The premise of this article is not that the pendulum has swung far in that direction at the University of Oklahoma, but that it is in motion. The foregoing events are not without significance to the Norman academic community.

People who march to a different drummer sometimes develop a paranoid strain. The pressure is great. The radical element at the University is convinced that the FBI is sponsoring four to six students as informants. There has been no evidence presented to support this charge.

Credibility for that sort of charge was increased, however, with a public display of hostility toward OU’s radicals by Oklahoma’s FBI chief, Mr. Teague. His proposal to college deans that a university security agent investigate visiting lecturers may be written off as a friendly attempt to find employment for elderly agents. The disquieting aspects of Teague’s speech was the association of the SDS with the Communist Party.

Teague was reported to have asserted that communists are making “inroads with youth they think they can convince. There is no question that they are being successful. Look at all the discord. The Communist Party has no enforceable right to speak on the campuses of state-supported schools.

“Freedom of speech,” Teague explained to the deans, “is not the same as freedom to speak anywhere, any time someone wants to speak. That is confusing freedom with license.” Further, Teague concluded that communists are “using” peace groups. The SDS, he stated, was not listed by the U.S. Attorney General as subversive probably because there had not been “sufficient time to have a meeting and add it to the list.”

No such thing will happen. The American Civil Lib-

A Report on the Pressure on Non-Conformists at OU

By Eric J. Groves

The difficulties of those with differences

Eric J. Groves is an Oklahoman by choice. A native of Philadelphia, Pa., he came to Oklahoma City in 1955 while on active duty with the Army Intelligence Corps. He decided to stay, and served for nine months as personnel officer to the Oklahoma County Libraries. Eric presently attends the College of Law. He holds a BA in political science.
ties Union is busy today defending the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, and they are a dickens further to the left than the SDS. Lists of subversive organizations have traditionally been recognized as more often a liability than an asset.

Justice William O. Douglas, in a 1951 case before the U.S. Supreme Court, spoke to that point. “The problems of security are real,” he opined. “So are the problems of freedom. The paramount issue of the age is to reconcile the two. An organization branded as ‘subversive’ by the Attorney General is maimed and crippled. The injury is real, immediate, and incalculable. A party is entitled to know the charge against him; he is also entitled to notice and the opportunity to be heard.”

“Communists? Communists?” Mike Wright laughed out loud. The SDS elected Mike chairman in October. “No, we’re not communists,” he said. “The Communist Party in America is a bunch of old men who haven’t come up with a new idea or a new program in 50 years. Teague charges that the SDS is supported by funds from the Communist Party. This is hogwash. Our chapter is broke. Whatever funds we have are the direct result of passing the hat at our meetings. I only wish that we did have some outside support.”

The SDS is a recognized student organization at the University of Oklahoma. The SDS constitution speaks of education and political concern. The purpose is to maintain a vision of a truly democratic society, to seek relevance through a continual focus on the political realities of the time. The chapter at OU is affiliated with the national organization of the same name. The members are young people on the Left. The work, they say, is no less than urgent.

History is cluttered with charters and constitutions that espoused Olympian visions in theory and succumbed to a minimum of them in practice. “We are putting our theories into practice,” Wright said. “We constantly test the limits of freedom—freedom of expression, of thought, of speech.”

Less militant than the SDS but equally as active is the OU Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The committee, grew out of a liberal-pacifist coalition last January. Prof. David Whitney, of the sociology department, agreed to sponsor the group, and after a brief struggle with a reluctant Student Senate, the group gained recognition. The catalyst and prime mover was Sudie Trippet.

Sudie Trippet, a senior from Tulsa, brought to the OU campus a background of travel and experience that is unique. She studied at the University of Wisconsin, Tulsa University, Julliard, and the New School in New York City before returning to Oklahoma. Her travels have taken her to Latin America and Europe, and she has visited every eastern European country but one.

The Fourth Estate has often pictured Sudie as sort of a female hypnotist. There is an implicit suggestion in her publicity that somehow, like the siren on the rock, Sudie’s song draws red-blooded American men to a leftist doom. The allegations are imaginative, but unfounded. “We protestors are not curious,” Sudie says. “On the contrary, we feel we embody the principles that this country has worked hard to build. In voicing our opposing views, in welcoming dissent, in working side by side with different political tendencies on an issue on which we all agree, we feel we are preserving those very ideals of democracy which the government insists it preserves by fighting this war.”

“The U.S. government is belittling its own heritage by its intervention in a national struggle. It is falsifying its own slogans of freedom and democracy by not turning to the people for the answer to this war. We readily give our answer. We believe in self-determination for all people. We believe that our feet should carry us where our convictions lie. We will continue to march and to speak. If this is extremism, then so is democracy.”

Sudie’s leadership gave way to that of Robert Owen in October. Owen is less militant than his predecessor but seemingly as effective. His father, Dr. Lyle Owen, chairs the department of economics at the University of Tulsa. Robert is a University Scholar—an honor conferred on 50 outstanding freshmen—majoring in letters. In order to continue his program of history, literature, and philosophy, he must maintain a 3.0 average on OU’s 4.0 scale.

“Our purpose is to educate and to mobilize political opinion,” he says. “We believe that when the facts are known about the war in Vietnam, more people will be persuaded that our position is correct.”

One of our activities is to distribute literature in the Student Union; books by philosophers, veterans, political scientists, scholars. We want to build a new consensus in this area regarding the war in Vietnam. Groups like the committee are doing it all over the country. We want to make our contribution. I’ll tell you this, our movement in Oklahoma is encouraging movements all over the nation. People we’ve met in New York City and in Washington could hardly believe that Oklahoma had an anti-war movement. We drew applause all the way down Fifth Avenue last spring.”

Of the measure of progress, Owen said, “In this sort of thing it is not measurable. But we have a far broader base of appeal at OU this semester than I ever thought we would. People—students and faculty—now seek out the committee. Before, we had to recruit. The Young Ameri-
insight into his particular philosophy regarding our role of a political candidate or political platform. Mr. Bou-
this forum should not be construed to mean endorsement the SDS, will present Mr. Boutelle at a public forum on the campus, one to each faculty member.

an interoffice communication. It was distributed all over Center for Human Relations Studies, Middleton issued coordinator for Intergroup Relations at the Southwest.

curious agencies. No opposition was evident. Jack Middleton agreed with Sudie to sponsor Boutelle. On Oct. 10, as presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. His emotion. The SDS offers an emotional laxative: the drama of impending violence in urban areas drained of funds now committed to the military establishment. Boutelle invoked the image of a very angry man.

Then the lid blew off. When Boutelle appeared formally the following evening, Meacham Auditorium was jammed. Representatives of television and the press crowded each other, fussing about for interviews and pictures. Every segment of the divergent academic community was represented. The black advocate's staunch Marxist theories raised the crowd to heights of fervent support and snarling opposition.

Hours later when the morning newspapers hit the streets, Oklahomans awoke to the proclamation that a black power socialist had addressed the students, faculty, and public on the campus of their state supported school. Within the week, Middleton was disciplined, state legislators were on the president's doorstep, the FBI had recommended sanctions against visiting speakers, and the pulse of the public was stirred. The Daily Oklahoman announced two days later that Jack Middleton had been "sold a bill of goods" in concurring with the SDS. The University position was that he had "raised eyebrows." Further, Middleton was accused of pushing Boutelle in the general direction of Langston University, a primarily Negro institution. The newspaper stated that Middleton would be transferred to a position wherein his relations with the public would be limited.

The allegations simply did not square with the facts. Middleton's Oct. 10 memorandum stated his organization's intentions clearly, and those in opposition had more than a week to object. No one did.

If Jack Middleton were "ineffective," such conduct would have been contradistinctive to an outstanding set of credentials. At present, the Oklahoma City Community Relations Commission retains him as their professional consultant. So does the Tulsa Community Relations Commission. He also serves as a consultant to the Federal Aviation Agency for Developing Human Resources. He is the youngest man, at 27, to serve as the Southwest Regional Director for the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. On Nov. 27 Middleton met with New York Mayor John Lindsay, representing Oklahoma in a major conference with civil disorders.

Middleton, born in Tulsa, is married and has two children. He earned his BS in social science from Oklahoma State University in 1963 and pursued graduate study at St. Louis University's Human Relations Center. Middleton served on active duty with the Army, was honorably discharged, and completed his military obligation with the 45th Infantry Division. In the last year he organized 28 major conferences at the OU center. The subjects ranged from ecumenism to extremism to opportunities in industry. A "summit conference" arranged by Middleton between Negro militants and the authorities in Oklahoma City last summer may well have averted a riot.

in Vietnam and other pertinent issues of the times." No one asked any questions on that day either.

Boutelle arrived. With other members of the New Left, considerably in his shadow, he lectured at a teach-in Tuesday afternoon. He spoke of the intrinsic connection between American imperialism in Vietnam and the support of that imperialism by oppressed Negroes. He warned of impending violence in urban areas drained of funds now committed to the military establishment. Boutelle invoked the image of a very angry man.

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These accomplishments notwithstanding, Middleton's reputation stands in question. Although he is not a dissenter, he must remain silent. He has been judged guilty by association when the association was less than circumstantial. The suppression of disquieting ideas reaches out beyond such men as Middleton. A growing tendency to stereotype the proponents of the anti-war position is evident. Stereotypically, the dissenter is an oddball. He is a social outcast who claims to fame by repudiating behavioral patterns of the cultural mainstream. The activist minority, according to this view, seeks distinction in outrandish dress and excessive hair.

Stereotyping is by far an easier method of arranging the complexities of one's environment than detailed investigation. Without doubt, many dissenters are unusually garbed. A stereotype, then, is a convenient abbreviation.

But abbreviations have limits, and stereotypes have liabilities. On Oct. 19, the evening after Boutelle's appearance, Tony Bennett and his wife Sandra decided to take a break. They had been painting their kitchen. Together with their friends Chris Towles and Marylyn Scurlock, they walked to the cluster of shops adjacent to the campus to have a beer. They wandered into the Roundtable, a popular bar with OU students, in order to hear a live band.

The Bennett family and their friends went no further than the lobby. "There is a private party going on in here, and we're full," the bouncer told them. The foursome questioned the party-goers entering, and no one knew about it. Neither did anyone who was leaving.

"We tried again," Bennett stated. "This time a group of four bouncers met us and told us that our kind wasn't wanted in the Roundtable. The place was not crowded, and there was room for all of us. After several comments were exchanged, we left. Outside about a dozen patrons had gathered, and they called us communists, hippies, Boutelle followers, and other things. I couldn't believe it."

It's understandable that Bennett was surprised. He had heard the roar of the crowd before, though, as a varsity wrestler for OU. Tony had what athletes call a "full boat"—an athletic scholarship. He won three varsity letters and placed third in Big Eight competition for three years wrestling at 191 pounds. Once he was third in the nation.

Bennett plans to teach English. Sandra is majoring in special education and will work with retarded children. Marylyn is a Glenn Couch Scholar with a triple major. Special education and will work with retarded children.

Three years wrestling at 191 pounds. Once he was third in Big Eight competition for OU. Tony had what athletes call a "full boat"—an athletic scholarship. He won three varsity letters and placed third in Big Eight competition for three years wrestling at 191 pounds. Once he was third in the nation.

Bennett plans to teach English. Sandra is majoring in special education and will work with retarded children. Marylyn is a Glenn Couch Scholar with a triple major. All four are excellent students. They are not hippies, or communists, or anything in particular. But the Bennetts had been painting, and their work clothes gave rise to a stereotype in the minds of the Roundtable management. Besides, like many members of the OU faculty, Bennett has a beard.

The man who identified himself as the owner of the Roundtable refused to give his name. City records, however, showed that a license to sell beer at the Roundtable was issued to Wilson Wilhite. His friends call him Willy. "Listen," he explained, "this thing with Tony Bennett has been blown out of proportion. When he came in here the other night, we were hosting a private party."

Was the place full? "No, it wasn't full exactly. But we had a group of Vietnam veterans in here, and they wanted to be left alone. What you got to understand is that we'll serve anybody. We don't care what people think about politics. But we have a responsibility to our customers." He grew angrier. "Look, as long as there's one American boy fighting in Vietnam, we will support him in any way possible. We will not do anything to infringe on his dignity. Those SDS kids are communists. The FBI said so. But we knew it before that report came out."

He jumped up and retrieved a handbill from behind the bar. "Read this," he ordered. "Read it. It's word for word from the communist manifesto. The handbill was an excerpt from the preamble to the SDS constitution. Students wrote it in Norman, Oklahoma.

"Don't you worry," the manager said, "the campus is behind us on this thing. They'll back us up. Don't worry."

As it turned out, the campus didn't back him up. Furthermore, occasions of violence or threats of violence on the campus are rare. The booth in the Student Union, distributing anti-war literature, opens and closes daily with no casualties. There is sometimes, however, an electric tension in the air.

Harassment off campus is another matter.

"The Norman police are fantastic," Mike Wright asserted. "We can't walk down the street without being stopped or questioned. If a person appears to be a member of the SDS, the police stop and intimidate him. If he looks like anyone else, but is known to be a member, he is arrested anyway."

These are serious allegations. They bring to mind the notorious modus operandi of small town peace officers in the South during the civil rights struggle. Such charges are hard to substantiate. Their plausibility grew quickly in my mind as I stood one evening talking to a dozen members of the SDS. Norman policemen pulled a cruiser into the parking lot and approached the group. "I want this group dispersed," one officer said belligerently. "Are we breaking the law?" one student asked. "I don't have to tell you that," answered the policeman. "Just get going."

"They never arrest us when the press is around," one tall and shaggy fellow said. "But if you don't believe us, just take a list of our names at random and go check the records." The list comprised, at random, 10 names: Joe Bateman, Dixon Dean, Steve Harris, Al Jennings, Robyn Moore, Carol Neher, Roy Neher, John Pratt, Keith Price, and John Ratliff. All were either members of the SDS or associates of members. The records of the city court revealed that all but one had been arrested. But of the nine arrested, only one had been convicted. Dixon Dean was arrested at 3:50 p.m. on Oct. 9, 1967, for littering. The police record stated, "As the subject started to cross the street from the west side to the east side, he threw down the wrapper from his Nutty Buddy ice cream cone. The wrapper landed in the middle of the street."

Dean was found guilty. Officer Richard Oldaker arrested Al Jennings and Joe B. Bateman on Aug. 1, 1967 for "wandering aimlessly within the city without lawful reason," or loitering. They were taken to the county jail and later found not guilty.

Roy M. Neher, upon leaving a pool hall at 12:35 a.m. on Sept. 8, 1967, was arrested on the same charge. Verdict? Not guilty. He was arrested again in the same place...
at approximately the same time for the same charge on Sept. 29, 1967. Verdict? Not guilty.

In most instances, however, the arrest is simply harassment, and charges are never filed in the municipal court. Keith Price, John Ratliff, and Steve Harris have been arrested for vagrancy, detained, and never prosecuted. John Pratt was arrested on July 7, 1967, for vagrancy and driving under the influence of narcotics. No charge was ever filed. On Aug. 24, 1967, and again on Sept. 8, 1967, Carol Neher was arrested for vagrancy and loitering. No charges were filed.

In many cases Norman police are correct in assuming that a fellow with long hair or a beard or sandals is a member of a dissenting organization. Tony Bennett, of course, is not. But there are other members who by appearance might well be members of the Young Americans for Freedom. If they are members of SDS, they are harassed nonetheless.

Sen. William Fulbright wrote in his book *The Arrogance of Power*, “In the abstract we celebrate freedom of opinion as part of our patriotic liturgy; it is only when some Americans exercise it that other Americans are shocked. No one, of course, ever criticized the right of dissent; it is always this particular instance of it or its exercise under these particular circumstances or at this particular time that throws people into a blue funk.”

Oklahomans share this right to dissent, popular opinions to the contrary aside. For violations de jure, there are remedies de jure. But for violations de facto, remedies are more prohibitive. The FBI, after all, is not easily contradicted. The Roundtable manager knew that the SDS was subversive before the FBI knew it, but reasonable doubt in the minds of his contemporaries, if it existed, has probably been extinguished.

The margin of dissimilarity is thin between the FBI officially designating the SDS as subversive and merely informing the public of the likelihood.

OU’s student newspaper bravely editorialized its protest of Teague’s advice. Insofar as one can tell, the University has not hired a moonlighting Efrem Zimbalist to investigate its visitors. This is encouraging but no remedy for the damage done to the reputations of the Leftist groups. They are guilty by accusation.

Dr. George L. Cross is in himself a remedy. He impresses one as a man of absolute integrity, but not unaware of the political exigencies of Oklahoma. In a recent interview, a writer asked Dr. Cross what he thought of Teague’s suggestion that a security agent be employed to investigate visiting lecturers. “It’s nonsense,” Dr. Cross said. “I was under pressure from the legislators,” he continued. “They wanted the SDS disbanded. I invited them down here as an educational experience, and they appreciated it. I told them that Boutelle’s existence can’t be swept under a rug. It’s a symptom of a deeper malady. The publicity was unwarranted, especially the editorial attention.

“We have never banned an organization from our campus that was not on the Attorney General’s list of subversive groups. If the SDS should be added to the list, I would promptly take up the matter with the Student Senate, since it originally sponsored them.

“Any move to change Middleton’s job,” Dr. Cross explained, “began at the Southwest Center, by his superiors, not from this office. All the publicity hasn’t hurt him that much. He has a brilliant career ahead of him.”

The remedy to public uproar over Paul Boutelle’s appearance is simply an opposite viewpoint, expressed through whatever corridors are open to that opinion. To wit, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that a man’s free speech must be limited in that he cannot yell “Fire!” in a crowded theater. One must concur with the learned justice. But what if the theater is on fire?

And what of the possible damage done to the career of Jack Middleton? Prof. David P. French, president of the OU chapter of the American Association of University Professors, has announced that the chapter met to discuss issues ranging from student rights to speaker invitations. They passed unanimously a resolution affirming the right to invite controversial speakers and deploring sanctions for doing so. (See complete text on inside front cover.)

The professors’ position implies that the demotion and admonishment of Middleton was, if not an outright error, at least cause for concern. The chapter represents about a third of the faculty. Its association with the national organization weighs heavily with the administration. Understandably so, for the weapon of administrative censure by the national AAUP has been used in the past at colleges where lack of “academic due process” was substantiated.

“Two-thirds of the faculty doesn’t belong,” said French after the meeting, “for any number of reasons—disagreement, apathy, whatever. But when times are difficult, membership increases. So far, OU has enjoyed an extraordinary freedom of speech. Dr. Cross is respected by the faculty and considered a steady defender of what educators think a university should do.”

Prof. French is convincing. One wonders whether he could succeed in convincing Middleton that his defense has been alerted. Middleton, technically, is not a professor. Thus the remedy here is effectual only insofar as it...
can bring pressure to bear retrospectively, and to all corners of the academic hamlet.

Of violence to dissenters, by individuals or by policemen, the remedy lies in the courts. Of discrimination to strange looking students, the remedy lies with their colleagues. OU’s student newspaper, the Oklahoma Daily, and the Student Senate took up that matter quickly in November. Charlie Miller, Bartlesville junior, urged an act whereby businesses that discriminate will be prohibited from advertising in University publications or in University housing and from delivering their goods on campus.

The point is that all available remedies must be utilized. The alternative to their employment is a cloistered environment, an Oklahoma where winds of opinion are still.

The Boutelle Incident

You’d have thought that OU had decided to drop football for all the uproar. At one point there weren’t any panic buttons left to push. The hue and cry was raised because of the appearance on campus of Paul Boutelle, a tall, slender, goateed young man in his thirties who calls himself a Marxist and a black nationalist and who is candidate for vice president of the United States on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Boutelle arrived in Norman Oct. 17 for a two-day stay during which he participated in a Vietnam teach-in and spoke on “How to Achieve Socialism in America” in the Union’s Meacham Auditorium. OU was the final stop on a college speaking tour which had taken him through the South and Southwest. With only a ripple of notice by news media, Boutelle had addressed sparse audiences on campuses in radical states like Georgia and Texas. Rice University was the last place he had spoken before his OU visit. His speech there was scarcely noted and poorly attended.

Oklahoma was something else. Boutelle drew the largest crowd of his tour, which was quite predictable after the publicity he received. State newspapers, radio stations, and television news programs covered Boutelle relentlessly. Politicians eagerly leaped into the furor, grabbing their front page column inches and helping to ensure the success of Boutelle’s appearance. Everybody was trying to get into the act, it seemed. Boutelle’s angry opponents couldn’t have cooperated more beautifully with his objectives if they had been fellow members of the Socialist Workers Party. Boutelle filled Meacham Auditorium.

Part of the controversy centered on the sponsoring groups. Boutelle’s appearance was publicized as being under the auspices of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies, part of OU’s College of Continuing Education. Most people are familiar with the SDS, a group of young radicals of the New Left, who bug most of the older generation to distraction. The state press seems fascinated by the group and never ignores it. The SDS arouses reaction from majority people to a degree greatly disproportionate to its small numbers. By its very existence SDS points up how exercised some people can become over minority groups, how intimidated some people are by unpopular and different political beliefs.

The co-sponsor gave critics something to hang their anger on. A member of the staff, Jack Middleton, had agreed that the center would share sponsorship of Boutelle. Opponents didn’t believe any part of OU should have anything to do with such a controversial person and unleashed a tremendous amount of pressure. The center quickly withdrew sponsorship, and Middleton was subsequently punished—his duties changed—which was the one blemish, and a serious one, in the stand by the University. (See letters on next page.)

What really upset most critics, however, was Boutelle, not who had sponsored him. That a man who subscribed to Marxist economic doctrine and who spoke so deprecatingly and harshly of American society and its political and social practices could address an audience at a state university was the basis of their objections.

Charges began to fly. A state representative from Oklahoma City, Texanna Hackett, hinted darkly at economic sanctions toward OU by the legislature. Higher education in Oklahoma now ranks last-fiftieth—in the nation in state appropriations per student. Perhaps the legislature could make Oklahoma fifty-first, but it seems unlikely.