

# The Other Side of Campus

## Indiana University's Student Right and the Rise of National Conservatism

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On a brisk spring day in March 1965, an estimated 300 Indiana University students assembled in Dunn Meadow, the green oasis beside the Indiana Memorial Union where students often relaxed between classes or met to play games. This day was different, however, as these students gathered not to enjoy the atmosphere, but to speak their minds about the war in Vietnam. They carried signs, chanted slogans, and generally behaved, according to the campus newspaper, the *Indiana Daily Student* (IDS), in a manner not unlike that of an additional 650 students and locals who had also assembled in the meadow to hear speeches about the civil rights movement in the wake of the recent march on Selma, Alabama.<sup>1</sup>

This convergence of civil rights and Vietnam demonstrations may sound like a typical episode of 1960s campus activism, but it was not. A good half of the students attending the Vietnam rally marched *in support of* the United States' commitment to halting the advance of communism in Southeast Asia. While such a show of support was hardly uncommon, either at IU or at other college campuses nationwide, subsequent studies of 1960s

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<sup>1</sup>*Indiana Daily Student*, March 10, 11, 12, 13, 1965; hereafter cited as IDS.



"It's guys like you who give this campus a bad name."

Contrary to traditional depictions of the 1960s, IU students on the Right and Left actively engaged each other during that tumultuous decade.

*Indiana Daily Student*, October 7, 1967

campus activism have tended to inherit from government investigators of the period a tendency to define student protest as the purview of the Left.<sup>2</sup> Though a growing body of recent scholarship has challenged these kinds of assumptions about the period, recent discussion, some of it appearing in the pages of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, has focused almost exclusively on the Left.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>"Restless Youth," U. S. Central Intelligence Agency report, September 1968, reproduced in *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Farmington Hills, Mich., 2005).

<sup>3</sup>Mary Ann Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland: The Sixties at Indiana University* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002); Martin Ridge, Byrum Carter, Keith S. Parker, Michael J. King, and Mary Ann Wynkoop, "Remembering Indiana University in the 1960s: Perspectives on *Dissent in the Heartland*," *Indiana Magazine of History* 99 (March 2003), 48-58. For treatment of conservative student protest see Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State*

Obviously, this focus reveals only part of the story. An investigation of the campus activism of the 1960s and 1970s should consider the full range of student expression evoked by the complexity of those times. Far from exhibiting what Richard Hofstadter deemed the “paranoid style” of many conservative American movements (complete with persecution complex and void of relevant ideas), the campus Right at IU and elsewhere provided a number of students with an alternative and highly attractive worldview, one that both defended and critiqued the status quo.<sup>4</sup> The New Right’s conservative ideology, like that of the radical Left, stood at odds with the consensus “me-too-ism” of the 1950s, which joined Democratic and Republican elites in agreement on certain foreign and domestic policy essentials. This study draws on contemporary IU sources and on more recent interviews with several of the era’s participants to locate conservative activists in a variety of organizations that interacted with each other and with their liberal rivals to challenge and change campus, national, and international issues.<sup>5</sup> Though often viewed as an enigma by consensus liberals and neglected by commentators, the Right’s ideas prompted a generation of activists who would, like their more widely recognized counterparts on the Left, recall their campus experiences as the cornerstone of an effective effort to reshape American politics and culture in the decades ahead.<sup>6</sup>

Arriving in Bloomington in the early 1960s, future student activists of both stripes found a campus environment that many still remember with fondness. They appreciated the intellectual climate, dressing up for class, and being taken seriously as young adults. Competing campus political

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*Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York, 1993); David Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of Modern America* (New York, 1995), 273, 275; Gregory L. Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of the Contemporary Right* (New York, 1999).

<sup>4</sup>Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York, 1967).

<sup>5</sup>Interviewees were selected from the ranks of conservative activists at IU in the 1960s. The process began with names identified by R. Emmett Tyrrell and from reports in the *IDS*, and the referral list lengthened as the interviewing progressed. Not all individuals could be located, nor did every contacted individual respond, notably Thomas Huston and M. Stanton Evans. Notes from the interviews and email exchanges will eventually be deposited in an appropriate archive.

<sup>6</sup>James Bopp, Jr., telephone interview with author, May 7, 2004; Robert F. Turner, email to author, April 23, 2004; “Forum on American Conservatism,” *American Historical Review*, 99 (April 1994), 409-52; Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York, 2001); John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America* (New York, 2004); Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of Modern America*, 273-74; Dominick Cavallo, *A Fiction of the Past: The Sixties in American History* (New York, 1999), 3, 6-7. For an example of the consensus establishment attempting to understand the Right, see Daniel Bell, ed., *The Radical Right* (New York, 1963).

groups, including the Young Democrats and Young Republicans, reflected the prevailing consensus in national politics. More social clubs than activist organizations, these groups sponsored intellectual discussion and mock debates on national issues.<sup>7</sup>

The tone of such events fit well into an academic environment still governed by rules that modern college students would find hard to imagine. As David Steigerwald has pointed out, universities of the time “exercised the right of *in loco parentis* and regulated the lives of their students, separating the sexes and imposing curfews.” The culture of proscription carried over to the students themselves. The student paper, for example, published tips about the “social etiquette” of proper campus attire. Though these rules provoked some chafing, they prompted little change as the vast majority of students did not care enough to organize against them—students attended IU to graduate, not agitate.<sup>8</sup> In a growing campus population throughout the 1960s, the IDS estimated that the radical Left had never boasted more than one hundred members. IU was “not a Berkeley” in the heart of the conservative Midwest. The “greenbaggers” were the fringe, and they knew it. As the Young People’s Socialist League readily admitted in 1965, they were “well aware that we represent a minority point of view on the IU campus. We often find it depressingly difficult to find a sympathetic audience here in Indiana.”<sup>9</sup>

More than any other, the issue of anti-communism brought an end to this complacency. For the group that would come to be known as the New Right, the U.S. needed to stand firmly against the Red menace at home and abroad. Those who organized the New Left, on the other hand, worried about domestic witch-hunts and an activist foreign policy that seemed blind to social justice. What both groups feared—perhaps even more than each other—was a continuation of what they saw as complacency in the face of real problems. The extension of these political antagonisms to the nation’s growing involvement in Vietnam—and to the growing likelihood that American youth would be called to military service—lay at the heart of a rising tide of campus political activism.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Turner, email to author, April 23, 2004; IDS, October 28, November 2, 4, 1966.

<sup>8</sup>Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of Modern America*, 1; IDS, October 15, 1963, February 12, 1966. Bopp, telephone interview with author, May 9, 2003; Paul Helmke, telephone interview with author, April 28, 2004; R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., interview with author, April 22, 2003; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 23–24, 137–41.

<sup>9</sup>IDS, October 1, 1965, April 15, 1966. Tyrrell interview; Helmke interview; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 43–44.

<sup>10</sup>Tyrrell interview; John Andrew, “Pro-War and Anti-Draft: Young Americans for Freedom and the War in Vietnam,” in Marc Jason Gilbert, ed., *The Vietnam War on Campus: Other Voices*,



The leading organization on the campus Right was the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). Established in September 1960 by a group of conservative thinkers gathered at the home of William F. Buckley, Jr., author of *God and Man at Yale* (1951), YAF was staunchly anti-communist and supportive of the domino theory. The IU chapter of YAF grew under the leadership of Thomas Charles Huston, a native of Logansport, Indiana, who completed his undergraduate work at IU in 1963 and then went on to attend law school in Bloomington. Recognized by historians of the Left and Right as a top-notch conservative thinker, Huston made anti-communism the center of his campus activism, believing that those who protested the war in Vietnam only boosted the morale of the nation's chief enemy. Like his YAF colleagues throughout the nation, Huston felt that activists on the Left underestimated the stakes in Vietnam and wrongly minimized the communist threat.<sup>11</sup>

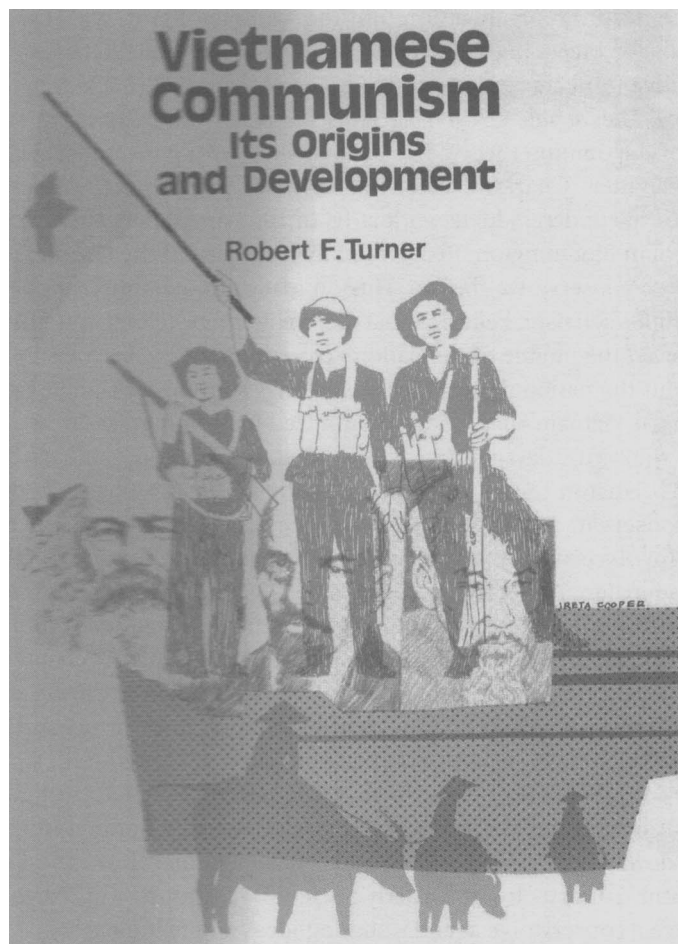
In this crusade against international communism and its campus defenders, Huston found an ideological ally in Robert Turner. Like many young conservatives, Turner, who was the son of a military officer, first became involved in politics by working for Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign. A member of the campus Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC), Turner took a special interest in Vietnam. Due to his connections to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, he became IU chapter president of the Society's Conservative League, which, under the direction of history graduate student Phil Crane, had blossomed into the second largest chapter in the nation (behind only the University of Texas). Like its parent organization, the Conservative League devoted itself to educating college students through the distribution of literature and by holding intellectual debates on current issues. In addition, Turner helped form the League's activist arm, Students for an Orderly Society. Both groups worked with YAF to advance a conservative agenda, sharing ideas and members.<sup>12</sup>

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*More Distant Drums* (Westport, Conn., 2001), 3-5; Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York, 1989), 62-63.

<sup>11</sup>Turner, email to author, April 23, 2004; Tyrrell interview; John Von Kannon, email to author, April 28, 2004; IDS, September 28, 1963, November 6, 1964, October 22, 1965, January 17, 1967; *Indianapolis Star*, June 1, 1966. On the origins and growth of YAF see Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 32; Andrew, "Pro-War and Anti-Draft," 1-2; James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York, 1996), 455. On Huston see John Robert Greene, *The Limits of Power: The Nixon and Ford Administrations* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992), 34; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 13-14. YAF's popularity is evidenced by the fact that in 1964 it added 5,400 new members, while SDS possessed a total membership of approximately 1,500. Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *The Right Nation*, 51.

<sup>12</sup>Turner, emails to author, April 25, May 23, 2003, April 23, 2004; IDS, March 3, 1964, January 6, March 16, April 12, 1966. On ISI see Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 16-17; Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, 70-75. The group has since renamed itself the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.



Robert F. Turner's *Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development* (1975).

As the background images of Marx, Lenin, and Ho Chi Minh suggest, Turner viewed the Vietnam War as an extension of the global fight against communism.

Courtesy Hoover Institution, Stanford, California

Following the advice of conservative leaders like Buckley, Huston and Turner distanced themselves from the ultra-conservative John Birch Society (founded in 1958 in Indianapolis) because of its extreme, and at times laughable, conspiracy theories, including one that identified President Eisenhower as an agent of international communism. Nevertheless, the Birchers actively engaged IU's campus community. In early 1966, Birchers who were students at IU formally requested that the

Indiana General Assembly investigate “communist and pro communist” groups at the university—specifically the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS, founded nationally in 1962 and at IU in 1965) and IU’s new W. E. B. DuBois Club.<sup>13</sup>

The Bircher request quickly led to a controversy over free speech, drawing reactions from all sides. The openly socialist DuBois Club contended that its Bloomington chapter was being investigated not only for past communist ties, but also as part of the Johnson administration’s effort to block campus debates about the war in Vietnam. IU officials quickly pledged themselves to defending free speech, but attempted to sidestep local confrontation by suggesting that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, rather than the state legislature, investigate the matter. The *IDS* editorial board acknowledged the possibility that the Birchers were correct about the club, but asked that people not be so “close[d] minded” about new campus groups before they could even get under way. This stance brought forth a flurry of student letters throughout the month: Judy Lowery blasted the *IDS* for not giving the Right the same intellectual credit it extended to the Left; Thomas Pickering called on liberals to wake up to the dangers posed by communism.<sup>14</sup>

The decision of the IU chapter of the DuBois Club to sponsor communist speakers—including national Communist Party head Herbert Aptheker—forced IU administrators to decide if the group should be banned. Surprisingly, student activists from the Right and Left did not think so. Turner announced publicly in the *IDS* that, while he believed the DuBois Club to be a communist organization, he also felt that IU students would not join. Firmly committed to the value of student protest, Turner argued that the government lacked the right to halt the formation of a group, no matter what its ideas were, because ideas could be safely debated. When the university at last suspended the DuBois Club in September 1966, an estimated five hundred students protested at a rally featuring speakers from

<sup>13</sup>*IDS*, March 20, 1964, February 2, 1965, February 3, March 2, 1966; “Antiwar and Antidraft Agitation Continues,” J. Edgar Hoover to the White House Situation Room, cable, July 26, 1968, *Declassified Documents*; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 14–18. The *IDS* reported that a similar inquiry in 1964, carried out under the authority of a 1951 Anti-Subversives Act, resulted in the dissolution of the Young Socialist Alliance at IU. *IDS*, February 18, 1964. However, while the topic of anti-communism came up repeatedly in the Indiana Legislature during the late 1940s and early 1950s, and an anti-communist bill was proposed in 1951, the author found no reference to the passage of such an act. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana, 87th Session* (Indianapolis, 1951), 164, 343.

<sup>14</sup>*IDS*, February 15, 23, 26, March 8, 11, 1966. The FBI labeled the DuBois Club a front organization for the Communist Party, and Gitlin later characterized them as being “dominated by the children of Communist and fellow traveler activists.” “W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America,” FBI Report, February 1, 1967, *Declassified Documents*; Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 179.

the SDS, Young Democrats, and Conservative League—all calling for the club to be reinstated. Though members of the campus Left have argued that the club was destroyed by the machinations of the FBI, Turner maintains that the DuBois Club folded once it could no longer claim persecution by the Right and oppression by the government.<sup>15</sup>

By 1965, the escalation of the conflict in Vietnam had shifted the focus of many conservatives' fears from domestic to international communism, especially in terms of its threat to the people of South Vietnam. Increasingly, conservatives both spoke and demonstrated in support of the war effort (including, as we have seen, in Dunn Meadow). On campus, Bob Turner helped lead the 450-member Student Committee for Victory in Vietnam, which promoted North Vietnamese liberation from the communists. YAF leader Tom Huston took a special interest in anti-communism in Asia, in part because Red Chinese troops had killed his missionary uncle prior to World War II. With his appointment to the post of national YAF chairman in 1965, Huston brought his zeal to a national arena, arguing that South Vietnam needed to be given the opportunity to function as a free and democratic country. As the war went on, YAF eventually took a public stance against the draft (advocating the creation of an all-volunteer army), but conservatives never abandoned the idea of total victory in Vietnam.<sup>16</sup>

To fight against communism abroad implied contending with its defenders at home. Campus efforts in support of the war were countered by the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a discussion group that maintained that the war was being fought at the behest of major corporations and that only socialism, by taking companies out of politics once and for all, could bring peace. At IU, these sentiments found expression in the picketing of on-campus job recruiters representing such defense-related companies as Dow Chemical and General Electric, as well as the Central Intelligence Agency. As Huston later recalled in response to such actions, "the gauntlet was down and our job was to support our country and its efforts . . . and to show that the [anti-war] protestors weren't the only people that had an opinion."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup>IDS, April 29, May 3, 4, 1965, February 8, April 9, September 12, 17, 21, 23, 1966, February 22, 1967; Turner, emails to author, May 23, 2003, April 23, 2004. "W.E.B. DuBois Clubs," *Declassified Documents*; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 32-36, 71-73. On collaboration between Right and Left see Andrew, "Pro-War and Anti-Draft," 7.

<sup>16</sup>Tyrrell interview; IDS, March 11, 13, 1965, October 7, 1967, January 9, 1968. On Huston see Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 97-98; on YAF's draft stance see Andrew, "Pro-War and Anti-Draft," 8-11; Bopp, telephone interview with author, May 7, 2004.

<sup>17</sup>Huston, undated, in Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 93. Helmke interview; IDS, February 17, 22, 1968, March 3, 1970; "Report on Civil Rights and Anti-war Movements," CIA report,

During the 1965-1966 school year, campus protests about Vietnam became increasingly common and contentious. When General Maxwell Taylor, the U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, spoke at IU, he was greeted by two very different groups. One, a "Support Senator Hartke" rally, advanced Indiana Senator Vance Hartke's "extricate don't escalate" strategy towards the war. The other, led by YAF and Students for an Orderly Society, aimed to demonstrate to the general that the "vast majority" of IU students supported him in the war effort. A similar encounter accompanied the campus visit of former Vice President Richard Nixon in October 1965. The following May, when the director of the Selective Service spoke at IU, some 2,000 protestors, both pro and con, clashed in Dunn Meadow, where, separated by the Jordan River, they hurled comments—and eggs—at one another.<sup>18</sup>

Divisions among students over the war found other manifestations as well. In October 1965 the Young Democrats and Young Republicans jointly proposed a campus referendum on American policies in Vietnam. SDS called the war blatant "imperialism" and contended that the United States was responsible for more atrocities than the communists. Senior class president Jim Kittle pushed for the student senate to authorize a "Bleed-In" blood drive on campus to show support for the war effort by benefiting American forces in Vietnam. After what the IDS called "the vehement protests of Guy Loftman," a fellow senator and head of the campus SDS chapter, the senate voted a compromise that allowed donors to indicate whether they wanted their blood sent to Vietnam or not. When the drive was over it was clear where the participants stood: of the 1,276 pints collected, nearly 1,000 were earmarked for Southeast Asia.<sup>19</sup>

A little over a year after the Bleed-In debate, Turner announced that he was leaving the IU Conservative League to become state chairman of the National Student Committee for Victory in Vietnam—a move that gave him a larger role in shaping the response to anti-war demonstrators, as well as time to write a book about why the U.S. needed to fight to victory in Vietnam.<sup>20</sup> In April 1967, Turner helped bring together the Students for a

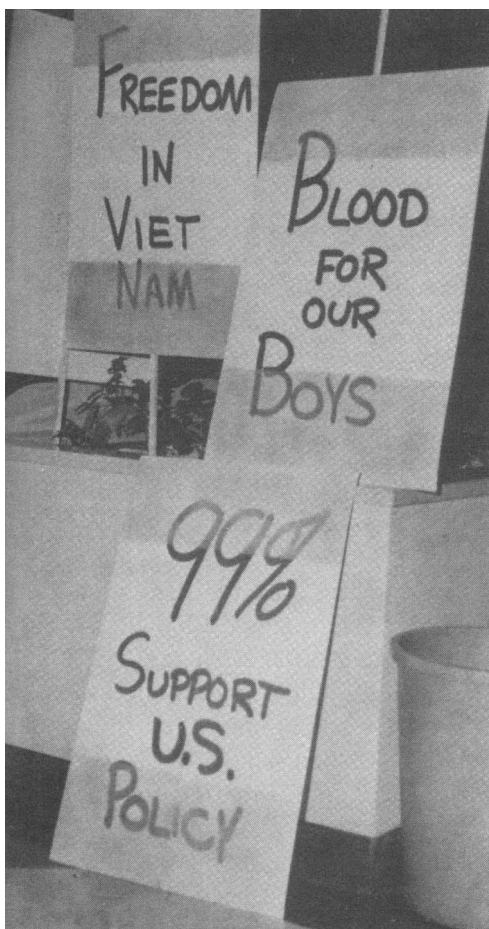
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December 1968, *Declassified Documents*. YAF appropriated this tactic in 1965 by protesting the Firestone Tire Company's proposed expansion into communist Romania, forcing the manufacturer to withdraw. Thomas C. Mann, telegram, April 17, 1965, *Declassified Documents*.

<sup>18</sup>Turner, email to author, May 23, 2003; IDS, March 13, October 19, 1965, January 8, February 25, May 3, 1966.

<sup>19</sup>IDS, October 8, 16, 29, 30, November 4, 6, 1965. During the debate, Kittle and Loftman also clashed over the SDS's on-campus advocacy of draft-dodging.

<sup>20</sup>IDS, April 6, September 30, 1967. Turner's eventual tome—published two years after U.S. withdrawal—argued that North Vietnam ran the war in the South, thereby countering New Left



The "Bleed-In."

Posters invite students to support American troops  
by donating blood, October 1965.

*Arbutus*, 1966, 219

Free Society, Young Republicans, and the IU and state YAF organizations into a Victory in Vietnam march, which took place in Indianapolis's Military Park alongside a previously scheduled SDS-sponsored anti-war rally. Turner,

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claims that the war resulted from a U.S.-supported puppet government oppressing the Vietnamese people for imperialistic ends. Turner, *Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development* (Stanford, Calif., 1975); Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 261-82.

holding a pro-war sign, attempted to record some of the anti-war speakers. One of the peace activists told him that he had no right to be there and punched through the speaker of his recorder. Turner later told the *IDS*, "it's unfortunate that the champions of free speech should resort to violence." Anti-war activists protested a pro-war rally held in Bloomington later that same month, and the protest/counter-protest pattern continued for the duration of the conflict.<sup>21</sup>

Increasingly, members of the campus Right looked to new ways of winning support that bypassed the familiar politics of public demonstrations. Into this moment stepped R. Emmett Tyrrell, a swimmer who had come to IU from Chicago in 1961 and stayed on after his graduation to begin graduate work in history. Like other IU conservatives, Tyrrell felt that right-wing voices on campus were either not heard or not taken seriously by the *IDS*. Sparse coverage of many conservative events prompted some to challenge the paper's selectivity. Left-leaning activists, expressing similar dissatisfaction from the opposite end of the political spectrum, had reacted by forming *The Spectator* in 1966. In 1967, working from an old house near Ellettsville nicknamed "The Establishment," Tyrrell founded *The Alternative*—a publication designed to inject some fun into campus politics and to retake the campus from SDS and "return student government to the moderate majority." Tyrrell vowed to critique, in Menckenesque fashion, "the perverse, the brutal, and the slightly goof ball" qualities of the New Left. "Are you tired," he began in the first issue, "are you utterly exhausted by the ineffable politicization of everything in Bloomington from sex to the delinquencies issuing from some neurotic girl's creative gut? Are your ears, are they fatigued by Radio Free Kirkwood's tedious pledges of forthcoming liberation. . . . If this sympathy of the absurd has disturbed your slumber welcome to the cloyed audience of *The Alternative*. For the harshly modulated hokum of IU's pestiferous totalitarians has annoyed us also."<sup>22</sup>

The startup faced problems that gradually lessened over time. The paper's \$300 monthly publication cost meant that sales needed to reach 1,200-1,500 copies simply to break even. With no institutional support to

<sup>21</sup>Turner, in *IDS*, April 11, 1967. Turner, email to author, April 23, 2003; Tyrrell interview; *IDS*, April 6, 11, 15, 1967. For other examples of protest and counter-protest see *IDS*, February 22, 1968, October 8, 16, 1970, April 27, May 11, 1971; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 40-41.

<sup>22</sup>R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., *The Conservative Crack-Up* (New York, 1992), 21, 44-68; *The Alternative*, September 1967. Tyrrell interview; *IDS*, March 2, 1966, February 13, 1969; Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 110-16; Byron York, "The Life and Death of *The American Spectator*," *The Atlantic Monthly* 288 (November 2001), 91-105. On *The Spectator*, published in Bloomington from 1966-1970, see Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 155-63.



IU Bake-In, 1965-1966 school year.

During the early years of the Vietnam War, conservative students peacefully demonstrated their support of American troops.

*Arbutus*, 1966, 219

fall back on, *The Alternative* struggled, but gradually began to receive encouragement and support. The *IDS* noted that the fledgling paper “has made a definite contribution to the field of student journalism at IU” and praised Tyrrell’s staff for their readiness to poke fun at “this sometimes pompous business of journalism.” Eventually, the paper received money from the Lilly Foundation, and from the Yale-educated editor of the conservative *Indianapolis News*, M. Stanton Evans, who became the staff’s advisor. Because of its anti-communist views, the paper could also count on the support of many older faculty members who believed in the threat posed by communism and whose brand of patriotism irked their younger colleagues. In time, *The Alternative* team started a “Beer and Pizza Marching Society,” which drew conservative students from around Indiana, including future Vice President Dan Quayle (then a student at DePauw University in Greencastle), to Indianapolis for dinner and drinks. *The Alternative* eventually provided conservatives with a solid base at IU and allowed them to win monetary support from around the state, thereby enabling them to bring to campus such nationally prominent conservative speakers as *National Review* editor William F. Buckley, Jr.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup>*IDS*, January 12, 1968. Tyrrell interview; *IDS*, December 3, 1964, January 11, 12, February 8, October 12, 16, 17, 18, 1968; Tyrrell, *The Conservative Crack-Up*, 57-58, 64-65, 232-33; Pro-





Pro-Vietnam War demonstration, ca. 1967-1968.

Conservative protests escalated with the passage of time. Here, as a police officer looks on, IU students carry a cross painted with the colors of the American flag and signs declaring "Victory in Vietnam" and "Bong the Cong."

*Arbutus*, 1968, 52

The creation of *The Alternative* and *The Spectator* marked an escalation of both the rhetoric and the actions of campus partisans. After several groups staged a sit-in at Ballantine Hall demanding the creation of an

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Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 115; Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of Modern America*, 276. In many ways, Buckley served as the ultimate role model for Tyrrell: a student rebel who had gone on to found a successful conservative magazine.

African American studies department, conservatives responded by occupying the Well House and calling for the creation of an Irish studies department. After a rash of “pieing” incidents at public events nationally by members of the Left, Tyrrell orchestrated a Right-wing emulation with a farcical twist. “Dr. Rudolph Montag,” purportedly a Columbia University professor, came to visit IU to speak on the “social problem.” As a group of one hundred people watched, a member of the wrestling team stood up, yelled “God damn commie,” and threw a pie at the visiting “academic.” The IU administration discovered the joke only after it tried to apologize to Columbia officials.<sup>24</sup>

Public antics and debate occasionally gave way to more serious threats. In 1968, for example, an anti-war protester let off a stink bomb in the vicinity of military recruiters visiting the Indiana Memorial Union. Later, a fire broke out in the military section of the library, an act of vandalism for which no one was ever punished. John Von Kannon and John Baden, conservative graduate students at the time, recall receiving death threats when they refused to take part in the various campus boycotts. Looking back, conservative activists recall feeling frustrated by the university administration’s mindset at times, but do not recall feeling persecuted. Theirs was simply an uphill battle.<sup>25</sup>

Student activists of the 1960s also found a battleground in campus politics. One thing that is often missing in the discussion of the student movement is the “student” part of the equation. Most members of the student body were students first and activists second, if they were activists at all. Students from all points along the political spectrum could agree on, and work together to promote, a number of causes. Indeed, in students’ eyes, campus issues nearly always ranked above the debate over Vietnam, despite the more intense media coverage given the war. The same student senate that supported the Bleed-In, for example, supported ending prescribed visiting hours for women. An even greater number of students, it should be noted, abstained from political debate no matter the issue or level. Well into

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<sup>24</sup>Von Kannon interview; *The Alternative*, November-December 1967. Later, Bloomington anti-war activists used a bakery missile on Clark Kerr, the former president of the University of California, when he spoke at the campus in 1969. Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 94-96.

<sup>25</sup>John Baden, email to author, May 14, 2003; Bopp, telephone interview with author, May 7, 2004; Turner, email to author, April 23, 2004; Von Kannon interview; Von Kannon email; IDS, October 11, 17, 1968; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 45; Heineman, *Campus Wars*, 3-5.

the 1960s, the vast majority remained apathetic to what was going on in the world around them. They had, it seems, other things to do.<sup>26</sup>

By the mid-1960s the situation on the Bloomington campus was beginning to change. Actual campus political parties were emerging—parties intended to last for longer than a single academic year. Each spring students elected a student body president, vice president, and senators to represent them on campus during the following school year and serve as liaison to the university board of trustees and administrators. The dominant parties at IU were Action, whose support lay in the campus Greek system, and Tryus, which garnered its support mostly in the dormitories. Action won the 1964 election, then swept to another victory the following year after Tryus was hit by academic problems. In 1966 Tryus won the presidency, while Action held the senate. And yet, as important as these elections were to participants, they only prompted about one-third of the student body to vote.<sup>27</sup>

Low voter turnout could be an advantage, however. Left-leaning activists believed that if they could mobilize and extend their base, they could take control of student government. In the spring of 1966, campus SDS chairman Guy Loftman organized the Progressive Reform Party (PRP), which drafted a platform calling for more student control of the university. Together with Robin Hunter, a graduate student from Canada and co-founder of IU's SDS chapter, Loftman was ready to craft a new style of campus politics.<sup>28</sup>

Campus conservatives did not take the Loftman challenge very seriously at first. Action and Tryus, they reasoned, had similar students'-rights platforms. Turner, who doubted if Loftman could hold his own in the campaign, believed that Loftman was really a proxy candidate for Hunter, whom the conservative found to be both "bright and articulate." When Loftman claimed to have Turner's support, the conservative fired off a letter to the *IDS* noting that, while he and Loftman saw eye-to-eye on many

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<sup>26</sup>*IDS*, February 23, 1964, February 22, March 16, April 15, 1966; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 22. On the lack of anti-war protest at another Indiana campus see Anthony O. Edmonds and Joel Shrock, "Fighting the War in the Heart of the Country: Anti-War Protest at Ball State University," in Gilbert, ed., *The Vietnam War on Campus*, 142-48.

<sup>27</sup>Bopp, telephone interview with author, May 7, 2004; Helmke interview; *IDS*, October 1, 9, 1964, February 26, April 9, 1965, April 22, 1966.

<sup>28</sup>*IDS*, October 5, 1965, March 16, 18, 21, 22, 1967; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 23-30. Loftman entered IU as a Republican and joined a fraternity, but after visiting Europe he became a socialist and dedicated himself to New Left causes on the Bloomington campus. *Indianapolis News*, August 28, 1967.



IU Student Senate, 1965-1966.  
Jim Kittle listens as fellow Senator Guy Loftman, standing, speaks.  
*Arbutus*, 1966, 216-17

issues, the election of the SDS chairman as student body president would do IU more harm than good. But the Loftman bandwagon was rolling. The SDS leader received the tentative endorsement of the *IDS*, which argued that student government was losing “good members” and was in need of some shaking up.<sup>29</sup>

Despite conservative criticism, Loftman won a three-way race by energizing his base and successfully reaching out to the increasing number of students who were moving off campus; Tryus and Action split the remaining votes generated from their usual constituencies. The degree to which Loftman won personal, but not political, support is indicated by the fact that while PRP candidates contested a majority of the thirty-three senate seats they succeeded in capturing only five. Further, with just over 40 percent of students voting in the election, and with fewer than half of all votes cast going to PRP, the *IDS* cautioned that Loftman was not a majority choice for

<sup>29</sup>Turner, emails to author, April 23, May 23, 2003, April 23, 2004; Helmke interview; *IDS*, March 31, 1965, April 12, 13, October 7, 1967, March 22, 1968.

president and would likely find himself caught between the interests of his party and those of the student body.<sup>30</sup>

Loftman's victory was part of a wider trend of New Left campus government electoral conquests at Big 10 schools, including Northwestern, Michigan, Michigan State, and Wisconsin. According to the *IDS*, moderates held office in Illinois, Ohio State, and Minnesota, with Right or Center-Right parties in control of only Purdue and Iowa. Yet this was also a fractious time for the Left and for SDS in particular. Nationally, the group was increasingly torn between those pushing for a more aggressive stance against the war and those who continued to debate ideological issues of socialism and anarchy. The group's subsequent campaign to remove the ROTC from the Bloomington campus met with resistance from university chancellor Herman B Wells, as well as from numerous letter-writers to the *IDS*. And while Loftman argued that he was ready to work with the senate, the SDS asserted that it controlled the PRP's legislative agenda.<sup>31</sup>

*The Alternative* quickly seized on the PRP's ties to more radical groups like SDS. The paper charged Loftman with acting on the belief that "student government should DO something for the students—whether the students like it or not." "Who," asked Tyrrell and his colleagues, "came to be governed? Did not some come to gain education?" Loftman's opponents grew increasingly harsh in the year to come. *The Alternative* called him "the pink eyed man of destiny," and once remarked that "we did not make guy loftman the butt of ridicule, God did, and as we are but the humble servants of the Lord we must remark on him and the pile of animated garbage festering around him." John Galt accused Loftman of suffering from a "multiple personality disorder," maintaining that the student body president assumed the mantle of leadership only when it served his purposes, that he utilized his title to garner attention while pretending not to, and that he claimed to be a man of the people while constantly seeking more power for himself.<sup>32</sup>

Loftman tried to steer a middle-Left course amidst this partisanship. He made a point of establishing his disapproval of the campus drug culture and stressed his focus on giving students more control "over the decisions which affect their lives," such as rules governing women's hours. Loftman,

<sup>30</sup>Bopp, telephone interview with author, May 7, 2004; Helmke interview; *IDS*, April 14, 15, 1967; *Arbutus*, 75 (1968), 58-59.

<sup>31</sup>*IDS*, April 20, 25, May 10, 1967, January 4, October 4, 29, 31, November 1, 1968, September 29, October 2, 15, 1970; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 30-31, 69-70.

<sup>32</sup>*The Alternative*, September 1967, October-November 1967, January-February 1968, April-May 1968; Galt in *IDS*, September 20, 1967.

who hoped to use the quiet summer session to begin implementing his program, quickly found himself facing a roadblock in the person of Rock Winchell. Winchell, a senior from Jasper, fought against the seating of PRP senators who were not actually enrolled for the summer session. His opposition forced a campus referendum, which he won, much to the dismay of Loftman. (Demonstrating that student apathy hardly took the summer off, less than one out of every twelve students on campus bothered to vote in the summer of 1967).<sup>33</sup>

Loftman also spent the summer trying to gain a greater understanding of the university's finances. Based on his study, he decided to take aim at one particular proposed expenditure: the construction of a new basketball arena, to be named Assembly Hall. Despite support from the IU administration, the Student Athletic Board, and the IDS, Loftman questioned the wisdom of asking students to pay for a facility that many would never use. In a series of open forums across campus, Winchell and YAF member James Bopp, Jr., began debating Loftman, arguing that a "well rounded atmosphere" was essential to the university experience and that an institution like IU would always have facilities or departments that not every student would use. Mark Watson (the president of IU YAF) and other Loftman opponents also bombarded the IDS with letters in support of the project. Today, Bopp recalls the university's decision to proceed with the project as a serious blow to Loftman's presidency.<sup>34</sup>

Campus conservatives worked to make sure that SDS would not be able to repeat its success with PRP in the 1968 elections. Supported by other members of student government, including Jim Durkott and Gary Kovener, Winchell merged the two older parties into a new one, Impact. The leaders of the new party appointed floor and dorm captains and instituted a membership fee, ensuring the party plenty of money to use on campus.<sup>35</sup> Hunter and Loftman minced few words in their critique of the new party. The student body president, perhaps smarting from his Assembly Hall defeat, claimed that Impact had no basis for being and—unlike the PRP—no goals of its own. In the same speech he also took the opportunity to blast women

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<sup>33</sup>*Indianapolis News*, August 28, 1967. *Bloomington Herald-Telephone*, April 20, 1967; IDS, July 7, 13, 14, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, August 3, 1967.

<sup>34</sup>Bopp, telephone interviews with author, May 9, 2003, May 7, 2004. IDS, July 18, 21, August 1, September 12, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 1967; *Indianapolis News*, August 28, 1967.

<sup>35</sup>Bopp, telephone interview with author, May 9, 2003; Von Kannon interview; IDS, September 23, 26, 27, 28, 1967. Impact has been contrastingly characterized as both a "student conservative party" and as an apolitical student party. Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 115; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 61.



Student body president Ted Najam, center, and vice president Paul Helmke, right.  
After SDS chairman Guy Loftman won the student body presidency in 1967, YAF leaders  
allied with student government leaders to nominate Najam and Helmke the following year.

*Arbutus*, 1969, 228

for not working harder to end parietals and to criticize the student body in general for not supporting his policies. Loftman, who tried to interest students in campus governance, had discovered the very real lesson that winning an election did not guarantee the success of a party's agenda once in power.<sup>36</sup>

In the meantime, 600 delegates waged a "chaotic" battle over nominations at Impact's first convention, ultimately settling on two Greek candidates—Alpha Tau Omega's Ted Najam and Phi Kappa Psi's Paul Helmke—as the party's ticket for student body president and vice president, respectively. Neither Najam nor Helmke belonged to YAF or to Tyrrell's circle. Najam in particular was no conservative, and Tyrrell and other members of the Right watched as he drifted further and further left in the months to come, while the *IDS* later commented that he seemed "to have taken on in some part the ideology of PRP." But this was campus politics, and the Right's goal was to beat SDS, not to run an ideologue of its own.<sup>37</sup>

In the campaign that followed, PRP was outmatched at every step. Impact's coffers were so full that it could afford to take out one advertisement after another in the *IDS*. The Right's proxy party focused on the lifestyle differences between their candidates and the "hippies" of PRP. Impact officials said they planned to spend about \$800 on the campaign, while PRP had barely a quarter of that sum at its disposal. On election night, Impact garnered 4,666 votes to PRP's 3,703. The *IDS* credited Impact "image" versus PRP's, as well as a strong town vote, for its victory.<sup>38</sup>

The victory would not last long. Over the next year the more conservative Bopp challenged Najam and Helmke for being too liberal. Helmke invited Bopp to run with him in 1969, but the YAF member chose instead to run against him. Helmke then opted to leave the party and run as an independent, taking with him a good chunk of Impact's base. Helmke told the *IDS* that he had grown tired of the dealmaking and compromising of party politics, and that he believed that the majority of the student body preferred a more centrist candidate. It was up to Bopp to try to hold Impact together; he even went door-to-door to drum up support. Despite this effort, the

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<sup>36</sup>*IDS*, September 26, 30, 1967, February 16, 1968.

<sup>37</sup>*IDS*, October 3, 1968. Helmke interview; Tyrrell interview; *IDS*, March 5, 9, 20, 21, April 2, October 3, 1968; *Arbutus*, 76 (1969), 80-81; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 64-67. Loftman supported the PRP nomination of Mark Oring, who hinted that if elected he might shut down student government in order to force a showdown with the administration. *IDS*, March 14, 15, 1968.

<sup>38</sup>*IDS*, April 3, 4, 5, 1968; Bopp, telephone interview with author, May 7, 2004; Helmke interview.



turnout at the 1969 convention was much smaller than the year before, and the morale of the party was low.<sup>39</sup> While Tyrrell viewed Helmke as having drifted leftward, Helmke's tactics and stands on the issues were not far from Bopp's. Meanwhile, the left, too, had splintered, with Loftman throwing his support behind Mel Yancey of the United Student Movement rather than Russell Block of the Revolutionary Students Party. As far as the campus was concerned, Helmke had successfully positioned himself firmly in the Center. The *IDS* endorsed him, as did Najam on the eve of the election. Helmke emerged the clear winner, taking 4,288 votes to Yancey's 2,090. Bopp finished third with 1,516; Impact was finished as a party.<sup>40</sup>

Helmke wanted to use his time as president to seek change without tearing the campus apart. To do so, he willingly borrowed tactics from both the Left and the Right. In the wake of widespread worries over rising student fees, he organized public meetings and even urged students to boycott classes so they could go home and tell their parents about the problem. In Helmke's own subsequent assessment, such "coat and tie" activism proved largely successful. Others agreed. The *IDS* credited Najam's success, as well as Helmke's, to Loftman's radicalism. As mainstream student leaders, they had proven able to exact reforms from an IU administration apprehensive about the prospect of more Loftmans in its future. Later, looking back on his time in office, Najam would credit his and Helmke's victories to the idealism and "activism" of the period—characteristics that, as the 1970s dawned, would diminish considerably.<sup>41</sup>

And yet two years of centrist campus government did little to halt the renewed divisiveness reflected in the 1970 victory of Keith Parker. A field lieutenant of the Black Panthers, Parker told the *IDS* that he believed the world to be divided between "reactionary Pigs" and "progressive People," with only a small minority unaffiliated in the center. When asked specifically about right-wing activists, Parker said that he hoped to sponsor an education weekend that would "expose all their fascist tactics." Despite such rhetoric, only 20 percent of students voted, suggesting that student apathy remained strong.<sup>42</sup>

However, within weeks of his election Parker announced his plans to visit Hanoi, via Moscow, on a student peace mission—a proposal that

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<sup>39</sup>Bopp, telephone interview with author, May 9, 2003; Helmke interview; Tyrrell interview; *IDS*, March 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, April 8, 9, 1969, March 6, 1970.

<sup>40</sup>Helmke interview; *IDS*, October 10, 1968, April 15, 16, 17, 19, 1969.

<sup>41</sup>Helmke interview; *IDS*, April 15, 1969, April 10, 1972.

<sup>42</sup>*IDS*, October 1, 28, 1970; *The Alternative*, May-June 1970; Tyrrell interview. For Wynkoop's account of Parker's presidency see *Dissent in the Heartland*, 102-108.

brought conservative criticism from campus to the state house. Though the student senate was unable or unwilling to condemn the trip, the *IDS* editorial board called Parker “selfish” for putting his own interests above those of the university. State Senator (and future governor) Robert Orr not only condemned the trip but also asked IU students how they could have elected Parker president in the first place. Several members of the Indiana General Assembly spoke of raising IU tuition as a measure both to punish, and to re-exert control over, the Bloomington campus. In sum, Parker’s trip did little to enhance the campus’s reputation among a cohort of Indiana politicians who already tended to group any call for students’ rights together with anti-war protest into evidence of an “ominous Left” that threatened America’s very existence.<sup>43</sup>

The controversial student body president attempted damage control, speaking to IU students and the Bloomington press upon his return. However, letters to the *IDS* largely ridiculed the trip, asking why Parker spent so much time working on a non-binding peace treaty between American and North Vietnamese students when real issues awaited his attention back in Bloomington. Parker responded that the war did affect students; to argue that his trip was the sole cause of the legislature’s threatened tuition increase was, he contended, to ignore the economic troubles in which the state was already enmired.<sup>44</sup>

The trip controversy proved a boon to the campus Right. Von Kannon exposed the money trail that had funded Parker’s trip, tracing it to the national Black Panther Party and surmising that Parker had actually acted as the Party’s representative to Hanoi, not simply as a concerned American college student. The funding for the trip had come, more specifically, from Brown County resident Larry Canada, who owned the lot on Kirkwood Avenue that had once been the site of the Black Market and the Panther Party’s local headquarters.<sup>45</sup>

Fearful of state intervention, the Board of Trustees moved to rein in student government, voting to end the mandatory \$.50 student government fee. In the ensuing debate, Parker shifted discussion from the scandal around his trip towards the trustees’ attack on student government, leaving

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<sup>43</sup>*IDS*, November 17, 18, 20, December 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 18, 1970; Helmke interview; Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 79.

<sup>44</sup>*IDS*, January 5, 6, 7, 13, 1971; *Bloomington Herald-Telephone*, January 6, 7, 1971.

<sup>45</sup>*IDS*, December 11, 1970. The Black Market was firebombed on December 26, 1968, allegedly by the local Ku Klux Klan, and the space is now home to People’s Park. Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 128-31, 168-70, 176-78. Canada had drawn attention previously by taking out a full page in the *IDS* for an “Appeal to Reason” on Vietnam, which was blasted by the *IDS*, September 20, 23, 1967.

his opponents perplexed. Von Kannon rejoiced at the lifting of the tax, but in his *IDS* column, he also pointed out that the trustees' decision to revoke the fee had taken Parker off the hook for his Vietnam trip.<sup>46</sup>

When Parker's term came to an end, the editors of the *IDS* found little benefit in his time in office. While crediting him with establishing a student legal service, the paper believed that Parker's polarizing presidency had done more harm than good to IU. To his claim to having given future presidents an "alternative" path to follow in office, the *IDS* reported that Parker had only reduced the power of student government by antagonizing state lawmakers, IU administrators, and a good number of students.<sup>47</sup>

To Von Kannon, Parker's departure signaled the end of fun in campus politics. The frontrunners in the 1971 student elections were, as he pointed out, individuals with a long interest in politics, not the amorphous "people" whom Parker had claimed as his power base. All told, there were fourteen presidential tickets; and with only 25 percent of the campus voting, the election required a run-off election that was itself a mess of legal maneuvering, including the elimination and reinstatement of several tickets. The eventual winner was Mary Scifres, the first woman to be elected to the position in the university's history, who promised to make student government more open to the student body.<sup>48</sup>

Scifres maintained a liberal platform but managed to do so in a manner that seemed, to conservatives like Von Kannon, less confrontational than Parker's. The student body president would advocate student support of such causes as Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Group, the (now voluntary) student government fee, activist Angela Davis's legal defense fund, and abortion rights. Scifres presented her viewpoint in an *IDS* column that was more informational than directive in tone. Von Kannon, the most public conservative on campus, sometimes used his own *IDS* column to debate Scifres's stance on abortion, the war, and other issues. As the journalistic sparring between the two suggests, sharp divisions remained between Right and Left, but both sides had come to realize how little student government could, in fact, accomplish in one year. By the mid-1970s, the *IDS* found "little evidence of IU's recent turmoil," and campus elections drew less of the attention they had attracted in earlier years.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>*IDS*, February 4, 9, 16, 1971.

<sup>47</sup>*IDS*, May 28, 1971.

<sup>48</sup>*IDS*, February 18, 26, May 13, 1971. See also *ibid.*, April 24, May 5, 12, 15, 19, 20, 26, 1971.

<sup>49</sup>*IDS*, April 10, 1972. See also *ibid.*, October 14, 21, November 11, 19, 30, 1971, February 7, 14, April 13, 19, 1972; Wlady Pleszczynski, email to author, April 30, 2003.

If campus politics was a game, it was still a game that could prepare a person for serious work. Richard Nixon's election in 1968 provided conservative campus activists with an opportunity to take their cause from the campus to the halls of power. One of the first to make the transition from student activist to political operative was Tom Huston. After graduating from IU's law school (1966), he served first as an Army officer attached to the Defense Intelligence Agency (1967-1969) and then as an associate counsel to President Nixon during a period that saw escalating violence at Kent State, Jackson State, and other college campuses. Nixon responded to the threat by asking Congress for 1,000 additional FBI agents to provide "instant action" in the case of campus turmoil. Huston, from his background as a local, state, and national YAF leader, agreed that "the campus is the battleground of the revolutionary movement." Believing further that groups such as the Black Panthers and the Weathermen (the anarchist spin-off group of SDS), working on-campus and off, were plotting to overthrow the federal government, the president called upon Huston to draft a scheme for domestic intelligence gathering.<sup>50</sup>

The former student activist urged Nixon to utilize YAF to confront campus radicals, but the president was reluctant to do so, perhaps because of his own misgivings about the conservative movement.<sup>51</sup> Ultimately, Huston's proposal—now known as the Huston Plan—called on the White House to centralize all domestic intelligence gathering into a new agency and to authorize the use of wiretaps and other forms of surveillance of suspected subversive groups. To those who contended that the plan infringed on civil liberties, Huston argued that bugging a group to prevent a terrorist act was hardly the same thing as beating a confession out of an innocent person. Nor was he alone in his zeal. In a syndicated column that appeared in the *IDS*, Barry Goldwater had likewise argued that enforcing law and order should not be construed as a repression of civil liberties. Nevertheless, it was fierce opposition from FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (who opposed centralization), rather than from civil rights advocates within the Nixon White House, that eventually defeated the proposal.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Huston, in *Indianapolis Star*, June 3, September 23, 1973. For example, at a teach-in at IU in 1970, students were told that it was up to them to "stop the government" if the government would not stop the war in Vietnam. *IDS*, October 27, 1970.

<sup>51</sup>Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 121, 149.

<sup>52</sup>*IDS*, April 12, 1966, October 7, 9, November 5, 1970; *Indianapolis Star*, June 1, 1966, June 3, 1973. On the Huston Plan see Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nixon: The Triumph of a Politician, 1962-1972* (New York, 1989), 264-65, 362, 367-69; Greene, *Limits of Power*, 133; Joan Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered* (New York, 1994), 20, 228, 277, 283-93; Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of*

Other veterans of the IU Right influenced the evolution of national conservative politics from the Nixon era through the Reagan revolution of the 1980s.<sup>53</sup> By 1974, Nixon's last year in office, R. Emmett Tyrrell's *Alternative* had grown into a regional, campus equivalent to Buckley's *National Review*. That year Tyrrell borrowed from his campus competitors and renamed his publication *The Spectator*; a decade later, feeling that the conservative moment had arrived, he moved his operation (now *The American Spectator*) to Washington, D.C. From his place in the nation's capitol Tyrrell challenged the Clinton administration during the 1990s by highlighting the president's financial scandals and extra-marital affairs. Phil Crane, organizer of IU's Conservative League, also contributed to the Republican ascendancy. Originally elected to fill the congressional seat vacated by Donald Rumsfeld when Rumsfeld signed on as an economic adviser to President Nixon, Crane served the Illinois 8th District from 1969 until his defeat in 2004.

Other former student activists, such as John Baden and John Von Kannon, entered the conservative foundations and think tanks that, in the words of one conservative commentator, "helped to transform the terms of political debate" in the 1980s. Jim Kittle became a successful businessman and now leads the Indiana Republican Party. Robert Turner is now a law professor at the University of Virginia, and James Bopp and Tom Huston practice law in Terre Haute and Indianapolis, respectively. The moderates who allied themselves to the Right also made marks on the political scene: Ted Najam rose from circuit judge to the Indiana Court of Appeals, while Paul Helmke went home to Fort Wayne and served the city as its mayor.<sup>54</sup>

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*Modern America*, 292-93; Ted Morgan, *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, 2003), 586-94. Huston told the *Star* that he believed that Nixon's refusal to stand up to Hoover and implement the plan helped lead to the formation of the Plumbers and to Watergate. That the Huston Plan became public knowledge at the height of Watergate did not help Huston's case or Nixon's reputation. Huston's complete testimony before Congress about the Plan can be found at [http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/reports/vol2/html/ChurchV2\\_0001a.htm](http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/reports/vol2/html/ChurchV2_0001a.htm).

<sup>53</sup>That Reagan cultivated a closer relationship with the campus Right than did Nixon and Goldwater may help explain the increased prominence of former campus activists in the 1980s. Lou Cannon, *Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power* (New York, 2003), 271-96. YAF members commonly date their relationship with Reagan to a letter he wrote to YAF national chairman Ron Docksai requesting YAF support for Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign. Kiron K. Skinner, Annelise Anderson, and Martin Anderson, eds., *Reagan: A Life in Letters* (New York, 2003), 174-175.

<sup>54</sup>Gregg Easterbrook, "Ideas Move Nations: How Conservative Think Tanks Have Helped to Transform the Terms of Political Debate," *The Atlantic Monthly* 257 (January 1986), 66-80. Baden is founder and chairman of the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment in Bozeman, Montana; Von Kannon is vice president and treasurer of the Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C.

Looking back on their time in Bloomington, these one-time student activists argue that as New Deal-era liberalism collapsed, as the old consensus establishment gave way and the New Left fell apart, they stepped in to fill the breach. While SDS activists had questioned what it meant to be an American, YAF members had prepared their agenda to be implemented via the political process. With other leaders of the New Right, they learned their lessons during the Goldwater campaign, captured the Republican Party, implemented their ideas under Nixon and Reagan, and have now helped to define American politics for forty years.<sup>55</sup> In government, in political discourse, and in academia, the conservatives who came of age at IU in the 1960s have left their mark on the state and nation.




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<sup>55</sup>Pleszczynski email; Tyrrell interview; Von Kannon interview; *The Alternative*, May-June 1970; Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of Modern America*, 5; Mary C. Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism*, 1, 161-82; Cavallo, *A Fiction of the Past*, 60, 216; York, "The Life and Death of *The American Spectator*." Gitlin concluded that he and his fellow New Left activists largely failed to keep their part of the student activist movement going beyond the 1960s. Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 434-36; Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left* (Los Angeles, 1980).