

action

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ELECTION ANALYSIS

UFCT emerges from election stronger than it entered it, showing best in those areas where the University is expanding most rapidly

While the faculty of the City University was unable to choose with any real decisiveness or consistency the kind of union it desired to negotiate on its behalf, it voted, when presented the choice in the initial representational election at the City University on December 4-5, by an overwhelming ratio of six to one for collective bargaining, this despite the not-so-subtle pamphleteering by Chancellor Albert Bowker advising the contrary.

The election was the first of its kind at a major American university. With the liberalization of labor laws in New York state, particularly as they affect private universities, and intensified activity by the American Federation of Teachers (of which the UFCT is a member) in the California state colleges, the election at the City University assumes national significance. More and more faculties at major universities will turn, as have many of their colleagues in Europe, to union organization as a means by which they can assert prerogatives which were traditionally theirs but which have been diminished and undermined by the power wielded by ubiquitous administrative bureaucracies and public and private agencies that lie outside of the academic weal.

UFCT STRENGTHENED

While, upon a cursory analysis, the faculty seemingly split its allegiance between the two organizations contending for representation in two bargaining units, a more detailed examination reveals that the UFCT emerged from the election much stronger than it had entered it.

The victory by the Legislative Conference in unit one, comprised of faculty on tenure-generating lines, solidifies its position for the very immediate future but makes it rather tenuous over the long haul.

The UFCT defeated the Legislative Conference by almost 2½-to-1 in unit two by winning a majority at every single college of the City University. In unit one, the Conference did not command the majority in the original election necessary for certification. Two weeks later, in the runoff election between the two organizations, the Conference lost 28 votes while the UFCT gained 94, a net increase of 122. With 46.2 percent of the total votes cast going to the UFCT, the Conference's mandate to represent faculty with tenure-generating titles is somewhat shaky.

The decision of the New York State Public Employment Relations Board, which conducted the election and the hearing preparatory to it,

to split the staff into two units was without labor-law precedent. Had there been a single, combined unit, as urged by both the UFCT and the Board of Higher Education, the union would have won by over 600 votes. The combined tabulation of the two units gave the UFCT 3,403 to the Conference's 2,798.

The UFCT's potential constituency is expanding while that of the Conference is contracting. The Conference, entrenched, as it has been in the City University for 31 years, quite understandably showed strongly among older faculty, particularly at the established senior colleges. In another year and a half, when the UFCT petitions to decertify the Conference in unit one, retirement will remove some of these voters from the rolls. Conversely, the UFCT's strength in unit one is precisely in those areas where the University is expanding most rapidly. The UFCT won at every single community college by a total vote of over two-to-one and, significantly, carried the two newest senior colleges, Richmond and York. With more and more lecturers moving to tenure-generating lines, the UFCT's base of support in unit one should increase, a trend that should give the Conference little comfort, let alone room to manipulate, considering it barely won in what essentially was a hand-carved unit.

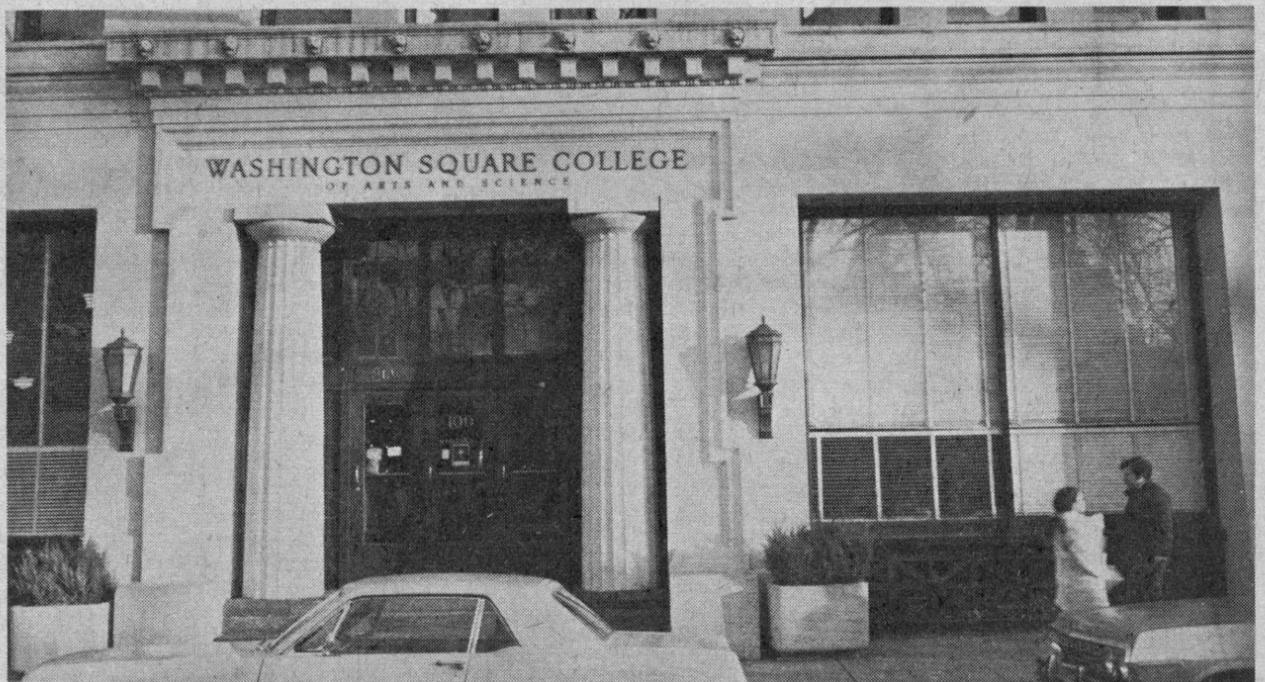
The UFCT's executive board, upon analyzing the election, took pride in the campaign that the union waged, its thrust being on substantive issues and not innuendo and invective.

The board felt, however, that if it did make any tactical omissions, it was not in presenting the case of the union, but rather waiting until the two weeks before the runoff election in unit one to issue literature documenting in detail the Legislative Conference's 31-year history as the narrowest of business unions, a union which had acceded to the deteriorating conditions in the City University with an excessive and rather revealing forbearance.

The UFCT is and always has been concerned with broad social questions, particularly as they affect the university. At a time when American universities are in crisis, faculties will come to rely increasingly upon real unions, such as the UFCT, for progressive solutions to some of academia's most pressing problems. In crises such as this, an organization which functions from the narrow perspective of strict business unionism renders itself an anachronism.

NEW FORCES

Finally, the election's immediate significance lies in that it has drastically change the relationship to the university of the lecturers, an exploited underclass which teaches 45 percent of the system's classes at miserably low wages. They are no longer a passive and atomized body, but rather an organized force generally representative of a younger generation of scholars and teachers who will now play a new, assertive role within the university.



NYU NEXT? Under the provisions of a new amendment to the New York State Labor Relations Act, which goes into effect in

April, the UFCT and the AFT will be able to petition for collective-bargaining elections on private campuses such as NYU.

2/13/92
AFT
2/14/92

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM SET



Sidney Schwartz, the UFCT's legislative representative, testifying recently in Albany.

Professor Sidney Schwartz, the UFCT's legislative representative has announced that he, together with the officers and staff of the union, have prepared a comprehensive program for consideration of the state assembly and senate now meeting in Albany.

Among the legislation the UFCT is sponsoring are bills calling for open personnel files at the City University, increased pension benefits, parity between the senior and community colleges, and repeal of the Feinberg Law. The UFCT is also calling for financial aid per student from Albany at the City University similar to that received by the state colleges.

- A synopsis of bills sponsored by the UFCT follow:
1. Exemption of community colleges from the statutory debt limit of the New York City capital budget.
 2. Equal state aid per full-time student equivalent to the City University as compared to the State University.
 3. Increase of per capita in state aid to public higher education.
 4. Eight percent increased take-home pay.
 5. Revision of new tenure law for benefit of incumbent instructors.
 6. Vacations for CUNY librarians.
 7. Board of Education Medical-Examiners' pay for City University physicians.
 8. Parity for community-college instructional staff.
 9. Membership in N.Y.C. teachers retirement system for CUNY lecturers.

10. Authorized leaves of absence for purposes of study shall not constitute an interruption of probationary period for purposes of securing tenure (companion bills for senior colleges and community colleges—similar to laws on maternity leaves).

OPEN PERSONNEL FILES

11. Personnel files shall be open for inspection by individual members of CUNY instructional staff. All evaluations for purposes of reappointment, tenure, and promotion shall be in writing with a copy given to staff member who shall have the right to file written comments.

12. Repeal of Feinberg Law.
13. Twenty years' retirement at half pay.
14. "Average" salary defined as last year's salary.
15. Vesting after 10 years at age 55.
16. Cost-of-living index for retirees.
17. Increase retirement allowance for on-the-job injury.
18. Reopen purchase of prior-service credit.
19. Tax-deferred annuity.
20. Pension credit for military service in World War II and Korean War before entering teaching.
21. Permit librarians to purchase pension credits for service in public libraries.
22. State aid to community colleges increased to half of operating costs.
23. State aid to community colleges in New York City increased to two-thirds of operating costs with free tuition.

Dean's report is critical of low budgets of GS and summer schools

In a rather revealing, if not damning, report issued in December, the council of deans and directors of schools of general studies, evening divisions, and summer sessions criticized with a surprising forthrightness the City University's failure to fund properly the programs for which they are responsible.

As a result of the University's miserliness, expenditures per student, as well as pay scales for faculty, rank among the lowest in the country at the system's general studies and summer schools and its evening divisions.

ADVANTAGE TAKEN

The report noted the average 1968-9 expense per full-time undergraduate student was \$1,177.50 for senior-college day session as compared with \$353.40 per senior-college summer session, and \$979.45 as compared with \$265.98 for the community colleges. The deans and directors concluded that "some of the difference in expense is proper and understandable, reflecting among other things, the reduced nonteaching demands for summer staff. The greatest part of the difference, however, is attributable to the advantage that has been taken of summer faculty, many of whom, until very recently, had been compelled to seek additional income rather than rest or engage in scholarly pursuits." [Emphasis added.]

The report dramatized the university's exploitation of its faculty by producing information which revealed 81 percent of the nation's public universities with enrollment of 10,000 or over paid their full-time summer faculty the same or a higher rate per week than they did during the regular academic year.

At the City University, the summer faculty is paid at a substantially lower rate.

The report's assessment of the University's schools of general studies and evening divisions is as equally dismal.

Although 21 percent of the University's full-time students attend classes in the evening divisions or schools of general studies (29.7 percent in the community colleges), expenditures per head are considerably less than they are during the day. During the present academic year, the senior colleges are expending \$597.48 per full-time evening student, or just about half of the full-time day allotment of \$1,177.50. The community-college cost of \$405.83 per student in the evening is 41 percent of the comparable day figure of \$979.45.

"EXPLOITATION"

The report comments rather bluntly that "most of the difference is due to the exploitation of the general studies staffs." [Emphasis added.] These teachers, who have the greatest need for highly developed skills and commitment in dealing with the less well prepared segment of the general studies students striving to overcome their educational handicap, should be the most capable and highly paid members of our staffs. Their salaries are not in keeping with their obligations and demonstrated accomplishments."

Since 1962, evening and summer faculty have not enjoyed raises comparable to those of the day faculty. Across the board, from professor down to instructor,

the wages paid out per semester hour in the summer and evening during the present academic year represent a lower percentage of a faculty's full time day salary than in 1962. Since 1962 the percentage at most ranks has steadily gone down.

Considering that evening and summer session salaries are determined by a formula based on a percentage of a faculty member's annual full-time salary, the report's revelations do not speak well for the university.

Obviously, as the report only too thoroughly documents, the University will not be able to attract, let alone retain, quality faculty in its evening and summer programs if the present and horrendously low pay scales continue to prevail.

UFCT FORMULATING DEMANDS FOR OVER 6,000 LECTURERS

The UFCT is in the process of drawing up demands, preparatory to collective-bargaining negotiations, on behalf of over 6,000 lecturers at the City University.

The UFCT is trying to involve as many members and lecturers as possible in the process of formulating and negotiating these demands. After consultation with the UFCT's lecturers committee, the union's central office drew up a list of tentative demands as a basis of discussion. A list of the demands was then mailed to every lecturer in the City University together with a covering letter soliciting comment.

MASS MEETING

At a well-attended citywide meeting of lecturers convened at the Hotel George Washington on Saturday, January 11, over 100 participants debated the merits of, and further refined, the original demands.

Within the next two weeks, the UFCT will call meetings on every campus of the University to examine, and if necessary, revise still again the proposals.

To further insure that its collective-bargaining demands democratically reflect the interests of the membership, rather than decisions unilaterally arrived at by a few atop the organization's structure, the UFCT has issued a call for volunteers for its negotiating committee from the lecturers among its rank and file.

DEMOCRATIC RATIFICATION

Any agreement that comes out of bargaining will of course be subject to ratification by the entire membership of the UFCT within the City University.

The tentative demands cover six areas: salaries, job security, workload, grievance procedure, welfare, faculty governance, and working conditions.

At present, the lecturers constitute, in the words of Israel Kugler, the president of the UFCT, "an exploited underclass of the City University." They teach approximately 45 percent of the University's classes at miserably low wages and without the health, welfare, and pension benefits enjoyed by their colleagues

Implicitly, the low pay scales smack of certain condescension by the university toward the students whom these programs serve. Many of these students are drawn from the lower classes. Evening and summer sessions usually make money for the University, money at the expense of students who must pay for every course they take and, of a cheap labor force, the faculty.

BRIGHTER PROSPECT

The prospects for improved conditions in both the evening and summer programs, now with the advent of collective bargaining, have, quite fortunately, brightened. At present, the UFCT is working on proposals which will be presented to the board of higher education at the negotiating table later this month.

on tenure-generating lines. Lecturers have not shared equally in the last two pay increases at the University and, in some cases, as recently documented by the union, they are actually receiving less, rather than more, pay than before.

"CHEAP LABOR"

Since the city system is sustained largely through the "cheap labor" of lecturers, collective bargaining for the group portends radical alterations in the very structure of the university, alterations which may ultimately improve the quality of the younger faculty attracted to teach at the university as well as the type of educational programs it provides to its students.

For the first time, a group that was once fragmented and unorganized will leave its impact upon the university.

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Rockefeller may cut university budget by another 5 percent

At a "town meeting" convened in the auditorium of Bronx Community College on Friday, Jan. 31, and presided over by Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who was presenting his proposed budget to the local public for appraisal, Dr. Israel Kugler, president of the UFCT, expressed his dismay at the prospect of a 5 percent cut-back in the state's contribution to the budget of the City University.

AUSTERITY BUDGETS

Dr. Kugler seconded the testimony of Chancellor Albert Bowker, who pointed out that the cut would severely tax the University's already meager resources. The first casualty of a budget cut would undoubtedly be the recently instituted SEEK and College Discovery programs for ghetto youth; programs that are already operating on austerity budgets.

The budget submitted by the college presidents of the City University has already been trimmed by \$16.4 million by the Chancellor. His request has yet to go before the bureau of the budget, the city council, the board of estimate and Mayor John Lindsay, who, between them, reduced last year's budget by over \$35 million. Over the past six budgetary periods, a total of \$95.6 million has been slashed from successive budget requests.

EXTRAORDINARY STRAIN

It is in this context that a five percent reduction in state funds places an extraordinary strain upon the University.

In his remarks, Dr. Kugler noted that New York state ranked an embarrassing 25th in per capita aid to higher education. The state spends \$26.72 per capita as compared to \$33.70 of ninth ranked California, a state with comparable population and income.

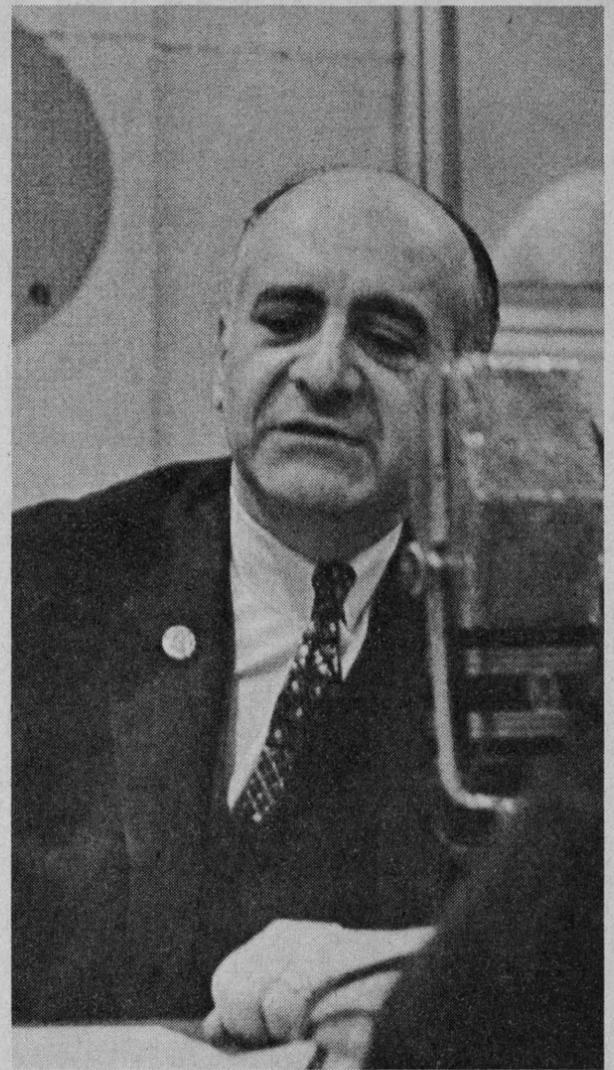
If the \$7 difference between the states was added to New York's budget for higher education, it would increase by \$119 million.

The problem is compounded for the City University by the discriminatory policies of the state. It receives but 32.2 percent of the financial aid allotted for the State University, a situation the UFCT hopes to remedy as a result of legislation it is introducing in the current session of the state legislature.

DISCRIMINATION

The City University has a total enrollment of 114,548 with budgeted expenses of \$135.8 million with the state supplying \$67.3 million.

By contrast, \$257.6 million of the State University's budget of \$279.6 million is financed by Albany.



DR. ISRAEL KUGLER, UFCT President

TURMOIL AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE

SAN FRANCISCO

At 3:30 a.m., a blue Dodge pulls up to the corner of Holloway and 19th Ave. on the far southwest side of San Francisco. Bundled against the damp, penetrating chill of northern California's rainy season, two professors—both holders of Ph.D.s—emerge. Taking picket signs from two others who have been there since midnight, they keep vigil until dawn. Concurrently, similar scenes are being enacted at five other nearby locations under the eyes of cruising police cars.

This nocturnal changing of the pickets has been a daily occurrence since Jan. 6, when over 400 faculty members began a strike against the administration of San Francisco State College. Actively supported by thousands of students (many of whom are running a parallel strike), by most Bay Area labor unions inside and outside the AFL-CIO, and by many church and community groups, the pickets have guarded all entrances to the campus 24 hours daily.

The strike is the longest teachers' strike in California history, the largest ever called by a four-year college faculty in the U.S., and one of the most significant ever for public employees in California and the nation. Officially, it is being waged over lay-off threats, heavy workloads, salaries, and other pure and traditional trade-union issues—in itself, a big step for academicians to take.

But the strike is symptomatic of more deep-seated concerns. It has become the most visible aspect of a confrontation between the academic community's view that SFSC's traditional role of an innovative, community-oriented college must be preserved and strengthened, and Gov. Ronald Reagan's superelitist perception of higher education as a technological training ground for the middle class.

REAGAN REJECTS MEDIATION

Reagan and his academic alter ego, SFSC Acting President S. I. Hayakawa, and the business-oriented board of trustees, have solidly opposed the strikers, even refusing to turn the out-



Prof. Art Bierman, chief negotiator for AFT Local 1352, leads his picketing colleagues in a cheer in front of San Francisco State College. Third from the left is Prof. Gary Hawkins, local president.

standing issues over to mediation. Instead, they have used what AFT President David Selden calls a "tissue of deceit" to mislead the press and public about the strike. Their actions in calling in San Francisco's tactical police squad to break up campus student meetings have, more often than not, led to violence and arrests. And, the press has focused much of its attention on Hayakawa (a good "copy" man because of his popular book about semantics and his posturing as a beleaguered liberal), thus often downplaying the union side.

Against these odds, it would seem unlikely that the AFT could win the strike. Yet class attendance is down to 13 percent, two-thirds of the faculty are not teaching, and morale is high.

The faculty strikers are members of two locals of the American Federation of Teachers. Local 1352 has 410 members among the 1,100 on the regular teaching faculty; Local 1928 includes a majority of the teaching assistants. Library workers and clerical workers are organizing unions and are supporting the strike. Under the leadership of speech professor Dr. Gary Hawkins, Local 1352's president, the strikers have won sanctions for their walkout from the San Francisco AFL-CIO Central Labor Council.

The parallel student strike is being run by two campus organizations, the Black Students Union (BSU) and the

Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), which seek an autonomous black studies program and 14 other demands. While there is no formal tie between the two strikes, faculty strikers have listed as one of their demands the "resolution and implementation" of BSU and TWLF grievances. TWLF leader Roger Alvarade has, in turn, described the AFT's conflict over collective bargaining as "important to us because a lot of minority people work for municipal and state governments."

Teachers, while recognizing the student grievances as symptomatic of the college troubles, say that they cannot presume to negotiate the students' demands for them; the BSU and TWLF, like most new-left groups, view the professors with a jaundiced eye, and rhetoricize about the "establishment" nature of unions.

A majority of faculty members had seen the troubled horizon two years ago and had voted for collective bargaining in a campus election, but the election results had been disregarded by the state trustees. Then, last spring and this fall, AFT Local 1352 escalated its campaign designed to thwart the triumph of Reaganism. Seizing on the issue of the unpopular high classload, the union, in concert with other college AFT locals around the state, began collecting signatures on a pledge to teach no more than nine hours starting

in February. It accompanied this with a membership drive ("We've gone from 190 members at the start of the school year to 410 currently," said Local 1352 President Hawkins), with informational picket lines, letterwriting campaigns, and delegations to Sacramento.

TRUSTEES HARDEN LINE

The AFT's battle drew only a hardened reaction from the state trustees. In mid-November, they announced that any teacher who refused to teach the scheduled 12 hours would be docked 25 percent of his salary. They accompanied this with a notice that "lack of funds" would necessitate the firing of 100 to 125 professors by February. And they refused all AFT requests for bargaining sessions.

STRIKE DATE SET

The AFT, as a last resort, set a strike date for Dec. 16, vowing to close down the campus until the board of trustees agreed to bargain on the layoffs, a grievance procedure, the workload, and other economic and non-economic demands.

Their resolve was strengthened when representatives of the AFT discovered in a meeting on Dec. 9 in San Francisco that, instead of being "broke," the state college system actually had \$3.5 million in excess salary savings ready to turn back to the California general fund at the end of this fiscal year on June 31.

BLACK MISEDUCATION

By BERNARD FLICKER

Henry Allan Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South (from 1619 to the present)*, (Harvard University Press, 1967).

The search for a usable past is a continuing game in the history of racism in the United States. Afro-Americans have contended that until recently there has been a conscious plot to exclude them from the history books used in American schools. In those instances where the contributions of Afro-Americans have been recorded, there has been some question concerning the validity of the accounts. The historian has the power to select the phase of history he deems important and then presents us with a *fait accompli* of evidence to prove his point. It is to the credit of Henry Bullock that he has attempted to present all sides of the past in his survey of Afro-American education in the South. Due to the brevity of the book, he also leaves us with the problem of evaluating the true causes of the oppression of the Afro-American through the manipulation of the educational system in the United States.

The major contention presented by Bullock is that "... the changes in American race relations which we are now experiencing are the result of a 'sneak attack' directed by the larger purpose of human society against the biases of individuals and through the force of a segregated educational system that was never created for such an end." There is, of course, an element of truth in this doctrine of historical accident. Civil rights leaders in the South have always noted that one of the most important leaders of the movement was Bull Connor, appearing on television with his troopers, dogs, fire hoses, and guns. The sight of Afro-American youngsters being attacked by the police during nonviolent marches probably did more to help pass the civil rights legislation of the '60s than anything else. The sad reality of the protest movement may well be the need for more "historical accident" and less logic.

"KEEP 'EM IN THEIR PLACE"

If education truly follows the culture, then we have no trouble understanding the basic premise of the education of the American Negro. A white society, controlling the educational system with the aid of oppressed members of a caste society attempts to insure its control by structuring a system guaranteed to prevent social and economic mobility. A self-perpetuating low-grade educational system for Afro-Americans is designed not through accident but with specific intent. The American Dream becomes the nightmarish slogan "keep them in their place." Thus, vocational education is considered good enough for "niggers." Segregated schools based on "separate but equal" are built to become "separate but unequal." And while Negro literacy throughout the nation lags behind white literacy, philanthropists, their consciences disturbed, donate millions of dollars to segregated Southern Negro schools in an ironic attempt to further education.

One can note progress in numbers of students and teachers and schools. The statistics, however, lie. They don't tell us that society was not prepared to allow Afro-Americans in any significant numbers to move into economic integration with whites. To this very day one can find large numbers of Afro-Americans with

high school and college diplomas working for the United States Post Office while their white "equals" have risen to higher levels of almost all other job categories. Statistics are also meaningless in education unless one examines the content of the curriculum. It has always been a national scandal that Southern schools—both black and white—have provided an inferior education in almost every aspect of curriculum. For decades a circular method of self-destruction has provided Southern students with bad schools, teachers, curriculum, and school boards. One wonders if this is the great benefit to be reaped from school decentralization as now advocated in New York City.

HISTORICAL PARALLELS

At almost every step along the road from Reconstruction to the protest movements of the '60s, history provides us with interesting parallels. Curiously enough, Willie Lee Rose in his study "Rehearsal For Reconstruction" develops some interesting insights into the educational dilemma of the present, although he is ostensibly examining the first schools estab-

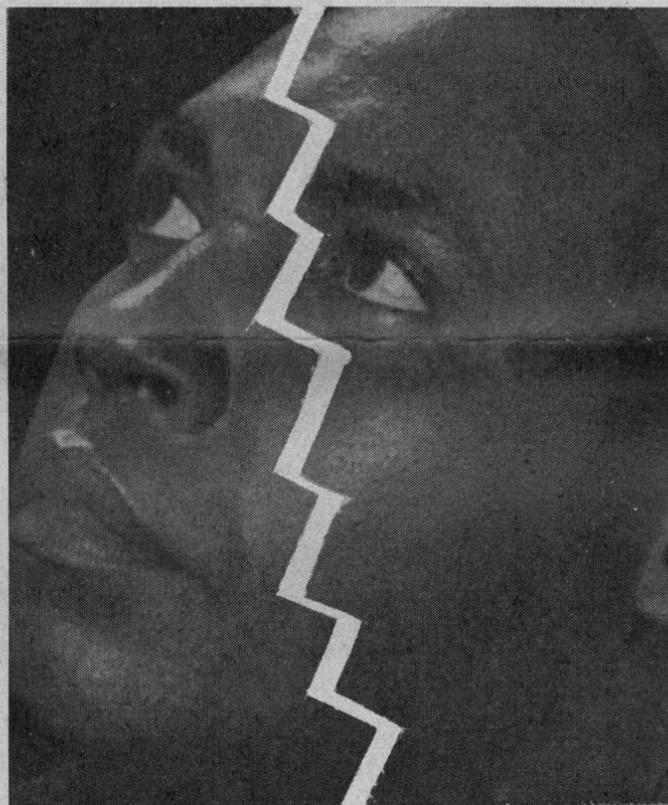
lished by Northern teachers for Southern Afro-Americans in the 1860s. The Northern teachers in their letters and diaries recounted that there was a great zeal for learning among both the younger students and their parents. Discipline problems were almost nonexistent. If anything, students were much too docile. Yet, most students walked for miles to attend classes. The major problem confronting the teachers was that the New England primers used in classes were almost totally unrelated to the cultural background of the students and thus created difficulties in learning. One wonders how far we have come in history when we still hear the same plea from teachers today—give us materials related to the lives of our students!

The early free public schools also proved that there was no inferiority based on race, since Afro-American students were rated by the teachers as equal or superior to their former white New England students. (Today army intelligence tests strip bare the mythology of racial superiority while revealing the inadequacy of the school system. The usual pattern on the

"HANDS OFF"

army tests has been that Northern whites score highest, then Northern Negroes, Southern whites, and Southern Negroes. The United States Office of Education has recently attempted to gather information through national tests but has met opposition from local education officials.)

Lenny Bruce always claimed that the problem with life is that we are always faced with what is, while trying to seek what should be. Bullock points out that the insincerity of our motives in educating Afro-Americans has created such a tension between the real and the ideal: "Carrying the seeds of its own defeat, it (Southern Negro education) merely served to develop a further stage of intergroup conflict—a stage in which the Negro American's persisting need for racial equality would be revived and a new accommodation in American race relations made necessary." This is all quite true but still leaves us with the practical and inescapable question—where do we—in actuality—go from here? Obviously we have abun-



dant evidence to conclude that the Afro-American was the victim of racism in all phases of American life and that the schools were used to place him into a neat bag labeled "Hands Off!" Even the President's Commission on the riots (of 1967) suggests that Americans have approached their race problem with an unconscious duplicity: we nervously apologize for oppressing our black population, unwittingly admitting to our guilt, while on a more conscious level of behavior, we have conned ourselves into believing that our system of segregation cannot be compared with South African apartheid.

There are no simple alternatives. After a hundred years, patterns of segregation still persist in our schools. We might well be on the edge of a second civil war, yet we cut poverty funds and our education budget looks sickly in comparison to the cost of running the war in Vietnam. The federal government spends less than \$100 per child for education. Education and poverty programs usually blossom just before or immediately after a riot. The Afro-

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Black Miseducation

(Continued from Page 4)

American ghettos are growing at a rate which makes talk of integrating schools sound ludicrous—nonwhites represent 93 percent of public school pupils in Washington, D.C., 54 percent in Chicago, 53 percent in Cleveland, 52 percent in New York City, and 62 percent in St. Louis. There has been a steady increase in the number of segregated schools in the United States, particularly in the Northern cities, since the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision.

REALISM AS RACISM

It is discouraging to note that while there has been little attempt to integrate Southern schools since 1954, massive segregation has been taking place in the North. Increased segregation has resulted in a decline in the aca-

demie position of our big-city high schools. Segregation and quality education do not seem to go together. The Coleman Report for the U.S. Office of Education found that there were improvements in the education of black students in integrated schools, while there was no change in the education of the white students.

Despite the Coleman study, the report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and the moral pronouncements of white and black liberals alike, the fact remains that there has been no real attempt to stem the segregationist flow. Thus, we find black militants demanding control of their schools while white liberals call for massive doses of money to help upgrade black-ghetto education. Realism seems to be the new clarion call, whereas a century ago it was simply labeled racism. Cities abandon paired schools, open enrollment policies, rezoning projects, educational parks and the like almost as

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Academic Fat

THE CLIENT UNIVERSITY

By JAMES PERLSTEIN

Theodore Roszak, ed., *The Dissenting Academy* (Pantheon, 1967).

One jet-set scandal reads much like another but the *National Enquirer* continues to sell: the immorality of our betters fascinates never-endingly, particularly when they get away with it. If our pretensions as academics make it unseemly for us to be caught with the *Enquirer*, we have compensating scandals among the more accomplished of our own coterie, the chronicles of which are readily available nowadays. These scandals may be political rather than sexual, but this detracts only minimally from their appeal. What has the *Enquirer* printed of late to top the offer of an elite chair in humanities at a major university to a man who, Noam Chomsky reminds us, felt it to be his duty to persuade the world that an American-sponsored invasion of a nearby country was nothing of the sort; a man who when asked to explain the contradiction between his later published account of the Bay of Pigs and his statements to the press at the time, simply remarked that he had lied? Nothing beats a scandal at once individual and institutional.

"A HARVEST OF WEEDS"

Chomsky's reminder appears in a catalogue of atrocities entitled *The Dissenting Academy*, published a year ago by Knopf. Eleven scholars noted for their involvement in discussions of public policy and, not incidentally, for their outspoken disenchantment with official policy decisions, responded to the question: "Does the business-as-usual of the American academic community do more to assist in the production of Vietnams than it does to examine, resist, and correct policy that leads to such moral disaster?" Their answers, although limited to their respective fields in the social sciences and humanities, depict an academic landscape studded with moral obtuseness, evasion, opportunism and dishonesty. If, to quote one contributor, the university ought to provide fertile ground "for challenging the premises of the present society, for appreciating what deserves to be retained, and for developing a new environment worthy of the best in man," then we

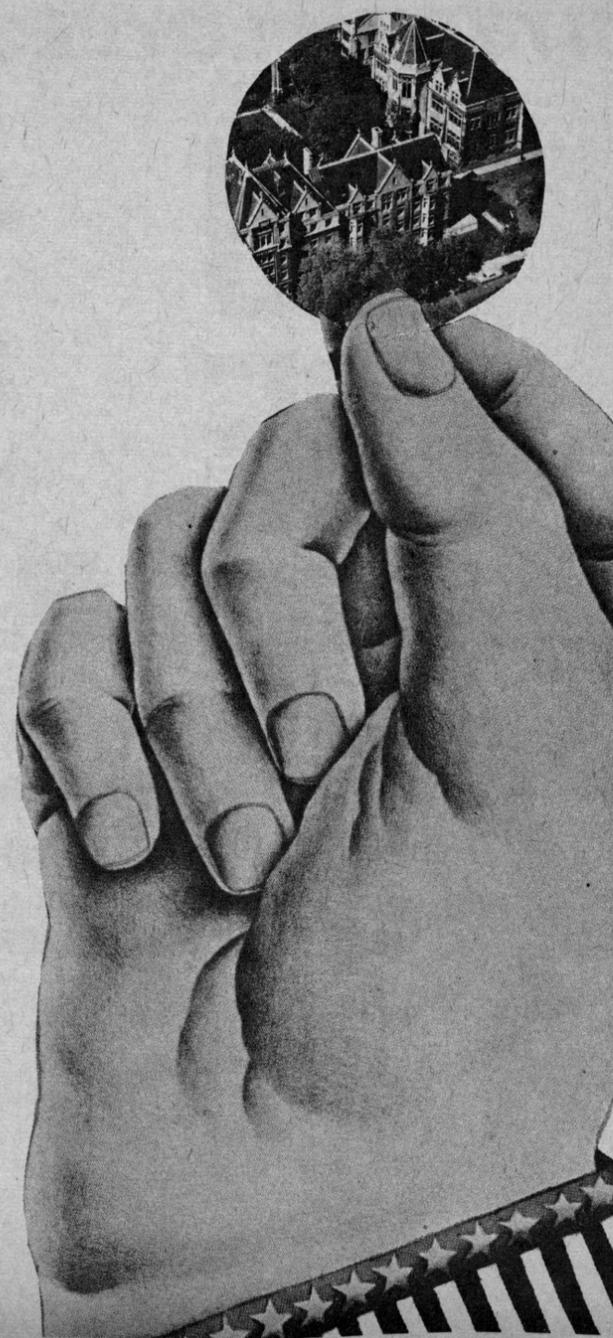
have reaped a harvest of weeds whose classification is the real business of this book. But if we are titillated by these tales of moral bankruptcy, if our feelings of guilt are assuaged by the certain knowledge that our sins have been matched and surpassed by our colleagues, the panorama is depressing nonetheless.

ACADEMIC AMORALITY

Tragically, the burden of evidence here and elsewhere points to the conclusion that the universities, as institutions, are not, and never have been, hospitable to social morality, criticism, or change. As the writer quoted above is quick to acknowledge, we cannot turn our eyes from the present dreary prospect to envision some past Eden: "The university has always been caught up in the going system. Its inhabitants have always had to struggle for intellectual independence against those who have viewed the schools as instruments for culture-breaking the young and developing loyalty to the social order." And, one might add, as training grounds for whatever functionaries the status quo requires. It would be hard indeed to imagine the Philosophes as chairholders in academe.

MAKING IT

And yet, institutions of higher learning cannot be separated from the individuals who staff them. If their prospects do not foster optimism, it is in part because the professoreate benefits from present arrangements. Theodore Roszak, the editor of this collection, points out (with respects to David Riesman) that academic life declasses those who enter it, lifting them out of family, region, and ethnic background, only to reclass them on the higher levels of national society, with all that this means in the way of conformity to parochial loyalties. "The American middle class is a comfortable place in which to find oneself, especially when one adds just the right admixture of jet-set elegance for the highly successful academic: research grants with foreign travel, visiting lectureships, prestigious conferences, and even perhaps invitations to help out in Washington. It is a marvelous institution that can offer a young man who may have started out with nothing but brains such an opportunity to rise so high in



the Great Society." And, as another contributor concludes, "whoever questions the legitimacy of a social order, or the assumptions by which it is habitually justified, is a radical. And radicalism can be uncomfortable and, often enough, inconvenient for career purposes."

DISMAL OUTLOOK

The proliferation of malcontents and their enhanced respectability (to which this volume and its prestigious publisher bear witness) are not necessarily such cheering developments. They may signify only the vibrant health of the Higher Learning; its ability to tolerate and thereby to defuse dissent. Mounting opposition to official policy is a good thing; it may even be, as Roszak asserts, "the most hopeful event in postwar American history," but it certainly does not justify the speculation that perhaps "the universities are about to cease functioning as the handmaidens of whatever political, military, paramilitary, or economic elite happen to be financing their operations."

All of which figures as a warning. The UFCT grew precisely because it appealed to cranks and malcontents to disturbers of the status quo. Its demands for justice and social responsibility have naturally extended to include the outs and underdogs of every calling: it has always expected better of itself than mere business unionism. But we have just emerged from a momentous certification election, and now come the contract negotiations. Recognition and Sanctification. What then? Do we go the way of all legitimized flesh? If the *Dissenting Academy* speaks to our condition, the cards have been dealt, and the odds heavily favor the House.

(James Perlstein is Assistant Professor of history at Manhattan Community College.)

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Books: Black Miseducation

(Continued from Page 5)

soon as they start. There is talk about "pairing" the students of white suburbia with those of the black ghettos somewhere in between in a no-man's land. There isn't much action.

Black kids are being murdered in the schools of the United States every single day and no one seems to know how to stop the slaughter. If the answer is integrated schools, we are told that we can't have them. If the answer is segregated schools, we are told that they are insufficient but that we have to make do.

There is obviously a need for a revolutionary upheaval in American education and little likelihood of its ever happening. There is something wrong with American society today which prevents "good" people from really seeing much further than their own self-interest. The classic comment about poverty in America was made during President Kennedy's flight over Appalachia when a reporter on the trip peered out the window through a martini haze and said "Poverty looks pretty damn good from 30,000 feet!" Poverty and inadequate schools look pretty good to an educational establishment which views the problems of the 20th Century with all the preconceptions of the 19th. Unfortunately, the middle-brow civil service types who administrate our schools usually are too busy aspiring to be superintendents to engage in a serious rethinking of our antiquated educational policies.

LEARN, BABY, LEARN

The curriculum of the schools must be changed to meet the immediate needs of black male students. The dropout rate for black male students in the United States is a national disgrace. We must stop blaming the school, the home, the teacher, the society, the student, and anything else one can think of, and start the task of a massive reconstruction of our educational system. If we *must* live with the reality of a segregated system, we might well turn the schools over to Afro-American organizations, and try to help them succeed where white society has fallen short. Failing that, though, we must try to mandate schools integrating city and suburb.

We have to make some very important decisions about the course of American education in the next few years. The only trouble is that our students are going to make those decisions for us. They will be the teachers and we will be the students as we listen to either "burn, baby, burn" or "learn, baby, learn." (Professor Flicker teaches education at Hunter.)

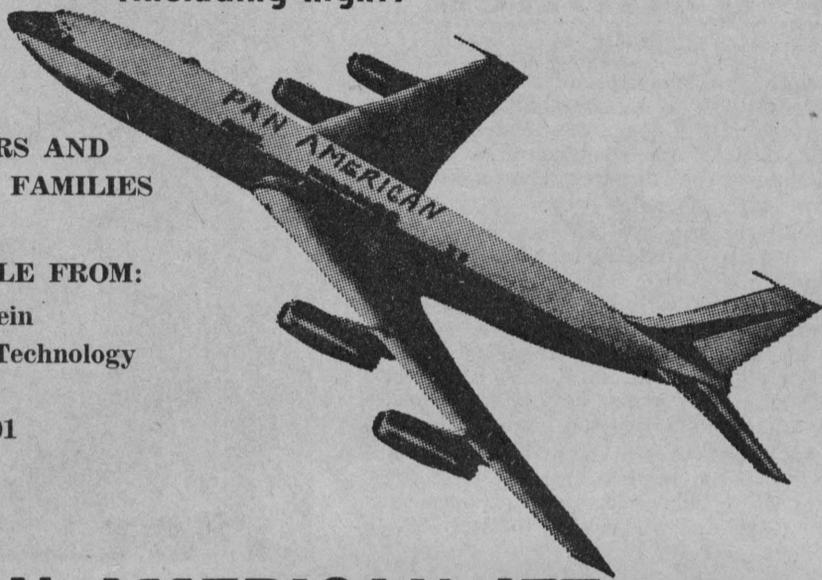
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UFCT financial statement

UNITED FEDERATION OF COLLEGE TEACHERS
LOCAL 1460, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONDITION, JULY 31, 1968

ASSETS	
Cash in bank	\$ 1,776.69
Petty cash	15.00
Checkoff receivable	6,845.35
	<u>8,637.40</u>
Office equipment	2,530.20
Less accumulated depreciation	261.47
	<u>2,268.73</u>
TOTAL	\$ 10,905.77

LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH	
LIABILITIES	
Accounts payable	\$ 21,953.52
Per capita payable	5,780.00
Loans payable—Amalgamated Bank	21,000.00
Notes payable—equipment	408.24
	<u>49,141.76</u>
TOTAL LIABILITIES	49,141.76
Net worth—(deficit)	(38,235.99)
TOTAL	\$ 10,905.77

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS AND NET WORTH YEAR ENDED JULY 31, 1968

INCOME	
DUES—	
Checkoff	\$ 33,687.93
Direct payment	17,549.04
	<u>51,236.97</u>
Less checkoff charges	448.29
NET DUES AVAILABLE	50,788.68
OTHER INCOME—	
Subsidies—American Federation of Teachers	21,875.00
—Empire State Federation of Teachers	800.00
Contributions from other Unions	5,500.00
Contributions from members	306.00
Reimbursement of prior year's expenses by National Citizens Committee to Defend Academic Freedom at St. John's University	6,000.00
Advertising	2,248.29
Miscellaneous	645.16
	<u>37,374.45</u>
TOTAL INCOME	88,163.13
Expenses—Schedule I	110,865.80
Excess of expenses over income	(22,702.67)
Net worth (deficit)—August 1, 1967	(15,533.32)
Net worth (deficit)—July 31, 1968	(\$ 38,235.99)

() Indicates negative figure

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The View from Dixie

Dear Sir:

I have been following the educational crisis in New York City. Recently I have seen copies of UFCT ACTION at the University of Florida library and it has not reflected this crisis. You should endeavor to inform your readers and, perhaps, this letter will help you understand how another part of the country views the problem.

The educational crisis in New York City has caught the attention of the South. It is a ground upon which conservative and liberal finally seem to agree.

UNREALISTIC DECISION

Southern schools were fundamentally disrupted in 1954 by a totally unrealistic Supreme Court decision. Many years have passed and we have not been able to solve the problem of educating our negroes [sic] under the "new" rules.

Now the way has been found. New York City must decentralize its schools and obey the facts of nature. Our negroes [sic] must have their own schools so that they can develop at their own pace. We must realize that they have different needs and abilities. "Separate but equal schools" in the same districts have been declared illegal. "Separate but equal districts" are the answer.

Since the northern pressure created our problem, it is only just that the North should find solutions. We applaud the political leadership of New York City and condemn those leftists, intellectuals, and labor bosses who would deny the right of the community to run their schools.

VIC YEAGER

UFCT and UFT

Dear Sir:

Why did we lose Unit I and what can we do in order to win the next CB election? From canvassing virtually every faculty member of my school, and from speaking to others who did the same at other schools, I feel that failure to denounce the UFT strike cost us the election. Too many of the UFCT membership wanted to avoid or table the UFT issue in order to appeal to the greatest (lowest?) common denominator. Yes, I know that the UFCT has taken controversial stands in the past while the LC has dodged every social issue (and even some academic ones). The City University is a training ground for the community of New York and we are affected by the issues concerning this community. The Queens-SEEK controversy confirms this. If the issues we consider are so limited, it seems that all we may have to offer at the next CB election is a slightly better business agent. And the faculty who voted for the LC (in many cases, irrationally, to spite the UFCT) because of our silence or de facto approval of the UFT strike will not be interested.

DE FACTO APPROVAL

Speaking of de facto approval, it seems that new procedures must be established to authorize money in support of other unions. Our president gave \$100 to the UFT. As an executive member of the local, I certainly had no voice in this, let alone the membership. I do not feel that there is any kind of teacher solidarity which forces us to support every strike, especially when this financial support implies political support which may have cost us the CB election.

MIKE ROSENBAUM
Manhattan Community College



Educating the pre-qualified

Dear Sir:

The recent vote of a committee of the faculty senate of Brooklyn College to eliminate SEEK from its campus is a symptom of a dangerous tendency among CUNY faculty which, if not soon counteracted, will lead us straight down the road to a disaster like that of the UFT this year.

Although, in theory, the free-tuition public colleges serve the working-class students of New York City, in fact, it is painfully evident that they do not serve the working-class Negro and Puerto Rican student. For a great many reasons, Negro and Puerto Rican working-class children in New York do not receive the same quality education in public schools as white middle-class children, and do not possess the requisite grade average for admission to the public colleges.

At SEEK, we believe that many of these "unqualified" students are really "pre-qualified." That is, they can be brought up to college-level performance by a program of remedial and other kinds of help—while they are in college.

In my classroom, this hypothesis is tested daily and the results seem to support it. Over the next few years, there will be more programs like SEEK, bringing supposedly "unqualified" Negro and Puerto Rican students into the city colleges. However, if the teaching staff is hostile to these students, these programs are doomed to failure and the belief that Negro and Puerto Rican students cannot perform at college level because they are Negro and Puerto Rican will be reinforced. Furthermore, the hostility that already exists between public-school teachers and poor, minority-group communities in New York will be intensified.

A NEW CHALLENGE

It is the task of the teachers' union to do the job of educating the teaching staff to the responsibilities we have toward all students in New York City, and not only toward those with the high-school grade averages which admit them to the city colleges. We cannot leave this task to the Administration because it will not and can not perform it. It is no skin off the back of an administrator to devise a program for the admission of students with reading difficulties to the college. The teachers are expected to know how to resolve these problems by some magical process. The demand for admission to the colleges, by Black and Spanish groups, is legitimate. It provides a long needed challenge to us as teachers. We must be prepared to revise our courses—something which students at all colleges have been demanding—and to think about our role as teachers in a new way.

The union is the only organization of college teachers equipped to meet this challenge and should do so without delay. We might set up a conference early in the spring to which SEEK teachers and students are invited to prepare reports and discussions. This would be especially relevant to the lecturers who teach the majority of freshman courses where SEEK and other "prequalified" students will have to be integrated into a regular college program. Such a conference should be open to all teachers and students and a report of the conference sent to all faculty members represented by the UFCT. We should be thinking in terms of seminars and discussion groups where teachers can learn from one another's experiences and where we can evaluate our present work and make changes for the future.

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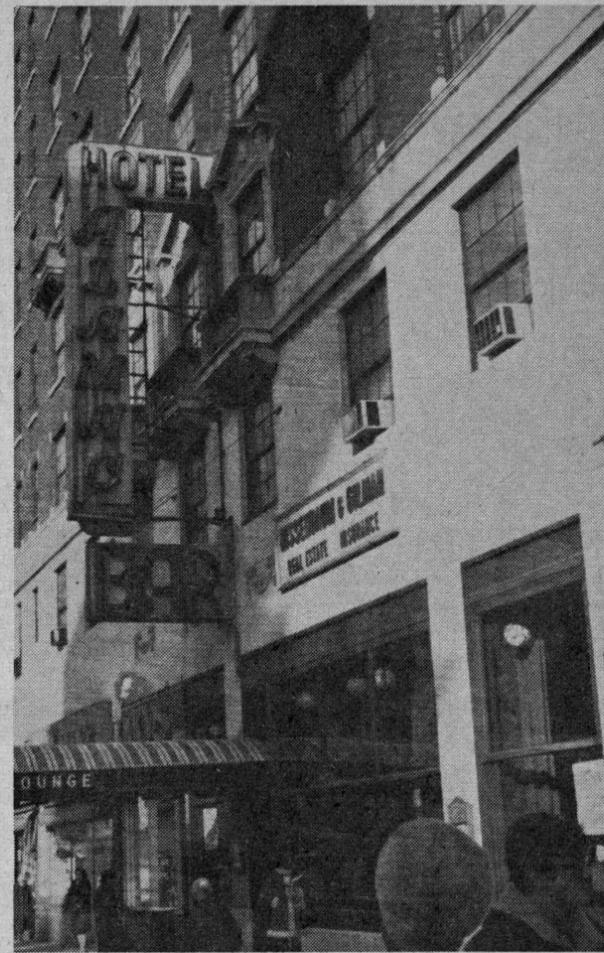
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The location of the SEEK University Center in the Alamac Hotel at Broadway and 71st St. underscores the tenuous nature of the program, particularly now that it is once again threatened by budget cuts in Albany.

START NOW

In the fullest sense, the next few years will be an experiment in integrated education at the public colleges. If we begin now, we will find ourselves on the side of the students in making demands on the CUNY administration. There need be no contradiction between the demands of our students for better and more meaningful education for all, and the union's demand that teachers be guaranteed working conditions which will make this task possible.

PRUDENCE POSNER
University Center, SEEK

(The UFCT's executive board has asked the union's special committee on the University and the Community to examine the problem and proposal presented by Miss Posner—Ed.)

SEEK resolution

On Jan. 20, the Queens College chapter of the UFCT held an open faculty meeting to discuss the crisis revolving about the campus' SEEK program. Earlier in the month student activists and demonstrators had asked for greater voice in the control of the program and among other demands, insisted that the director of the program be replaced. At the two hour session, many viewpoints were presented.

At the meeting's conclusion, the chapter's executive board met to analyze the different views and adopted the following statement:

The Chapter's executive board wishes the faculty to realize its dedication to solving the problems of the SEEK program.

1. The executive board reaffirms the UFCT support of the SEEK program and will do everything possible to see that it is strengthened and expanded.

2. It believes that all who are involved in the SEEK program (including students, faculty, administration, as well as the general faculty of the college) should participate in determining the future of the program.

3. The executive board reaffirms its belief in the principle of due process for all individuals—teachers, counsellors, administrators and students.

Upon the recommendation of the executive board, President Israel Kugler sent the following telegram to Porter R. Chandler, Chairman, board of higher education and Albert H. Bowker, Chancellor, the City University of New York:

"THE UFCT BELIEVES THAT THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGENT FOR THE QUEENS COLLEGE SEEK STAFF MUST BE INVOLVED IN THE DECISIONS LEADING TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE DISPUTE SINCE THEY AFFECT TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT. WE REQUEST AN IMMEDIATE APPOINTMENT TO DISCUSS IMPLEMENTATION."

isn't it
time
YOU took
some action?

