

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Anti-War Movement at YSU During the 1960s

Personal Experience

O. H. 1360

MARY ALICE BUDGE

Interviewed

by

Matthew T. Butts

on

November 8, 1990

DR. MARY ALICE BUDGE

Dr. Mary Alice Budge was born on June 21, 1940 in New York City, the daughter of David and Evelyn Watts. She attended Tottenville High School on Staten Island, graduating in 1958. After high school, Dr. Budge attended Drew University, receiving her B.A. in Psychology in 1962. She continued her education at State University of New York at Buffalo achieving her Ph.D. in English in 1970.

Dr. Budge arrived at Youngstown State University in 1968 after being hired as an assistant professor in the English department. Soon after arriving, Dr. Budge became active in the anti-war movement that was protesting United State involvement in Southeast Asia. She has credited her parents and Doctors Chap and Claudia Morrison, of Youngstown State for her growing concerns with this issue. The concern exhibited by Dr. Budge can be best seen by her growth within the leadership of the anti-war movement at Youngstown State. One of her greatest contributions to the anti-war movement was her aid in organizing the Peace Moratorium and March of 1969.

The concern Dr. Budge exhibited to the anti-war movement has now been transferred to a number of other socially important groups including the Youngstown Peace Council, and the National Organization for Women. She has also been the recipient of many awards for her commitment to many important causes. These include being the coordinator of the Peace and Conflict Studies Project, Youngstown State University Distinguished Professor

(1985), and the Student Enrichment Service Award.

Dr. Budge is married to John Greenman, an editor for the Akron Beacon Journal. She has two sons from a previous marriage, David Budge, and Michael Budge, who live in the Youngstown area.

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INTERVIEWEE: MARY ALICE BUDGE
INTERVIEWER: Matthew T. Butts
SUBJECT: President Pugsley, protests, Kent State
DATE: November 8, 1990

B: This is an interview with Dr. Mary Alice Budge for the Youngstown State University Oral History Program, on the Anti-War Movement at YSU during the 1960's, by Matthew Butts, at DeBartolo Hall at Youngstown State University on November 8, 1990 at approximately 4:00 p.m.

Could you tell me something about where you are from? Your childhood? A little bit about your family?

MAB: I'm from New York City and was born there in 1940. My parents came to New York from West Virginia. My mother was a nurse. After she married, she raised foster children. My father was a New York City policeman for many years. He moved from the rank of patrolman to inspector. He possessed an odd quality, which probably contributes to some of my interest in anti-war work and that is, he tested with the lowest hostility quotient of any New York City policeman tested up until that time. (New York City had a lot of things that it did, in training policemen, including a psychological battery of tests.) Also, my parents, especially as they got older, participated in a lot of different kinds of social causes. I think that led to my interest in a number of causes. My mother, even into her seventies, worked with the Battered Persons Crisis Center and the NAACP and the ACLU and Legal Services--

lots of different kinds of causes. My father, although he's been dead since the seventies, was active in anti-Vietnam War work.

B: Tell me about your educational background.

MAB: Okay. I went to public schools in New York City. Then went to Drew University in Madison, New Jersey. I graduated from high school in 1958 and went to Drew a four year liberal arts school. I graduated from Drew in 1962 and went on to State University of New York at Buffalo. I was a major in Psychology and I minored in Sociology as an undergraduate. I originally went to graduate school in Psychology, but transferred to English, because I had always loved it and earlier thought the only thing I could do with it was to be a teacher, and who wanted to do that? However, I changed my mind and came to love teaching. I left Buffalo in 1968 and came here. My Ph.D was granted in 1970.

B: When did you say you first came to Youngstown State?

MAB: 1968.

B: What was it like when you first came here? What was the University like in comparison to today?

MAB: Well, it was physically much more compressed and not as attractive. It was just in the process of becoming a state university. One of the things that that meant was that the university had to get Ph.D's, I think to double their number, in order to meet state qualifications and requirements. So a lot of people were hired in 1968, 1969, and 1970 and there are a whole crew of us now here who are senior professors. We're the "old guard" at this point. So that was, I think, a period of rapid change for the university and growth, becoming a state institution.

B: What was the composition of the student body like? Was it much a commuter school as it is today?

MAB: Yes. Of course, there were a number of students, as there are now, living on the lower north side. Beeghly wasn't even there, the gymnasium, and Stambaugh Stadium, of course, wasn't there. There were a lot of students who used to live in this area, I'd say up to and beyond Wick Park. Even as there are now. My impression is that they were clusters of interest communities that lived together. People, of some social concern, living together, especially as the anti-war movement grew. I think in some ways, there were not as many nontraditional students. Although, as I think back to that time, there were a number of returning veterans, Vietnam veterans. So that added a

different element and dimension to some of the things that were coming, the subject of our interview, the anti-war movement on campus.

B: When did you first begin to question United States involvement in Southeast Asia?

MAB: Actually, it was kind of funny, because I didn't always have a questioning attitude about what was going on. As I say, I came here in 1968 and there had been demonstrations at State University of New York at Buffalo, where I was a graduate student. But I mainly walked by them. I was somebody who was very absorbed in trying to get a dissertation done. I had two small children and I think I was just very absorbed in my own life. When I came to Youngstown State University, there were two people here, who were very influential in helping to change me. That was Claudia Morrison and Chap Morrison. They held sessions at their home, study groups. She was in the English Department; he was in the History Department. They became very informed about what was going on and would encounter their colleagues, talk to them about this issue and suggest readings. As I said, they set up study groups, trying to get some witness, a peace vigil, something of this sort going and to spark real commitment in people. I think there was a spread of effect from their knowledge, their concern and commitment to others. I was one of the people influenced by them.

A second influence, I would say, was my parents and there are a few amusing stories related to that. My parents had retired, by this time, and had moved to Florida. I used to go to Florida with my kids and just want to go and stay out on the beach-- a typical Florida vacation. My father would insist that I go and hand out anti-war leaflets with him on the street corner in downtown St. Petersburg and then I could go to the beach in the afternoon. So I had to do my "enforced" political commitment in the morning with him. As I said, my father was a New York City policeman and once he retired, he found himself on the other side of the police barricades in terms of civil disobedience, in terms of witnessing against the war. He said one of the things that turned him around was reading all of the information that he could, principally in the New York Times, about the war. That is interesting to think of. Just information being a change agent in that way. And more and more doubts were coming up. Finally, my parents got to the point where they... They were life long Republicans and they headed up a Republicans for McGovern movement in St. Petersburg. Needless to say it never became a national kind of consensus but they were involved in that. That movement had a little local media value but that was about it. So I

think my concern emerged both from my parents' stance, (as I mentioned a few moments ago, they always seemed to have a concern for "the other", and for social issues) and also from Chap and Claudia Morrison, here, on the campus, who also expressed a great deal of commitment.

Another facet of that was that they, Chap and Claudia, had founded this organization called Community of Concern. It had actually, four focuses, initially. One of them was concern about community, concern about social justice on a local level, about racism, and some concern about international issues. Principally, it became taken over by anti-war movement work. That is connected, of course, to other issues that had local implications, but I would say, the principal thrust of the organization became anti-war work. They left not too long after I came. I think within one or two years. And so they sort of said, "Well, you have to do something with this. Somebody has to do something with this." So they thrust it at me and naively, I assumed the organizational burden. But really, I became a leader by being faculty advisor for Community of Concern here on campus.

B: When you arrived in 1968, would the students oppose the war at this point? What was the students' reaction to the United States involvement in Southeast Asia?

MAB: I would say that initially, there was not a large presence of anti-war sentiment on campus. This was true around the country; people believed what the government had to say and were quite committed to "staying the course", to stopping Communism, to all of the things that were trotted out as justifications. "If we don't stop Communism here in this tiny country, it's going to spread across the globe." (It's odd to hear about those things, especially now, in the era of Glasnost, where the walls are crumbling.) I think people believed the standard things as I did, initially, myself. Then it just became the difference between appearance and reality; a shattering of the possible reasons for involvement. Was our government telling the truth or was it lying? Then too, people were concerned about going, themselves. That was another issue. I think gradually, as information was revealed, as more and more people nationally and locally were sort of standing up, others became more informed and involved.

B: Was there a working organization in opposition to the war when you arrived at Youngstown State?

MAB: Yes. The Morrisons had in place that framework through Community of Concern. They were really working on that

issue. Perhaps, they stood out a little bit more because the cause was not popular at that point. Even throughout most of the war, there were those who represented a different camp. The Young Americans For Freedom were pretty active on campus, for example, and were fairly hostile to anti-war folks. So I think there was always a presence of those who were pro-war and those who were anti-war.

B: How many students, would you say, were opposed to the war when you first arrived here?

MAB: Boy, that's awfully hard to measure. I don't think I could...I'm not being hesitant or coy, I really would have no way of knowing. Especially if you are going to try to mark some progression here. I just don't know.

B: In the faculty, how many members of the faculty...Was it a popular movement, I talked to Professor Morris Slavin and he made mention that most of the faculty members who became opposed to the war came through it through more of an intellectual way of looking at the war, itself. Looking at it as a nationalist's conflict, instead of a battle of good versus evil, Communism versus Democracy.

MAB: There are two questions there, one of numbers, and the other, how did people come to this. I would say that most faculty members probably did come to the stance that they did out of lots of reading. I know that Morris Slavin is a big New York Times reader himself. (This is not a session which is an advertisement for the Times but frankly, they did do wide coverage.) Yes. People came to know that Ho Chi Minh was like the George Washington of his country and so then the people that we were supporting seemed to be quite venal, quite self-seeking and did not have the fervor that the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese had. I think all you had to do was witness that on television and do some reading about it and a critical stance helped to move you in the right direction. Now that doesn't mean that all of the people who felt an intellectual awakening became activists. I think some people were simply willing to sign petitions. As in any movement, there are stages and gradations of possibility. Some people were willing to do more than others. At first, here, there was a kind of atmosphere that it wasn't appropriate to be doing this and President Pugsley would send out things from Barron's Weekly that supported the U. S. Government position. In fact, at one point, he tried to get rid of me. I was not a tenured faculty member and he had a complaint about me from a student who had pieced together a letter, sort of cutting it out of newspaper headlines. I mean, to me, that's a sign of a whack-nut right there. She accused me of all

sorts of odd things, being a lost shepherd, misleading the sheep. There were no specific accusations; it was really kind of a nutty letter. He sent it to my department chair, and felt that she ought to act on it in some way. Her name was Margaret Pfau. Dr. Margaret Pfau. She was a very upright woman and she said, "Well, I think this letter belongs in the wastebasket." I said, "Well, apparently, he doesn't. So if you do, maybe you could send him a note to that effect, a memo of some sort." So I think the climate here, was one where it wasn't so popular to be anti-war, but, in fact, there were a number of people who stood out. In one of the Jambar issues I gave you, there were a list of names of a number of people. I guess I would say there were about twenty-five to thirty people who were willing to stand up and be counted-- professors resisting the war by working in moratorium activities, by giving speeches and signing letters and petitions.

B: As an anti-war activist, what events at Youngstown State were key to the peace movement?

MAB: I think there were a number of them. One of them, was the initial speak-out, where faculty members got up, similar to the teach-in we had on the Persian Gulf Crisis, just last week. That is, where faculty members prepared position papers. I know that Dr. Shipka did one, that Dr. Slavin did one, that Dr. Sternberg did one among others. I organized the framework for it, I got the place for the "speak-out", arranged for the order of speakers, did publicity, etc. At that point, the equivalent of Kilcawley was Jones Hall with a large theater space in the middle of it. That place was packed-- the auditorium in Jones Hall. It was packed with people coming and going and speaking. I'm sorry that I can't recall the specific year of that, and perhaps some of your other respondents can, but that was, I think, one key event. Other events, like that, went on, as the war went on, and sometimes they were called by students, for example, Hugh Helm, a principal spokesperson for the Vietnam Vets Against the War, he was himself a Vietnam Vet, and called some outdoor meetings-- again, there were some pictures in the Jambar, of this. There was a large march downtown to Central Square, where the monument is now. Again, that's a transformed space but it was a large area where Market Street and Federal Street came together. It was the chief traffic node downtown and the Mayor, Jack Hunter, said that he couldn't possibly close traffic downtown at noontime for this. When we went to meet with the Mayor, there was another professor with me, perhaps, it was Elizabeth Sternberg, maybe Morris Slavin. Dr. Shipka's father was head of AFL-CIO, Al Shipka was his name and he was there. We had an ACLU lawyer, Alan Kretzer (who is now the lawyer for the

Board of Trustees at the University) with us also. We went to speak to the Mayor telling him we wanted to have a march from YSU to the downtown area and could we have a traffic permit to do that. A permit to march and to have speeches, a rally. He resisted all along the line until Al Shipka made quite a persuasive, moving speech: "Are you going to tell me that American boys are dying in Vietnam and that we can't stop traffic for fifteen minutes downtown in the city of Youngstown?" He was trying to play on notions of sacrifice. So the traffic problem became reduced in importance. I think it was also crucial that we had a lawyer because this was a free speech issue, too. As a union leader, he had great prominence in town because the steel mills were still a big deal. One of my skills was being able to bring together various people to get some things accomplished or smoothed over. The march and rally occurred. Students and faculty members: fifteen hundred strong. Hard to believe that that many people turned out, but there were pictures in the Vindicator, the Jambar and on T.V. Lots of different factions related to the war were represented: Vietnam Veterans Against the War, some people who were basically sort of peace types, those interested in non-violence and then some people who were chanting, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam is going to win."

I should make mention of some other things that I think were crucial. Trips to Washington D.C. Organized trips to Washington D.C. There were people in the community who were organizing these trips and I was organizing with them. I can remember that at one point there were five busses of people that we had going to a demonstrations in Washington. People were willing to ride those busses all night and go out and become part of large demonstrations, principally in Washington D.C. (Although later, there were some in New York and San Francisco and Chicago as well as regionally)

Bill Jones was a person who was involved in organizing here at YSU. He was an important student leader in the anti-war movement, as Joan Krynanski was. Probably Chuck Toskas, is a name that should be mentioned here also. There were a number of people who were involved. John Greenman was another one. He headed up the air-war slide show in one year, when the air war intensified. He constructed a booth that had a sound show in it that initiated the noise of planes coming over and we had a series of presidential voices linked over the sound of bombing. We had leaflets to hand out. Sharp Lumber Company gave us the lumber to construct an outside booth. There was also activist theater or guerrilla theater. We also had a large display related to the tiger cages, which was a particular form of torture, where somebody was imprisoned in a tiny cage

and couldn't stand up and couldn't sit down. The south Vietnamese government was using this on their own citizens and so we had a number of pictorial displays of it.

B: You mentioned Al Shipka, as part of the labor community that offered support to the anti-war movement. Was there much, in the way of other communities' support to the peace movement?

MAB: I would say that there were some other labor leaders, who supported the anti-war effort. Ed Mann, one of them. John Barbero, another one. As I remember, there were leaders in the black community, also. People like Ron Daniels, and others whose names I'm not fixing on, at this point, simply because I can't call them up. There were people like Roz and Joe Sims in town who were engaged in peace work. They were long time community activists. The Peace Council of Youngstown was later organized to carry on peace and justice work. (It is still doing lots and lots of activities. In fact even tomorrow, there is a press conference at OCCHA, related to re-ordering our national priorities) So yes, there was a community component of people against the war. Although I should say that most of the labor unions that we saw were witnessing for the war and engaged in a very pro-war stance. This was also a time when hair issues became crucial. If male college students with long hair were going and trying to leaflet at steel mill gates, there would be shouts and taunts and jeers on the part of the workers directed at the students. So I would again say that most of the labor community in town was in fact, pro-war with the strong exceptions of those good leaders that I have mentioned to you. (And Ed Mann is still doing much of that work in terms of social justice issues, civil libertarian issues, and peace issues)

Peace activists, members of the black community, students and others in the university community, and some labor leaders formed a coalition of resistance to the war.

B: When was the peak of the peace movement at Youngstown State University?

MAB: As I told you, when we first started talking about this, I have lots of individual impressions but didn't keep a journal and don't have a clear sense of the mark of years. I guess, 1968-1969, 1970, 1972, those years would have been crucial. I'm sorry again, that I don't have it noted in any very distinctive way. I have a sense of kind of a grab-bag of activities taking place and of course, they took place over time. One big event on campus, as you saw from the Jambar, was the

closing of the library, and the shutting down of some classes for one of the moratoriums that we had. A person who was courageous in that regard was George Jones, who was head of the library. He did decide against President Pugsley's stipulation that no classes would be cancelled and that people could simply go to these activities during their free time or when they weren't in class. George Jones very courageously shut down the library for an hour at lunch. I can remember that people had offices over there in the library and so some people were angry about the closing. Others, History department people, Sid Roberts, for example, were pleased at the courageous stand that George Jones had taken. I think Hildagard Schnuttgen also was appalled about the war and stood out at that point too. My first husband, William Budge, was the order librarian and he honored the closing. So there were a number of people who honored the idea of a moratorium. But that was a courageous act, the shutting of the library, given he, George Jones was an administrator and the chief administrator in the organization. President Pugsley had said don't do this. I think George felt... He was older and he was going to retire and he stood for his conscience. One of the things that I should mention in terms of people standing for their conscience, too, is that somebody who was a conscientious objector on campus was Dave Beacom. He was, I think, a witness for many others, that is, people were involved in his expertise and his stance. I would love to know what happened to him; to know what he is doing at this point. He was a bold person to stand up. A very meek non-violent person in his philosophy of life but a very bold, courageous person in standing for his conscience by actively resisting and witnessing against the war. Again, some people went to Canada, some people deserted once they were in the service, and of course, many people put in their time and completed their commitment. Some questioning what we had done later. Many Vietnam vets are still examining this issue. In fact, I was just looking at a video tape of Ron Kovik today. As you know, he is the "Born on the 4th of July" hero. He wrote that book and the movie of that title is based on his account. He is now asking that we stand up and be counted against the crisis and intervention in the Persian Gulf, against the presence of our troops there. He said, "Didn't we say never again?" He has done a political commercial about this latest war in the Persian Gulf.

B: Do you remember the Peace Moratorium of 1969, from what I read, that was like the key...

MAB: The big one, okay, maybe that's the one I was saying 1970, 1972, maybe 1969 was the one. I think that's

probably the one where we talked with Al Shipka, where we went downtown, where there was this whole range of political sensibilities represented well, not from the right to the left, but from center to left, in terms of those who were speaking out about the war.

B: Was it difficult to get students involved in the anti-war movement?

MAB: I don't think so. I think in some sense, self interest was motivating them. Who wanted to go over there, or to have a brother, or a boyfriend go there? But there were obviously student groups and individuals not drawn to the anti-war movement. To a large extent, I think the fraternities and sororities stood apart from the anti-war movement. There were two camps. The label "long hairs" or "freaks", was attached to one camp- the "politicos", the people who were part of this whole idea of resistance to the war. There were of course, ordinary "buttoned-down" students who were also involved in resisting the war. But quite often, people looked different if their political stance was different. For the most part, fraternities and sororities were in another camp. (Although, there undoubtedly were some individuals who crossed the bridge between them)

I did hear a funny story just recently from Tom Fournier, who was a soldier in Vietnam. He came back to YSU and he was not an anti-war person. He said he used to get "so pissed off" that there were these people who were blocking his way to class or engaging in demonstrations. They were "know-nothing adolescents", as far as he was concerned. His attitude was: "Get out of my way, twerp." or "You better not stand in my way if I'm going to class." So he kept that kind of hostile stance. He said, he was living in a household where Joanie Krynanski (whose name I mentioned before) was living and he said to me just last week that it wasn't that she was so convinced about her political position from the outset but it was more convenient to join Community of Concern than to join the Ski Club where you had to invest in equipment. He said, she actually sat around debating: Ski Club or Community of Concern. I said, "Well, I find that hard to believe." But I thought it was amusing that perhaps some people came not from a firm political conviction but just the notion of: "Which group shall I join?" I think that maybe people, at one point, were not so absolutely convinced about the anti-war movement. But as they got drawn into it with more information and more activities, they would get a firmer commitment to the movement.

B: You made a reference to President Pugsley being opposed to the war...

MAB: No, not opposed to the war, opposed to people who were opposed to the war.

B: Excuse me. Did that permeate all of YSU administration? Was YSU's administration in favor of the war?

MAB: It's hard to say, though I think President Pugsley was in favor of the war. In terms of my way of looking at things, President Pugsley was not somebody who had typical attitudes that you might associate with a university president (on issues of free speech and so forth). He was very conservative and concerned about what students might say on placards, for example-- signs that they would carry around like "Fuck the war." He was very distressed about the use of that word and wanted that stopped. It's really not possible to stop that sort of thing. I mean it's not as though I were officially sitting around, writing signs of that sort in my office. If somebody makes such a sign and brings it to a demonstration, there is not much that can be done, especially as part of a sea of other signs. But something like that distressed him very much and he would talk to Jambar editors and reporters about such issues. He asked one reporter, "Shouldn't somebody be stopped from writing "fuck" on his forehead?" And the answer to that was "no". We may find it offensive but it's an extension of sort of free speech. I don't think President Pugsley was as informed on those things as he might have been. Consequently, it was a very difficult time for him. I think he felt threatened. He felt as though things were out of control. His interest was in keeping things reined in, in keeping everything very regular. Keeping classes sort of uniform. Doing what you were supposed to be doing. Business as usual, in other words. Some faculty members and some students felt as though the war was such a disruptive event (after all, people were dying) that there ought to be some disruption to business as usual on campus. I can't say whether his feelings permeated the administration. I would suppose that people had differing opinions within the administration. They certainly weren't vocal about that though.

B: Were there any actions undertaken by the Youngstown State Administration, at this time, that made you feel threatened?

MAB: I know the Dean passed along instructions at one point, to his Assistant Dean to go around checking to make sure that people were in class on Moratorium Day, that is, that they hadn't suspended their classes. Again, it was this notion of "business as usual." I think that's kind of a humiliating position for the assistant Dean to be put in, sort of the hall monitor, right?

Frankly, I don't know what repercussions there could be. I don't think somebody could be dismissed over such an issue but untenured faculty have few rights, so there was fear. And once you were in a separate camp, I think President Pugsley was willing to believe that you were not to be redeemed somehow. Again, happily I had a department chair and others in the department who were very supportive. Most life is lived in departments at the university. The President does have an influence and the Deans do have influence, but most life is department life.

B: Do you remember the names of the Dean and the Assistant Dean at that time?

MAB: Dean Yozwiak, who has been here for a while. I think he's the one who was saying that Assistant Dean Smith was the person who was to go around and check. (The Dean before Yozwiak was Dykema) I don't actually remember because there was an early period of transition here, so I don't actually remember who was in command at that point. I think it was Yozwiak. Following orders from on high, the whole notion of obedience to authority is pervasive if you're in an organization and it's very difficult to resist that. I think there's a large American tendency to conformity in any case. Coupled with the materialism that we have, it's a terrible cross. We never had the range, the political spectrum, for example, that might come out of Europe or even Canada. I mean, when I was in Europe this summer, the number of newspapers representing different political points on a whole wide spectrum was very marked. That was in France, and I think it's true in Italy, and in many other countries too. It's not so true here.

B: Professor Shutes made reference at one point, I don't know whether it was President Pugsley that had a camera man on top of a building. Do you remember what event this was for?

MAB: I think he felt that there had been some threat issued to the university. My impression is that it may have been at another kind of transitional period where anti-war work was linked with black liberation. I think one of the things that President Pugsley was most frightened about related to Black Students United asking for things from the University, which, again, was kind of an extension of some anti-war protest activities. There was a sit-in stopping traffic on Wick Avenue by black students and other activists. I see three things-- peace work, the Black Movement and the Women's Movement-- stemming from this time. President Pugsley was most alarmed, and perhaps, had alerted police (and somebody told me he even had policemen with

guns on top of the building housing his office) on one occasion. I thought that was largely out of fear related to Black Students United who had combined with some of anti-war folks asking for changes within the society and the university. The notion of looking abroad and seeing that things needed to be rectified and the war ended had a parallel with activities against injustice here at home. Especially as a number of people coming back were black veterans and weren't going to submit to the racial hierarchy that they had experienced before. So the student movement of two sorts-- peace and social change-- and really three, when I talk about the Women's Movement, too, coming from that time. Black Studies was established here at the university partly as a result of Black student sit-ins and demonstrations during this period.

B: Are you aware of any national anti-war movements or national groups that took a position in opposition to the war having a presence at Youngstown State?

MAB: Well, I think, we took ideas from lots of places. Student Mobilization was one of them-- The Student Mobilization to End the War. We had their literature and activities. Indochina Peace Campaign was another one, and we had lots of literature from them. In fact, it wasn't until years after the war was over that I finally got rid of all my literature with Nixon's face on the cover. The Indochina Peace Campaign brought Tom Hayden here; I know because he stayed at my house. He came here to speak to groups, to encourage the work that was going forward, to be a kind of local visiting hero. So, Student Mobe, Indochina Peace Campaign, the Quakers- The American Friends Service Committee- which has had a long historic tradition against the war (in World War I they campaigned for peace and in World War II they were the only people who stood with the Japanese-Americans who were going to be put in relocation camps here in the United States. So they have historically a strong tradition about peace. (They worked with Indians in Pennsylvania and peacefully co-existed with them. They didn't put locks on their doors, etc.) Anyway, let me speak up, saying hurray for them. Clergy and Laity Concerned was another group. And Burt Cantrell, who was a campus minister here, distributed material from them. This material from various groups came in the form leaflets or posters that might be put up. Activities were suggested: Here are seven activities that might be done in response to this, here are letter writing campaigns that you might encourage, here are petitions that could be circulated, here are photographs of the tiger cages, here are photos of Napalmed children, here are pictures of monks immolating themselves, or other material to use. Here's a suggestion for a press conference. So yes, we did rely

on national groups. SANE was another one of the groups that was involved here. Fellowship Of Reconciliation also. Really, all the national groups would send suggestions, as they did on other campuses, and we would use what we could, picking and choosing. Some of that activity still goes on. SANE Freeze is doing things in terms of the Persian Gulf crisis. The Youngstown Peace Council and the American Friends Service Committee, the Quakers, are doing things with regard to the current crises in the gulf.

Burt Cantrell, Campus Chaplain during the Vietnam War and a figure who often stood out by speaking about injustices, was particularly appalled about Kent State and Jackson State. (Somehow we always talk about Kent State and we neglect Jackson State where black students were beaten up and shot. Burt Cantrell left YSU to join SANE. Father DeBlasio was here during the Vietnam War with the Newman Center. The Newman Center was a place where a lot of activities went on-- groups met, demonstrations were planned, posters and placards were made, etc. Father DeBlasio and others counseled people who wanted to be conscientious objectors. Many people used to go to the Newman Center and that also became a nucleus of those who were opposed to the war from a Christian witness and perspective. They also started a coffee house for anti-war work and cultural activities. I'm glad you mentioned organizations, I had forgotten to include the religious presence on campus, which was very important. Again, Jim Ray has continued that presence in terms of CCM (Cooperative Campus Ministry) on issues such as racism, or if one wants CO (conscientious objector) counseling, you speak to him. I think the ministers and priests who have been on the periphery of YSU, have often been involved in social causes that were important to the university, to the life of the university. They have provided an intellectual and moral witness for students.

B: What national or local events stand out as major and significant during the period of the anti-war movement?

MAB: I think I answered that in the earlier question on the moratorium and beyond that, traveling to national demonstrations.

B: You mentioned the one man for whom Kent State had a big impact, I'm looking for more, some national scope or world event that had a profound impact on you?

MAB: I think I was always more touched by the very human dimensions of things rather than particular, say, military campaigns. I guess though, that the air-war had a big impact and that was stepping up the conflict. One of the things that affected me was using the kind

of distancing prose that we did to sanitize violent acts. Using phrases such as "Protective Reaction Strike", when really, we meant a raid to bomb and destroy. I think again in human dimensions-- the things like the tiger cages, things like monks burning themselves to protest the war affected me. It was all so overwhelming. There was an American who immolated himself as a witness against the war. His name was Morrison and he did this at the Pentagon. To think that somebody would so believe in something that he or she would willingly die for it. There were people dying in war but that seemed to be almost willy-nilly. It wasn't such a consciously chosen thing. I think the strength of some people who were willing to go to jail to protest against the war is also remarkable. The witness of some people in the religious community: The Berrigans, for example, pouring blood on draft records and draft cards. Acts of civil disobedience, where people would pay the price by going to jail. They would pay the consequences somehow by themselves, and this was very moving to me-- more so than particular, historical events, or the TET Offensive. I would say that the human consequences and the human cost seemed very real-- on the part of the Vietnamese as well as our troops.

B: What was the impact of the Kent State Shootings on the anti-war movement at Youngstown State?

MAB: I can remember people calling me and they said they were shooting students at home now. They're doing this here. The war has come home. In some ways-- I don't want to say it didn't seem so surprising to me-- but a little bit, the outrage, seemed surprising because there were many soldiers who were being killed in Vietnam on both sides. Of course, many people didn't want to acknowledge the Vietnamese side, you know, and all of the deaths that there were including civilian deaths. There were later photographs in Life magazine of Vietnamese who had been victims of napalm and other bombings, mourning their dead children. I can remember people saying, "Well, those people don't feel grief in the same way we do." There was a kind of racism implicit in that. There was a kind of classism, I think, being so angry about Kent State. Middle class, white students, vs. working class people who were becoming cannon fodder in Vietnam. I think that doubleness is sometimes not recognized. Kent State is appalling and maybe you need those events that become markers, that are catalysts or precipitators for people to get animated around. I was recently at a peace conference, where they were singing some of the old songs. "Four Dead in Ohio," of course, was one of those. I think Kent State became a catalyst event in bringing the war home. Frankly, I saw it as a continuation at home of

what had gone on abroad.

B: Did this event have any impact on the student body, here?

MAB: Oh, yes. I think immediately people were willing to walkout to move into the streets. They could see it as this connection- Kent State- just down the road. They knew the Scheuer family was from Youngstown. (Sandy Scheuer was one of the students killed at Kent State) I think there was immediately, an outpouring of rage, of anger. "What are we going to do next?" "What can we do that is significant enough to stop this machine, this war machine?" In that sense, I think that people were spontaneously doing things, calling for a demonstration, asking people to leave class, getting out into a central arena, not waiting for national groups to say, "Why don't we try this as new strategy, why don't we try that as a new tactic." People were doing whatever they felt propelled to do at that time.

B: Was there any violence ever at Youngstown State during the anti-war movement?

MAB: It's hard for me to say. There were obviously, peripheral instances of violence, where somebody who was quite adamant about being pro-war and somebody else who was on the peace side might be involved in some kind of fisticuffs around the edge of a demonstration. For the most part, people were willing to stand and act as marshals at demonstrations to prevent this from happening. Feelings were heightened so people were specially trained in peace-keeping techniques, willingly served, as marshals. (as they also did nationally when people went on marches) I did hear, much afterwards, that there was going to be an attempt at one point to burn down the ROTC building, which was Pollock House. (now the Wick-Pollock Inn) Again, this is years afterwards that I heard about this, and I was surprised, but some students were going to do something like carry a coffin over to the building (Pollock House) and they would have something inside of it that could be ignited pretty easily. A conflagration that would follow. It never happened. Somebody said that part of what was restraining some of the students was the notion, "That would get Alice Budge fired for sure." Because the administration wouldn't believe that I wasn't connected with it somehow. Again, I never knew about it until ages after. So that was, I guess, a near event--one that didn't happen that people were persuaded they ought not to do it. I think as time went on, frustration levels went up and people said, "What can we do now? If they're not listening to us, in Washington, what can we do?" So I think there was an escalation of tactics, even as there were in Vietnam on the part of

the U. S. government- a parallelism here. There was much more going on nationally, with SDS and the Weathermen and so forth. Really confrontational, disruptive and anti-establishment anti-war techniques. "We have to bring down the system," was their message.

B: Looking back, what changes would you have liked to see instituted in the roles of anti-war activists?

MAB: I don't know. None? I don't know. I think one of the things that I personally find very positive about it, is that it was an emerging time for me in terms of movement into the political and social justice arena. I have never given that up. So I became, for example, a co-chair, of Ron Daniels mayoral campaign in town. I continued by working with Associated Neighborhood Centers, and the Youngstown Peace Council. Now I'm coordinating the peace and conflict studies project here at the university and working with the minority student services committee and the minority access/success committee. I see social justice issues tied up with peace concerns. There is no way of divorcing them. I also think that once you become an activist, you may change your style a little bit, but I think that you keep witnessing throughout your life in some manner. If I could change something, maybe I would have begun earlier somehow. But it was that movement which led me into many others, including the Women's Movement. I do think the continuing, sustained presence of a need to witness, of living beyond a subjective cage of the self, of helping others is very important. It is particularly important when there is institutionalized national violence as the war certainly was, but it's also important when there is a violence and racism that permeates our society. This is the specter that confronts us now. I would say, I don't have regrets, but positive feelings, and a sense of the continuity of my life. Recently, I was speaking to a group at the Unitarian Church about women and the push toward nuclear disarmament. I said, "You ought to stand up and do something in some sphere because it finally feels so good." There is that psychological return for yourself and the connection that you feel to others.

B: Is there anything else that you think is important to add that we did not cover?

MAB: No, I probably will think of something, of course, after you go. That's very typical. One enduring impression-- just that I think the important, heroic, courageous sort of stand that people took, the importance of some figures like the Morrisons at the outset, to help get others involved in being able to stand up for issues of conscience is central. I think that's

probably about it. If I look through a book-- The Eyewitness History of the Vietnam War, for example, I'd discover other notions I'm sure, but no, I think that's about it.

B: Thank you very much for your time.

MAB: Sure. Thank you.

END OF INTERVIEW