester University Press, 2004) 175.

student rights movement, free speech movement, and women's liberation movement, the concept of gender and power dynamics and the enforced dichotomy of femininity and masculinity were regulated at WCU. This chapter addresses how gender directly influenced student politics at Western Carolina University. Using the case study of Western Carolina University through the formation of its Student Government Associations, Student Bill of Rights, and the change in the Men's and Women's Housing Government Associations, the language used throughout presents a highly regulated gendered atmosphere in campus politics. By using the contexts of student led movements in the 1960s and 1970s, this thesis argues that gendered politics shaped the development of student rights at WCU.

Western Carolina University is located in rural western North Carolina and is part of the University of North Carolina (UNC) system. WCU began as a regional teacher's college that offered educational opportunities to both men and women in the region and beyond. WCU, like other state colleges, was brought into the fold of the UNC system in the late 1960s. Like other university students across the country, students from WCU were involved in changing the dynamics of student and administration power.[102] Through the free speech movement and student rights movement, I argue that gender influenced how students' rights were transformed during this time. Gender analysis adds room in historical analysis for interpretation of how and why students' rights changed. Gender historian Joan Scott has explained "the ways historians have looked at ideas about men and women, masculine and feminine, in order to illuminate politics writ large: war, empire, states, nations and nationalism, racism, revolution, resistance, communism and post-communism, party conflict, and economic development."[103] According to

[102] Bret Eynon, "Community in Motion: The Free Speech Movement, Civil Rights, and the Roots of the New Left." *The Oral History Review* 17, no. 1 (1989): 39–69.
[103] Joan Scott, "Unanswered Questions." *The American Historical Review* 113, no. 5, (2008): 1423.

Scott, gender has traditionally been a way to signify power and power relations. Applying this analysis, it is evident that gender constructs influenced campus politics of the WCU student body and administration throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Gender analysis is never a set method of analysis because the social construct of gender itself is everchanging. The study of gendered influences are amorphic and vary in different histories depending on time and place. Scott claims that using gender as a form of analysis pushes new theories about historical change. She argued that "gender is a new topic, a new department of historical investigation, but it does not have the analytical power to address (and change) existing historical paradigms."[104] Scott points out that by using gender as a tool of analysis, historians are able to more fully comprehend trends and themes of historical events which in turn elevates the event's historical significance. She clarifies that gender analysis is not a separation of men's and women's history but rather the combination of both while exploring the social construct that seems to magnify the complexity of history. Scott states, "the outcome of prevailing Western systems is a clear division between male and female: the basic feminine sense of self is connected to the world, the basic masculine sense of self is separate."[105] Herein lies the key to the history of gendered politics for college students during the 1960s and 1970s. The fact that gender influenced political movements can be found through participation in, language of legal documents like the Student Bill of Rights, club/society charters, and who was chosen to be the public figures for each group. The students' rights, women's rights, and free speech movements revealed a pattern of gender-driven politics for the purpose of having their concerns heard. It is not, as Scott describes, repressed desires by underrepresented subjects that

[104] Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5, (1968): 1057.
[105] Ibid, 1062

are "unconscious and are constantly a threat to the stability of gender identification, denying its unity, subverting its need for security."[106] The history of primarily male-led student groups who had political agendas and aims is not for lack of women's participation or for the lack of respect for women's rights. The leaders of second-wave feminism were also public political leaders at the time, and in the case of WCU, the male-led and women-led groups worked together in a cross-movement cohesion that furthered both political goals. However, what is found in official documents like the student handbooks or Student Government Association meeting minutes is primarily male voices. While female voices are largely excluded from the campus archive during this era, there are expressions of female voices on campus politics primarily within the student newspaper.

The pattern of gender dominated politics and policy making is reflected on WCU's campus during the late 1960s and early 1970s through the social regulation of femininity and masculinity. Using the men's and women's housing governments as well as additional rules and regulations outlined for only women, I argue that the social treatment and regulation of gender on WCU's campus directly influenced student government leadership and policy. The regulation of social propriety is a longstanding practice on WCU's campus since its founding in 1889 when it opened as a high school. The regulations of students have changed over time as social and gendered expectations of both men and women changed. The correlation between the administration's regulation of gender and then the rise of student government policy making is arguably the most present in the late 1960s when the student right's movement was growing in popularity. [107] The university administration pattern of gendered social regulation directly influenced how WCU's first few years of student government operated, which can also be

[106] Ibid, 1063.
[107] John S. Mann, "The Student Rights Strategy." *Theory Into Practice* 10, no. 5 (1971): 353–62.

related to broader student social organizations in the late '60s and '70s. Therefore, the consequences of the actions of the WCU administration reflect the broader national scope of the ideals of masculinity and femininity during the Vietnam war era.

Masculinity during the Cold War was tied up in the concept of protecting the United States' democratic ideals and foreign interests from the growing political power of communism and the Soviet Union. During this time, the male sense of masculinity was defined by their role in America's war against communism. If you were a man and dissented from supporting the Vietnam war, the popular notion was that you were emasculated and your moral character was weak.[108] Conversely, if you supported the war, you were a man of strong moral character. In this paradigm of gender, true masculine character was to protect American values, which are themselves constructed notions. One could achieve this ideal of masculinity through fighting for his country or supporting federal policy that worked to defend democracy. Femininity during this time was framed through the social construct of, as historian Peter Kunze states, "the voice of reason."[109] It is a romanticized notion of femininity that through masculine warfare women would be the ones to bring men back to orderly civilization and balancing the social order. In this paradigm, femininity was defined by society as women who were upstanding role models who watched over society with benevolent maternal intentions. These constructs of popular gender norms were not created by the masses but defined by the few with power, like the media and politicians, that was then consumed and ultimately accepted by the public. Therefore, those women and men who fell outside the constructed definitions were deemed abnormal and deviant

[108] Peter C. Kunze, "For the Boys: Masculinity, Gray Comedy, and the Vietnam War in 'Slaughterhouse-Five,'" *Studies in American Humor*, no. 26 (2012): 41–57.
[109] Ibid, 45.

individuals who did not conform to the popular ideals of societal expectations of men and women.

The women's rights movement manifested, according to historian Jo Freeman, "itself in almost infinite variety of groups, styles and organizations."[110] The expansion and success of the women's rights movement was changing how femininity was perceived and regulated by society. Widely accepted notions of femininity and masculinity were being challenged during this time through social movements like women's rights, student's rights, and anti-Vietnam war movements. The women's rights movement challenged gender constructs that had prohibited change from happening both on and off college campuses.

As the student and women's rights movements progressed through the late 1960s, some universities began to change co-educational policies and the regulation of gender norms. The most glaring changes, however, came in 1970. As historian Alexander Davis describes, "in the spring of 1970, Harvard University and Radcliffe College embarked on a bold experiment: an exchange in which 150 Radcliffe students and 150 Harvard students would swap housing arrangements, live in coeducational dormitories, and share residential bathrooms for a single semester."[111] Although WCU was not as bold in action as Harvard and Radcliffe, the administration and student leaders were diverting away from the patterned regulation of young men's and women's lives. Examining student regulations found within student handbooks from 1966 to 1974 provide a basis of understanding the shifting landscape of gender regulation at WCU.

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[110] Jo Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 4 (1973): 795.
[111] Alexander K. Davis, "Politicizing the Potty." In *Bathroom Battlegrounds: How Public Restrooms Shape the Gender Order*, ed. Alexander K Davis (Berkley: University of California Press, 2020), 25.

Student handbooks were designed to help incoming freshman understand the rules and regulations on campus as well as to explain campus activities. These small pamphlets were designed and created by administrators and student leaders. While examining the student handbooks from 1966 to 1974, there is a rhythm that each new edition of the student handbook follows. What remains constant throughout all of the handbooks is the articulation of university jurisdiction and administrative authority over the student body as well as the physical bodies of students. The separate rules and regulations for women's social behavior in the student handbooks are the most compelling evidence for this gender analysis.

The 1966 student handbook outlines the university's philosophy of governing women's behaviors. The guidelines were approved and enforced by the university administration, specifically the social deans. The social deans were in charge of their respective genders' behaviors on campus and regulating their social lives. The social lives of women were more regulated than the men. The female student population adhered to a strict regimented social life that promoted only "lady-like" conduct.[112] Femininity was to be cultivated and achieved throughout a woman's time on WCU's campus. The rules outlined that women should have "the spirit of good will and conscientious desire for self-improvement assists in obtaining the goals in life. Ultimate character is no stronger than day-to-day behavior and the attitudes by which this is influenced."[113] The rules and regulations were set and enforced by the university's Women's House Government that was sponsored by the Dean of Women. These rules regulated women's social behaviors on and off campus, dress, and movement. Dormitory regulations were extremely strict and monitored female students constantly. Women were to be back in their dorms by 7:30

[112] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1966-1967; General philosophy Governing Women's Behavior." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections.*
[113] Ibid, 72.

pm every night unless attending a school-sanctioned function wherein they were allowed a 15-minute grace period to be in their dormitories once the function ended.[114] The regulation of women's dating lives and strict rules placed on women affected male students as well. Men were not allowed to "call for a woman student before 8:30 am and may not sit in the parlor before 10:00 am."[115] The regulations placed on students' dating lives were strict as to uphold the accepted moral character that the administration wanted all students to possess. If regulations were violated, students would have to appear before their respective housing government's judiciary branches who, in partnership with the social dean, would assign a punishment.

The social regulations for dating were strict but did show gradual introductions into adult society. First-year women were regulated the heaviest with the following social rules,

> "All freshman girls shall observe closed study. They are expected to be either in their rooms or in the library between the hours of 7:30 pm until 9:30 pm, Monday through Thursday nights during Fall quarter. They are not to leave the dormitory after 9:30 during these nights. The only exception to this is regularly scheduled club meetings on the college calendar, and church activities."[116]

The language used to describe these first-year female students as girls rather than women alluded to the perspective of the administration that these students were not yet adult women, but would become so under their guidance. The dormitory regulations were monitored strictly by the Women's House Government Association and the Dean of Women. Freshmen women were also only allowed four weekends off campus in the fall quarter, but had unlimited weekends away during winter and spring quarters. During the fall quarter, women were only allowed to have two dates which could only occur on the weekends, but during the winter and spring quarters they could have two nights out during the week and two dates on the weekends. If the women did choose to have dates off campus they were required to have a double date, and were not

[114] Ibid, 72-73.
[115] Ibid, 73.
[116] Ibid, 76.

permitted to go alone.[117]Any activity on or off campus had to first be personally approved by the dean of women. Not only did this limit women's social behaviors but the rules applied to women also limited men's social behaviors.

The concept of gradual introduction into society as a woman was carried out through the university class system where freshmen had very limited rights and seniors had more freedoms than any other class. Seniors had unlimited number of date nights and weekends away from campus and were allowed to go to the nearby town of Waynesville without signed permission of a residence hall hostess.[118] Juniors were also allowed to go to Waynesville without signed permission but were limited to three dates during the week and three on the weekends, but they also had unlimited nights out if not considered a date.[119] Sophomore women only had the privilege of two date nights per week and three date nights on the weekends. They were also allowed unlimited nights out as long as they were not considered dates, and could only go into Sylva with signed permission from the residence hostess.[120] Although the graduated rights system was used by the administration, there were permissions that all women students fell subject to. The Women's Government association outlined that, "all women students may leave campus with their parents without special permission provided they sign out and observe dormitory hours."[121] All female students were still required to observe dormitory hours as well as permissions and the signing out of dormitories so that the hall and building hostesses could keep track of all female resident students. There were no specific regulations for men's movements on campus according to dormitory hours or off campus restrictions. The monitoring of women's

[117] Ibid, 76-77.
[118] Ibid, 75.
[119] Ibid, 76.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid, 75.

movements and behaviors does not stretch far beyond what parental control would have looked like during the adolescent years of these women's lives.[122]

The concept of *in loco parentis* was a hindrance to students' rights and authority and had been a long-standing practice in higher education. *In loco parentis* is most commonly used in legal doctrine that gives parental authority to an individual, literally translating to, in place of parent. During the late 1960s, criticism from students about the authority of the university administration to act *in loco parentis* appears in student publications, like newspapers and handbooks. For Western Carolina students, this criticism was voiced through the student newspaper the *Western Carolinian*. There was a running editorial column throughout the late 1960s and 1970s called "The Problem" that discussed various pressing issues on campus. These problems mostly related to campus politics, popular student opinion, and broader national issues. These editorials frequently reflected a dissatisfaction with the lack of recognition of student authority and autonomy by the administration. In 1967, the *Western Carolinian* published an article detailing the grievances of students. The article states, "As in any transitional period there must be some degree of confusion and the present period is no exception. The confusion stems from the question of what rights or authority the university still had over the students and what authority it must relinquish."[123] This article is in response to the proposal that the faculty and students should have separate governing bodies. Momentum was mounting on campus for a separate faculty senate and student government association rather than the old student/faculty cooperative model. The article questions the meaning of responsibility and who has defined it on campus, as well as questioning when humans should be trusted with responsibility. Is it given by age, or experience? The article concluded that, "humans must grow into it. They must be

[122] Ibid.
[123] "The Problem," *Western Carolinian*, 7 November, 1967, 2.

presented with responsibility so that they can learn to use it."[124] This statement further supported the argument for increased students' rights on campus because it gave these young adults the opportunity to accept responsibility within an academic atmosphere.

Before the WCU Student Bill of Rights was passed in 1968, there was the Student Body Rights that were outlined by the student constitution and by-laws of the co-operative student and faculty government. The purpose of the document was to outline the parameters of student rights and to reinforce the university's authority to mold the students into model citizens.[125] This document stated in article XI that the standards committee was responsible for evaluating the rules and regulations from the previous years and gave this committee the authority to make changes or add additional rules.[126] The standards committee was a combination of student leaders and faculty members who reported to the university administration to propose changes to student regulations. The standards committee was essentially the deciding party for creating the rules and regulations on the student body for the next year. They set the precedents and expectations that the student body in the following year would have to follow.

Within the constitution and by-laws of the 1966-1967 student handbook the men and women's housing governments also had strict rules and clear jurisdiction over the lives of female students. The handbook reflected strict regulation of women's social behaviors, dress, and lives beyond campus. The men's section however, only outlined the distribution of power and authority that was in the men's housing government. There were no explicit rules and regulations for men. The women's housing government regulations were far more restrictive. The dress regulations on women, for example, were expressed in both the women's housing government

[124] Ibid, 2.
[125] "Western Carolina College, Student Bill of Rights, 1968." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections.* 64.
[126] Ibid, 68.

rules and in the student by-laws. The regulations were more detailed in the by-laws. The student by-laws stated that,

> "Provided they wear coats girls are allowed to wear gym suits to and from dormitories and gym. Men shall dress appropriately for Sunday meals. No blue jeans, sweat shirts, T-shirts, or similar attire shall be permitted in the dining room. Students personal attire and appearance should be in good taste with the standard set by the college. Students should strive for neatness, cleanliness, and appropriateness. The women students at Western Carolina College are not allowed to wear slacks, Bermudas, or like attire: on campus, at public gatherings, at eating places, in towns of Cullowhee and Sylva. The only exception to this regulation are the following: when women students participate in sporting events on the campus, when women go on college sponsored hikes or picnics, when women are in their respective dormitories, the Dean of Women may post the correct attire for the event or day for which she deems it advisable to make special exception. No monogram letter from any other institution shall be worn on the Western Carolina college campus except the monogram block 'W' from this institution."[127]

What the student handbook described as regulations on dress was an exercised power by the administration to limit the perceived changes represented by college aged youth in the 1960s. Historian Betty Hillman states that there were "changes in self-presentation styles among white middle class American youths in the 1960s as they were discussed in newspapers and other forms of media of the era."[128] The changes Hillman describes were in direct conflict with WCU's continued regulation of students, primarily women's dress choices and social behavior. The continued strict regulation of women's behavior can be attributed to concern over the rise of the Women's Rights movement and feminist activism. Hillman stated that, "changes in self-presentation for women fueled these concerns, with social commentators worrying that women dressing in new styles, … could further erode traditional gender roles."[129] The continued pattern of gender regulation by the administration and enforced by student leaders can be found replicated throughout the student handbooks. Contestation of these rules and regulations on women especially can be found voiced in the *Western Carolinian*. Letters to the editor on the

[127] Ibid, 53.
[128] Betty Luther Hillman, *Dressing for the Culture Wars: Style and the Politics of Self-Presentation in the 1960s and 1970s*, (University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 2.
[129] Ibid, 4.

subject of women's regulations reflect discontent with the graduated system of freedoms depending on university class status. A female freshman student, Linda Marie wrote to the editor that, "During Orientation Week, or first impression of college life, we were referred to as women. We, the freshmen, were told that we were not on our own and able to make decisions for ourselves."[130] Marie discussed her disapproval of forced double-dating and restrictions on weekends away. She concluded that she and other freshmen women are dismayed by the women's house governments lack of time to hear the freshmen's opinions. Through Marie's letter to the editor, not only is it visible that freshmen women opposed the new restrictions that they now found themselves having to live under, but that a feeling of disconnect was emerging between the women of the student body and the women's house government. In the same issue, the *Western Carolinian* also published a political cartoon displaying how freshmen women felt toward the rules and regulations of their sex. This depiction shows a freshman woman chained to a boulder representing Cullowhee and WCU, and an upper-class woman who had the opportunity to leave for a weekend away from campus. The cartoon depicted the physical limitations that women were chained to as well as psychological limitations placed on freshmen women by the university administration. These two examples not only show the opposition to these social rules but the oppressive effects of these rules on freshmen women who were away

Figure 2. 1967 "Freshman Restrictions". Photo courtesy of: *Western Carolina University, Library Digital and Special Collections.*

[130] "Freshman Restrictions," *Western Carolinian*, 6, November, 1967, 2.

from their homes for the first time. Unfortunately, this is a plea fallen on deaf ears of the administration and house governments as seen in the following year's handbook.

In the student handbook for 1967-1968, the parameters for the Women's House Government Association and the Men's House Government Association were unchanged from the rules and regulations from 1966-1967 school year. Social regulation continued with an emphasis on women's social lives, for example the rule that "girls are not permitted to sit in parked cars on the campus" was still included in the specific rules outlining women's propriety.[131] The antiquated rules of the past continued to impact the social lives and independence of female students at WCU. As mentioned before, the Men's House Government was structured as a political entity on campus unlike their female counterpart that was run more like a social club to introduce young women to the world they will enter after leaving WCU.

The constitution of the Men's House Government reflected idea that masculinity is defined by duty, responsibility, and wielding power over others who needed protection. By contrasting the language of the men's and women's housing government constitutions and applying Joan Scott's method of gendered language analysis when studying the student handbooks, there is a consistent articulation of a push to change power dynamics. Throughout both constitutions was a discussion of the varying sources of power. For women it was outlined that they were a source of authority.[132] Men were told that they were a source of power.[133] The difference between authority and power is that to have authority one has to be given power that they do not already hold, whereas with power it is assumed that one already possesses it. Therefore displaying the trend of power dynamics where women are second to men and are only

[131] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1967-1968; General philosophy Governing Women's Behavior; Rules and Regulations." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections,* 40.
[132] Ibid, 35.
[133] Ibid, 46.

empowered through the means of WCU administration giving it to them. The rest of the Men's House Government constitution was reflective of the power dynamic just discussed. There were no rules and regulations, rather expectations for how male students were to wield their power and conduct themselves on campus. The constitution covered legislative and judicial responsibilities, executive power and responsibilities, and meetings and membership responsibilities. Article VII described the pledge that the members and officers of the men's house government must take. It stated, "I hereby pledge to every member of the House Government Association that I will use all of my powers to strengthen and uphold the ideals of student government, which are: individual responsibility, loyalty, and honor."[134] Unlike the women's constitution that did not state a pledge or creed to abide by, which assumes responsibility or power, the men's constitution specifically used language to assert the masculine duty and their power in campus politics. This trend can be seen in the messages from the student body presidents from 1966 to 1974.

The rules and regulations governing male and female students on WCU's campus directly relate to the power dynamic of student government politics during the late '60s and early '70s. In the time frame of this study, 1966 to 1974, all of the student body presidents and vice presidents were male. In 1966 the student government addresses from the president and vice president of the study body used language that implied there were aspirations for the student body to be progressive but the SGA could not entirely throw off the yoke of antiquated administrative regulations and gender norms. In 1966-67, student body president William Upchurch Jr. stated that he aspired to have a successful year "academically, culturally and socially."[135] Similarly

[134] Ibid, 51.
[135] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1966-1967." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections,* 11.

student body vice president of 1966-67, Barry Steagall described that he hoped to have a fruitful year and to "grow and become a stronger co-operative student body."[136] Both used language that displayed evidence of hopes for the student government to grow with the changing culture around them and create a more engaged student body that would have the possibility to induce policy changes.

The policy changes that were under fire by the student body were mainly the social regulations for female students. The *Western Carolinian* published an article in 1967 explaining the recent contestation of the regulation of women's hours and weekends away. The article stated, "The rule is one of many established on a graduated system of privileges for women students by Women's House Government. Not only freshman but many upperclassmen seem to believe this rule is unjust."[137] The article further argued that weekends away for both men and women were personal matters and should be left up to the individual's discretion. The highly regulated hours were a hindrance to women to follow the university's guidelines for where they should be and when. The article also questioned why the rule of weekends away applied to freshmen men as well, further arguing that, "if students wish to attend the events they will stay on campus of their own choice; not by force."[138] The article was not only a note to what is wrong about the social regulations for women, but also as a hopeful note for advocacy from both the *Western Carolinian* and the student body for the freshman women who were contesting the regulations. The article was written and approved by the editor-in-chief of the *Western Carolinian*, Charlotte Wise, who between 1964 and 1973 was the only female editor-in-chief of the student newspaper. There is evidence for more contestation of women's social regulations

[136] Ibid, 12.
[137] "Freshman Protest," *Western Carolinian,* 6, November, 1967, 2.
[138] Ibid.

through student letters to the editor. Perhaps more female students were writing in because they felt like they had a better chance of being published by a female editor-in-chief. There is also a possibility that this disagreement with social regulations is linked to the broader changes around students' and womens' rights across the nation as well as WCU shifting away from co-operative student governance to a sole student government association.

In the 1967-68 academic year, the student handbook published letters from the student body president Roger Euliss and vice president Charles Sutton. Both Euliss and Sutton expressed their desire for the student body to be active in university activities and help further visualize the goals that they began last year. Both also addressed the responsibility that students should take in the success of their education.[139] Sutton offered a serious word to remember that the success of the school year depended on students' "interest, participation and attitude."[140] This address by Sutton was perhaps a word of encouragement to have significant student participation in campus politics throughout the school year. Increased participation can be observed through the passage of the new Student Bill of Rights that was approved during the 1967-1968 academic year, and published for the first time in the student handbook for the 1968-1969 academic year. The 1968 and 1969 school year was the first to have a student body president as well as the formal SGA, leading to a year of precedents.

the *Western Carolinian* published the student body representatives' opinions and stances on campus and student issues before they were voted into office. In 1968, the *Western Carolinian* published statements from Sutton and his goals for the upcoming school year. Sutton first defined what the student body president should be in relation to the administration stating

[139] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1967-1968." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections,* 25-26.
[140] Ibid, 26.

they "should be a liaison between the students and administration" and "should serve the students by being their spokesman."[141] Sutton went on to explain his ideas for improvement to the SGA and student body by hiring a professional counselor for students, encouraging students to enact change throughout the school year, and creating a summer orientation program for incoming student officers to jumpstart progress.[142]

As Sutton hinted at in his 1968-1969 address, the changes to rules and regulations of the student body were drastic. There were still men's and women's housing governments but the policies and regulations became more neutral because there was not an over-regulation of women's movements and activities.[143] There was also no separate rules for male and female students in the dormitories on campus. This could be done through the SGA advocating for the change of the social and housing regulations on the student body. President Pow had promised to bring change to WCU, but while he envisioned growth of a university, student leaders saw his willingness for progress as an avenue of possibilities to change regulations. The only outlined regulations still pertaining to women's residence were for off-campus living situations. Those were still an additional set of regulations that had not changed from 1966-67 regulations for off campus students.[144] Although there had been changes made in the regulation of students' lives by the administration, a constant remained and that was how students dressed. In the SGA constitution were no dress regulations for women, but as we see, they were still prevalent in the Women's House Government rules; while the regulation of men's dress on Sunday meals and in

[141] "Sutton, Roberts Vie for Presidency," *Western Carolinian,* 28, March, 1968, 1.
[142] Ibid, 2.
[143] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1967-1968." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections*, 71.
[144] Ibid, 77.

the cafeteria also remained. Although there was leniency toward regulations on women, the dress code for women was still restrictive in many ways. For example,

> "women students at Western Carolina University may wear slacks and bermudas on campus at any time other than class (8-5 Monday through Friday) and church hours (9-12 Sunday) except in the cafeterias, the library, administration and classroom buildings. Women must wear a coat over sports attire when going to the Laundramat, Town House and Post Office before 5:00 o'clock p.m. Women may wear appropriate sports attire when participating in sports events on campus, and on hikes, picnics, etc. off-campus. The Dean of Women may post the correct attire for the event or day for which she deems it advisable to make special exception."[145]

Although this is a change from the original rules of dress for women, there are still constrictive regulations placed over female students' public image. The continued monitoring of both male and female bodies and public images by the university administration was carried out well into the early 1970s. Similarly to Hillman's description of how young people protested, these regulations by the university administration were contested by students' because it was a violation of the students' personal freedoms and the administration was exercising a form of social control.[146] Where the university administration saw the protection of social moral values, the students viewed these regulations as violations of their freedoms.

It is clear that Sutton's aspirations to institute change were articulated by students in the newspaper throughout 1968. A particular editorial written by the student editor of the newspaper expressed the problem with the women's demerit system, the penalties that were imposed upon female students if they broke any of the women's house government rules. Editor Charlotte Wise again wrote a criticizing editorial of the university administration's decisions to regulate women. The editorial stated, "while we are in constant disagreement with the rules more than the actual demerit system, the system needs drastic changes before it can even be considered for use here."[147] Wise critiqued the fact that the new demerit system was enacted without a vote or

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[145] Ibid, 82.
[146] Hillman, *Dressing for the Culture Wars,* 12.
[147] "The Demerit System," *Western Carolinian*, January, 1968, 2.

notification to female students. Even though Wise acknowledged that, "according to the information that women in this dorm had, why should there be a vote? It wouldn't change anything anyway."[148] This sentiment from a prominent female student on campus demonstrated that women did not have the power to enact change for themselves, even by a democratic process. Paired with this editorial is yet another cartoon expressing all classes of female students' opinions about the oppressive social regulations and the consequences if they strayed from the regulations. The cartoon is of two women, one, a WHG student representative who is handing down punishment to another female student. The female student handing down punishment states, "You have 764 demerits for not signing in or out, wearing slacks, breathing too loudly, and for antidisestablishmentarianism! You will be campused for 12 years and lashed daily! Also, you will be put on bread and water and given an obnoxious roommate… then…"[149] This was obviously an exaggeration of the punishments for breaking the social regulations, but nonetheless impacted the morale of female students. The lack of social regulations for men on and off the campus demonstrates how constraining life was like for women at WCU.

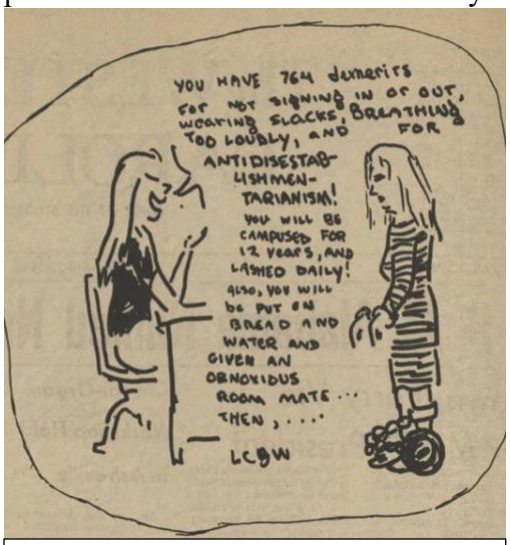

Figure 3. 1968 "Demerit System" Photo courtesy of: *Western Carolina University, Library Digital and Special Collections.*

The call for change of the antiquated regulations on the female students is scattered throughout the student newspaper. As one letter from a female student to the editor in 1968 stated, "for eleven quarters I have learned and experienced much on this campus, none of which I

[148] Ibid, 2.
[149] "The Demerit System, cartoon" *Western Carolinian*, January, 1968, 2.

will allow myself to regret, for it is like bad breath—better than no breath at all."[150] This student requested her name be withheld from the record but her words are nonetheless impactful. She critiqued the entire system of governance over the student body especially for the female students. She stated, "by 'we' I mean the weaker sex. How ironic that we should be dubbed so because of lesser physical strength, yet be our better half's equal in nearly every other phase of life in these United States! Equality implies consistency and congruity and I see nothing consistent or congruent in the Bird Cage's treatment of men and with respect to hours, dress, social rules, etc."[151] The author of this letter went on to critique the administration by pointing out that it was natural for American society to organize and categorize but asked at the price of who's rights. Her critique ended with the concept that "time waits for no one" and called to action other female students by stating, "that means it won't wait for us either, Ladies, so why not join our isolated efforts against sexual inequality and discrimination. But let us use the means already available – freedom of speech, freedom of press, WHG, Dr. Pow—in intelligent, rational, logical, legal, and well planned manner benefitting the status we wish to obtain."[152] This was a passionate call to action by this female student who asked more of her fellow classmates to not stand for being classified as the third class of citizens below men and the administration.

The women's house government and the men's house government associations were both administratively run by the dean of men and the dean of women, but had elected student officials to serve as representatives for their respective housing governments. The Women's House Government Association's (WHGA) purpose was, "to promote the social and moral welfare of its members."[153] The 1967-1968 student handbook outlined that the WHGA's "source of

[150] "Oppressed Coed," *Western Carolinian,* August, 1968, 2.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid, 71.

authority" was derived from the President of the university and the Board of Trustees. It also stated that the WHGA, "cannot pass rules or set up regulations which are in conflict with rules or regulations set up under the authority of the Senate or university Administration."[154] Within the WHGA there were legislative, executive, and judicial branches, and the executive branch was overseen by the Dean of Women to act in an advisory capacity. This housing government allowed for women to be participants in campus politics but did not allow them to put forth changes to rules and regulations. The members of the WHGA were to only enforce the standards set by the Senate and University Administration. The rules and regulations of the WHGA were discussed previously and were active efforts to regulate women's social lives on campus.

The Men's Housing Government Association (MHGA) constitution did not directly state the purpose of their organization but from the constitution they were in charge of handling disciplinary actions regarding male students and enforcing the standards set by the standards committee. The MHGA constitutions stated that their "source of power" is derived from the Board of Trustees, University President, Student Senate, and the Student-Faculty Judiciary Committee.[155] Although constructed the same on the outside as the WHGA, the MHGA had the power to make and change rules and regulations pertaining to male students. Their constitution was set up like a standard democratic organization, but it did not state rules and regulations like the WHGA constitution did. The MHGA therefore had more power and authority over governing their own lives. The WHGA on the other hand had less authority, and less power on campus, over their own lives and had more social regulations explicitly applied to women. This practice

[154] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1967-1968." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections,* 35.
[155] Ibid, 46.

changed once the Student Bill of Rights was passed and the WCU Student Government Association was formed in the late 1960s.

The language of control is not only found in the student handbooks under the rules and regulations but also imbedded within the university president's addresses and social deans letters. In the 1967-1968 student handbook, the social deans wrote letters of instruction for the incoming freshman. The language they used gave further evidence of the social regulation and gendered ideals that the administration was promoting and enforcing. The Dean of Men Dr. W. Douglas Davis, addressed male students and indicated that they had "voluntarily committed" themselves to the "obligations and responsibilities necessary for the acquisition of" higher education.[156] Davis goes on to discuss that the campus was a space where students were to grow "intellectually, socially, emotionally, and physically."[157] He elaborated that the rules and regulations in the student handbook were designed to ensure their success while attending WCU and after graduation. The rules and regulations were designed by the administration to create what they viewed as the best versions of femininity and masculinity. These actions created a space to perpetuate broader national social and moral values within the boundaries of the university. Dr. Davis elaborated that the students' time at WCU would be filled with growth and change and he asked them to "consider well the route you are following—future generations will follow in your footsteps. These are not obligations to be assumed lightly. The responsibility and demands are many, but the ultimate rewards are satisfying and worthwhile."[158] Ending his letter with the note of importance about forming model character to be examples for future generations was a powerful charge to give students. Davis represented the strong-willed and powerful

[156] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1967-1968." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections,* 22
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.

version of masculinity common among university administrations and their directives to college students at the time.

The Dean of Women, Peggy Ziegler, took a different approach. Her letter was significantly shorter and conveyed the university's idea of reserved femininity. Ziegler encouraged the "spirit of participation" and "wholehearted effort" as ways for new students to grow while at WCU.[159] She also addressed the idea of moral social uplift being entangled with femininity in the past by stating that there were a "variety of activities—social, religious, and civic—which are supplemental" to female student lives.[160] Both Ziegler and Davis's addresses speak to the moral and social development of students at WCU and do so by articulating the popular moral and social values of the late 1960s. Ziegler's actions were to develop young female students' gradual advancement in American civic life, unlike Davis's actions to guide young male students through the authority already placed upon them by society.

University President, Dr. Alex Pow had an address published in the 1968-1969 student handbook that illustrated the administration's limited views of students' authority to govern their own lives. Pow charged the students with his interpretation of their responsibility to expand educational opportunities as a university, explore the relevance of the university as the 21st century was approached, extend its reach in the state and region to make an impact economically, culturally, and socially, and finally to exceed the ordinary expectations and use the best of the past to further the best for the future.[161] Dr. Pow's vision for the university was to grow the number of students, by expanded campus facilities and new buildings.

[159] Ibid, 23.
[160] Ibid.
[161] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1968-1969." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections,* 16.

Even though Dr. Pow articulated a sense of student's emerging autonomy, many students still felt that the administration failed to support their rights, because they were more focused on growing the size of the university rather than improving the rights of the existing student body. The administration was focused on their larger picture of making WCU a stronger magnet for students and in consequence failed to meet the demands of students' rights. The *Western Carolinian* published an editorial in 1968 critiquing the administration's competence, while praising the social deans. The editorial stated, "some administrators fail miserably, others do a mediocre job, and few are highly successful in their positions."[162] The editorial praised the Dean of Women Peggy Ziegler and the Dean of Men Douglas Davis for their aid to "students from all walks of life with all types of problems."[163] The student newspaper further praised the deans' efforts to help students for no personal gain of their own, unlike the perception students had of other administrators. The editorial also described how the social deans supported student organizations like the student senate, fraternities, and sororities to advocate for their rights as student-led organizations.

During this year the social deans' job descriptions were redefined due to the changing culture of gendered expectations on campus. Dean Ziegler's job description was that she "heads the campus as its hostess. Her duties include the welfare of all WCU coeds."[164] Likewise Dean Davis's role was redefined as a "counselor and disciplinarian to all male students."[165] These title changes proved that there was progress in the way of governing students as one body rather than having separate rules and regulations based upon gender. The social dean's roles had not been

[162] "Administrative Competence," *Western Carolinian,* vol.33, no. 31, 1968, 2.
[163] Ibid.
[164] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1968-1969." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections*, 17.
[165] Ibid.

explicitly stated in the student handbooks before 1968-1969. It makes sense as the rules and regulations of students change that the job descriptions of those who were charged to enforce such rules and regulations be changed as well. It is not until the 1972-1973 academic year where the separated roles to govern genders separately were removed from the administrative level altogether. After that year, there were still deans who looked after the welfare of students but instead of social deans, the new term became personnel deans. There was still a head student dean with two reporting deans under him that were then redefined both as deans of student development, one female and one male.[166] The change of specific title change became more neutral and less gender specific for the university administration, but did not alter the administration's views that male and female students should be regulated separately, hence still having a male and female Dean of Student Development. Although with this change, social norms and responsibilities placed on the constructions of femininity and masculinity in the past were shifting at WCU. The change in administration titles raises questions around the changing dynamics of power, and as Joan Scott stated, "the term gender is useful only as a question."[167] By questioning the regulation of gender on WCU's campus and following the advocacy through the student newspaper as well as evidence from the student handbooks we find increased campus activity of supporting the advancement of student rights.

As gendered dynamics changed, so did the power and authority of students to have more governance over their lives. Previously the 1966-1967 student handbook outlined that the life of a student at WCU was governed by the administration and the co-operative student-faculty government. This co-op consisted of both students and faculty, who were split into ten different

[166] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1972-1973." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections,* 20.
[167]Joan Scott, "Unanswered Questions," 1422.

subcommittees. Yet this structure began to change beginning in 1968. This transition of a more autonomous student body began with the passage of the Student Bill of Rights and a complete restructuring of student government organizations between 1968 and 1971.

The Student Bill of Rights was passed by the Board of Trustees and the university administration during the 1968-1969 school year but did not completely go into effect until the 1969-1970 school year. This was a transitional year for WCU in terms of campus politics. What once was the co-operative student-faculty government at WCU was transitioning into separate political organizations. The students were in the process of organizing the Student Government Association and the faculty were forming their own separate Faculty Senate. This separation did not mean the end of the cooperative nature of faculty-student relations. There was still a cooperative relationship between the two organizations but now they were working toward goals for each of the individual groups on campus. During this split of power the students and faculty realized that more could be done if they were represented in two separate organizations, wherein they had more resources and authority. The men and women's housing government associations were still present but their authority was declining rapidly. In the 1969-1970 student handbook the explanation of their authority was but only one paragraph where as in past years it sprawled on for four or more pages.[168] The Student Bill of Rights reflected a democratic organization that was pushing for the rights of students to have authority over their own lives on campus. This structure acknowledged the higher power of the university administration to set rules and regulations, while respectfully advocating for their voices as logical in decisions regarding their

[168] "Western Carolina College, Student Handbook, 1969-1970." Western Carolina University, *Hunter Library Special and Digital Collections,* 42.

social and private lives. The passage of the Student Bill of Rights was a shift in power dynamics on campus and a turning point for students to have a say in their futures.

As the changes to the administration's governance on students' lives became less intrusive it allowed students to become more independent in choosing their own actions. The change in policy was affected by the late '60s and early '70s politics which in hand were directly influenced by constructs of gender. The influence that gender has on both the creation and changing of WCU's student rules and regulation policies is most obviously displayed in the men's and women's housing governments. This chapter focused on the years 1966 to 1973 because there was articulation of disagreement over strict regulations and the need for change, and eventually policy changes were enacted by the administration. These years were also chosen because of the creation of the Student Bill of Rights and establishment of a permanent student government. The span of just a short time marked the end of an era for restrictive administrative regulations and ushered in a new cooperative student and administrative relationship which allowed students more free will on campus. The dynamic of power and gender cannot be separated from American politics and therefore cannot be separated in the study of student politics.

CENSORING STUDENT VOICES AT UNC-ASHEVILLE, 1965-1974

The University of North Carolina at Asheville (UNC-A) is situated within a unique metropolitan city in western North Carolina. UNC-A was originally Asheville-Biltmore College, before it was adopted into the UNC School System in 1969, but for the purpose of this chapter I will continue to refer it as UNC-A to lessen confusion. Since UNC-A is located in Asheville, the largest city in western North Carolina, the school has always had progressive minds on campus, but the campus culture had not gone unchallenged by societal norms. I analyze how the university's campus culture amplified students' advocacy to change the *in loco parentis* structure of UNC-A to fit the emerging needs for student autonomy and independence. I argue that students at UNC-A used a variety of avenues to advocate for increased autonomy and freedom of speech. These avenues included the publication of creative expression, the student newspaper, and revisions to the structure of the student government. UNC-A's student activism is important in the understanding of student-administration relations because of the demands of each party were in direct conflict to one another. The history of UNC-A student activism is riddled with attempts to find autonomy separate from the administration. The challenge to *in loco parentis* is plainly witnessed within the student newspaper *The Ridgerunner,* which boldly exhibited the authority of student voices on their front pages. In 1965 *The Ridgerunner* masthead declared "The Ridgerunner, The Students' Right to information and Expression."[169] Although, the student newspaper was not the only student publication where student authority was present. Student authority was also expressed in the College of Fine Arts student publication *Images.* The sources used for this chapter range from student publications like *The Ridgerunner* and *Images*, to

[169] *The Ridgerunner*, "The Students' Right to Information and Expression," 1965, 1.

Student Government Association files, the student handbooks, and administration correspondence files. Historian Gilbert Stephenson argues that "literature supplies source material to the historian."[170] Therefore, useful sources to understand the working power dynamics between students and the UNC-A administration are student literature. From 1965 to 1974 there was a push among UNC-A students for the administration to change its antiquated concepts of *in loco parentis* and allow students more authority on campus.

In 1965, the college of Fine and Performing Arts student publication *Images*, published an editorial from the student editor and a guest columnist who both defended the right to free speech and by doing so claimed authority themselves while rejecting the administration's authority. Student editor, Bob Bell, stated, "distressing are the critics that have such narrow minds that they are only interested in one phase of content…these are the snakes in the night: the silent ones and the pigeon-holers, the ones that suck the blood from creativity and incite fear in the minds of those that sincerely have something to say."[171] This action is both similar and different to the free speech movement sweeping across America's college campuses in the mid-1960s. This expression mirrors the free speech movement advocacy for the right to say what young Americans wanted without being censored by a higher power.[172] Student expression at UNC-A was similar to the free speech movement in purpose, but different in the way that students manifested opposition to administrative censorship within this particular campus culture. *Images*, was a student publication containing, poetry, short stories, and images, published bi-annually by a student staff. The *Images* staff consisted of Fine and Performing Arts students, and one faculty sponsor. Analyzing the publications of *Images* from 1964 to 1974, the

[170] Gilbert Stephenson, "Literature and History," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 35, no. 2, (1958): 227.
[171] Bob Bell, "Editorials," *Images* 1964-1965, 3.
[172] Eynon, Bret. "Community in Motion: The Free Speech Movement, Civil Rights, and the Roots of the New Left." *The Oral History Review* 17, no. 1 (1989).

faculty sponsor did not seem as a hinderance to student's right to free speech. For a decade, Images took aim at the UNC-A administration and the long-accepted authority of American institutions. In 1965 the student editor of *Images*, Bob Bell, challenged the status quo of approval from art and literature critics. Bell stated, "as long as there are wise men who will give creativity free reign; it will continue to be independent of these (critics) fumbling hands."[173] Bell's words, and the student submissions to *Images*, display a pattern of increased advocacy for students rights and freedom of expression at UNC-A from the mid 1960s into the mid 1970s.

One way that students expressed their right of free speech was through opposition to the Vietnam War. As tensions grew increasingly high across the nation, especially on college campuses, students at UNC-A used student publications like *Images* and *The Ridgerunner* to express their view on Vietnam. Student Sylvia Wilkerson published a poem titled "False Spring" in the 1965 edition of *Images*. Wilkerson described a sense of false hope, as spring in literature is viewed as new life or hope, this is a critique of the United States involvement the Vietnam War. Her description of false hope ended "with soft and humid air, now beckons to patient life, around a weeping branch, whose sticky tears fall wasted."[174] Her description of the air as humid can also be seen as the weight of the Vietnam War and all of the efforts to stop the war are interpreted as wasted. In 1966 student Lani Campbell published a poem titled "Vietnam." Campbell stated, "Blood, Blood, mixed with disease and mud. Blood, splashing on wet ground and trying to seep in, Blood, filling puddles and housing bacteria and mosquitoes. The Blood. For me, and they don't even know my name…"[175] At first glance this seems to be a critique of the American blood that is being spilled in Vietnam, but towards the end, her poem shifts to a more sentimental

[173] Bob Bell, "Editorials," *Images* 1964-1965, 3.
[174] Sylvia Wilkerson, "False Spring," *Images* 1964-1965, 25.
[175] Lani Campbell, "Vietnam," *Images* 1966, 10.

feeling of sacrifice. Although, this too could be interpreted as a critique of the Vietnam War.[176] Historian Mitchell Hall in *The Vietnam Era Antiwar Movement,* analyzed the patterns of antiwar protests, and the thread of a dehumanization of the United States military approach that many protestors took. Not only is this sentiment articulated in *Images,* but also in the student newspaper.

At UNC-A the conversation about the Vietnam war was a structured dialogue by the university administration. The university administration opted for panel discussions with faculty and students because they were controlled conversations that appeared to be more "orderly" than student protests. *The Ridgerunner* published a front page article titled, "Doves And Hawks To Clash; Student Viet Nam Vote Planned."[177] The article stated that this was to be a faculty panel discussion as well as a student referendum about the conflict in Vietnam. The topic was "Viet Nam: What should be done about it?"[178] The faculty panel included professors of government and history. The panel was divided into two sides, one opposing the war in Vietnam and the other in support of the war. The article stated, "policies will be submitted for students consideration representing current stands on the war."[179] The policies were as follows, " Policy A: The United States should defeat the power of North Vietnam by widespread bombing of its industries, ports, and harbors, and by land invasion. Policy B: The United States should follow the present policy in Vietnam. Policy C: The United States should de-escalate its military activity, stop bombing North Vietnam, and intensify its efforts to begin negotiations. Policy D: The United States should withdraw its military forces from Vietnam immediately."[180]

[176] Hall, Mitchel. "The Vietnam Era Antiwar Movement." OAH Magazine of History 18, no.5, (2004).
[177] "Doves And Hawks To Clash; Student Viet Nam Vote Planned." *The Ridgerunner*, 1967, 1.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180]Ibid.

Discussions like this were not uncommon on college campuses during this time and were actually encouraged by some college administrations and faculty.[181] These discussion were viewed as a more reasonable and civilized forum to voice opinions about the Vietnam War than a protest. This Discussion and voting on policies allowed students to act the part of decision makers for the future of America's involvement in Vietnam. However, this can be seen as a power only granted by the college administration rather than an act of student autonomy.

The forum in 1967 did not keep students from voicing their own opinions about the Vietnam War in the student paper. In one 1968 letter to the editor, a student who withheld their name from the record wrote to protest the draft. The student stated, "the draft is illegal, wrong, and immoral. Its only justification is for mobilization in all-out war."[182] The student continued to explained that "the containment policy toward Communism must shift from the present complacent 'muddle through' concept to a realistic, intelligent, pellucid, and defensible position. The nation must know what it is doing before it gets into another Vietnam, and how it will do it."[183] This was not only a popular view among some of the American public, at the time but also a post-Vietnam critique of foreign policies throughout the duration of the Cold War.[184] The student's letter to the editor is a well-articulated political criticism which both addresses the problems of the foreign policy for Vietnam and the possible solutions going forward. It also relayed the skepticism of the government's decision-making abilities in the interest of American citizens.

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[181] Kenneth Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era,* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).
[182] "Reservist on Peace Draft," *The Ridgerunner,* March 1, 1968, 2.
[183] Ibid.
[184] George C. Herring, "Vietnam, American Foreign Policy, and the Uses of History." *The Virginia Quarterly Review* 66, no. 1 (Winter, 1990).

This articulation of disappointment with current United States politics and foreign policies can also be observed in earlier editions of *Images.* A theme of hopelessness runs throughout the students' artistic work in *Images* from 1966 to 1969. Student Don Dalton published a poem in *Images* in 1966 titled "One of Those Days When..."[185] Dalton described the lack of hope for the world that is in front of him. The poem read, "Borderless, unsure shadows hide under things…The once exuberant lake, playfully slapping at stones along the shore, is not flat… wrinkled… and heavy… Meaningless. Nowhere is there life… Movement, but no life. Noise—but no sound…"[186]

For male students especially there was an uneasiness with the selective service draft.[187] In 1967 a student named Lani published a poem titled "Turn Again to Viet Nam."[188] It stated, "It's my fault they're there, eating cold beans, with fingers dirt-black, swatting mosquitoes, and salvaging what they can of friends and possessions, and killing, killing, other men who themselves don't have a reason for being there, other men who have wives and children, other men who are unhappy and lonely, other men who hate cold food, and in their dreams think somewhere of the same mighty god. It's my fault, all, and I don't know why."[189] This poem critiques of the Vietnam War as a humanitarian crisis, and questions Americans' own responsibility to advocate for change in foreign policy. This poem is not explicitly anti-or-pro-Vietnam War, it lies somewhere in-between during the confusion of cultural change and questioning authority.

[185] Don Dalton, "One of Those Days When," *Images* 1966, 19.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Gordon, Kerr, *A Short History of the Vietnam War*. (United Kington: Oldcastle Books Publishing, 2015).
[188] Lani, "Turn Again To Viet Nam," *Images* 1967,18.
[189] Ibid.

Two poems published in back-to-back issues of *Images* explore the conundrum of masculine expectations and critiques during the Vietnam War. Both poems are anonymous and add contrasting ideas about societal expectations and responsibility. The first was published in 1968 titled "I Shall" and it illustrated an internal struggle for defining manhood for college students who are not considered adults but also not children. It read, "I shall do, I shall build, I shall make and change the world until my heart is filled; …I am young, but my own master, Build the world to suit my will, But I must build quicker, faster, For when youth's sure voice is stilled, I will wish and never conquer, I will strike and stay my hand, I will rest and be forgotten, Not a youth, not yet a man."[190] In the context of a changing youth culture of the 1960s and 1970s for young adults to start advocating for more responsibility and authority over their own lives this expression of manhood sheds light on the complexity of their world. The poem is a tribute to the age between what the rest of society considered adulthood and childhood.

The next anonymous poem from 1969 discussed the complexity of societal expectations of adolescent versus adult decisions. It read, "Hearing men talk for hours in public and private places, abusing vocal powers, with contorted limbs and faces, I think, supposing man suffered aphonia for a while, and speech were put under ban on the talkative and temporal mile? Would creation, sighing with relief, use the interim, however brief, to pour in a splendorous word that might illumine men, one waiting long to be heard, but thwarted time and again? Or might men, stunned to find they were mute with no sound issuing on the breath, tumble to earth like millioned fruit in real or fancied death?"[191] This poem seems to critique authoritative voices that continued to leave others left unheard and unable to participate. This critique can be observed in both the women's rights movement and the free speech movement. This articulation of the desire

[190] Anonymous, "I Shall," *Images* 1968, 10.
[191] Anonymous, "Talk," *Images* 1969, 13.

for a voice, and a recognition that students were are not heard was a popular expression on college campuses during this time.

In 1969 *The Ridgerunner* reported that an anti-war protest in the form of a moratorium was going to be held on October 15th. This moratorium would follow the same guidelines as they had at other universities across the nation who were protesting the war. UNC-A's moratorium was also similar to the other two western North Carolina campuses, Appalachian State University, and Western Carolina University, which also participated in this nationwide student strike. *The Ridgerunner* reported that, "The intent of the student strike is to heighten the criticism of the Vietnam War by encouraging a broad cross-section of Americans to work against the war."[192] The headquarters of this nationwide movement were in Washington D.C. but would be a coordinated nation-wide demonstration. In the same issue of the student paper, student writers discuss the UNC system's official position on the Vietnam Moratorium, which "reaffirms the rights of members of this University community to engage in free discussion of all issues, peaceful demonstrations, and the right to peaceably assemble."[193] The policy goes on to discuss that campus operations would go on as normal for all schools in the UNC system on October 15th and that any hinderance to students attending classes would be handled by the emergency disciplinary procedure for UNC-A. This was outlined in the resolution to amend the by-laws of the board of trustees in matters of student discipline and order which was revised in June of 1969.[194] This policy was for the entire board of trustees for the UNC school system. It prohibited "willful disruption of educational processes, destruction of property and interference with the rights of others."[195] This preparatory step was taken by the UNC school system to ensure that the

[192] "Nation-Wide Moratorium Planned," *The Ridgerunner,* October 10, 1969, 9.
[193] "UNC Announces Position on Viet Nam Moratorium," *The Ridgerunner,* October 10, 1969, 9.
[194] "Resolution Amending the By-Laws of the Board of Trustees," *Student Senate Files,* 1969-1970, 1.
[195] Ibid.

schools under their jurisdiction would not fall into the same pattern of student activism that was happening at larger university campuses across the country. The Moratorium in the fall of 1969 worked in concession of these rules and regulations to make sure that their protest was successful in their eyes, and uninterrupted by the university administration. Although this was a method of protest to quell the fears of the university administration, students would continue to seek to exercise more authority over their actions and lives on campus.

The call for more student autonomy is also found in *The Ridgerunner* scattered throughout the mid 1960s and into the 1970s. This can especially be observed within the evolution of the student government. The student government association was a long-established organization at Asheville-Biltmore College and transformed when the school was enveloped into the UNC school system and became UNC-A. In the 1965-1966 student handbook, the SGA's purpose was to "be the means whereby students of the College share in the administration and government of the College. The responsibilities herein states are those which all segments of the College recognize as the privileges, rights, and responsibilities of students."[196] Students hoped that the distribution of power between the students, faculty, and administration reflected shared authority.

Although it seems that the student government at UNC-A was very involved and had power within campus politics there were still problems that challenged the efficacy of the student government. In 1965 an article published in *The Ridgerunner* discussed the problems faced by the student body and student government. The article specifically addressed the "more personal nature of these problems transfers them from the realm of everyday triviality to one of far more urgent proportions."[197] The issues discussed ranged from overcrowding, construction, and

[196] "Article III. Purpose," *The Bulldog, Student Handbook,* 1965-1966, 5.
[197] "Student Apathy A Personal Problem," *The Ridgerunner,* October 11, 1965, 1.

insufficient means of communication like many other college campus issues of the time. What stands out in this article is the calling out of peers to solve the problems created by the students. By critiquing the lack of neatness in the cafeteria and the lack of parking close to campus the author of the article challenged their peers to essentially do better, to act as adults and prove they were worthy of the responsibility given to them by the university administration. The student government was designed to give students the opportunity for authority over choices on campus policies and problems. It was designed to have elected student offices for President, Vice-President, and Secretary as top-ranking student officials. There were also class representative officers for senior, junior, sophomore, and freshman, along with commissioners who covered issues such as finance, social, publications, sports, by-laws, and house and grounds. They also had committees for assembly, culture, and an inter-denomination council. [198] The organization of the SGA at UNC-A during the mid 1960s is no different than others around the country. The UNC-A SGA was created and built around the needs of their specific student body. The 1965-1966 handbook did not outline the student by-laws, but in 1969 the new student government constitution was created. The new constitution was more detailed as to the student government's authority within campus politics. The new statement of purpose was "to create an atmosphere conducive to the educational experience, to enrich the relationship of the students among the faculty and administration of the college, to provide a framework of student self-government, to encourage students to assume their responsibilities as members of the academic community, and to protect and preserve students' rights." [199] This new change and revision came about after the college joined the UNC school system, and started to mirror other UNC system student

[198] "Student Government Association Executive Council," *The Bulldog, Student Handbook,* 1965-1966, 4.
[199] "The Constitution of the Student Government Association of the University of North Carolina at Asheville," *University Archives*, 1969, 1.

governments. It advocated for student power and authority within their own government and campus.

In 1974 and 1975 the student handbook outlined yet another change to the purpose of the SGA. Now the student government's purpose was further emphasized as a facilitator between students, faculty, and the administration to discuss "university policy by providing students viewpoints and by participating on institutional committees of the University."[200] The SGA was also now split into three branches, the executive branch, student senate, and judicial branch. This new organization was a shift to make student governments across the state more uniform and provide legitimacy to student authority on university campuses. This shift can also serve as a negative side effect of joining a larger school system, with the possibility of ignoring campus specific student concerns. This switch to uniformity could limit the student government from doing what their specific student body needs done on their campus.

The student government's advocating for student needs was buttressed at UNC-A by *The Ridgerunner.* In 1969, student editor Tom Mount published an editorial titled "Your Rights" in 1969 explaining the support and co-operative nature between the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and student governments. Mount stated the AAUP "has adopted a joint statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students. We believe the Joint Statement to be relevant to the college and to student life at Asheville-Biltmore College."[201] Mount continued to describe the AAUP was advocating for student participation in "institutional government… affecting academic and student affairs."[202] As well as in the sports and social commissions and judicial boards, the AAUP saw it necessary to both support and help advocate for students'

[200] "Student Government," *The Student Handbook,* 1974-1975, UNC-A Special Collections, 15.
[201] Tom Mount, "Your Rights," *The Ridgerunner,* March 1, 1969, 2.
[202] Ibid.

voices in decisions that directly affected their lives on campus. Mount "commended those administrators who share their concern, and hope that the AAUP Joint Statement of Rights and Freedoms of students will be adopted for use in all situations at A-B."[203] Mount described the AAUP as advocates for student voices because they had advocated for a well-grounded relationship between faculty and students. But just as the AAUP was advocating for student voices but the faculty seemed to have had their hands in shaping those student voices in solely educational roles. During the 1960s and 1970s the establishment of a faculty senate was created for faculty at UNC-A to showcase a unified voice in campus policy affecting faculty. In a 1971 article in *The Ridgerunner* it discussed the evolution of the administration and the SGA's relationship, and how integral faculty support for students was in cultivating trust between the administration and students.[204] The article continued questioning the students' future allowance to have a miniscule voice in campus politics. It stated, "opponents made statements that student involvement in the internal affairs of the university was just a fad, a passing fancy that would fade."[205] Faculty members at UNC-A who responded to the argument of student involvement in university affairs were appalled by the idea. The article stated, "prominent faculty members…argued that students were too immature and irresponsible to take much of a role in the 'affairs of state.'"[206] Further, " one faculty member, when confronted with the proposition that all members of the University Community should be allowed some measure of control of the system, reacted in horror that 'even janitors' might get involved and where would we be then?"[207] This article illustrates the disconnect that students at UNC-A were experiencing as the

[203] Ibid.
[204] "Student Power at UNC-A," *The Ridgerunner*, December 20, 1971, 3.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.

broader national movement of the AAUP's support of students involvement of internal university affairs versus the skepticism of students involvement by professors and department heads at UNC-A. There is a disconnect between the momentum of students' rights at the national level and the complexities of UNC-A's administrative response to change. From the student's perspective, at UNC-A, the administration and faculty continued to be work together to hold students' hands as they made decisions in student politics, publications, and organizations.

In 1971, *The Ridgerunner* published an editorial critiquing the lack of student participation in campus politics and government as partially the students fault. It stated that, "one of the obstacles and embarrassments that we run up against time and time again is the fact that the students, while continually screaming and condemning the powers that be on this campus, are still unwilling to become involved in the decision making process."[208] The student who wrote the editorial castigated their fellow classmates for their lack of participation and complaining for change but being unwilling to act upon anything to make it happen. The event that sparked this article was a joint meeting of both faculty and student senates to discuss the upcoming year and work towards a more representative campus government. The author of the critique was appalled that the student senate not showing up. He specifically discussed the embarrassing miscommunication and blame game between the SGA president and vice-president. The article continued, "Whose fault it is, is not important at this point. What is important, however, is that this is just another example of the miscommunication and garbled mismanagement that has

Figure 4. 1972 "Bias". Photo courtesy of: *UNC-Asheville, Library Digital and Special Collections.*

[208] "Students Must Take Share of Blame," *The Ridgerunner,* March 2, 1971, 2.

characterized the present Student Government."[209] This critique of the mismanagement of the student government can be observed in the political cartoon attached to this article. The cartoon shows the dichotomy between objectivity and critique that is causing the student government to be disorganized and unable to fill the needs of the student body. The critique continued that, "the brutal truth is that student participation in these committees has been slipshod, careless, and haphazard if there was participation at all. Students have yelled, screamed and protested the raw deals they feel they have gotten at the hands of the administration and yet when asked to lend a mature and responsible hand in the workings of the organism itself, they shrugged their part."[210] The students at UNC-A were not above advocating for their needs through what the author saw as protesting or complaining, but were disinterested in the process of making change happen through the student government. The author concluded that to become "effective instruments of change on this particular campus is to become involved and motivated members of the workings of the government."[211] As it turned out, however, the critique of campus politics at UNC-A had not only been about a lack of student government participation but representative of tensions between national political parties as well.

In 1970 *The Ridgerunner* published an editorial discussing the politics at UNC-A, specifically the actions of the Young Democrats Club (YDC) and the Young Republicans Club (YRC). The article began with a damning critique. That "there is a group on this campus desperately trying to get student involvement in political ventures but the administration seems to be doing everything it can do but put a halt to the organization."[212] Distinguishing that the issue is between the YDC of UNC-A and the Chancellor Highsmith, the article continued that

[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid.
[212] F.M., "Students Must Take Share of Blame," *The Ridgerunner*, November 4, 1970, 2.

"the Y.D.C. under the leadership of Eric Gentry tried, in union with the Young Republicans, to present a forum of political candidates for the Students of UNC-A. … Chancellor High Smith told the Young Dems that unless both sides were represented fairly, there would be no forum. He seems to have forgotten last year when the Young Republicans were far more active and presented one-sided discussions several times. No one cried scandal then."[213] The editorial defended the YDC's activity on campus and critiqued the administration's equal treatment of the YDC and the YRC. The editorial discussed how the YDC wanted to put up posters describing democratic candidates' positions, but that the chancellor stopped that too. The editorial boldly critiqued Chancellor Highsmith's actions to "put a gag on a group of students who were trying to increase the level of political awareness on this campus." The author finally stated, that if the administration was working to keep a level field of political expression, "isn't there a better way than outright oppression?"[214] This strongly worded critique of the administrations' intentions and actions only furthered the administration's attempts to regulate *The Ridgerunner* in years to come. Unfortunately, this example also demonstrated the lack of student political autonomy because of the administration's heavy-handed regulation. Historians Timothy Cain and Rachel Dier explore the political and social movements on the university of Georgia's (UGA) campus during the 1960s 1970s. They analyzed how the university administration attempted to quell the student protests at UGA.[215] Similar to their discovery that the university administration was propelled to act defensively of their policies and procedures when threatened, the administration at UNC-A reacted similarly in how they handled the students' challenge to administrative censorship of the student paper.

[213] Ibid.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Timothy Reese Cain and Rachael Dier. "Protests and Pushback: Women's Rights, Student Activism, and Institutional Response in the Deep South," *History of Education Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (11, 2020): 546-580.

In 1973 a new general policy and purpose statement was created for *The Ridgerunner*. It read, "the purpose of this policy statement is to provide continuity for *The Ridgerunner* as an institution of UNC-A to safeguard the editorial freedom of *The Ridgerunner*, and to protect the university community from journalistic irresponsibility. This policy statement ordinates in consolation between the concerned parties (staff, SGA, and Administration) and is binding on them."[216] From this policy statement, it is clear that the administration of UNC-A did have a hand in governing the student newspaper, which makes the statement about free press even clearer, specifically how the administration censored *The Ridgerunner*. The editorial policy and journalistic standards in section 7 stated, "*The Ridgerunner* is not expected to avoid controversy; however, since the function of free expression is to promote constructive change, pointless sensationalism should be avoided. In considering the publication of materials which are potentially damaging to persons or to the university, or which may be strongly offensive to the community, the editor should ensure: (a) that a constructive purpose is served by publication, (b) that, when controversial or damaging allegations involve points of fact, the facts have been checked throughout prior to publication."[217] This is not only a form of censorship placed on the student newspaper but a form of given authority. This form of given authority meant that students were not granted full citizenship rights by the university, barring some of the country's most basic human and citizenship rights like the freedom of expression. The following regulation placed on the staff of the newspaper was by the administration to respect the statement made by Chancellor Highsmith in 1965, and had not been revised from 1965 until after 1975. Now over ten years later the same granting of power and permission placed on the newspaper by Chancellor Highsmith remained antiquated and limiting. The statement reads,

[216] "General Policy Statement: The Ridgerunner," *The Ridgerunner*, 1973-1975, 1.
[217] Ibid, 4-5.

> "The purpose of a good college newspaper is to provide students and faculty with an instrument whereby they can give expression to their views. The only way the goals of such a newspaper can be reached is by adhering to the principle of freedom of expression. Freedom of expression is the highest manifestation of free men in a free society. But freedom of expression carries with an equally high and important responsibility. This is particularly true with the case of a college newspaper. Colleges and universities are places which are unique in our society—in that they are, as institutions, dedicated to the pursuit of truth rather than the advancement of specific causes. A college newspaper should be consistent with the stated purposes of the institution of which it is a part. It should be a vehicle whereby freedom of expression is encouraged. It should also accept the restraints which are oft-ignored adjuncts of freedom. Among these restraints: respect for reasonable standard of language, respect for viewpoints of others, recognition of the differences between fact and opinion, and willingness to hold viewpoints that are subject to change when confronted with superior reason or additional evidence. In short, a college newspaper should represent, in microcosm, the spirit of the college itself."[218]

Not only was this a representation of an administration that is regulating the student newspaper, but clearly not granting the same liberties and freedoms that other newspapers across the country have. For example the newspapers at Appalachian State University and Western Carolina University did not meet the challenge of censorship by their respective administrations. The language Chancellor Highsmith used was out-of-step with the changing culture of student articulation for autonomy. This above regulation was not seen as a viable way to help guide students, and by 1974 a new student paper titled *The Free Press* was established by the student senate. This regulation on the student paper was put into place by Chancellor Highsmith through his interpretation of what a student newspaper should function as. Chancellor Highsmith superimposed his own ideals over, in his perspective, was a population not ready for full citizenship rights. Historians Katherine Wheatle and Felecia Commodore analyzed the role of student activism in the development and change to higher education. Wheatle and Commodore specifically look to the administrative response to student activism as a pattern of traditional

[218] Ibid, 5.

American colonial authority.[219] Chancellor Highsmith's censorship of *The* Ridgerunner is a direct parallel to American colonial tradition.

The establishment of a free student press was not without critique from the administration. In 1974 the establishment of the UNC-A *Free Press* was accomplished through the help of the student senate. The student senate approved of the free press as a university organization and allocated funds for the free press to be owned by the student government and work as a newsletter. Student Zollie Stevenson reported in *The Ridgerunner* that the student "Senate was informed by the Dean of Students, Mr. Thom Deason, and Chancellor Highsmith, that the Senate action was of questionable legality since it could not sanction a newspaper which was not approved by the administration."[220] Stephenson questioned the authority of the university to govern the free expression its students. Stevenson continued, "Dean Deason and Chancellor Highsmith said that the Senate's spending of student funds on a paper that was not sanctioned administratively and that spending student funds in such a manner could allow administration to take action to cut off student funds in the interest of the majority of the students."[221]

Students during the late 1960s related the heavy-handed authority by the administration is similar to the same critique of *in loco parentis*. Historians Wheatle and Commodore argue that, "students resisted *in loco parentis* by maximizing free speech tactics."[222] The student senate at UNC-A had done exactly that by challenging the administration's control over students' opinions. The administration's response continued the antiquated ideals of *in loco parentis* and

[219] Katherine Wheatle and Felecia Commodore. "Reaching Back to Move Forward: The Historic and Contemporary Role of Student Activism in the Development and Implementation of Higher Education Policy." *Review of Higher Education* 42, (2019): 5-35.
[220] Zollie Stevenson, "A Look At the Free Press- Ridgerunner Issue," *The Ridgerunner*, March 1, 1974, 4.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Wheatle, Commodore, "Reaching Back to Move Forward" 13.

micromanaging the students who were elected to office by their peers. The administration responded that they had the students' best interest in mind. This is a move by the administration to again assert their authority at a moment when the students were beginning to find ways to express their autonomy, authority, and their freedom of expression. Rather the administration limited and restricted the ways in which students could express themselves, as it must be pre-ordained by the administration. As Stevenson points outs, the administration took it into their own hands to legally change the student senate with misuse of student funding. The free press funds previously allocated by the student senate were then impounded until the charges went through the judiciary committee. The information sheet that was given to the students makes it clear that the situation was an authoritarian move by Chancellor Highsmith himself to put pressure on the Student Body President, Kenneth Wright. The letter states, "The Free Press was allocated $250 by the Senate on January 16,1974. The Chancellor then forbade the Free Press to Publish on campus, and impounded the $250.00. However the Free Press moved off-campus, the Chancellor told the Senate that the $250.00 could be spent on the Free Press… at its January 29, 1974 meeting, the Senate reallocated $206 to the Free Press… All other expenses have been finances through ad sales and contributions. The Free Press is a self-sustaining and self-financing organization. It has received no student funds except the original $206, which was pledged to the Free press before it was forced off-campus by the actions of Chancellor Highsmith."[223] This letter to the students published in *The Free Press* was not only a clear confession of how the organization was originally funded and established, but it directly called into question Chancellor Highsmith's actions. Chancellor Highsmith had framed the charges in a way that made the establishment of *The Free Press* seem sinister and going behind the backs of UNC-A students.

[223] "Information Sheet to the Students," *Free Press*, 1974, 1.

The creation and demise of *The Free Press* was not only a direct challenge to the authority of the administration by students, but it was also a direct reaction and threat from the administration to the students who dared challenge the administration's authority and discouraged students from challenging again. *The Free Press* only existed during the 1974 academic year but it was a marker of students wanting to have complete control over their own words and actions, rather than jumping through hoops of censorship.

In conclusion the student activism the occurred on UNC-A's campus during the 1960s and 1970s was one that promoted change, not only to the administration's governance of the student body, but of free speech and equal representation. The clash between the administration and students showed how "as the demographics of college campuses have transformed, institutional administrators have had to confront the ways of their campuses have enacted and perpetuated practices and policies that instill, enforce, and uphold discrimination, oppression, and inequity."[224] At UNC-A students advocated for autonomy and the authority to make their own decisions over what they said and did. Through student publications like *Images,* students expressed their discontent with their lack of authority and the Vietnam War. The 1969 moratorium showed how students could have control run a successful student protest within the guidelines of the administration. Whereas this can be seen as compromise, it can also be seen as a successful expression of student rights. Through *The Ridgerunner,* students attempted to write around the restrictions that Chancellor Highsmith placed on the students right to free speech and freedom of the press. This was openly contested with the formation of *The Free Press* that sought to be a separate organization that shared the students' voices but was not restricted by Highsmith. This ultimately failed because of Highsmith's actions to charge the student Senate

[224] Wheatle, Commodore, "Reaching Back to Move Forward," 7.

with the misappropriation of funds and lying to the student body, essentially discrediting the student government's power as a whole. There was progress and little moments of hope of student autonomy that may have been found outside the reaches of the administration.

Conclusion

College student activism continues from the 1960s to the present, student activism is mirrored in the desires of the groups within the student body, and is reflective of each school's unique campus culture. The student activism of the 1960s and 1970s was the time when college student activism took on a new trajectory. The student activists at Appalachian State University (ASU), Western Carolina University (WCU), and UNC- Asheville (UNC-A) during the 1960s and 1970s were laying the foundation of student advancement on campuses for future generations. This thesis analyzed examples of student activism at ASU, WCU, and UNC-A's campus cultures. The pattern of administrative *in loco parentis* manifested in different – yet overlapping – forms at each of these campuses. Each student body pushed for change in their own ways. Appalachia as a region has historically been viewed as isolated and insular. Yet what this thesis examined was how students at ASU, WCU, and UNC-A were a part of larger national waves of college student activism, but their vision for their campus changes pertained to the individual campus culture. Rather than focusing on large research universities, this study allows historians to more fully understand the experiences of students who attended smaller, regional-comprehensive universities in a time of great upheaval and persistent change.

The analysis of the ASU student body's involvement with broader national student activist movements was intertwined with both pro-and-anti-Vietnam War efforts and New Left and New Right politics. ASU students advocated for the right to free speech and political equity, because of the administration's restrictive censoring of expression on ASU's campus. The university administration continued to place policies and regulations on political activities and clubs at ASU. These policies and regulations came in the form of the Speaker Ban Law passed by the UNC system and supported by the administration at ASU. The administration attempted

to stop the political disunity of the nation from entering ASU's campus boundaries. The overt attempt by the administration to dictate the limitations of student involvement in political discussions about broader national issues was manifested as a critique of the administration and their *In loco parentis* control over the student's right to free speech. The ways that students at ASU continued to voice their opinion and find avenues to express themselves was through the student newspaper, the student government association, and continuing to push to reform or the control the administration had over their expression. Students were able to find ways to gather and discuss issues from local to national politics, through university-sanctioned debates, forums, and the moratorium of 1970. ASU students' navigated the restrictions in innovative ways to bring politics to campus in a way that was accepted by the administration.

During the 1960s and 1970s, WCU students were active shapers in changing the degree of administrative control over their bodies. This was specifically articulated through the social regulation of gender on campus. WCU was a conservative campus, meaning that the administration, like others throughout the nation, had visions of how their campus society should be structured according to gendered social constructs. This is reflected in the rules and regulations for the student body, which were especially restrictive for female students. These rules and regulations were contested by both female and male students. Students found success in reforming the policies pertaining to social regulation. The regulations were specifically governed by the men's and women's social deans and house governments. By the early 1970s, the campus culture of WCU had changed because students advocated for their right to autonomy, therefore destabilizing the previous power structure of the administration. Through their fight to overcome the burden of *in loco parentis* control, the students at WCU reformed and unified the student government association. They used the student newspaper to critique both the university

administration and the previous disjointed student government association, and this critique led to growing sentiments for change and eventually the restructure of the student government. The student rights activism attempts to change the gendered social regulations were met with a successful outcome and change to the power dynamic of the university administration.

UNC-A student activism is characterized by with the struggle to find student autonomy under the oppressive and controlling nature of the university's administration. The student activism to overthrow the power of *in loco parentis* was a daring move. UNC-A students attempted to change the administration's control over their voices and actions. The challenge by students was met with direct conflict and resistance from the administration. Students found ways to express their opinions with little censorship within the college of fine and performing arts student publication. Through *Images,* students' freedom of expression and freedom of speech was amplified because it was written off by the administration as an artistic expression, not outright contestation. In this way, a small population of the student body was able to freely express themselves, but this did not meet the call for the needs of the entire student body. The student newspaper most vigorously contested the university administration's controlling hand in students' lives. The student senate went so far as to help create a 'free press' where student opinion could not be censored by the administration. Although this was a valiant effort, the administration's reaction to student discontent was to completely smother any challenge to their power dynamic with students. The *Free Press* symbolized, for the administration, an uncontrolled space where student's right to free speech was uninhibited by the censorship and approval from the administration. Student activism at UNC-A was bound in the effort to change the power dynamic of the student and administration relationship which was denying students their right to free speech and autonomy.

The concept of *in loco parentis* is what shaped the student activism at ASU, WCU, and UNC-A campuses. The aspirations by students to change the power dynamics of administrative control over their social and political lives, and the response from the administration is the overarching theme of this thesis. Student activism was not possible without the need for change, and the reaction to alternative progressive reforms for institutional policy at these three universities. These three western North Carolina university campuses proved to be unique in their demands for specific policy and administrative change, but not altogether removed or uninfluenced by broader national student movements. This thesis is a contribution to understanding how student activism functioned on smaller college campuses in a rural atmosphere during the 1960s and 1970s.

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