

CRISIS AT CUNY



THE NEWT DAVIDSON COLLECTIVE

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CRISIS AT CUNY

AT THIS VERY MOMENT CUNY STUDENTS AND FACULTY ARE UNDER THE GUN. PEOPLE EVERYWHERE ARE BEING FIRED. FINANCIAL AID IS BEING SLASHED. COURSES ARE BEING CHOPPED. CLASS SIZES INCREASED. THE STATE IS MOVING TO IMPOSE TUITION, WHICH WILL DRIVE HUGE NUMBERS OF STUDENTS OUT OF SCHOOL.

DO YOU KNOW WHY THIS IS HAPPENING? DO YOU KNOW WHO REALLY RUNS THIS UNIVERSITY? DO YOU KNOW WHOSE INTERESTS CUNY REALLY SERVES?

CRISIS AT CUNY



THE NEWT DAVIDSON COLLECTIVE

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and finally, our very best to Karl.

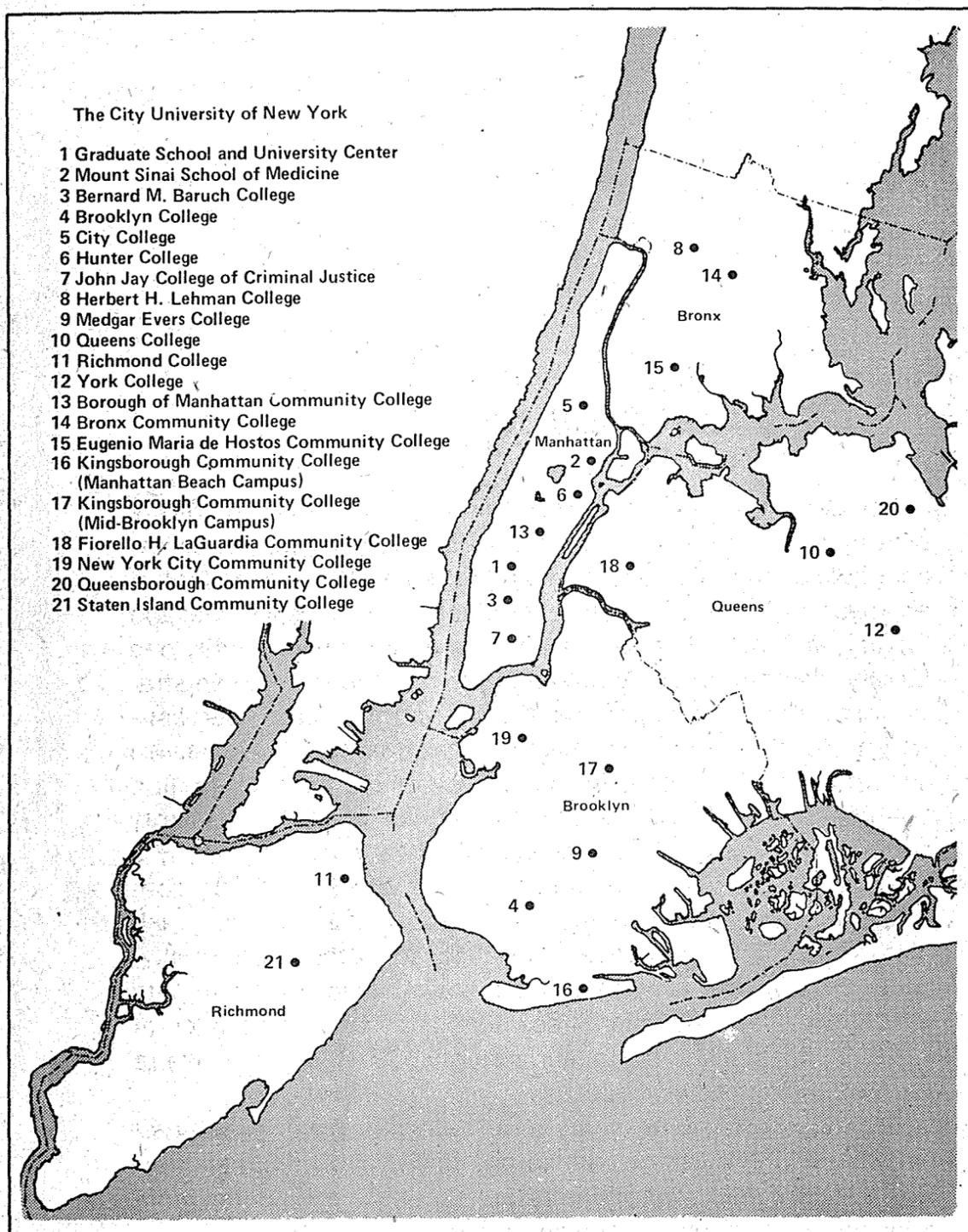
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Preface

The City University of New York is as immense as one of the pyramids. It consists of ten four-year colleges, eight two-year colleges, a graduate center, and an affiliated medical school. It has over a quarter of a million students, over fifteen thousand faculty, and more than a thousand administrators—roughly one faculty member for every fifteen students, and one administrator for every fifteen faculty members. Though a municipal institution, supported entirely out of public taxes, it now has an annual operating budget in the vicinity of six hundred million dollars—equal to or exceeding the annual budgets of twenty states. By the end of the decade it will be spending nearly a billion dollars a year. It also has a mammoth \$1.5 billion construction program underway and spends about \$17 million each year simply to rent space equivalent to fifteen major skyscrapers. For over 125 years it has not charged tuition to City residents, and it now guarantees admission to all graduates of the City's high schools. Not surprisingly, CUNY officials like to boast of what they have built.

But many of us who study and teach here have a different perspective. If CUNY resembles one of the pyramids, we who live and work in the monument are finding it more and more crowded, hostile, and oppressive inside.

Students find themselves dwarfed by the place. They are seldom treated as individuals. They have numbers, not names

or faces. They are treated like products on an assembly line, hassled by bureaucrats, stuffed into overcrowded classes, forced—on many campuses—to endure poor facilities of every kind, never given enough financial aid, and left to fend for themselves because of inadequate counseling. More and more frequently, they are complaining about dull and pointless courses, indifferent teaching, and a degree that does not prepare them for what they really want to do.

Faculty, in turn, have more and more trouble believing in what they do. Many are growing bitter about mounting workloads, administrative meddling in departmental elections and curricular decisions, stiffening resistance to fair promotion and tenure, weak collective bargaining, declining real wages, authoritarian bureaucrats, shabby offices and classrooms. They see their jobs threatened by the widening use of "labor saving" technology. They complain about unprepared students and declining "standards."

And things are clearly getting worse. Just last year CUNY was rocked by widespread firings and layoffs, hundreds of cancelled courses, and sharply diminished work-study and financial aid programs. Now, this fall, we have a nine and one half million dollar shortfall in funding for the community colleges, and that has triggered another round of cutbacks in staff and programs throughout CUNY.

But worst of all, too many of us—students and faculty alike—seem to have little or no control over the situation. All the key decisions seem to be made in places to which we have no access—the Central Office on East 80th Street, for example. Or Albany. Or Washington. Besides, how can you fight the power concentrated in a billion-dollar budget?

Alone, one has no chance of improving matters at all. So, in the spring of 1973, faculty members and students from various City University campuses, unhappy about the course of events at CUNY and disturbed by their isolation from one another, met to develop a strategy for action. It quickly became clear that we knew remarkably little about the institution in which we ourselves were workers and learners. We decided we had better begin by informing ourselves. Out of that decision eventually

came the Newt Davidson Collective (named in honor of the imaginary author of a political satire we published in the fall of 1973).

For many months now, we of Newt have pored over a wide variety of sources and documents, including Minutes of the Board of Higher Education, Chancellor's Reports, Master Plans, foundation books and pamphlets, state and federal studies, histories of the individual CUNY campuses, newspapers, general accounts of the entire development of American education, and more. What we have found makes it clear that CUNY's ills are typical of American higher education. It also became clear that the root of the problem, at CUNY and elsewhere, was not to be found on the campuses themselves.

This last point needs to be emphasized. CUNY, like the rest of American colleges and universities, is intimately connected to the society around it, and it is in trouble precisely because society is in trouble. Layoffs, rising costs, overcrowding, cutbacks? Standard fare these days—off as well as on campus. Inflation gnaws at our paychecks. Food prices soar, taxes soar, the crime rate soars, the unemployment rate soars, interest and mortgage costs are stratospheric as are Con Ed bills and gas prices. And matters are rapidly getting worse. Most leading economists and bankers frankly predict continued inflation and increasing unemployment, at best, and a full-scale depression, at worst. Under such circumstances, it would be amazing indeed if the universities were not suffering as most other major institutions (with the exception of the leading banks and corporations) are suffering.

The campuses' intimate connection with an ailing society, however, is the source of difficulties far more troublesome than simply a shortage of money. It is, after all, the claim of institutions like CUNY that they are oases of sanity, centers of criticism and reflection, places where people can learn how to improve the quality of life. But the truth is that CUNY is not such a place. It does not criticize—it perpetuates and reinforces the established and unsatisfactory order of things. Though many of CUNY's members remain dedicated to the ideal of a university, the institution has allowed its priorities to be warped

in such a way that it now reflects and reaffirms some of the worst tendencies of the society it is supposed to be critical of.

In this pamphlet we will discuss the ways in which CUNY has become part of the problem—rather than part of the solution. We will discuss the difficulties of studying and teaching here. And we will try to show that the disagreeable aspects of life at CUNY are not, in the main, the consequence of the actions of the students or the faculty. Nor, for that matter, are they primarily the responsibility of the central administration at 80th Street. Rather, we will argue, the nature of our teaching and learning has been in large part decided for us by foundation planners, corporate leaders, and state bureaucrats, most of whom few of us have ever heard of, and most of whom consistently put the interests of business ahead of the interest of students and faculty.

We hope to show you, in short, how CUNY ticks; what's right with it and what's wrong with it; where it's come from, where it's at, and where it may be going. Now we have a definite point of view about all this. We are socialists, and we are opposed to the system known as capitalism. We think capitalism is the root of our troubles inside and outside CUNY, and we think it has become such a burden and a distortion, such an unnecessary drag on the productive and human potential of our culture, that it should be retired and replaced. But we hope that even those of you who question this view will find that our analysis of the current state of affairs at CUNY is, overall, compelling and accurate. We hope, too, that you will come to share our conviction that whether we be conservatives, liberals, humanists, radicals, or just plain CUNY-people, the time has come for all of us to take united action against the continuing degradation of an institution central to all our daily lives.



I. Daily Life At CUNY

The Students

What is life like for a typical student at CUNY? There is no "typical" CUNY student. Different people go to different campuses and have different educational experiences. Let's consider some of the possibilities.

Suppose you're working class, black, eighteen years old, and living with your family in a four-story walk-up on 130th Street between Lenox and Seventh. Suppose your family makes under \$8000 a year. [One of every four CUNY students comes from a family that is black and makes less than \$8000 a year.] *? what year*

Chances are that you didn't go to Harlem Prep. That's an academic, college-oriented high school, and, as of 1970, black and Puerto Rican students were only 20% of those attending such college-oriented schools. More likely, you went to Manhattan Vocational and Technical High School. Blacks and Puerto Ricans made up over 60% of such vocational schools in 1970. You made it through, though a lot of your friends didn't. Now you're going to college, you're going to get some skills, maybe some new ideas, and make it.

But which college? You've got no savings, your parents aren't rich, and you didn't do so well in school that you're going to get a scholarship. So you're priced out of private colleges like Columbia or Barnard. (Four years at such schools now cost a preposterous \$24,000—minimum.) But CUNY is

free. CUNY's got Open Admissions. Of course you'll have to work to get money to live on and pay for books and subways, or help out at home. But that's OK. You still won't have to pay tuition. So you apply to the University Application Processing Center, put down your six choices, and get assigned to the Borough of Manhattan Community College.

Why BMCC? Why not one of the other eighteen CUNY colleges? The answer is that CUNY requires an 80 average, or a spot in the top half of your high school class (you just missed), for admission to a senior college. Since space is limited, the more popular schools can take only the "better" students. The result was described by the staff of the Wagner Commission: "Although students are free to choose among programs and colleges, student preference for the senior colleges is such that the current allocation process creates a stratified enrollment in which the senior colleges tend to receive those students with above-average academic skills (as measured by grade-point average) while the community colleges tend to receive the students with poorer academic records."

So it appears that the quality of the school you get into is simply a measure of your own personal accomplishments. Except that the distribution of high grades is not an even one: it's related to how much money your family makes. Sixty-one per cent of the high school students whose families earned over \$15,000 had over an 80 average

but only 12% of those with incomes under \$3,700 did. Grades are also related to race. Forty-five per cent of white students graduate with over 80 averages but just about 15% of black and Puerto Rican students do. Perhaps this relationship is related to the type of education that the different groups get. Higher-income students attend academic high schools which encourage hopes for a college education and a professional career. They provide the skills and the grades necessary to enter college. Fifty-eight per cent of academic high school graduates get over 80 averages. Less affluent students—white as well as black—go to vocational high schools which not only do not prepare them for academic work, but also grade them down: only 20% of those who graduate get 80 averages or above. This shifts the blame for heavy concentrations of low-income students in the community colleges away from the educational system and the social system that created it—the real culprits—onto the shoulders of the students themselves.

Unless one accepts racist assertions, like those of Arthur Jensen, that blacks are of inherently inferior intelligence (which does not account for *white* low-income student performance), or liberal explanations of cultural deprivation (which omit the crucial connections between class exploitation and culture), then one must face the fact that the high schools, in some way, preserve and reinforce the class and racial divisions of New York City. CUNY then accepts and perpetuates the prior tracking, though—since Open Admissions—ameliorating it somewhat. Consider the statistics in the boxed chart below:

Black & Puerto Rican Entering Freshmen [Percent]					
Senior Colleges					
College	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Queens	8.0	11.6	16.5	11.2	17.6
Brooklyn	18.2	19.3	20.5	17.7	21.9
Hunter	20.9	26.8	22.6	29.7	41.7
Baruch	26.1	22.5	20.8	26.5	28.6
York	13.3	19.1	21.9	23.1	35.3
Lehman	9.3	20.5	21.4	26.4	30.7
Jay	18.0	32.0	27.0	32.7	28.3
City	13.4	32.1	34.9	32.2	39.0
Evers			84.2	90.4	93.5
Average		21.6	24.6	24.8	30.0

Community Colleges					
College	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Queensboro	11.8	12.3	14.1	14.6	14.7
Kingsboro	17.3	21.7	19.7	26.5	25.4
Staten Island	16.0	16.5	14.8	17.4	21.8
New York City	23.9	46.7	45.9	50.3	51.8
Bronx	33.8	49.0	55.0	63.8	67.8
Borough of Man.	47.2	56.6	56.4	62.9	77.4
Hostos		80.0	80.1	87.7	76.2
La Guardia			22.0	35.9	45.1
Average		30.7	36.1	37.8	44.5

Income of Families of All Students 1971			
College	\$6,000	+ \$15,000	
Queens	14.4	21.9	
Brooklyn	19.3	17.6	
Hunter	22.1	15.2	
Baruch	17.6	15.7	
York	18.6	17.8	
Lehman	19.9	13.4	
Jay	13.2	13.5	
City	30.3	11.2	
Evers	58.3	2.9	
Queensboro	17.7	15.9	
Kingsboro	25.4	14.6	
Staten Island	25.5	10.9	
New York City	34.0	6.4	
Bronx	38.6	5.5	
Borough of Man.	34.9	5.7	
Hostos	57.6	.9	
La Guardia	23.9	11.8	

So you go to Borough of Manhattan Community College, and when you arrive on campus (one of six different office buildings scattered around mid-Manhattan) you sense a busy, impersonal, and authoritarian mood; it's much more like high school than you thought it would be. Then you get the catalog. In the Student Responsibilities section it informs you that you are "required to recognize and accept [your] obligations as a student." It tells you that you have *already*, "as some small recognition of the gift of education which, in the American spirit of freedom and self-government" is now being offered you, made the following pledge:

1. I pledge allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and of the State of New York.
2. I shall conform with the discipline, regulations and orders of the Borough of Manhattan Community College of the City Univer-

sity of New York and with the by-laws and resolutions of the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York.

3. I pledge myself to preserve all public property now or hereafter entrusted to my care and to protect its value.

The catalog goes on to "expect" its students to behave as "mature" individuals. Particularly in matters of "conduct, dress, behavior, and honesty." Disregard for school property, it emphasizes, is a "serious offense."

On to registration. Here you brave the long lines and computer cards and register for a vocational program, rather than the liberal arts program. If you're female, likely as not you'll be in what they

call Secretarial Science. (Ninety-nine per cent of those in secretarial studies throughout CUNY are female, as are 97.2% of those in nursing and 100% of those in Dental Hygiene.) If you're male, you might take Data Processing. (Across CUNY, males account for 86.7% of the students enrolled in data programming; males are also over 80% of those taking chemical technology, commercial arts, market-retailing, hotel administration, and over 90% of those in mechanical technology and graphic arts, and 100% [up to 1971] of those in pre-pharmacy, electrical, construction, and civil technology programs.)

If you get through registration, your college days will look like this:

SECRETARIAL SCIENCE [Bilingual Secretarial Concentration]	DATA PROCESSING
First Semester	First Semester
Stenography I: Theory or Stenography II: Pre-Transcription..... 3	Introduction to Business Administration..... 4
Typewriting I..... 2	Introduction to Data Processing..... 4
Introduction to Business Administration..... 4	English I..... 3
English I..... 3	Mathematics (Fundamentals of Mathematics I or Finite Mathematics or Analytic Geometry & Calculus)..... 4
Music or Art..... 2	Physical Education..... 1
	16
Second Semester	Second Semester
Stenography II: Pre-transcription or Stenography III: Introduction to Transcription..... 3	Basic Cobol Programming..... 4
Typewriting II..... 2	Social Science Elective..... 3
English..... 3	Accounting I..... 3
Language..... 3	English II..... 3
Mathematics Through Statistics I..... 4	Fundamentals of Speech..... 3
Liberal Arts Elective..... 2	Health Education..... 1
	17
Third Semester	Third Semester
Bilingual Stenography I..... 3	Advanced Cobol Programming..... 3
Bilingual Typewriting I..... 1	Programming Systems or Management Systems..... 3
Office Practice & Machines I..... 1	Science..... 3 (or 4)
Accounting I..... 3	Accounting II or Managerial Accounting..... 3
Language..... 3	Liberal Arts Elective..... 3
Physical Education..... 1	
Social Science Elective..... 3	15 (or 16)
	Cooperative Education (Career Planning or Internship or Business Management Elective)..... 2
Cooperative Education Internship..... 2	
	17 (or 18)
Fourth Semester	Fourth Semester
Bilingual Stenography II..... 3	One of the following:..... 3 (or 4)
Office Practice & Machines II..... 1	a) Assembler Language Programming..... 4
Business Law..... 3	b) Programming Language I..... 3
Fundamentals of Speech..... 3	c) Two of the following:..... 4
Health Education..... 1	Basic IBM 360 Computer Operations..... 2
Science..... 4 (or 3)	Basic RPG Programming..... 2
	Disc Operating Systems Concepts..... 2
15 (or 14)	Time Sharing Operations..... 2
Cooperative Education Internship..... 2	Systems Implementation..... 3
	Business Elective..... 3
17 (or 16)	Music or Art..... 2
	Electives..... 3 (or 4) (or 5) (or 6)
	15 (or 16) (or 17)
	Cooperative Education Internship or Business Management Elective..... 1 (or 2)
	17 (or 18)
TOTAL CREDITS..... 65 (or 64)	TOTAL CREDITS..... 68

Where's your BMCC college education going to get you? Well, in the Cooperative Education Internship, you can work part time with any of a number of "cooperating firms." The firms are chosen by an Advisory Council on Cooperative Education which is composed of personnel managers and other officials of various city banks, advertising agencies, department stores, airlines, and libraries. This gives you a leg up on getting a job when you graduate.

The internship experience, I feel, gives a student a minimum of a year to 18-month head start on other graduates and makes them more flexible and less ritualistic."

—Charles W. Scannel, Assistant Vice President of Chemical Bank, in "CUNY Courier," September 12, 1974

Indeed, many community colleges have this working relationship with corporations, banks, or government offices. Often the colleges go right to the businesses to train their workers for them. There are engineering technology courses at seven Con Ed locations, and QBCC gives transportation management courses at Kennedy Airport.

Local employers are enthusiastic about cooperative education. "The internship experience," declared a high official of the Chemical Bank recently, makes CUNY graduates "more flexible and less ritualistic" as workers. As the *CUNY Courier* observed in the autumn of 1974: "Employers . . . may test interns and experiment with new positions without making costly long-range commitments. These advantages can reduce a company's recruiting and training costs, provide job flexibility and lower abrasive severances. [!]" Employers, the paper went on, prefer interns to "four-year graduates who often come with inflated job expectations and soon leave, causing an expensive turnover problem." The federal government is also enthusiastic about co-op ed. "HEW administrators view 'co-op ed' as a 'very cost-effective' idea," the *Courier* reports. "HEW recently awarded \$11 million for cooperative programs for fiscal 1975. LaGuardia, Bronx Community and Manhattan Community were awarded more than

\$100,000 of these funds, with LaGuardia receiving a \$60,000 grant."

But what do the students think about cooperative education? What has it done for them? More and more of them are discovering that co-op programs are a waste of their time and get them nowhere. As one student just noted, local employers often give their interns the most boring, routine, and mindless tasks they can find. "A lot of employers," she added, "don't think we are capable enough and give [us] lowly tasks, such as opening mail."

And what kind of job are you likely to get when you graduate from BMCC? Well, the degree will give you a chance to avoid the lowest rungs of the working class (carwashing or janitorial work), and a chance to avoid entering the ranks of the unemployed. It is certainly a worthwhile investment of your time and money. But the jobs you are likely to get are still working-class positions, some at lower rungs—keypunch operating, salesclerking—some at slightly higher rungs—typing, lab technicians. You will not have been trained for jobs that are interesting or let you do something creative. Most of your work will be rigidly defined, a small part of a larger process, and firmly under some higher-up's control. You will have been given a very narrow range of skills and thus little chance to switch jobs, or rise within the bureaucracy. And often the community colleges don't even train you very well in the narrow field they focus on. At Manhattan Community, nearly 70 per cent of the nursing graduates recently failed their state accreditation exams.

Nor do community college graduates get paid very well. Students graduating from La Guardia Community College in 1973 had an average starting salary of just \$7,300 with secretaries leading the way at \$7,500. And though some "postsecondary education" is indeed a hedge against unemployment, the fact remains that employment depends less on educational credentials than on the state of the economy, and the economy is worsening rapidly: there are a lot of Ph.D.'s walking the streets looking for work.

There is another dimension to the problem. If you take Secretarial Science or Data Processing, you will be deprived of anything other than a few smatterings of a general education. You'll have two years of technical training, and a handful of liberal arts courses. But you'll have little chance to discover new things that interest you, to devel-

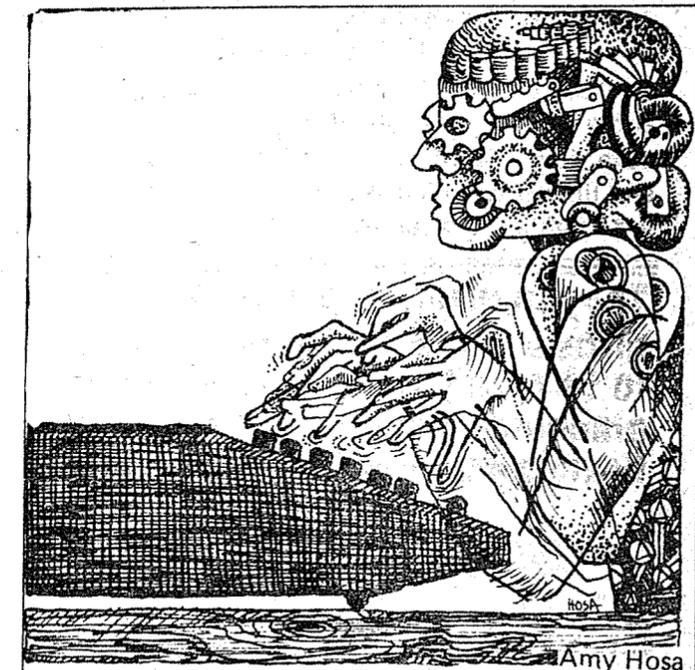
op your potential, to learn how the economy, the society, or the corporation that might hire you really ticks, much less learn how you might *change* things for the better.

Most students going to community colleges know this, and so most of them apply for liberal arts and think they will go on to a senior college. Less than half of them actually do. (In Secretarial Science, only 18.8% eventually get a B.A. though 60% had once planned to do *graduate* work).

This may have something to do with the limitations of the offerings in Liberal Arts. At Manhattan, many "Liberal Arts" courses are really trojan horses smuggled in from the vocational camp. They include Educational Assistant Programs, Health and Recreation Worker Programs, and the like. Even the "social science" courses are often nothing of the sort. Government is composed of six courses, all on the order of Gov220—"Federal Procurement, Procedures, and Practices." Economics consists of two courses, the basic one which looks at "the banking system, organized labor, social security, and federal budget"; and an advanced one, restricted to students in their final two terms, on "Labor Relations." There are, to be sure, *very fine* instructors at BMCC, and they often go beyond what it says in the catalog, but they are not in control of the process; real teaching often requires something of an underground struggle. Administrators are in control, and they have low expectations of student capacities. As one wrote recently in response to the discovery of very poor reading skills among graduates: "It should be pointed out that most laymen have a somewhat confused idea of the relationships which exist between reading level and functional abilities." This administrator went on to say that "many jobs in our society (shop attendant, service-station attendant, warehousemen's assistant, etc.) call for a fourth grade reading level." Chancellor Kibbee, just this past April, expressed the hope that the community colleges would "expand their two year career programs in keeping with the original mission set for these colleges."

No wonder you'll find so many technical courses (even though they pretend to be something else by taking on jive names like "Secretarial Science") and so few courses that encourage you to develop more than fourth-grade, machine-tender skills. That's the way the system wants it. Puerto Ricans, blacks, and lower-income whites are destined for the lower rungs of the economy, and

they are to be given only an "appropriate" amount of education.



Now let us suppose that you are of a somewhat more comfortable background (though not *that* much more comfortable: 75% of all CUNY students are from families making under \$12,000 a year). You've done well at school, you like learning, but you're not quite sure what you want to do with yourself, though you know you'd like a job that is interesting, allows for independent initiative, and is socially useful. You will—given your background and your grades—likely as not get into a senior college. But which one? That again has something to do with your income and your race; and again, which college you attend will have a significant impact on the kind of job you are likely to get when you graduate.

The senior colleges are not at all the same. At one end there is Medgar Evers. As of 1971, 58.3% of the students came from families making less than \$6,000 a year, and in 1973 93.5% of the student body was black and Puerto Rican. The curriculum was top heavy with Secretarial Science, Health Science, and Accounting programs, along with more extensive Liberal Arts offerings than those at most community colleges.

In the middle are those colleges whose students come from families with somewhat higher incomes, and whose vocational programs are correspondingly higher in "status" as well. At

John Jay, Liberal Arts are accompanied by offerings in police science, probation, parole, corrections, and forensic science. (At Jay there is something of a tradition of glorifying vocationalism—the Administration considers training its police and “civilian” students in criminal justice careers to be “The Mission of the College,” whereas many of the students and faculty see the distinctive Mission as providing workers in criminal justice with a broad liberal arts education as well as the more narrow technical skills. This leads in practice to struggles over hiring: the History Department recently requested a line for someone to teach Chinese history; the Administration refused, saying Chinese history was “inappropriate” for the Jay student body, but they *would* fund a line for another specialist in the history of criminal justice, in addition to those the Department already had.) Other senior colleges, though less blatantly, are also heavily into vocationalism: Hunter specializes in teacher training, Lehman in social work.

At the opposite end of the senior college spectrum from Medgar Evers are schools like Brooklyn and Queens. The income and racial patterns are strikingly different. At Queens in 1971, only 14.4% of the students’ families made under \$6,000, while 21.9% (as opposed to Evers’ 2.9%) came from families earning over \$15,000. Also at Queens in 1973, blacks and Puerto Ricans composed only 17.6% of the entering freshman class.

At both schools the stress is less on vocational training and more on pre-professional training. Brooklyn’s School of Humanities stresses that the school is “suited” for “those in search of a broad cultural foundation before embarking on specialized study in fields such as law, education, or medicine.” The Economics Department at Queens has almost nothing in common with that of Borough of Manhattan.

Thus—should you go to Queens and graduate with high grades—it is far more likely that you might become a lawyer, than if you attended one of the community colleges. But Queens itself, in the larger, nation-wide ranking system, is by no means at or near the top of the heap. So you might not get into law school at all, as the competition these days is fierce. If you do make it, chances are you won’t make the *best* law school (though Queens is now building one of its own). And that means that when you get your law degree you will probably land a not very exciting job in a large,

bureaucratic law firm where you’ll spend most of your time drafting briefs for the Harvard-trained barristers to try in court. And if you don’t get into law or medical school, there’s always social work, teaching, or some other civil service job. Unless the depression commences before you do. And Queens won’t prepare you to deal with that.

So different kinds of students go to different parts of the system. They go with different expectations. They find campuses that differ widely in curricula and atmosphere. They graduate prepared for vastly different kinds of work. We intend to show you later in this pamphlet that it is *supposed* to be this way. Real equality of opportunity does not exist. The whole point of the system is to produce workers who are trained just enough to do their jobs, and not enough so that they might question the class structure of capitalist society.

Some things, however, *do* cut across all the campuses and are common to almost all students. For starters, it’s too crowded just about everywhere. There are endless lines. At registration. In the cafeteria. To get into the elevators. Courses are closed out. Books are gone from the library. The bookstore (such as it is) is sold out. You sit in packed classes. You begin to feel like a punch card, like a walking social security number. It hardly surprises you when you become a commodity: at Bronx Community last year students discovered the administration was selling their names and addresses to various insurance companies. At John Jay students are required to dig out I.D. Cards to enter the building, guarded by a para-military Security Force. At BMCC, in a classic Catch-22, only one window serviced the hundreds of students trying to get work-study and scholarship checks; those who spent their class hours stuck on the enormous line were then penalized for cutting, until a mini-demonstration forced the opening of other windows.

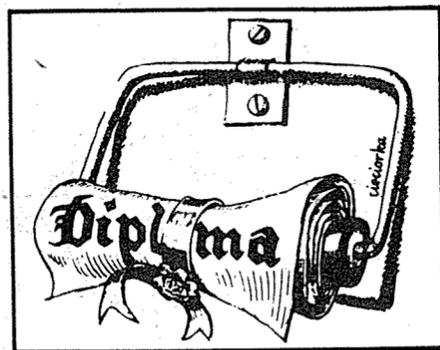
Learning itself is seldom exciting. It’s very difficult to make real contact with the faculty. Over one-third the teachers on all campuses are adjuncts, part-timers who can afford to spend little or no time with students. Many full-time faculty, of course, are themselves irritated and harassed by the unfriendly conditions, and they at times come to blame the students. Classes are large, and administrators keep making them larger—regretfully, perhaps, but inexorably. At Richmond the deans raised the upper limit



from 35 to 50. At John Jay, without even consulting the faculty, the administration withdrew forty courses in the *middle* of registration on the grounds of "insufficient" enrollment. Courses with twenty students were struck out; courses of ten were treated as obscene affronts to budgetary propriety.

In the lecture classes, some students tend to nod off, having put in a full day's work already. Many CUNY students work, and it takes a tremendous toll on their time and energy. There is no leisure time to sit around the non-existent dormitories and talk, not much time to check out on-campus cultural events, not much time for homework. Some get financial assistance (though no Scholar Incentive from Albany; Rockefeller, angered at not getting tuition imposed, forbade it), but even that is going to be harder to get. Brooklyn, for example, just had their maximum stipend cut to one-third of what it had been a few years ago. Many dropped out, no longer able to afford the free university—but many others, as we shall see, have begun to organize a resistance to the cutbacks. At Queens, the number of participating students in the work-study program was lowered from 934 to 681 this year.

Many students, compelled by the logic of their situation, come to consider college a "business" proposition. You go to pick up the certification required by the job market, because, in fact, the economy is so structured that you have few options. So you play the game, say the right thing, get your credentials, and get out. This is not necessarily easy. You are locked into competition with your brother and sister students for the top spots, since only the "winners" will grab the brass ring of the best graduate and professional schools, or the choicest job openings. So term papers are purchased, and cheating flourishes, and many excuse it all as a necessary part of the race for grades. Like wage earners on an assembly



line, students fight for fewer reading assignments, close notebooks in anticipation of the bell, and in general struggle against an unhappy situation.

A Word About Open Admissions

Open Admissions is in some ways a triumph. Low-income whites, blacks, and Puerto Ricans have, to some extent, broadened their opportunities. A larger number of them can choose the kind of program and school they wish to attend even though the majority still cannot. Applications from vocational and "low" academic high schools are up 100%. With all its limitations, this is the most open system presently in existence, and all its best features are the result of struggle. It was very beautiful, and very fitting, that 33-year-old Dawn Harris in her 1973 valedictory speech at BMCC thanked "the brothers and sisters at CCNY for deciding that five more years was just too long to wait for open enrollment." Her personal sense of triumph, too, was strong and deep. "I would like to thank the faculty," she said, "for its fortitude and wisdom, some for just being good friends. I'd like to thank our parents and friends who believed in us when, sometimes, we didn't believe in ourselves." She particularly thanked "those who tried to stop me, who thwarted me and tried to discourage me because they have made this day even sweeter." "I wanted," she concluded, "to make sure that they didn't count over-thirty, under-prepared women with children out. I think I did it. I know we did—1,595 votes for Open Enrollment! Thank you." Right on!

But. The infuriating truth is that those who run this system have stolen some of the sweetness from the collective triumph. As we will see later in the pamphlet, the powers that be have, despite promises of equal access, seen to it that the tracking system that routes the poor and the minorities into the lowest rungs of the economy and society remains essentially intact and in good working condition.

There are other problems. One has to do with the promise of proper remediation services. The beneficiaries of Open Admissions, as all know, have been among the most victimized by their previous "education." They have not been taught the basic mathematical, reading, and writing skills they need. All the colleges have instituted

some sort of remediation programs, but all of them suffer from a variety of ills. The BHE and the State Legislature have never been willing to commit sufficient funding to allow a serious effort to be made. Many of the courses themselves are deficient: they divorce acquisition of skills from the acquisition of knowledge. Students are asked to develop tools in a vacuum. It is the worst sort of behaviorism, and appropriately, the task is increasingly being turned over to machines. And, as if to underline their lack of content, most remedial courses are not given credit, because they are not up to standards (true enough, but hardly inevitable). "No credit" courses that frequently relate to nothing are not an appealing proposition, and faculty hired to perform in such a context often face stubborn resistance.

And many students are not faring well. The BHE used to boast about a 70% retention rate, but the fact was that after three semesters only 13% of the Open Admissions students had completed 36 credits and maintained a 2.0 average. Now the BHE admits that *across the board* nearly one of every two CUNY students is failing to complete college. For Open Admissions students the record is even worse. Of the 5,940 who entered CUNY in 1970 only 36.3% were still enrolled four years later.

The prevailing official assumption is that these students are being given the opportunity to

acquire needed tools, and if they don't it's their fault. In 1969, then-Chancellor Bowker made this clear. Though acknowledging that a student's progress would be affected in part by the nature of the remediation services which were available, Bowker insisted that "the overriding factor, however, will continue to be the individual student's motivation as measured by work, effort and performance." The unstated corollary is that if a student fails, it is an individual failure for which the Board accepts no responsibility. It's rather like forcing a runner to wear a lead-weighted belt, and expressing contempt when he or she loses the footrace.

Open Admissions right now represents a giant foot in the door. It is up to us to keep the door from slamming again, and then to force it open all the way.

The Faculty

What is life like for the Faculty? Well, the fact is that there is no "Faculty" at CUNY: there are instead many Faculties. The teaching staff is segregated by rank, campus, sex and race. Life, accordingly, is very different for faculty workers depending on who they are, what their rank is, and where they teach.

Consider the matter of rank. It's a long, long way from the full professors at the Graduate



Who are you, kid?



Sex? Race? Name? Age?
Student I.D. number? Parking
permit? I.Q.? S.A.T. scores?
G.P.A.? Social security?
Draft status? Lottery number?



We know your type, kid.

Center down to the part-time adjuncts at the very bottom of the hierarchy. The disparities in condition between them are enormous.

Adjuncts, for example, are the coolie laborers of the system. They are not paid to be full members of an academic community, but rather—like migrant farm workers—to do seasonal labor, e.g., filling up survey sections at the last minute. They are paid by the course—intellectual piece-work—or by the hour—intellectual clock-punching. Quite like their sisters and brothers who float about the corporate office buildings, they form a pool of “flexible” labor. Collectively they might be called Professors Temporary, or perhaps Rent-a-Prof. Like Kelly Girls, they are often hired on the spot, a matter of days before registration, and often fired the day after registration, if they seem superfluous or cost-inefficient.

Adjuncts get cut-rate wages. They do the same classroom work done by “regular” faculty (though adjuncts often, given the lateness of their hiring, are made to teach out of standard texts and to give standard exams). Yet they are typically paid one-third the wage of the lowest paid full-time faculty, one-seventh the full professor rate. They get none of the extra benefits, either. No vacation pay, no health insurance.

Why do they put up with it? The job market gives them little choice because Ph.D.s have been overproduced. Unemployed professors wait on line for whatever jobs they can get, and peddle themselves at degrading “professional conferences” in the search for positions. They are in the same position, in other words, as millions of other American wage-earners.

Adjuncts have little to say about departmental policy. They are given either half or no part of a vote in “Faculty” deliberations. Not surprisingly they seldom come to faculty meetings. Not surprisingly the full-timers don't get to know them. Adjuncts are just not around that much. They meet their classes and run. They are not paid to stay around and mix with students or colleagues; the system is structured in such a way that they are economically penalized for doing so.

The “regular” Faculty, then, overlook or ignore or openly scorn the adjuncts. The full-timers act this way partly because of the (understandable) conviction that adjuncts have no long range stake in the department, for though they are here today, they may very likely be gone tomorrow. Perhaps, also, they feel somewhat guilty around adjuncts,

for they are told that their own higher salaries are dependent on the existence of a mass of exploited workers below them.

This divisiveness is suicidal. Adjuncts now comprise over 35 per cent of the Faculty as a whole (at some places they are 50-70 per cent of the total). May, 1974, statistics indicate that there are 11,370 full-timers (including librarians), and 7,031 adjuncts (some of whom are really full-timers carrying extra loads). Thus roughly one of every three Faculty members are now intellectual proletarians, denied what independence remains to the rest of the faculty. Yet one part dismisses the other part as not “really” faculty.

“It is no longer the manual workers alone who have their reserve army of the unemployed and are afflicted with lack of work; the educated workers also have their reserve army of idle, and among them also lack of work has taken up its permanent quarters. . . . The time is near when the bulk of these proletarians will be distinguished from the others only by their pretensions. Most of them still imagine that they are something better than proletarians. . . .”

—Kautsky, “Class Struggle,” 1892

Administrators are delighted with all of this and continually encourage ill feelings between adjunct and regular faculty. Thus, when the BHE tried to impose a 50% “tenure quota” on the Faculty in 1974, it craftily decreed that the cut-off point would be determined on the basis of each department's full-time teachers. In a department of, say, 40 teachers, 20 full-time and 20 part-time, the maximum number entitled to tenure would be 10, a true quota of 25%! The other 10 full-timers could be let go sooner or later and replaced, either by newer and cheaper full-timers or, indeed, more adjuncts. Not surprisingly, this encouraged adjuncts and full-timers to view one another as threats to their own job security.

The “faculty” union (the Professional Staff Congress, or PSC) often follows the BHE line.

University's own responsibility.

The CUNY Faculty is thus divided along sexual lines. As Lilia Melani, spokeswoman for CUNY Women's Coalition (CWC) has said, “wherever we look in the university, we see men to the right, men to the left, men to the front—and women to the back.” In the twelve senior colleges, 84% of the chairpeople are men; in the community colleges, 81% are men. Six of every ten women faculty are in the non-tenure bearing ranks; the City College English department, for example, has 54 tenured men and only 5 tenured women. Women are often kept at the rank of lecturer for a decade, while a dozen or more men are advanced ahead of them. Even the pension plans require women to pay more than men to get equal benefits.

A look at some statistics provides a clear picture of the sexual discrimination that sorts women into the lower faculty ranks. As of 1970, throughout the University, the situation was this:

	Percent Female	Percent Male
Professors	14.4	85.6
Associates	25.3	74.7
Assistants	31.8	68.2
Instructors	44.8	55.2
Lecturers	47.0	53.0

Up-to-date, CUNY-wide statistics are unavailable for comparison, but 1973 figures arranged by campus suggest that the rate of progress in combatting sexual discrimination is uneven. It seems most rapid in community colleges (though whether because of feminist pressure, or the fact that female faculty are paid less and thus are financially advantageous to administrators with money, is not clear). Progress seems slowest at the larger, four-year schools—if there is progress at all. Consider the following figures:

	BMCC		QBCC		QUEENS		JAY	
	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M
Professors	31.0	69.0	17.4	82.6	12.4	87.6	10.3	89.7
Associates	31.1	68.9	33.3	66.7	18.7	81.3	20.5	79.5
Assistants	45.1	54.9	37.4	62.6	33.7	66.3	31.4	68.6
Instructors	60.0	40.0	58.0	42.0	43.5	56.5	46.1	53.9
Lecturers	54.3	45.7	52.9	47.1	50.4	49.6	23.5	76.5

The “faculty” union often follows the BHE line. It ignores adjuncts, sets impossible dues schedules for them, and throws them to the wolves at contract negotiation time to get more of a dwindling pie for senior staff, then wonders why adjuncts stay away in droves. Soon, perhaps, the union will speak for only a handful of privileged elite workers—the “Faculty”—of whom there will be very few. The great bulk of the teaching staff will be adjuncts, in fact if not in name.

The CUNY Faculty is also divided by campus. Aristocrats at the Grad Center loftily peer down at their lesser colleagues at the “senior” colleges, who in turn have almost nothing to do with the “community” (formerly and more frankly “junior”) colleges. And each class is itself divided, given the number and dispersion of CUNY campuses.

Until 1969 the status division between “senior” and “community” colleges was sharply underscored by the lesser salaries paid to community college professors carrying a greater teaching load. Now—in theory—all are paid equally. In fact, however, CUNY faculty are still paid according to how well their students are meant to perform.

Senior college faculty are paid more at every rank than are community college faculty, and even within the ranks of the senior colleges there are divisions. In 1971, Queens, a school with 86% white student body, received more money than any other campus to hire new faculty, twice as much as the campus with the next-highest budget. John Jay and Medger Evers were on the bottom. Each “rank” has a pay scale range, and at the “better” schools, new faculty come in at top pay. So in 1971, Queens' new professors each earned thousands of dollars more per annum than their counterparts at John Jay or Richmond. New associates at City averaged more than new associates at Lehman, far more than new associates at Richmond, and more than new full professors at John Jay.

In addition to the divisions imposed by the University's structure and management, there are those divisions that flow from the more massive discriminations in the society at large. Though one might expect the University to be in the vanguard of struggles to overcome the historic inequities of racism and sexism, it is not. Partly this is due to the difficulties that any single part of a system has in overcoming the limitations imposed on it by the whole; partly, however, it is the

A similar situation prevails with respect to the racial and ethnic composition of the faculty. As of 1970, the University-wide distribution of black and Puerto Rican faculty in the full-time ranks looked like this:

	Percent Black	Percent Puerto Rican
Professors	2.6	0.4
Associates	5.0	0.4
Assistants	6.0	1.0
Instructors	9.3	2.5
Lecturers	19.1	4.4

Here again we may compare rates of change by looking at 1973 figures for four campuses:

	BMCC		QBCC		QUEENS		JAY	
	%B	%PR	%B	%PR	%B	%PR	%B	%PR
Professors	19.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	3.4	0.0
Associates	26.7	0.0	2.3	2.3	1.9	0.0	9.1	0.0
Assistants	17.1	3.2	4.6	0.5	3.7	0.0	6.6	1.5
Instructors	31.0	1.0	2.3	0.0	7.3	1.4	19.6	2.0
Lecturers	20.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	26.0	6.0	5.9	17.6

But though the Faculty is divided, in truth all but the most privileged have a great deal in common. The "regular" members of the Faculty are not so well off as is commonly assumed, and what benefits they now enjoy are fast being eroded. When we look into such matters as job security, wages, working conditions, and the teaching situation itself, the common plight of all faculty is evident.

Consider job security. Adjuncts, of course, have none. Assistant professors are in little better shape. They creep, often in fear and trembling, annual contract by annual contract, toward the magic up-or-out cut-off point of five years. At any time in that period they may be expeditiously axed. This past year many heads have rolled. Pleading the "tenure quota" or, more cleverly, declining enrollment (which is always hailed as an excuse to fire, rather than an opportunity to reduce class size, improve teaching, and decrease the drop-out rate), a massive pruning in the lower ranks has been going on. City College fired forty-five, Lehman laid off forty, Brooklyn booted seventeen. To some it came as a Kafkaesque, bewildering shock. Charles Evans, 40, had been teaching for nine years at City College, the last five as an Assistant Professor. His department un-

animously recommended him for tenure. The College P&B approved that decision. A special review board of deans fired him nonetheless. And they refused to tell him why: "I had to defend myself against charges about which I'm not told," Evans told a *New York Post* reporter. According to the PSC, there were, as of February 1974, over two hundred cases similar to his.

Those who already have tenure are wrapping themselves in a moth-eaten and fast disintegrating security blanket. Tenure is under major nationwide attack. One educational bureaucrat at a State Board of Regents luncheon-discussion last year (guest speaker: Nelson Rockefeller) observed with a shudder that "tenure had deteriorated into job security."

The CUNY Administration dutifully instituted a tenure quota, which was beaten back only by a determined struggle of union, faculty, labor, and community groups. But it was only a temporary victory. The BHE promptly invited Quigg Newton, former director of the American Council of Education and, since 1963, President of the Commonwealth Fund of New York City, to head a committee to study the entire matter. Board Chairman Alfred Giardino says that the Newton panel's task will be to develop "objective procedures relating to faculty personnel practices so that superior standards may be applied in all areas." He promises to retain "highly meritorious scholars and teachers." He and his cohorts, of course, will define what "superior standards" are. Good luck to us all.

Another thrust at tenure on the local scene last year came from the CUNY Council of Presidents, which proposed reviewing the performance of the *tenured* faculty, and firing them if they are "deficient."

Such legal, frontal assaults on tenure are by no means the only danger to watch for. The legal facade of tenure may well be left intact, for in the present system there is a handy escape clause that provides a cleverer way to dump faculty: "financial exigency." College trustees across the land are citing "declining enrollments" to fire *tenured* faculty in droves. One branch of the University of Wisconsin sent layoff notices last May to 88 tenured faculty; Southern Illinois dismissed 104 faculty, 28 of whom were tenured. The number of complaints from dismissed faculty members received by the American Association of University Professors exceeded 1,100 each

year for the past two years, and the rate is rising. Again, management controls the books, sets the budget, and decides what is "exigency."

Consider faculty wages at CUNY. Despite an attractive sounding contract (remember all those lovely columns of ascending salary scales?), *real* wages are declining. Inflation has outdistanced and wiped out all increases. (And unless the faculty demands a cost-of-living escalator—a real one, not a phony one—they'll get hoodwinked again on the next contract.) Distinguished professors are doing OK, though taxes do eat into those impressive salaries, and the cost of living in New York is heading for the moon. The rest of the full-time faculty are getting by, but it's getting closer and closer to the bone. Adjuncts are already *in* the coming depression.

Consider working conditions and the basic issue of control over the workplace. It is clear that the traditional prerogatives of the professoriate

are being eaten away. So-called professionals—who are in fact salaried employees—suffer abuses and leaks of power to well-organized, centralized bureaucrats at the central office. Like other professionals—engineers, publishing house staff, movie directors—professors are being increasingly subordinated to the control of administrators. They work in an increasingly less dignified, more dehumanized environment. Individually, CUNY's 16,000 faculty have less and less to say, and collectively they have not gotten themselves together. As Jack Golodner, executive secretary of the Council of Unions for Professional Employees reminds us, "it's no different than what happened to the blue-collar worker who once was a craftsman with dignity, an individual." The ultimate degradation—which we will discuss a bit later on—is fast coming upon us: the Professor is being replaced by the Machine.

Consider, finally, the teaching situation itself. Here is a state of affairs that almost all faculty, of whatever rank or campus, find grim and depressing. Many of the faculty come from elite undergraduate colleges, or did their apprenticeships at leading universities. (In the Fall of 1961 57% of senior college Ph.D. holders did their work at either Columbia or NYU). Many are committed scholars and teachers, driven to understand the world around them and to communicate and share their findings with their students. Tucked away somewhere in the minds of many is an ideal university where dedicated faculty work with eager students, in relative leisure, to study, learn, pursue knowledge.

CUNY is not that place. It is a processing factory, dedicated less to truth than to "post-secondary education" in the service of corporate capitalism. Newly-arrived faculty find, in addition to bad working conditions, a student body that is not wholeheartedly given over to learning. Many students are bored, resentful, and here only because the whip of the job market and its certification requirements drive them on to "get that piece of paper." Others, though enthusiastic about learning, are blocked from pursuing it as fully as they wish: they must work to stay alive or support their families, they do not live on campus (such as it is) and so are not available for the kind of easy, informal communication of elite schools. They simply do not have the leisure required for sustained intellectual exploration.

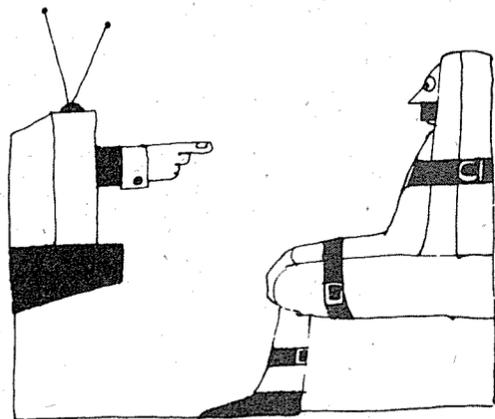
Under these circumstances, different faculty re-



act in different ways.

There are those—many of whom *chose* to teach at CUNY—who appreciate the burdens their students face, and find them particularly exciting to teach, precisely because of their backgrounds. CUNY students are often older, often have a richer experience from which to contribute to class discussions, often have a more genuine desire for understanding than do students at elite schools, for whom college is often just a place to hang out during late adolescence. Student-faculty relations based on this mutual commitment are truly rewarding, and many faculty work very hard to develop such a relationship. Some break up large lecture classes into smaller groups, others team-teach “skills” courses, and “content” courses to integrate the material, others develop new curricula to use in traditional courses.

Yet faculty who make such efforts face enormous obstacles in time, energy, and bureaucratic red tape (to say nothing of not being paid for extra work). Classes get larger and larger, committees doing meaningless work proliferate, serious intellectual dialogue with fellow faculty becomes more difficult. College P&B committees, moreover, are slow and sometimes openly opposed to recognizing creative or innovative or just plain effective teaching as the primary criteria for tenure and promotion. Faculty are expected to publish, to be serious professionals, yet the University constantly encroaches on the time and energy needed for intellectual exploration, and University regulations cripple or prevent attempts at curricular experimentation. CUNY, to be sure, does set up special programs to improve teaching, but most of them are concerned with the development and application of “labor-saving” technology.



Under this kind of pressure many faculty get discouraged. They resign themselves to teaching as “just a job.” They mentally clock in in the morning and out in the afternoon or night. More and more, they seek enjoyment and satisfaction in their diminishing leisure time.

Many faculty seek comfort in the cynical notion that their students aren't willing or able to learn, anyway. Why invest a lot of time and energy in teaching, they ask wearily, when your classes consist of diploma-hunters and illiterates? Job applicants in several departments of one senior college were recently told by faculty members that the students were destined to be “city bureaucrats,” and that it was therefore pointless to expect them to do anything intellectually demanding. This, in time, becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. And the cynics strive to perpetuate themselves. In a search for a new Dean of Faculty, one community college recently instructed interviewers to be sure that the prospective administrator had no “idealistic notions about these kids going on to a four-year college.” This is a poisonous mood.

Worse still, there are those professors who blame the students directly. They posit a golden age in the past when traditional teaching methods worked. They may recall when they taught overwhelmingly white, middle-class students, i.e., of their own background. The dramatic shift in the student body, the presence of many more low-income Irish, Puerto Ricans, Italians, and blacks, has been a culture shock of profound significance. The new students frequently hold different assumptions about life, about authority, about book learning. This cultural shock, coupled at times with long-held but buried racial and religious prejudices, sometimes generates overt hostility. For many faculty, the solution appears to lie not in pressing ahead and guaranteeing to all students the opportunities that once were restricted to a few (and learning something new themselves), but rather going back and “tightening standards.”

But turning the clock back is no solution, and attempts to do it will be met with overwhelming resistance both from the students, who have a legitimate right to higher education, and from the big businessmen who want mass higher education to supply them with a skilled but manageable work force. If we truly value learning, scholarship, and critical thinking—if the concept of a universi-

ty still matters—then we have no choice but to move *ahead*, to forge a *new* kind of higher education. This requires, at a minimum, placing the blame for our present problems where it belongs—not on the students who want an education, but on the class that has decided to give them only that amount of education that will in the end secure greater profits for themselves.



What's Going On Here?

The natural questions at this point are *why* is life so disagreeable for so many of us at CUNY and *how* did it get to be that way?

Why does the university channel students by class, race, and sex into different colleges and programs? Why is a college degree being redefined as a higher form of working papers? Why does a Harvard BA get you a better job than a Queens BA? Why does a Queens BA get you a better job than a Medgar Evers BA? Why does the kind of education you get depend on how much money your family makes?

Why is the faculty stratified by rank, race, sex and campus? What purpose does it serve? Whose purpose does it serve? Why are more and more of the faculty in adjunct positions? What is happening to job security and why? Why are “cost-accounting” standards determining the structure and content of education more and more these days? Why are firings up and real wages down?

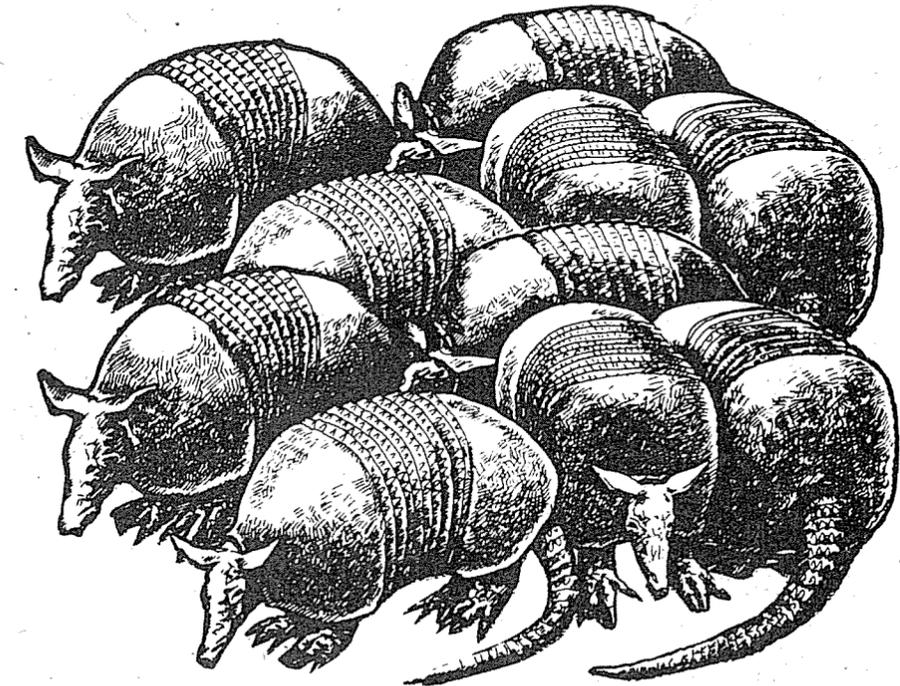
Who's responsible for the current state of affairs?

Take the last question first. It is certainly not the students or faculty who are responsible. They have less and less to say about how the university is run. But it won't do to blame the growing number of administrators for everything, either. Some of them don't like what's happening any more than we do. And most of them aren't really in a position to change things even if they wanted to.

The truth is that CUNY's problems are hardly unique. Students and faculty in colleges all over the country are complaining of pretty much the same things that we are: financial crisis, narrowly defined vocationalism, internal divisiveness, creeping managerialism, powerlessness. We're not the only ones who are having a rough time of it in higher education these days, so it obviously can't be simply a local problem we're dealing with.

For that matter, the problems of CUNY and the campuses are not so different from what people everywhere are complaining about.

Faculty firings, layoffs, cutbacks? Workers of



all kinds are being thrown off their jobs: recent Census Employment Survey figures show that, in New York City, as many as seven of every ten workers either can't get full-time work or are living below what the Government defines as poverty levels.

Increased pressures for productivity and efficiency? Any auto worker, key punch operator, or insurance salesman can tell you what that means.



Exploitation, manipulation, powerlessness? People all over know what those are: the banks bleed them for mortgages and credit, the government milks them, the corporations bilk them, and the politicians con them.

Not enough money for work-study, the library, or remediation programs this year because of a budget squeeze? Well, inflation is so bad everywhere that some people are eating dog food.

Deadening, overcrowded, and often pointless classes? Work of almost any kind these days seems boring, meaningless, and a waste of time.

Unequal treatment for the unaffluent? Millionaires often pay less taxes than policemen, and it's all within the law.

Lack of control over key decisions? Giant corporations like ITT and Exxon dominate whole nations.

Crumbling buildings, litter-strewn hallways, roach-infested toilets? Nothing really special there: after all, our streets are full of holes and garbage, the subways are filthy and noisy, and the air stinks.

What's the matter with CUNY? The similarities between the crisis on the campus and the crisis in the country give us a clue about how to answer that question. To get a grip on our local difficulties, we must begin to try and grasp our more general problems.

Well, then, what's the matter with the country? Why are things in such a mess? Is it inevitable? Human nature? Fate? Accident? Corruption? Temporary and short-lived difficulties? The so-called energy crisis? Our own inabilities, greed, or laziness?

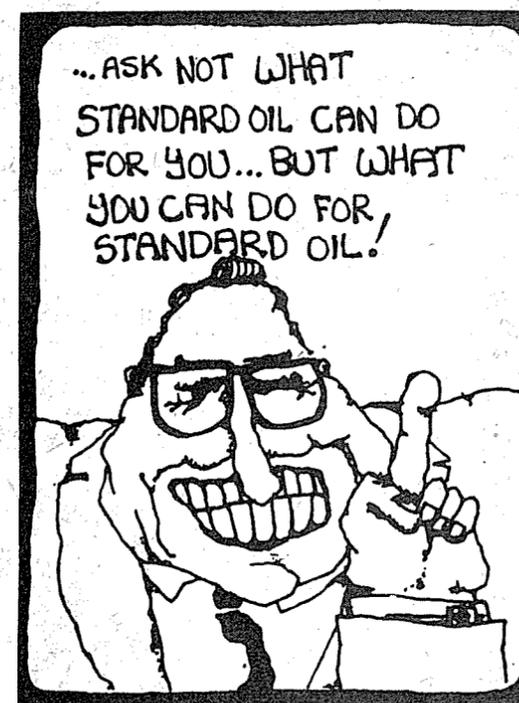
No. Most of what ails us, inside CUNY and out, can be traced back to the way things are organized and run in this country, to the system called capitalism.

What is capitalism?

Capitalism is the ownership of machines, factories, computers, raw materials—what the economists call the “means of production”—by private individuals, rather than the public. These individuals—capitalists—can live without working. They make their profits by *owning*; the more they own, the more they make. In fact the capitalist system ensures that the largest incomes go to those who do the least work.

How do capitalists get their profits? Basically by paying the people who *do* work less in wages than they are worth. Workers create more value—with their time, skill, and energy—than capitalists pay them in salary. Capitalists also get enormous handouts from the government in tax write-offs, or just plain subsidies, and those handouts again come from people who work and pay the bulk of the taxes.

Capitalism promotes the theory that what's good for General Motors is good for the U.S.A.; capitalists like to say that the self-interest of the business community will automatically benefit the rest of us. In fact their interests and our interests usually conflict. As, for instance, when the auto companies and oil companies and rubber companies sabotage cheap electric mass transit so that we must shell out for cars and gasoline and tires, despite the cost to us in money, lives, accidents, pollution, and traffic jam-ups. We don't produce according to what people need. We produce only what makes a profit for capitalists, and hope that our needs will somehow be met. They often aren't. Consider the state of housing, transportation, health care.



Capitalists like to say that this is a system of “free enterprise” based on “competition.” But that is nonsense. Capitalism is based on monopoly—giant firms getting together to fix prices at a nice high level so that *they* all win, and only the *rest* of us lose. Check out the price of airline tickets, liquor, appliances, steel, gas, or almost anything. Phony “competition” characterizes the political system, too. The rich underwrite both political parties, and ensure that only millionaires or lobbyists sit in positions of power; those they don't elect, they buy later.

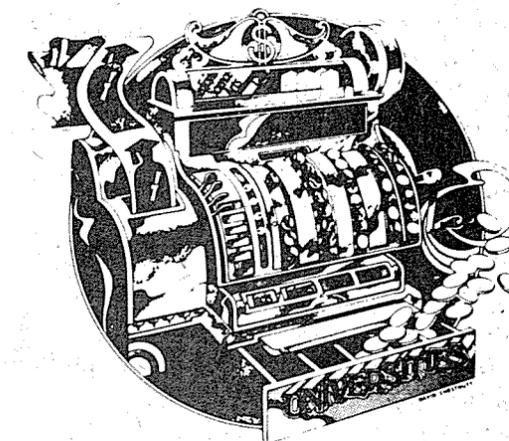
Capitalism repeatedly collapses into depression. Why? Under the current system, capitalists pay their workers as little as they can get away with. This keeps their profits high. But capitalists also are forced to rely on those very same underpaid workers (in their role as consumers) to buy all the products that are produced. But that's not possible. Working people just don't make enough money to buy all the goods pushed on TV. So sooner or later the system breaks down. Factory production is cut back, because there's no profit in full production when they can't sell all the goods. Workers are laid off. They then have even *less* money to buy goods. So more factories close down. Soon we have a depression. Factories stand empty while millions are unemployed. In the great depression of the 1930s, millions were also on bread lines, while at the same time pigs

were killed, milk dumped in rivers, kerosene poured on potatoes, and fruit left to rot. It's insane. But under capitalism, it's logical: capitalism is less concerned with feeding people than with harvesting profits, so supply was artificially restricted to drive prices up even though people were starving.

Most people know about or lived through the depression of the thirties, and they know it was ended only by the Second World War. But most people are not aware that we have depressions all the time. We have had massive unemployment, foreclosures, and hunger in the 1810s, the 1830s, the 1850s, the 1870s, the 1890s, and the 1910s, with lots of recessions—like the one today—in between. Depressions are built into capitalism, and we are, in all likelihood, about to have another one. Unless, perhaps, we have another war.

Capitalism sorts people into distinct levels, depending primarily on the kind of work they do (or don't do) and how much property they own. The level you're in determines most of your life style—eating habits (McDonald's vs. French restaurants), health-care (run-down clinic vs. Park Avenue doctor), wealth (currently one-fifth of the population owns three-quarters of the entire country), recreation (bowling vs. vacations in South America), clothes (John's Bargain Store vs. Saks), power and influence (taking orders vs. giving them, landing in jail vs. beating the rap, obeying the laws vs. writing them). For all the talk about this being a classless society, there are extraordinary differences between the way people live in America.

And—our focus in this pamphlet—there are great differences in the way people are educated in America.



We will argue that capitalism is a system that has from the beginning tried to use the schools and colleges for its own purposes. Capitalists have long felt that education—like everything else—is useful only if it in some way increases profits, or enhances the possibility of making future profits. So capitalism has tried to make the schools into educational factories for the production of better workers. To do the basic research needed to keep their factories humming. To perpetuate the multi-layered class nature of American society. To promote the values, attitudes, and beliefs that would retard any serious questioning of the capitalist order. That these have been their wishes is a matter of record, and we intend to review that record here.

We hope, moreover, to show you that capitalists are not simply interested bystanders whose wishes and values may be safely ignored. They are far and away the most wealthy, most powerful class in the United States, and they have had an enormous impact on the content, style, and organization of American education in general, and of the City University of New York in particular.

We do not mean by this that there is some central committee of capitalists somewhere which has secretly plotted a take-over of the entire educational system. On the contrary, we want to show that capitalist educational policy has almost always been formulated and debated quite openly. The problem is not that they operate out of smoke-filled rooms. The problem is that we have not been taking them seriously enough to keep track of what they're doing.

We want to show, too, that none of these groups or individuals works like a General Staff, poised on top of a chain of command that is res-

ponsive to their every wish and whim. Rather they are Masterplanners. Their think tanks, commissions, foundations, councils, consultants and specialists define "objectives," discuss "options" and "trade-offs," and then let individual schools and colleges work out their own "game plans" within the generally-accepted "guidelines." No cloak-and-dagger stuff, no conspiracies. They simply structure the educational order so that "standard operating procedure" works to their, and not to our, advantage.

We don't mean to imply here, either, that the capitalists have always had their way with the educational system, any more than they have always had their way with their workers. Student and faculty opposition to capitalist interventions in the schools and colleges has been a constant theme in the history of American education—including the history of the City University.

With these points in mind we will begin, in the immediately following chapter, to explore the complex relationship between capitalism and education at all levels over the past century and a half. Without establishing this larger context at the outset, we'll never make complete sense of what's happening to us from one day to the next. To put it differently, our first task is to get a picture of the whole forest before examining individual trees.

Once the larger context has been established, then it will be an easy step to considering the origins and development of what is now CUNY, what lies in store for both CUNY and American higher education generally, and—the final issue—what we are to do in light of what we have found out.



2. Capitalism and Education

There is a logic to capitalism, and no one has more brilliantly sketched out where that logic—if unchecked—might lead than Aldous Huxley in his little novel, *Brave New World*. Central to his vision of the capitalist utopia is a thoroughgoing schooling, and a look at that as yet imaginary system may help make our investigation of capitalism's actual efforts in the field easier.

In Huxley's *Brave New World*, education begins early. Embryos packed in bottles glide along a conveyor belt through the various chambers of the Central Hatchery and Conditioning Center. In the Social Predestination room the embryos are separated into batches of occupational and class groups according to the latest projections of future economic needs. Embryos destined to be steel workers or miners in the tropics are passed through cold tunnels and bombarded with painful doses of X-rays; by Decanting time, they hate cold and thrive on heat. Caste differences are controlled by varying the oxygen supply. Those embryos destined for the upper strata—Alphas and Betas—get the most oxygen, while those destined for the lower strata—Deltas, Gammas, Epsilons—get progressively less. The result is an appropriate mix of human product, from Alpha pluses (Emotional Programmers or World Controllers) down to the Epsilon sub-morons (machine tenders, elevator operators).

After Decanting, education proceeds in the Neo-Pavlovian Conditioning Rooms. Hypnopedic suggestion (taped messages played all night to the drugged infants) create future consumer de-

mands ("I do love having new clothes, I do love . . .") to meet future industrial production. Manual workers learn to hate books. Everyone learns to hate thinking in generalities. And, most important, everyone is trained in Elementary Class Consciousness. All night long speakers whisper at Sleeping Betas: "Alpha children wear grey. They

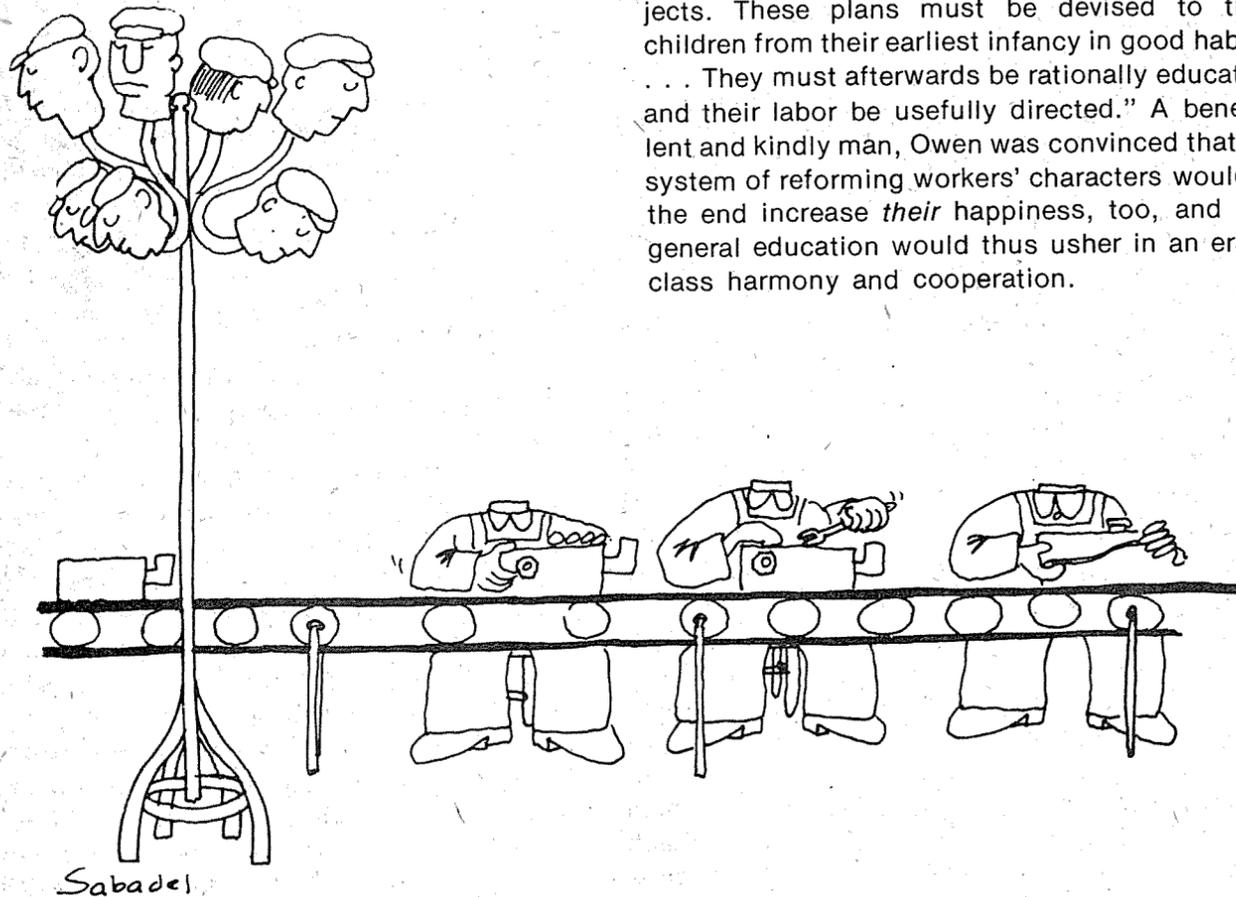
"I was wondering," said the Savage, "why you had them at all—seeing that you can get whatever you want out of those bottles. Why don't you make everybody an Alpha Double Plus while you're about it?"

Mustapha Mond laughed. "Because we have no wish to have our throats cut," he answered. "We believe in happiness and stability. A society of Alphas couldn't fail to be unstable and miserable. Imagine a factory staffed by Alphas. . . . It's an absurdity. . . . Alpha-conditioned man would go mad if he had to do Epsilon Semi-Moron work—go mad or start smashing things up."

—Aldous Huxley, "Brave New World"

work much harder than we do, because they're so frightfully clever. I'm really awfully glad I'm a Beta, because I don't work so hard. And then we are much better than the Gammas and Deltas. Gammas are stupid. They all wear green, and Delta children wear khaki. Oh no, I *don't* want to play with Delta children. And Epsilons. . . ." In time, the sorted and conditioned pupils leave their Hatchery for the real world. And they are all Very Happy.

Education in America is not this bad, of course. Not yet. But the most farsighted members of the capitalist class recognized a long time ago that the educational system could be a valuable tool for increasing profits and stabilizing the social system, and they have been inching toward a Brave New schooling system ever since. And they have hailed each step in that direction as a "reform," as a sign of "progress" and "modernity."



The Early School Reform Movement

One of the first to see the potential value of education for capitalist development was Robert Owen, the English cotton manufacturer. Early in the 19th century, Owen began to advise his fellow manufacturers, and the British ruling class in general, that force was *not* the way to make their workers more productive, orderly, and obedient. Much the better method, he said, is to mold their characters and train their minds so as to make force unnecessary. And nothing could do all this quite so well as schooling, which Owen had proved to his own satisfaction by experiments on his workers' children. The quality of the "living machines" laboring in his mills had improved significantly, he liked to recall, and there could be little doubt that schools were the cheapest and most effective way for the "privileged classes" to make workers "industrious, temperate, healthy, and faithful to their employers."

No time should be wasted, Owen emphasized. "The governing powers of all countries should establish rational plans for the education and general formation of the characters of their subjects. These plans must be devised to train children from their earliest infancy in good habits. . . . They must afterwards be rationally educated, and their labor be usefully directed." A benevolent and kindly man, Owen was convinced that his system of reforming workers' characters would in the end increase *their* happiness, too, and that general education would thus usher in an era of class harmony and cooperation.

Owen's message did not go over well in England. Workers charged him with advocating a new kind of slavery, greedy fellow capitalists preferred immediate profits to investing in future stability, and crowned heads worried that extensive education might upset the social order. (Owen himself, rejected by the ruling class, developed a vision of a new, more equal society, allied himself with working class reform movements, and in one of history's pleasanter ironies, became a socialist.)

On the other side of the Atlantic, however, where a rising class of American capitalists was confronting serious working class unrest for the first time, Owen's original program of character formation found a far more enthusiastic audience.

The great New England mill owners of the 1830's and 1840's—the Lowells and Lawrences and Appletons—had reaped huge profits from the labor of the children, country women, and impoverished Irish immigrants who toiled sixteen hours a day in their factories. This exploitation, however, had generated an angry working-class backlash of labor strikes, riots, unionization, and workingmen's parties. The nervous capitalists debated how best to respond to this challenge. They quickly and prudently organized municipal police forces, but violent repression seemed risky and shortsighted: the power of their class was not yet sufficiently secure. Besides, they believed they could wring more profit from a voluntary rather than the involuntary work force of slaves that the Southern ruling class favored.

The beleaguered capitalists thus listened with intense interest to a tiny band of "educational reformers," gentlemen like Horace Mann who were pushing Owen's idea that schooling would "improve" working-class attitudes. The problem, the reformers told the rich, was that those found "at the head of mobs, and strikes, and trades' unions" were lacking in the "moral restraint which a good education would have supplied."

Create a free, public, compulsory school system, the reformers urged. Put it under the control of a centralized, professional bureaucracy. Dedicate it to the formation of "character." Take the children of the working-class at an early age, isolate them from "bad" influences, teach them self-discipline and respect for authority. Teach them that poverty was the result, not of oppression or exploitation, but of laziness, tardiness,

and immorality.

Let the way you taught them, the rigidities of the process itself, turn unruly children into steady workers. Let well-ordered classrooms, rote learning, strict teachers instill in children the habits of industry, frugality, punctuality, and docility—all character traits desired by the factory owners. A laborer disciplined by such schooling, one reformer wrote, "works more steadily and cheerfully and therefore more productively, than one who, when a child, was left to grovel in ignorance."

"Education has a market value; . . . it is so far an article of merchandise, that it may be turned to a pecuniary account: it may be minted, and will yield a larger amount of statutable coin than common bullion."

—Horace Mann, 1841

Do all this, the reformers said, and you will implant in every working-class schoolboy the conviction—in the words of one school textbook—that he "should endeavor to cultivate in himself those qualities, to attain that knowledge and skill which will make his services most acceptable to the capitalist." Indeed, his conditioning will have been so effective that a mill owner might lower a worker's wages, and he will "not engage in strikes [but rather] increase his productiveness" to make up his lost earnings!

And all of it, the reformers pointed out, would be at public expense. Not surprisingly, the manufacturers liked what they heard.

While Mann and the reformers were delivering their pitch to the manufacturers, however, the workers were putting forth their own vision of a system of free public education. They too were dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs, but for a different reason: the capitalists were monopolizing knowledge, they said. Existing public schools taught at best minimal proficiency in the three R's—and only to self-avowed "paupers"—while exclusive private schools gave a broad education to the sons of the wealthy. This class-biased system, said the New England Workingmen's Party, kept "knowledge, the chief element of power, in the hands of the privileged few," and

doomed the children of the workers to a life in the mills merely to satisfy "the cupidity and avarice of their employers." What must be done, the workers demanded, was to smash the "monopoly of talent," to provide equal knowledge for all classes, to have free and universal schooling with a broad and comprehensive curriculum, and to place the new system "under the control and suffrage of the people," not professional bureaucrats.

The public school systems that emerged in the middle of the 19th century, as it turned out, represented an almost complete triumph for the capitalists and gentlemen reformers. Especially in Massachusetts, rigid and politically reliable bureaucracies ran the new schools expressly—as the Lynn school board remarked—to teach "sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance" to working-class youth.

And the results were encouraging. The children seemed to acquire "habits of application, respect to superiors, and obedience to law," and what this meant for labor discipline on the whole was obvious. As one grateful manufacturer told Mann in 1841, "in times of agitation, on account of some change in regulations or wages, I have always looked to the most intelligent, best educated, and the most moral [workers] for support." He said educated workers were noticeably "more orderly and respectful in their deportment, and more ready to comply with the wholesome and necessary regulations of an establishment."

The workers were anything but pleased. They voted against the new schools whenever possible until the reformers removed control from local to state levels. They stayed away in droves, driving truancy rates to 40 or 50 per cent, until the reformers made attendance compulsory and hired truant officers to track down runaways. Students disrupted classrooms, and, when teachers restored order with corporal punishment, parents invaded classrooms and beat up teachers. So the reformers claimed *in loco parentis* powers for the teachers and barred the schoolhouse doors. Immigrant communities rioted over the content of the curriculum and set up their own schools. Despite an occasional concession or accommodation, however, working-class resistance proved too ill-organized to withstand the tide. By mid-century non-capitalist conceptions of public education had all but disappeared, and those who held out for an alternative were dismissed as backward, parochial, anti-Progress. The schools had become

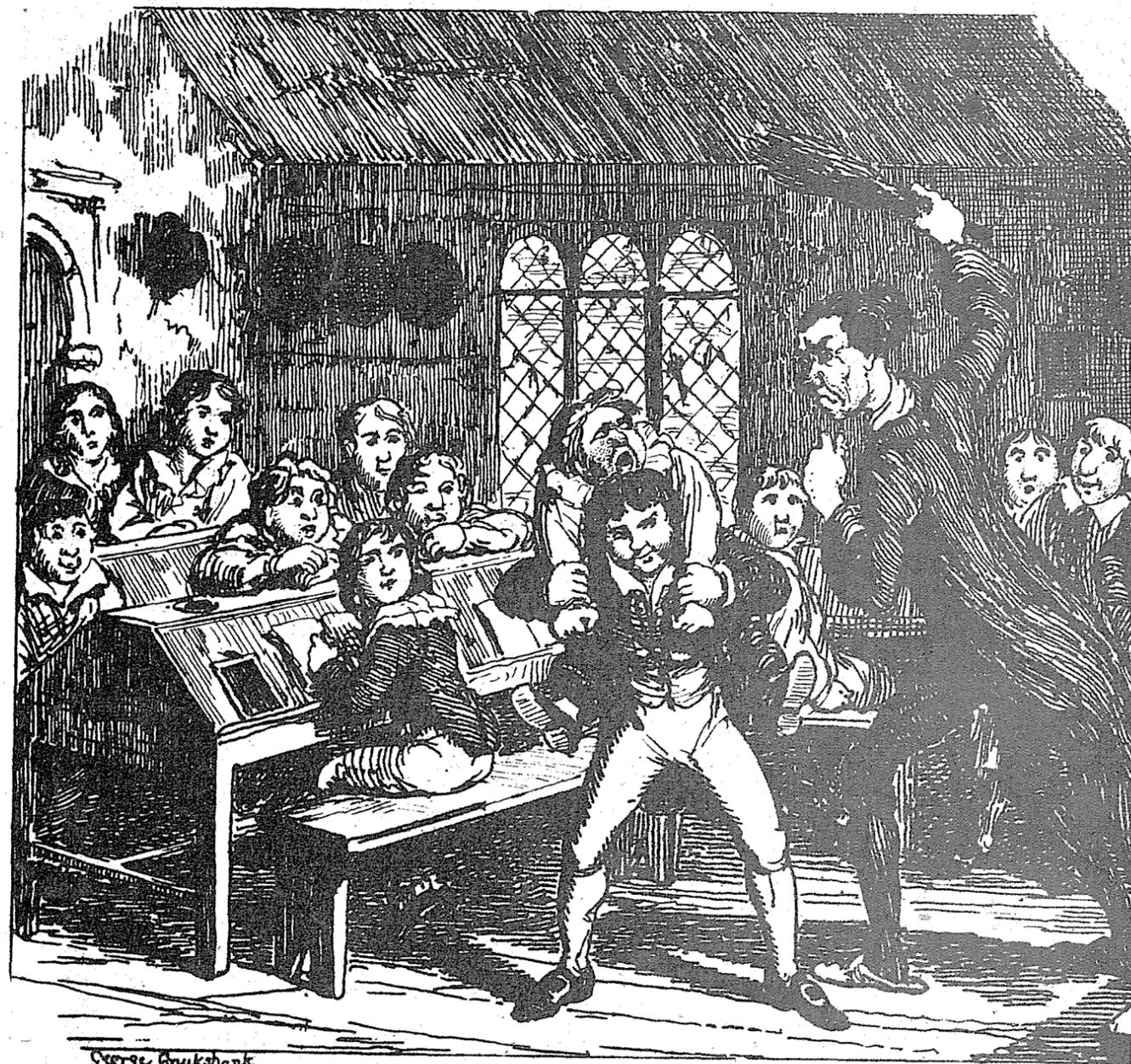
allies and adjuncts of the factories.

Efficiency and Vocationalism: the Modern System Emerges

The first public school system reared by the Manns and the Appletons served the capitalist class sufficiently for more than a generation. But toward the end of the 19th century, in the age of the great Robber Barons, it became apparent that the schools were not keeping pace with new developments in the economy and society. Industrial organizations were vastly larger and more powerful than anything imagined in the days of the Abbots and the Lowells. Factories had become more mechanized. Management wanted efficiency, precision, speed. The insatiable demand for cheap, unskilled labor brought millions of uprooted farmers and immigrants to the cities.

The working class was changing too. It was becoming more organized, more vocal, more prepared for struggle. The union movement grew rapidly, and socialist parties blossomed. Open class warfare broke out in the streets of eastern cities and obscure western mining towns. Great strikes convulsed the country, shutting down factories, railroads, and entire cities. If public schools were supposed to help prevent this sort of thing, they were doing a terrible job.

The best course of action in this crisis, advised a new generation of reformers, is not to abandon the schools, but to increase their efficiency. Bring them up-to-date by using the most modern management techniques. Curricula should be judged by cost effectiveness standards. Teachers should be judged by their "productivity," which could be increased by freezing salaries or increasing class sizes and instructional hours, or both. Students, too, should be judged by their productivity, in this case through the use of standardized "achievement" tests. School superintendents should think of themselves as plant managers, of their teachers as workers, and of their students as raw material to be shaped in accordance with the needs of industry. In short, the schools should become factories themselves, subject to the same criteria of success and the same methods of management as all capitalist organizations. (Current CUNY faculty might note the attitude of a popular manual of the day toward the position of teacher: William Chandler Bagley's *Classroom Management* (1907) insisted that teachers owed "unques-



"The school pupil simply gets used to established order and expects it and obeys it as a habit. He will maintain it as a sort of instinct in after life, whether he has ever learned the theory of it or not."

—William T. Harris, U.S.
Commissioner of Education, 1891

tioned obedience" to superiors, for their position was entirely analogous to laborers working in "the army, navy, governmental departments, [and the] great business enterprises.")

Just how far towards the Brave New World all of this could be carried became clear in the so-called Platoon Schools of the early 20th century. Invented in the industrial center of Gary, Indiana, the Platoon School aimed at maximizing plant utilization by achieving assembly-line standardization and efficiency. Orderly " platoons" of students moved by the bell from room to room on precise schedules, enabling every teacher to see as many as 400 a day and teach up to 1000 a week! To the reformers, it was a triumph of scientific management. By 1929 more than a thousand schools in over two hundred cities were on the Gary Plan. Only determined teacher resistance kept it out of New York City.

Managing the schools like factories was a means to other, still more vital ends. Labor discipline, as in the past, was one of the most important. As the president of the National Education Association said, good schools did more "to suppress the latent flame of communism than all other agencies combined." Good schools, agreed the federal Commissioner of Education, would contribute to class cooperation, combat the writings of Karl Marx and Henry George, and teach pupils "first of all to respect the rights of organized industry." Good schools, added the President of Harvard, would also teach the masses greater respect for the experts and specialists who were to direct public affairs. "The democracy must learn . . . in governmental affairs," he said,

**"I hear the whistle. I must hurry.
I hear the five minute whistle.
It is time to go into the shop . . .
I change my clothes and get ready
to work. . . .
I work until the whistle blows to
quit.
I leave my place nice and clean."**

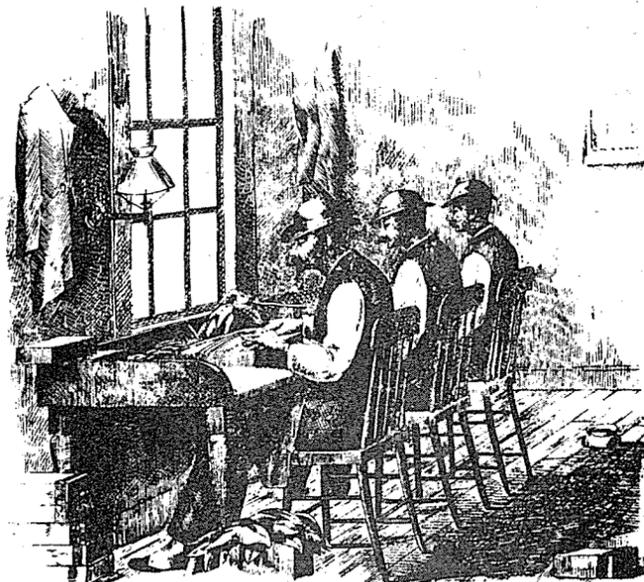
—English lessons for immigrant employees, International Harvester Company, early 1900s

"to employ experts and abide by their decisions." Schools, he added, should "make the masses aware of their limitations." ("Alpha children are so frightfully clever, I'm awfully glad I'm a Beta.")

Besides striving for better labor discipline, the new improved public schools would strive to do a better job of sorting students along appropriate class, occupational, and ethnic lines. One educator formulated the mechanics of it this way:

"We can picture the educational system as having a very important function as a selecting agency, a means of selecting the men of best intelligence from the deficient and mediocre. All are poured into the system at the bottom; the incapable are soon rejected or drop out after repeating various grades and pass into the ranks of unskilled labor. . . . The more intelligent who are to be clerical workers pass into the high school; the most intelligent enter the universities, whence they are selected for the professions."

It all sounded "objective" and "meritocratic." It was nothing of the sort. Working-class children got tracked and counselled and tested into the manual-industrial programs (and such programs expanded enormously in this period) while middle-class children were sorted into the college-bound groove. The relegation of working-class children to the factories was now justified on the convenient grounds that their grades and test scores demonstrated insufficient ability to advance any further. The tests themselves—such as the IQ test—were grossly class-biased in the first place, and so the whole apparatus simply served as a supposedly "scientific" device for reproducing the existing social order.



It was brilliant and simple, and it caught on swiftly. A new sub-profession of educational psychologists sprang up, devoted to creating, administering, and interpreting more and more tests. By the 1930's almost every major school system in the country had adopted the IQ test and its allegedly "objective" measurements of ability. Everywhere the goal was the same: to persuade the children of factory workers that being sent back to the factories was due, not to exploitation, but to heredity.

The new tracking system was aimed at the entire working class, but it specialized in the Americanization of immigrant workers. "For the immigrant children," declared one educator bluntly, "the public schools are the sluiceways into Americanism. When the stream of alien childhood flows through them, it will issue into the reservoirs of national life with the old world taints filtered out, and the qualities retained that make for loyalty and good citizenship." Special textbooks taught immigrants cleanliness, hard work, and how to apply for a job, and they were swiftly tracked into vocational programs.

The result, declared the Cleveland Superintendent of Schools (in an early example of perverting language by giving bad practices good names), was not *discrimination*, but rather a wholesome and appropriate *differentiation*: "It is obvious that the educational needs of children in a district where the streets are well paved and clean, where the homes are spacious and surrounded by lawns and trees, where the language of the child's playfellows is pure, and where life in general is permeated with the spirit and ideals of America—it is obvious that the educational needs of such a child are radically different from those of the child who lives in a foreign and tenement section."

What is important to keep in mind here is that all of this was done openly and with endless professions of good will. No secret meetings, no midnight directives: it was sufficient that the reformers believed themselves to be on the side of social progress, for the capitalist class had long since succeeded in identifying social progress with its own enrichment. Nor, by the same token, did the reformers need to think too deeply about the nature of their reforms. As the agents of progress, they could genuinely claim to want nothing more than to uplift and improve the ignorant working class.

"However successful organized labor has been in many ways, it has never succeeded in directing the education of its children. Capital still prepares the school books and practically controls the school systems of the world."

—Roger Babson, 1914

Capitalism Goes to College

While scientific management, testing, and tracking were sweeping the public schools, capitalism was also beginning to extend its power over higher education as well. Until now, American colleges were few in number, often under religious control, and almost always dedicated to training the Alphas of society—merchants, lawyers, ministers, gentlemen. Their curricula followed the classical liberal tradition, frowned on science, and aimed at preparing students to deal responsibly with the large issues of their day. The gates of these quiet, elitist sanctuaries were closed, of course, to women, blacks, and anyone else without the proper social credentials.

For the great capitalist Robber Barons who came to power after the Civil War—the Goulds, Rockefellers, Carnegies, and others—such a system was old-fashioned, limited, and not sufficiently practical. What the new industrial order needed was not a handful of well-bred, classically-educated gentlemen, but armies of specialists in management, marketing, accounting, engineering, business law, public relations, labor relations, government, economics, and the sciences. What the new industrial order needed was not a limited number of men trained to think in generalities, but swarms of experts who would concentrate upon one small area of knowledge and leave the larger questions about the shape and direction of society to others. What the new industrial order needed was to marshal and train its best minds for the deepening struggle against socialism, communism, and unionism. What the new industrial order needed was large numbers of teachers to help train and track the working class in the burgeoning public education system. What the new industrial order needed, in short, was a massive expansion and reorientation of higher

education analogous to the expansion and reorientation of public schooling a half-century earlier.

And what the capitalists wanted, they very largely got. In one college after another, the demand for experts and specialists saw the old classical curriculum replaced by the free elective system, which as Richard Hofstadter noted, "seemed like an academic transcription of liberal capitalist thinking [for] it added to the total efficiency of society by conforming to the principal of division of intellectual labor."

"Educate, and save ourselves and our families and our money from mobs."

—Henry Lee Higginson,
benefactor of Harvard, 1886

Sexual barriers against women in higher education were deliberately lowered to fill the demand for public school teachers (from the end of the Civil War to 1900 the number of women in higher education rose from practically nothing to some 61,000—about 40 per cent of the total college enrollment—and 43,000 were in teacher training programs.)

Faculties and academic bureaucracies everywhere grew by leaps and bounds as the schools expanded to accommodate a rapidly-growing student population of potential Betas as well as Alphas.

Ultimately, with the multiplication of new research centers, professional schools, and graduate schools, a new kind of institution came into being—the University, higher education's equivalent to the giant industrial corporation.

There wasn't much doubt as to who was in charge of things, either. Rich industrialists and financiers were pumping millions into the colleges and universities for libraries, classrooms, and professional schools. Business schools were especially popular monuments to individual philanthropy. Joseph Wharton, a wealthy Philadelphia manufacturer set the standard, but John D. Rockefeller started a boom: his College of Commerce and Administration was founded in 1898, by 1915 there were forty such schools, by 1925 one hundred and eighty-three.

Sometimes entire universities were built from scratch by impatient Robber Barons. Rockefeller

took thirty-four million dollars and created the University of Chicago. Railroad mogul Leland Stanford, Jr. immortalized himself with Stanford University. Soon everybody wanted one. Carnegie built a university for himself, and Mellon, and old Vanderbilt, and Charles Pratt of Standard Oil, and Johns Hopkins.

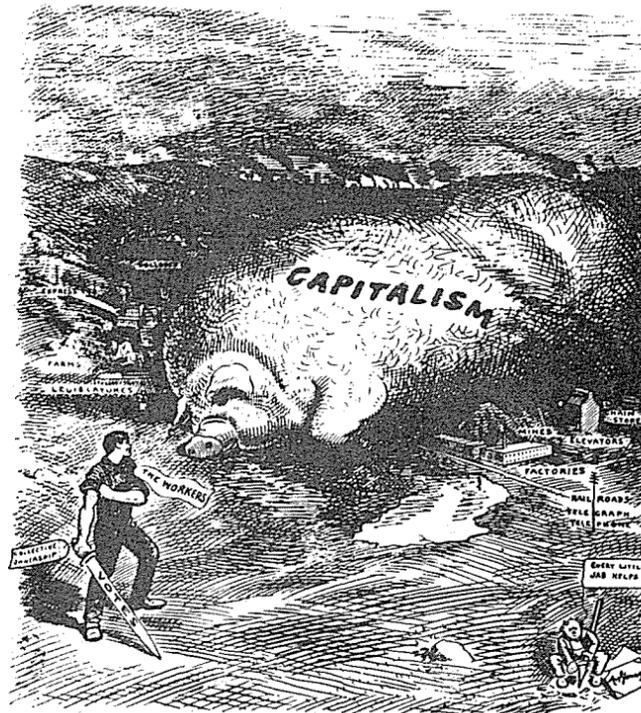
And what the capitalists didn't buy or build, they took over. Big businessmen, bankers, brokers, and philanthropists flocked to seats on the governing boards of colleges and universities until, as Charles and Mary Beard put it, by "the end of the century the roster of American trustees of higher learning read like a corporation directory."

The new owners of American higher education did not hesitate to use their power to see that the system produced the kind of product they wanted. They busied themselves with assuring ideological orthodoxy by removing radicals and liberals from their faculties, much in the way they heaved union organizers out of their plants. Leland Stanford's widow learned that economist Edward A. Ross advocated free silver and municipal ownership of utilities. She was appalled. "God forbid that Stanford University should ever favor socialism of any kind," she said, and sacked him. At Chicago, President William Rainey Harper called economist Edward W. Bemis on the carpet after the latter had delivered a mild anti-railroad company speech during the Pullman Strike (1894) and told him: "Your speech has caused me a great deal of annoyance. It is hardly safe for me to venture into any of the Chicago clubs. I am pounced upon from all sides." Exit Bemis. Wisconsin bounced Richard T. Ely, Indiana evicted John R. Commons, and Northwestern dismissed Henry Wade Rogers; the first two harbored antimonopoly views, the third opposed American imperialism of the 1890s.

Enter the Foundations

By the turn of the century, however, it was already becoming apparent to the most farsighted capitalists that direct, heavy-handed interventions in higher education were not in their best interests. Many campuses were in turmoil, and a national organization of faculty, the American Association of University Professors, had taken the field to fight the grosser cases of political retribution against its members. In their factories, too, capitalists learned that workers were

willing to meet violence with violence, and that the recurrent bloodbaths at Homestead, Pullman, Coeur d'Alene and scores of other sites were beginning to seem counterproductive. Aside from the expense and disruption, popular opinion was shifting against the arrogant attitude of such Robber Barons as Jay Gould, who had once boasted that he could "hire one half of the working class to kill the other half." Increasingly, in their plants and on their campuses, some capitalists began seeking subtler, less abrasive means of accomplishing their objectives.



non-denominational, had at least eight departments with each headed by a Ph.D., had so many requirements, so many library books, and so on.

It worked like magic. The colleges jumped for Carnegie's money, abandoning the old order with hardly a look back. Says one historian of this remarkable process: "There were emergency sessions of boards of trustees throughout the country, and charters that had been considered inviolate were in many places quickly changed." The trustees had, after all, little choice. With Carnegie money, colleges could buy the best faculty and divert their own resources to other improvements; without it they might go under. The impact on religious colleges was stunning: either they dropped their denominational affiliations overnight, or with their religious banners flying from their masts, sank slowly out of sight for lack of funds.

From 1902 to 1938, Rockefeller and Carnegie spent a total of \$680 million on higher education, most all of it for "noncontroversial purposes." This sum amounted to *two-thirds* of the total endowment of all American institutions of higher learning—colleges, universities, and professional schools included—and one fifth of the total operating expenses. All the while that massive transformations were underway, the foundations could correctly claim that they were imposing nothing on these institutions—whether they conformed to "standards" or not was up to them. The reality, of course, was that in capitalist America, where education like everything else could only survive if it turned a profit, the Foundations' wishes had virtually the force of law.

To gain still greater leverage over the system,

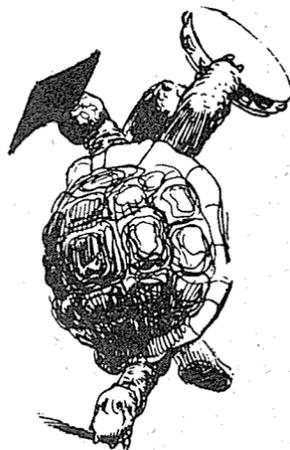
the foundations concentrated their benevolence on the top twenty colleges and universities, which received about 73 per cent of all foundation monies between 1902 and 1934. As there were more than a thousand institutions in the United States this was concentrated giving indeed. Not only did this multiply the weight of foundation dollars, but it also accelerated the tendency toward centralization and homogenization in higher education. A few great university centers, their reputations and resources enhanced by foundation money, were increasingly able to call the tune in curricula, scholarship, and ideology for other, poorer institutions. By their preeminence in Ph.D. production, moreover, these few great university centers supplied satellite college centers in the provinces with their duly certified professoriates. The superstar status of the Ivy League was in large measure a capitalist construct.

By the eve of World War II, American higher education had undergone a breathtaking transformation. Capitalism still ruled the nation's colleges and universities, still treated them as vital elements in the new industrial order. But the crude, rough, direct control of the Robber Barons had been muted. Real power over higher education now belonged to the foundations, which established uniformity, conformity, and orthodoxy with barely a ripple on the surface of public opinion. As a former division chief of the Rockefeller Foundation said with smug satisfaction, "the foundations became in effect the American way of discharging many of the functions performed in other countries by the Ministry of Education."



"A university principal who wants his institution to expand has no alternative except to see it expand in the directions of which one or another of the foundations happens to approve. There may be doubt, or even dissent among the teachers in the institution, but what possible chance has doubt or dissent against a possible gift of, say, a hundred thousand dollars?"

—Harold Laski, after a stay at Harvard



The Era of the Multiversity

World War II brought a third great change in the relationship between capitalism and higher education. In 1956, the top management of General Electric pointed to three distinct services which higher education performs for business: "(1) *new knowledge* through research and competent teaching; (2) an adequate supply of *educated manpower*; and (3) an *economic, social, and political climate* in which companies like General Electric can survive and continue to progress." None of these, of course, was entirely new. What was new, rather, was the degree of capitalist dependency upon the higher educational system, and the organizational changes brought about in that system as a result.

Let's examine each of GE's three goals in greater detail, and what lies behind them.

NEW KNOWLEDGE: American capitalism now spends some \$20 billion a year on research and development. R&D, as they like to call it, is now the prerequisite for technological development, upon which hinges the continued survival of the capitalist system. At the very center of this enterprise, moreover, stands the American university. University labs perform so-called basic research; whenever they come up with something that might have productive applications, it is whisked off to the corporate labs, there to be transformed into a marketable, profit-making commodity—or a new weapon with which American business can ensure its continued dominance abroad.

EDUCATED MANPOWER: For the last century or so, as we have seen, the universities were expected to supply more and more highly skilled workers for the relentlessly-expanded capitalist productive system. Until roughly World War II, however, higher education still devoted itself to training society's Alphas and Betas. Now it is expected to train Deltas and Gammas as well—and even, on occasion, future Epsilons. What that means is not only preparing students to accept dull, dead-end jobs without regret or complaint, but also smothering their aspirations for something better later on. Behind this new expectation lies a dramatic change in the composition of the nation's workforce. Blue collar and unskilled occupations, while still a large element of the work force, have declined relative to so-called white collar occupations, that is, clerical or

professional-technical work. These new workers, says the Bureau of Labor statistics, "generally acquire their occupational training in a four year college or university."

Only some of the skills required in these new workers are technical, as in, say, inhalation therapy or computer programming. Many are also in more basic areas, such as literary or competency in human relations. The Chase Manhattan Bank, for example, wants its tellers to be literate and capable of effective public relations, for which it gives them courses in sociology, psychology, and English, along with the usual training in accounting or "secretarial science."

"Educated manpower," in other words, means manpower trained not only in specific skills, but in character as well—trained, that is, to take orders, to work efficiently, to cultivate self-discipline, to "relate" effectively with other workers, and so on. This kind of training is new to higher education, though not to the public schools. It is still largely alien to the great elite institutions that produce administrative and professional workers who must be able to organize, innovate, decide, and rule—abilities that capitalists deem inappropriate, even subversive, for the great mass of college graduates.

There's no real mystery as to why the colleges and universities were designated to train these new workers. For one thing, as with the creation of mass public education in the pre-Civil War Era, the creation of mass higher education since World War II has enabled American capitalists to continue training their workers at public expense. We thus have a situation in which working class parents must find all or part of the money to give their children the college education that will qualify them to remain in the working class! Then, too, a centralized system of higher education can respond more effectively than any other existing institutional system to the labor needs of the capitalist class, while at the same time maintaining the illusion that its products are free to choose their own futures.

Finally, the very nature of life in modern colleges and universities is looked on by capitalists as excellent preparation for work in complex bureaucratic organizations. The Carnegie Commission, for instance, firmly believes that today's "college graduate has *demonstrated* his willingness to accept functional authority, to postpone gratification, to work steadily."

SOCIAL CLIMATE GOOD FOR CAPITALISM: In this, the third of GE's three tasks for contemporary higher education, American colleges and universities have also done their best. Many aspects of college and university life, in addition to the bureaucratic environment just mentioned, help construct a climate of values and expectations hospitable to the expansion of capitalism. These might be called the "silent curriculum," for though they do not appear in the catalogues they are taught just the same.

At the top of the list is daily indoctrination in the individualistic, competitive morality of "free enterprise" capitalism. Each student is on her or his own in a dog-eat-dog, sink-or-swim competition for recognition, grades, and even admission to courses. To survive is to become self-reliant, cynical, combative, and ready, when necessary, even to cheat or connive against friends in the quest for success and personal advantage. Those who drop out of the running are stigmatized as weak, ineffectual, doomed to failure. The notion

"If business and industry could not draw upon a large reservoir of educated manpower, they would be handicapped in every phase of their operations. American education does a job for business and industry."

—Frank Abrams, ex-head of GM

of learning as a collective enterprise has little if any support. Indeed, one learns that learning is *work*—and like all work in capitalist society something to be avoided, evaded, and escaped from as soon as possible.

Along with indoctrination in competitive individualism goes specialization. Knowledge is broken into pieces—sociology here, economics there. Nobody deals with whole problems anymore, and that is an important preparation for a world in which no worker ever produces a whole product. Anyone who defies this intellectual compartmentalization, who attempts to think about whole social or moral questions, is dismissed as a visionary or a fool.

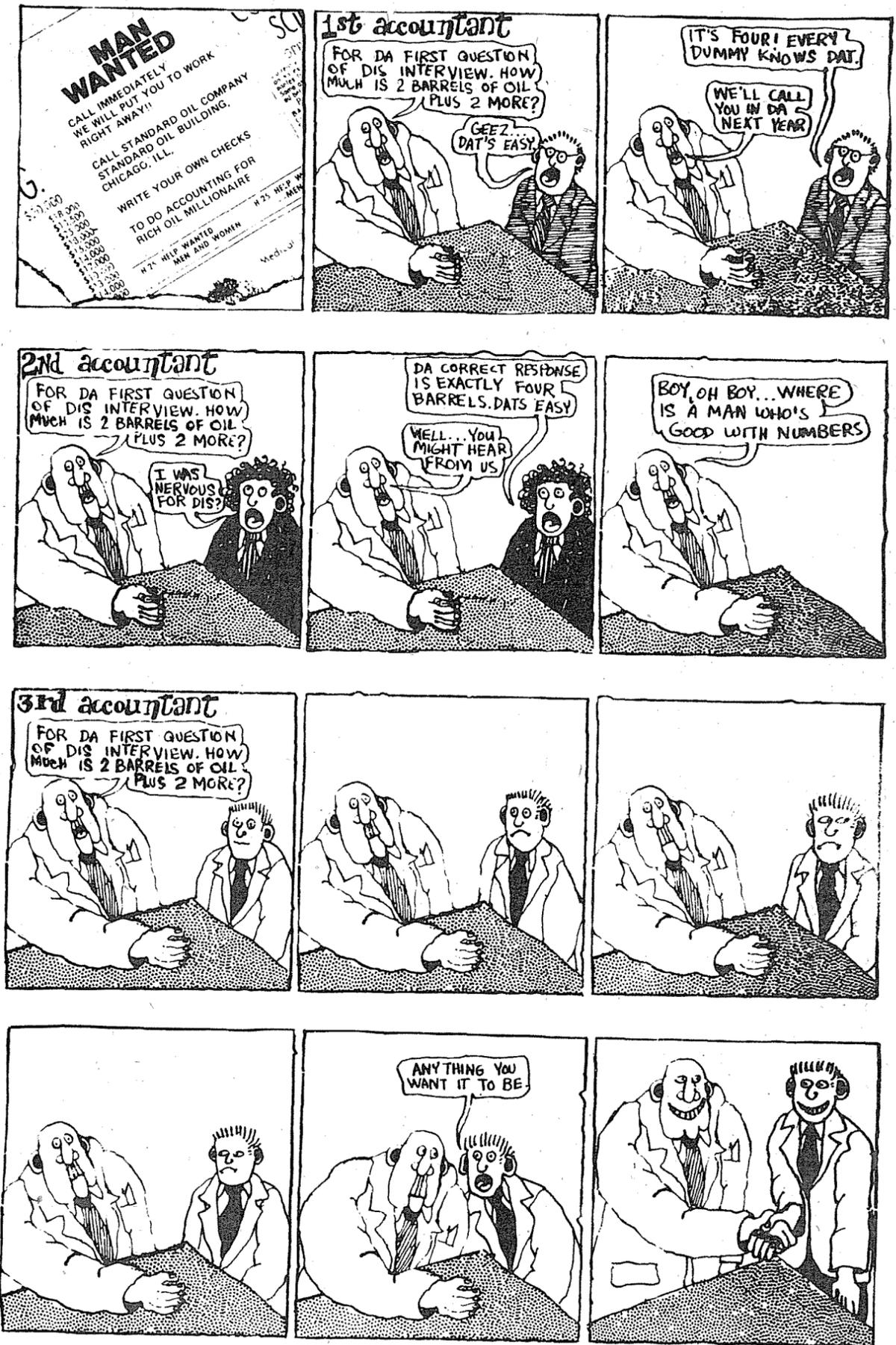
Students learn instead to be "professionals"—that is, to ignore the consequences of what they do in the laboratories, computer rooms, and libra-

ries. Their teachers, of course, rarely encourage them to do otherwise, for (largely thanks to Carnegie and company) American colleges and universities now have "professional" faculty, whose professionalism is measured exactly by the depth of their commitment to narrow, exclusive "specialties." Teachers who might rebel against this division of intellectual labor, whether in classrooms or publications, are accused of "unprofessional" conduct and abusing their "academic freedom." Small wonder that big business looks to higher education to create a climate within which capitalism can flourish: the very approach to knowledge in American colleges and universities practically guarantees that their graduates will accept some basic premises of the system.

A final component of the "silent curriculum" is instruction in passive obedience to hierarchical authority. Authority in the typical college or university starts at the top and flows down. Its objects—students, faculty, and lower-level administrators—have little or no defense against it, little or no role in deciding for what purposes it is used, and little or no knowledge of where it comes from in the first place.

Colleges and universities, in short, are now organized and operated pretty much like large bureaucratic structures in business or government. Mere survival requires submission and acceptance and resignation. The "system" must be acknowledged as too tough to beat, even for those who know how it works. More and more often the campus is a breeding ground for one of the strongest props the system has—cynicism. Attitudes like "you can't fight 80th Street" become "you can't fight City Hall" become "you can't beat the system—so you might as well join it." The university engenders a weary acceptance of whatever the capitalist planners propose as the next step, and the planners know it. As the Carnegie Commission said, a major function of higher education is "to create greater appreciation of the intricacies of a society in constant change and a sense of being able to cope with these intricacies." College, they added, tends to "reduce the tendency toward blind reaction to the ordeal of change." College graduates, in other words, *cope with*—they do not question, or oppose—"change."

New Knowledge, Educated Manpower, and an Appropriate Social Climate—these are what GE publicly suggested it wanted from American col-



leges and universities. It tactfully did not add two other major features of the post-W.W. II system of higher education in the United States that big business has applauded and encouraged: *tracking* and *cooling out the unemployed*. Let us briefly examine each of these, too.

TRACKING: The mass influx of working-class youth into colleges and universities since 1945 helped to expand capitalist production, but it also threatened to upset the capitalist social system. Previously, as we have seen, higher education was reserved for the elite, and college graduates could expect elite careers. With millions coming to the campuses, however, this arrangement was in trouble: elite jobs simply couldn't be found for everybody, but if everybody were equally educated the great majority might begin to question the justice of their occupational destinations.

The solution was to set up a complex class-tracking system, very much like the one set up when mass public education was created a century before. In essence, the idea was to make sure that working class youth did *not* get a college education equal to that given middle class (to say nothing of ruling class) youth. First, a handful of institutions would be set clearly above the rest—and access controlled by high tuition charges and strict admissions policies. A diploma from one of the Ivy League colleges, then, would be worth distinctly more on the job market than a diploma from, say, the City University of New York.

More to the point, working-class youth would be channeled into an entirely new kind of higher educational institution: the two year "community college." These would charge either very low tuition, or none at all. As a famous sociologist suggested in the *Wall Street Journal* several years ago: "If we can no longer keep the floodgates closed at the admissions office, it at least seems wise to channel the general flow away from four year colleges and toward two year extensions of high school in the junior and community colleges."

These "extensions of high school" are intended to serve black and white working class youth, giving them technical and industrial training, *but little else*. Training is kept specific—graduates have only a narrow range of occupational skills, and will thus be locked into one occupational slot. They are given only the scantiest of liberal arts coursework, usually in a standardized high school fashion, and, ideally, they get absolutely no

critical awareness about the nature of the economy and society they will soon be entering. The extra-curricular activities and general cultural life so important a part of the elite campus world are generally absent, and, as most working class students must work to support themselves, they would have little time for such amenities anyway. Quasi-parental controls and counseling aimed at developing "realistic job expectations" complete the picture. Such an education will almost certainly guarantee that working class students remain in the working class despite the possession of a "college education."

Or worse. One avowed function of the dreary community colleges is to flunk out—or, as the sociologists say, "cool out"—working class students when the economic situation requires it. [See accompanying box] Conned into thinking that their failures are their own fault, the drop-outs accept assignment to the lowest ranks of the job market or even permanent unemployment. At the same time, they are urged to accept those who make it through the university system as superior to them, and thus entitled to wield power over them.

"One dilemma of a cooling-out role is that it must be kept reasonably away from public scrutiny and not clearly perceived or understood by prospective clientele. Should it become obvious, the organization's ability to perform it would be impaired.

—B.R. Clark, "The Cooling Out Function in Higher Education,"
American Journal of Sociology, 1960

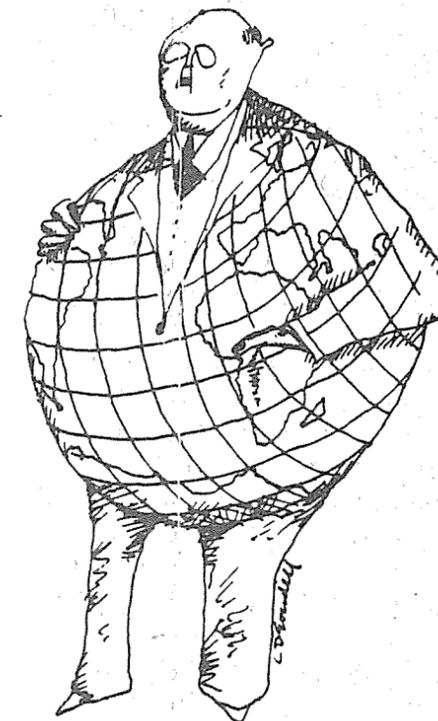
COOLING OUT THE UNEMPLOYED: Capitalism has also looked to higher education to absorb, even temporarily, large numbers of young women and men who might otherwise have entered the job market immediately after high school—only to find no jobs. The roots of this go back to the end of the Second World War. The fear of millions of veterans returning to no jobs led to passage of the GI Bill, enabling millions of potentially unemployed to go off to school instead. In college, of course, the GIs, and now all potentially unemployed people, are also subjected to

the "silent curriculum," so that, the capitalists hope, they will go back out onto the labor market with "correct" values and attitudes. Not surprisingly, many two-year colleges were strategically placed in urban working class areas with high rates of unemployment. The point, of course, was not primarily to help the jobless, but to reduce the likelihood of their angrily turning against a system that condemns them to permanent poverty.

Together, all of these capitalist demands upon America's colleges and universities since 1945—demands for new knowledge, educated manpower, a favorable social climate, social tracking, and the cooling out of the unemployed—have brought profound changes in the entire landscape of American higher education. The embodiment of all these changes is the "multiversity," a mammoth enterprise with thousands of employees, tens of thousands of students, and budgets that run into the hundreds of millions of dollars. The hallmark of a "multiversity," though, is not size or expense alone. It is rather extreme sensitivity to every wish and whim of the great "philanthropic" foundations, corporations, and government—the three main vehicles by which the capitalist class communicates its needs to colleges and universities generally. Let us consider each of these in turn, for these are the agencies which currently determine much of the shape of our lives. Together they form an Educational Establishment that speaks for the ruling class.

THE FOUNDATIONS: Joined by powerful newcomers like the Ford Foundation, philanthropic foundations continue to play a central role in shaping higher education to serve capitalism. In the age of the multiversity, though, the foundations' tactics have shifted somewhat. The old carrot-and-stick method of funding projects brought to them by others—but only those of which they approve—is now a task given over more and more to the corporations and the government, which have much greater financial resources. The foundations instead serve as Master Planners. They themselves establish what they want, and propose ways to get it. Consider some of their activities in the recent past.

At the end of the Second World War, American capitalism found it lacked sufficient personnel to run its vastly expanding empire. It required foreign service and State Department bureaucrats, CIA personnel, authorities on communist and Third World countries, and staff for the internation-



"The truly major changes in university life have been initiated from the outside, by such forces as Napoleon in France, ministers of education in Germany, royal commissions and the University Grants Committee in Great Britain, the Communist Party in Russia, the emperor at the time of the Restoration in Japan, the lay university governing boards and the federal Congress in the United States—and also, in the United States, by the foundations."

—Clark Kerr, "The Uses of the University," 1963

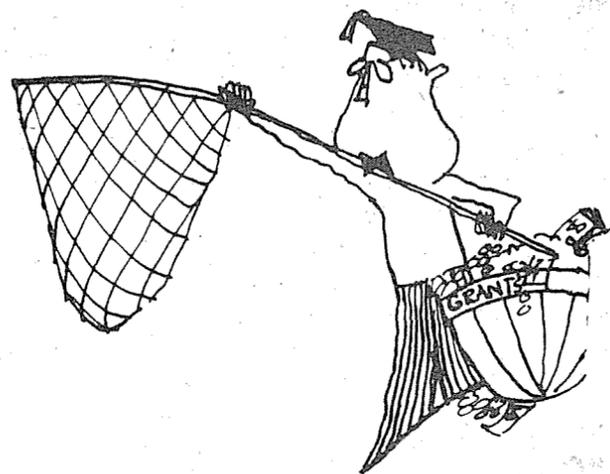
al offices of such operations as the Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, First National City, Mobil Oil, and the Pentagon. The campuses not only were not supplying such personnel, they resisted doing so.

The foundations swung into action. Columbia University was picked as an early target. The Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation dangled a small fortune before the Columbia Trustees, overran faculty opposition, and created first the Russian Institute, then the School of International Affairs. These agencies were largely run by non-Columbia people (largely OSS veterans like Allen Dulles, who would later head the CIA, or members of the Council on Foreign Relations, like Schuyler Wallace, who would later go to the Ford Foundation). The foundations provided fellowships for students, guaranteed publication of faculty books and articles, and soon watched SIA graduates troop off to their intended slots. The foundations then moved on to other elite schools—Ford launched the Institute of International Studies at Berkeley—and soon transformed the curricula at most major institutions. By 1969 twelve of the country's top universities had international institutes, and eleven of them were funded by the Ford Foundation.

The foundations acted with similar dispatch to establish formal ruling class organizations—think tanks—where leaders of top corporations and their top academic supporters meet and map global and national strategy. Chief among these are the Council on Foreign Relations, the Committee for Economic Development, the Brookings Institution, the Bureau of Economic Research, the Population Council, and Resources for the Future.

The foundations subtly altered the course of scholarly research. Foundation creations like the Social Science Research Council (built and backed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund) became the greatest patrons, or clearing houses of patronage, for the social sciences. Proposals they liked got funded; those they didn't, didn't, and so often didn't get written.

An example of how foundation money transformed the academic landscape in the postwar era was the sudden rise of behaviorism and its intellectual first cousin, pluralist political ideology. Though neither had enjoyed more than a local following before the war, both favored premises and techniques—a supposedly "value-free" em-



piricism, an acceptance of the given socio-economic framework as the basis of analysis, an aversion to theoretical probing that might call the existing order into question, a focus on gathering information about the "masses" rather than the "elites", an insistence that America is an effective democracy in which no class wields predominant political power—all of which seemed tailor-made for the ideological and economic concerns of the capitalist class after the war. Rockefeller's SSRC was first to recognize the usefulness of behaviorism and pluralism, but Ford and Carnegie were not far behind. By the 1950's millions were flowing to those academics who pursued behaviorist research, and by the 1960's behaviorism had been enthroned as the dominant discipline in colleges and universities throughout the country. Behaviorists ran the big departments and professional associations, and professors who thought differently had more and more difficulty getting promoted, getting published, or getting jobs. Robert Dahl's pluralist studies of power got Rockefeller money; C. Wright Mills was black-listed after writing *The Power Elite*. After a time scholars came to know what would and what would not "get a grant".

Behaviorism, to be sure, was not invented by the foundations; it was, as David Horowitz has observed, "ripe for the times." But as Dahl himself has pointed out: "If the foundations had been hostile to the behavioral approach, there can be no doubt that it would have had very rough sledding indeed." Asks Horowitz: "How many equally ripe ideas lacked the risk capital to

demonstrate their validity?"

We will deal specifically with the foundations' current proposals for higher education a little later on. Here let us add only that the influence of the foundations over the shape and content of American higher education is greater and more pervasive than ever before. And, perhaps worst of all, they know it. Reading foundation reports (see the accompanying Box dealing with the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education) is a chilling business. They have given up suggesting: now they pronounce. The tone is vintage Big Brother.

"Company contributions [to higher education] have now been tested by experience over a long enough span of time to be proved a sound investment. They are not philanthropy. Guided by reason and a clear purpose, they are an aspect of good management in the conduct of business."

—Council for Financial Aid to Education, 1956

THE CORPORATIONS: Corporate influence over American higher education means money, and corporation money has been floating around colleges and universities for a long time. Corporate giving began early in the century led by chemical firms like Du Pont. It did not assume its present proportions until 1951, however, when Frank Abrams, Chairman of the board of Standard Oil, arranged a successful court challenge of a law barring direct corporate grants to universities (as opposed to being funneled through individual businessmen). The judge, in issuing the opinion that took the limits off corporate giving, observed that "as industrial conditions change, business methods must change with them and acts become permissible which at an earlier period would not have been considered to be within corporate power."

The very next year, the big foundations established a super-foundation called the Council for Financial Aid to Education (CFAE). CFAE's board consisted of sixteen leading capitalists and twelve university presidents. The top leadership included Abrams, Alfred Sloan (ex-Chairman of the Board

of General Motors), and Irving S. Olds (former Chairman of the Board of U.S. Steel). The CFAE promptly began funneling corporate money into colleges and universities. Its leaders admitted, moreover, that altruism was the farthest thing from their minds: "Company contributions have now been tested over a long enough span of time to be proved a sound investment. They are *not* philanthropy. Guided by reason and a clear purpose, they are an aspect of good management in the conduct of business." Last year the corporate sector poured some \$400 million into higher education in the interests of business.

THE STATE: Government intervention in higher education has expanded enormously in recent decades. Its greatly increased role mirrors a general tendency of modern capitalism. Though the state has long been a useful ally of the capitalists, its use was greatly accelerated by the crisis of the Great Depression of the 1930s. It became clear to all but the most shortsighted capitalists that the system could no longer avoid collapse unless the state structure was brought in to prop it up. Guided by Keynesianism, the state became—beginning with the New Deal—the stabilizer of the system. It regulated excessive competition, it underwrote loans, it guarded corporate investments abroad, it primed the pump during the ever recurring slumps, it established social security and other such cushions to dampen working class unrest. With the Second World War, the state moved still more massively into partnership with the corporations until now the very distinctions of private and public sector have become largely meaningless.

So, too, did the state involve itself massively in higher education. Beginning with huge federally-supported weapons research during the Second World War, it expanded a hundred-fold in twenty years, delivering \$1.5 billion a year by the mid-sixties and now providing over \$16 billion annually. Money is not the whole of it. The GI Bill of 1946 sent over a million veterans to college. Truman's Commission on Higher Education proposed massive reorganizations, as did an Eisenhower-appointed panel (headed by Devereaux Josephs of Carnegie and New York Equitable Life). Reacting to Sputnik, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act in 1958, to ensure continued global predominance. Kennedy, spurred by the foundations, fathered the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and Johnson added the

Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, and the Higher Education Act of 1965.

In one institution after another the State became the primary source of income. With the passing of financial independence went the passing of institutional independence. The heavy, almost endless flow of hard cash has, to be sure, provided many good things—libraries, dormitories, medical programs. But, as with all largess in capitalist society, there is a price. Academic priorities have been warped and twisted for the convenience of its patron. Consider only the relative flow of funds. Of the \$16 billion given in 1969, 60 per cent went to physical sciences, 30 per cent to life sciences, 3 per cent to the social sciences, and the rest to "other". To receive these funds, moreover, universities must throw their existing resources into programs and curricula that will attract federal attention. That means bigger and better high-energy particle accelerators, cutbacks for the social sciences, and intensified efforts by campus counselors and admissions officers to adjust student enrollments accordingly. He who pays the piper calls the tune. Little wonder that few courses examining the social implications of engineering, business, or science make the catalogs, much less Marxist analyses of capitalism.

Contradictions and Resistances

The entrepreneurial class has for over a century now sought to have the educational institutions of America underwrite the social status quo, inculcate students with skills and attitudes appropriate for a capitalistic industrial economy, and discourage political resistance to the concentration of corporate power. They have utilized their great wealth, their social prestige, and their command of political power in this quest for stability under capitalism. They have had a large measure of success.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to think that American businessmen have had everything their own way, or that every feature of the American educational system has worked relentlessly to the disadvantage of all the rest of us. We are not yet in a world of Central Hatcheries and Neo-Pavlovian Conditioning Rooms.

The capitalist class has suffered many setbacks. More intriguingly, even their successes have had unanticipated consequences not to their liking. They have erected schools and colleges, in

vast numbers, all across the country. They have done this primarily for the benefits they felt sure would accrue to them as a class (though *individual* capitalists have been motivated by a wide variety of reasons: some laudable, like a concern for the betterment of their community; some petty, like the desire for personal glorification). Other classes have also benefited—by the widespread elimination of illiteracy, by the attainment of useful occupational and social skills, by the personal pleasures that come with the acquisition of new knowledge. Though many of these benefits were not always what the capitalist class had intended, neither were they considered dangerous to capitalist interests. But in some other areas, the very spread and growth of education the capitalists had fostered began to work to their disadvantage. Particularly in higher education, they began to find themselves enmeshed in a number of contradictions. New solutions turned rapidly into new problems, each more ominous than the one before it and harder to solve within the framework of capitalism.

Their biggest problem is that the capitalists cannot go on forever using the educational system to increase productivity and at the same time expect it to perpetuate and ratify existing social arrangements. The more people they educate, and the better they educate them, the harder it becomes to maintain the class, racial, and sexual inequalities that are at the basis of capitalist society. Educated workers are often dangerous workers, because they usually learn more than they are supposed to.

Remember that capitalists have, from the beginning, wanted workers (that is, the great bulk of the population) to know *only* enough to do the kind of work they were hired for. At the start, there was virtually no schooling for workers; northern elites followed southern slaveholders in restricting knowledge to the rich. As production became more sophisticated, capitalists found that efficiency demanded higher educational attainments. As the workers began to organize and socialism emerged as an alternative to capitalism, capitalists found that stability also demanded extensive indoctrination in correct ideologies. So schooling was increased, but kept as narrowly focused as possible.

But learning had its drawbacks (for capitalists). People who could read, could read Marx as well as management manuals; educated people

Big Brother Speaks:

(from the Carnegie Commission's FINAL REPORT)

- On students: They should "develop realistic job expectations."
- On tuition: "Tuition will need to rise, as we have recommended. . . . At public institutions, tuition will need to rise, on the average substantially faster than this. . . ."
- On parents: They should be "prepared to pay rising tuitions as part of their planning of future family accounts."
- On faculty power: "New ideas on campus [should] be subject to trial before review rather than requiring review by faculty committees (and often rejection) before trial."
- On the benefits of switching to "individualized" instruction and reducing the campus sense of "community": "People do change their minds, although this is less likely when they are concentrated in self-confirming groups than if they are widely dispersed."
- On universal attendance at college: That "would be an unwise development."
- On democracy on the campus: "To begin with, higher education is not a 'government.' . . . There is [thus] no issue of the consent of the governed."
- On equal opportunity for women: "'Normal' expectations, with equality of opportunity, might be that about 38 percent of faculty members eventually might be women."
- On the role of the states: "We have found a few states, however, to be quite derelict in fulfilling their responsibilities."
- On their own influence: "The Higher Education Act of 1972 . . . is a great step forward. Both Congress and the President drew on our earlier proposal . . . in developing this legislation." And again: "We note that many state plans now make reference to our findings." And again: "We once proposed the creation of a National Foundation for Higher Education. A National Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education, drawing on our proposal, has not been established."

Nor do they underestimate their influence. Their role at CUNY has been enormous. A recent example: the *Cuny Courier* of September 6, 1973, has a revealing three-part story. Part one notes the Carnegie Commission's insistence "that the traditional barriers between high school and college come down." Part two reviews CUNY's efforts to date in this area. Part three announces the establishment of a Middle College program for LaGuardia—with a start-up grant from the Carnegie Foundation of \$95,116 and an additional \$108,000 from the Federal Government. This particular program may be good or bad (it seems to be part of Carnegie's tracking-is-easier-if-you-get-them-when-they're-young strategy), but, in any event, it comes from outside the University. Carnegie notes that "change" on the campus often comes from outside, "by way of the suggestion of new ideas, of inquiry about possibilities, of new money encouraging new departures." These people are not kindly dime-tossing philanthropists: they are smug, arrogant, and dangerous masterplanners. It is a measure of their contempt for those they manipulate that they have the gall to tell us, again in their Final Report, that the mission of higher education is "TO HELP AVOID 1984."

"If inadequate adjustments are made, we could end up . . . with a political crisis because of the substantial number of disenchanting and underemployed or even unemployed college graduates—as in Ceylon or in India or in Egypt. . . . Higher education will then have become counterproductive."

—Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, "College Graduates and Jobs," 1973

had a tendency to begin asking sharper questions and demanding better answers. And better lives. So capitalists sought tighter and tighter control over the schools, the faculty, the curricula, the process, again to ensure that students received only the information that, in CIA parlance, they "needed to know." And as the productive apparatus became more and more complicated, and more and more workers received more and more schooling, at higher and higher levels, matters got more and more out of hand.

Today, with better than one out of every three high school graduates going on to college, there are some 7,000,000 students enrolled in over 1,200 institutions, and the capitalists' problems have become almost unmanageable. The campuses, reports Big Brother Carnegie, "are in an unusual state of flux." "There has been recently too much excessive, almost paralyzing criticism." Indeed there has, as students have rebelled against being processed, as faculty have become a significant center of opposition to capitalism and its imperial ventures, as the campus, in short, has gotten increasingly out of control. Complains Carnegie: "The almost complete dominance of the older mentality that included emphasis on full political neutrality, on the cognitive efforts of the mind, on stiff academic competition can no longer be taken for granted. . . ." Instead, Carnegie observes worriedly, there is now underway "an effort to press instead for a society organized more on horizontal than on pyramidal, meritocratic lines." Indeed.

This contradiction is a double-barrelled one, however, that only *begins* on the campus. Recall that the vast expansion of the college population

in the 1960's came about as children of the working class were tracked into higher education to supply more college-trained technical, clerical, and administrative workers. Now when these students leave college they will be—despite their degrees—in the same position as the traditional proletariat (people who have no way to support themselves except by selling their labor). They will be—so long as they remain disunited—essentially powerless, unable to control the type of work or lives they will get. Many will find themselves unemployed. Many will find themselves stuck in boring, socially useless jobs. But these workers, by virtue of innumerable rap sessions with other students in the cafeterias, by virtue of contact with the ever growing numbers of critically aware faculty, by virtue of some of the things they've read and thought about—these workers are going to be a hell of a lot more frustrated than their parents were.

Indeed, many already are. And many have begun to act on their dissatisfaction, to the point that there is already widespread alarm in the capitalist class. Says Big Brother Carnegie: "If inadequate adjustments are made, we could end up . . . with a political crisis because of the substantial number of disenchanting and underemployed or even unemployed college graduates—as in Ceylon or in India or in Egypt. . . . Higher education will then have become counterproductive." That disaffection might spread: "Frustration may extend to other groups as well: to young persons without college experience who are pushed down by the pressure of college graduates in the market—even pushed into unemployment—and to older persons who are passed over by younger and more educated persons. These strains on society will be increased."

Too many people are getting too much education, says the ruling class. This accounts for their drive to cut back on enrollment, their desire to institute tuition, and, in fact, for a good deal of the current "crisis" in higher education. The contradiction has gotten out of hand. They are now trying desperately (as we shall see in a later chapter) to put the genie back in the bottle. Can they do it? That will be up to us.



3. Capitalism and CUNY

Now that we have understood something about the steadily-evolving relationship between capitalism and education generally, we are in a stronger position to understand the history and present condition of our own institution—the City University of New York. For CUNY's story, as we shall see, is in many ways unique. Here, as elsewhere, people of power and wealth have played a dominant role in shaping institutional programs and politics; indeed, the CUNY multiversity is something of a monument to capitalist planning in higher education. And yet there is more to it than this. From the very beginning, CUNY faculty, students, and the working people of New York have waged a struggle against the bankers and businessmen that is probably unparalleled in the annals of American colleges and universities.

The First Hundred Years

On a winter's day in 1849, the Free Academy—the ancestor of City College—was ushered into existence. Participants in the dedication ceremonies hailed the Academy as solid evidence of the "growing democratization of American life, which was producing a system of popular education for the common man."

Such sentiment was not entirely misplaced. Free higher education had long been demanded by workingmen's groups in the City, and in the referendum that had authorized the new college, with Tammany Hall placards proclaiming "Free Academy for the poor man's children," city voters backed the proposal by 19,305 votes to only 3,409. Popular desire for an expansion of tightly restricted educational opportunity has been a factor to be reckoned with ever since.

Yet the record seems clear that the major thrust behind the establishment of the Free Academy

lies elsewhere. For some time, a tight cluster of prominent New Yorkers—merchants, judges, lawyers, Wall Street bankers—had been urging the formation of a new college to complement the existing Columbia and NYU campuses. In 1847, the leader of this group, Townsend Harris (a prosperous crockery merchant and later first Ambassador to Japan), authored a report proposing a Free College be set up for public school graduates. Columbia and NYU, he argued, neglected those branches of learning "most important to a manufacturing, agricultural and commercial people." His school would offer "practical" studies, studies relevant "to the active duties of operative life, rather than those more particularly regarded as necessary for the Pulpit, Bar, or the Medical profession." Its graduates would be highly skilled mechanics and artisans, who had been taught the dignity of labor and the worth of republican institutions. Skill and social responsibility for the city's workmen: that was the message of Harris's manifesto.

Harris met with resistance from the more short-sighted members of his class. They suggested that the working class lacked sufficient intellectual capacity to benefit from higher education; that once trained, they might become "too proud of their superior education to work either as clerks or mechanics, or to follow any active business except what is termed professional"; that the example of providing free public services was a bad one that might lead to a "mongrel Fourierism" (a socialism of the day); that it would cost too much.

The Harris forces did not shrink from factional struggle with their penny-pinching peers. They emphasized that education which taught the mechanic the underlying principles of his trade (geo-

metry for masons) would "enable him to perform what he has to do, in a superior and cheaper manner." Then, too, the College would dispel the illusion that "some occupations are more honorable than others, and for that reason more desirable." This would prevent working class people from abandoning "the honest and healthy pursuits of their fathers, in order to establish themselves in professions and mercantile pursuits which are already crowded to excess." Finally they insisted that socialism would not be fostered, but inhibited, by a curriculum dedicated to "erecting altars to patriotism and virtue."

With arguments such as these Harris and his compatriots convinced the bulk of the City's elite that a Free College was in their interests, and so the New York State Legislature approved the project, thus allowing the matter to be submitted to popular referendum.



"In every organism there must be diversity of members. There will be head, and hands, and—we must venture to say it—feet, too."

—"Plain Truth," an early opponent of the Free Academy, 1847

When it passed there was a general rejoicing. One voice, however, entered a dissent. Mike Walsh, working class editor of a newspaper entitled *The Subterranean*, argued that the laboring classes' children would never get to the Free Academy. They could not afford not to work; and the Academy, while free, gave no stipends. The Free Academy, he predicted, would become yet another aristocratic ripoff, different from existing colleges only in that it would "be under the supervision of a different set of jackals, known as the Board of Education."

Walsh proved a fairly accurate Cassandra. The Free Academy became a haven for the sons of the native-born middle classes. Women, blacks, and Catholics need not apply. Its graduates invariably became professional or business people rather than skilled artisans and mechanics. Yet the goals established by the Founding Fathers—vocational training and socialization for the working classes, to be paid for out of public tax money—set the tone and the task of the institution for the remainder of its history.

The new college's leadership, faculty, and policies were chosen by a screening panel of affluent citizens. The first such group included, in addition to Townsend Harris: John A. Steward, the "dean of American bankers"; Thomas Denny, a Harvard graduate and wealthy Wall Street banker; Henry Nicoll, a prominent lawyer; and Robert Kelly, a rich Democratic merchant. Boards of Education continued to be dominated by the wealthy after the Civil War. In 1876, William Wood took the helm as Chairman, fresh from a career in foreign trade and banking. In 1886 he was replaced by J. Edward Simmons, a wealthy Wall Street banker and President of the New York Stock Exchange. And so it went.

These gentlemen, in turn, selected only trustworthy academics. The first two Presidents of the College were West Point graduates, one a General, and both ruled the institution with a firm military hand. The faculty were chosen for, and held to, the strictest orthodoxy of "correct views upon political economy." The Boards, in short, ensured the College's dedication to the ideology and needs of American capitalism.

As those needs changed, the institution changed too. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as the industrial elite demanded more technical business, and professional training, City College responded by creating, among other

things, a new Department of Technical Education in 1890. But really thorough retooling did not begin until after the inauguration of John Huston Finley as President in 1903.

Finley had been urged on the Board by Grover Cleveland, the conservative President of the United States, and Nicholas Murray Butler, the conservative President of Columbia University. The Board, headed by Edward Shepard, the conservative corporation lawyer of the Pennsylvania Railroad, heeded their advice. Finley soon launched a "new era." Technological, pedagogical, and business schools sprouted as Finley moved to increase City College's "service to society" (which tended to get confused in his mind with service to industry). As S. Willis Rudy, the college's centennial biographer observes, "City College had fallen in step with the vocational and professional trend which was sweeping the world of American higher education." Finley's work was carried on by his successor "reformer" Presidents, Sidney Edward Mezes (1914-26) and Frederick Bertrand Robinson (1927-38), both chosen by the usual conclave of corporate types on the Board. When President Robinson remarked that "organized business and our government bureaus and offices need competent leaders, lieutenants and craftsmen who are also scholars," he had gotten the word from the horse's mouth.

Throughout its first century, City dealt severely with challenges to the new order, of whatever variety. During Finley's reign some of the faculty (labelled "conservatives" by the Finleyites) opposed the rampant vocationalism. In 1911 they charged that "modern colleges had degenerated into mere service stations for industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises." These dissidents were eased out either by the "progressive" faculty, or by the corporate administrators.

But most attempts to disrupt the general celebration of industrial capitalism came from the students, and they were dealt with harshly. As early as 1878, President (General) Webb had taken to throttling free speech on campus whenever it was "abused." But it was during the 1920s that the first serious strains of protest against capitalism moved onto the campus. In 1925, students voted 2092 to 345 against compulsory military training. The student newspaper, the *Campus*, was forbidden to support the anti-militarist drive. And in 1927, President Robinson began the first of a long, long series of suspensions and expulsions

of the ideologically unsound.

Robinson really swung into action during the thirties because in the depression decade anti-capitalist radicalism blossomed at City College, and at its two newer companions, Hunter and Brooklyn.

As left groups sprung up, Robinson quickly moved to put them down. He banned the Social Problems Club in 1931. He fired a left professor, Oakley Johnson in 1932 and, when over a thousand students demonstrated on Johnson's behalf, he expelled the student leaders. Shortly thereafter the Board of Higher Education announced that a regulation "against political agitation on the college grounds" would be "vigorously enforced."



In May, 1933, Robinson had his finest hour in the struggle against subversion. During an anti-ROTC demonstration he waded into the crowd of students, beating them with his umbrella. "ROBINSON RUNS AMOK ON CAMPUS. MADDENED PRESIDENT ATTACKS STUDENTS," went the campus paper's headline. Recovering from his frenzy, Robinson—in a more methodical mood—suspended nine, expelled twenty-one, and shut down the student paper. By November this tactic had hardened into a general policy. Freedom of discussion would henceforth not be permitted "to degenerate into agitation or propaganda for a particular economic or political theory." Using this doctrine of academic "neutrality," the College then refused to allow the League for Industrial Democracy, a socialist group, to form a campus chapter. But a few months later President Robinson staged a massive, official reception for a delegation of 350 Fascist students from Mussolini's Italy. When a sea of hissing, anti-Fascist students disrupted the celebration, twenty-one left leaders were expelled. For discourtesy to guests. A year later Robinson refused a faculty-student request to use the same hall to denounce Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia.

Increasingly during the thirties radicalism also took root among the faculty. Given their treatment and condition, this was to be expected. Taking advantage of the depression, college administrators created new titles such as reader and tutor (similar to today's adjuncts) and paid faculty at one-third the official rate; some got as little as \$600 a year. Appointments were annual, and teachers were held in low ranks long after they had earned promotions.

Soon faculty were seething, and organizing. An Instructional Staff Association, an Anti-Fascist Association, and a unit of the Communist Party were in operation by the early thirties. Morris Schappes, a tutor in English at City, founded an underground paper called *Teacher-Worker* (its Brooklyn counterpart was *The Staff*), which denounced local conditions, discussed the role of bankers in education, and dealt with international affairs. Then came the College Teachers Union (a local of the AFT, but a militant organization) and it demanded a thoroughgoing democratization of college government.

In April 1936 Schappes was fired after eight years of service, touching off a series of massive student demonstrations, letter-writing campaigns, and widespread publicity. In addition to forcing Schappes' reinstatement, the disorders and the complaints of various alumni groups at the crudities of the Robinson regime brought a shakeup. A liberal, Ordway Tead, was brought in by Mayor LaGuardia to head the BHE, and President Robinson was replaced with Harry Noble Wright. A mildly liberal year or two passed, marked by the Board's vigorous support of the appointment of Bertrand Russell to the faculty of City College, an appointment scuttled in the end not by the BHE, but by state and city political figures.

In the aftermath of the Russell affair, in fact, the New York State Legislature, worried that the BHE was not enforcing sufficiently rigorous ideological control, entered the fray directly. The notorious Rapp-Coudert investigation into "subversion on the campus" was launched. With the aid of informers and inference, the committee subpoenaed dozens of college faculty and grilled them on their political beliefs. Union members got special attention. Some were, and many more were only accused of being, members of the Communist Party.

At first the Board gave only restrained support to the hunt. Then some of its members, particularly Charles H. Tuttle, protested at Tead's softness,

"The bankers, headed by J.P. Morgan, still control the city's finances. The Citizens Budget Commission, representing the largest real estate interests of the city, are seeking to overthrow free higher education by the imposition of a \$75 fee. This would deprive many thousands of students in New York City of a college education and would force a considerable portion of the staffs of the municipal colleges into the streets."



—"The Staff," Brooklyn College, October 1936

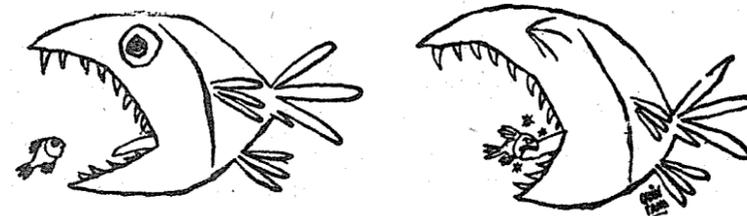
and so on March 7, 1941, the BHE roundly declared it would not retain any member of a Communist group, or, any "member of any group which, advocates, advises, teaches or practices subversive doctrines or activities." The next week the Board preferred charges against Schappes (who of course had been subpoenaed by State investigators) and other charges followed.

Formal trials began in June and featured extensive cross-examination into beliefs, books read, publications followed, and views on current political events. The accused teachers were not even officially charged with being communists, but with "conduct unbecoming a member of the staff" or, in a few cases, with lying to Rapp-Coudert investigators. None was accused of trying to indoctrinate students, and none was cited for poor scholarship. Some, like Philip Foner, mustered impressive credentials on scholarly and teaching abilities, but to no avail. In the end, some twenty faculty members were ousted and eleven others resigned under the threat of ouster.

Many of the faculty sat it out. A new faculty organization, the Legislative Conference, had emerged in 1938, but its members were conspi-

cuously silent during the Rapp-Coudert hearings and subsequent purges. The LC's leaders—Harry Levy, Mina Rees, and Ruth Weintraub—were all anti-communist. Many faculty, in fact, fled the College Teachers Union during the purges for the

relative security of the LC. At this time Belle Zeller resigned as president of the Brooklyn College CTU chapter, moved to the LC, and shortly became its president.



In 1938 the College Teachers Union sent to the Board of Higher Education the following proposals for democratization and faculty participation:

- Stripping the presidents of all actual authority and declaring the faculty to be the "supreme governing authority" of the college, with full power over investigation, administration and the adoption and amendment of by-laws.
- Departmental control, subject to faculty supervision, over appointments, salaries, promotions and increments.
- Exclusive faculty control over disciplinary matters.
- Faculty control over plans for future development.
- Faculty control of budgetary matters.
- Faculty self-organization under faculty by-laws and rules.
- Election of faculty committees by secret faculty ballot.
- Direct faculty communication with the Board of Higher Education, bypassing the presidents.
- Faculty representation without vote on the Board of Higher Education.
- Reduction of the functions of the presidents to those of a ministerial officer responsible to the faculty, without real power except in cases of emergency, and even giving the faculty effective control over the nomination and appointment of candidates for the presidency.
- Nomination of candidates for deanships and directorates by the faculty on the basis of secret faculty ballot.

(Report of the Subcommittee Relative to the Public Educational System of the City of New York, State of New York Legislative Document [1942], No. 49, 165th Session, pp. 288-89.)

"In my judgment the present situation demands an intensified emphasis upon American history and United States Government. . . . Such study will provide the basis for an enlightened consideration of our own social problems in terms of the traditional rights and responsibilities. . . . It will also arm youth ideologically against false and subversive doctrines."

—Dr. Earl J. McGrath, Remarks at the inauguration of Buell G. Gallagher as President of City College, 1953

Toward a University, 1945-1960

By the end of World War II, there were now four municipal colleges: CCNY, Hunter (1869), Brooklyn (1930), and Queens (1937). They were grouped together in a loose federation under the overall direction of a Board of Higher Education that had been set up in 1926.

These colleges were, even before war's end, being lined up to play a still greater role in advancing and stabilizing American capitalism. One lesson of the war years was that American economic and military power had become more dependent than ever before on technology, and local officials were already talking of the municipal colleges as a breeding-ground for a new labor force of highly-skilled scientists, technicians, managers, and workers.

As early as 1944 the Strayer Report urged the municipal colleges to meet the demand for this new labor force by adopting, among other things, "two year terminal technical or semi-professional courses" and an improved program of business education. The four college presidents, now acting as the Administrative Council, agreed completely and called for a massive expansion of the system:

The increased preparation demanded of those who are to go into directive positions in industry and commerce, the increased need for technological workers, the increasing enrollment in all types of general and vocational secondary schools, the upward reach for an ampler social and spiritual life—these are the forces that will

make our present inadequate facilities utterly incapable of meeting the increasing demand for post-high school education.

That America and American capitalism would come out of the war in a position of unchallenged world supremacy seemed equally important for the municipal colleges. As Mayor LaGuardia told an audience at CUNY, the United States "must spread the benefit of science, machinery and progress to all," and our colleges—if they "adjust themselves to existing business conditions"—will have a vital part to play in this "great job" that awaits us abroad.

Such missionary zeal in the municipal colleges became more intense with the advent of the Cold War. "Anyone who reads the daily newspapers or listens to the radio," declared the Chairman of the BHE in 1948, "is aware of the ever present question that is puzzling the American community: how can democracy best protect itself against totalitarian Communism? This question is paramount not only in political discussions but has become a question of policy in educational institutions throughout the country." John J. Theobald, president of Queens College, was also troubled by "the development of ideologies which present threats to our American way of life." Right here at home, he said, were "extremists" who

emphasize and make political capital of the historic tensions between various groups in our society in an attempt to divide and conquer. Their major points of attack have been against the relationship between Catholics and Protestants, Christians and Jews, Negroes and Whites, management and labor. These groups do, of course, often have different cultural backgrounds.

Banning such radicals and extremists from the municipal colleges was one way to help in the ideological struggle. Theobald himself favored more subtle forms of indoctrination. Individualism, the merits of free enterprise, and the absence in America of serious class and social conflicts should be emphasized in the classrooms. The objective at the municipal colleges, Theobald concluded, must be "to teach our young people that the American system works."

Both of these post-war services to capitalism—training the new labor force and waging the ideological struggle against communism—were neatly summarized in the 1950 Master Plan Study directed by Donald P. Cottrell. New York's municipal colleges, Cottrell wrote, have great new challenges to face:

Every thoughtful citizen recognizes the fact that a more complex world requires more and better education. Social and economic change is occurring at an accelerated tempo. Improved means of transportation and communication increase contacts among far-flung peoples.

The job or profession of today requires many abilities in human relations as well as technical skills. Conflict between world powers and ideologies takes place on Main Street as well as on the international scene.

Men and women must be able to do more than just earn a living. They must carry their share of the responsibility for our democratic leadership at home and abroad.

The responsibilities of the colleges were clear. On the one hand they must combat alien ideologies and inculcate Americanism. Class and race differences must be smoothed over so that New York's children can "become Americans in loyalty, language and outlook." On the other hand, the colleges must also aid in reshaping the working class by preparing students for the "sub-professional and technical work" that American employers were demanding more of.

Lest anyone worry that this policy might result in too many well-educated people, Cottrell hastened to add that "there must always be 'drawers of water and hewers of wood'". "It is a mistake to assume," he went on, "that all who take some form of higher education should expect a professional or highly technical position. This is an Old World, leisure-class tradition. It has no real basis in our American democratic way of life."

In short, the municipal colleges could move ahead with the task of creating a new working class without fearing that their efforts would obliterate class differences. The best strategy here, Cottrell concluded, would be to shove vast numbers of students into two-year technical colleges, where they would receive "a more specialized and less academic type" of instruction than was offered in the four-year colleges.

The Cottrell Report was right in line with developing New York State priorities. In 1946, Governor Dewey and the State Legislature had formed a Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University, a panel chaired by Owen D. Young. It returned two years later with detailed proposals for a State University system, and SUNY was soon a going concern.

Stimulated by city, state, national, foundation, and corporate pressures, the municipal colleges meanwhile embarked on a decade-long program

"Those were the days, also, in which, if a student and a college president faced each other across the president's desk, it could be assumed that it was the student who was in trouble."

Buell G. Gallagher, former president of CCNY, 1974

of expansion and reorganization.

By 1960, Hunter College in the Bronx had been elevated into a four-year coeducational college (1951), the School of Business had become the Baruch School (1953), and four new two-year colleges had appeared on the scene: New York City Community College (1953), Staten Island Community College (1955), Bronx Community College (1957), and Queensborough Community College (1958). To insure improved central control over this rapidly-growing educational empire, plans were laid for the office of Chancellor.

At the same time, the municipal system began to cooperate more closely with government and the corporations in order "to do their share in meeting the demands of industry and national defense for skilled specialists in technology and science." Baruch's Foreign Trade International Cooperative Exchange Program (begun in 1948 under the aegis of the State Department, the Justice Department, the Institute of International Education, and Pan American World Airways) was already a booming success. "Its fame," said BHE Chairman Gustave Rosenberg in 1955, had spread "from Peru and Venezuela and Brazil to Greece, Israel, Indonesia and Formosa." Now, in the 1950's, similar programs mushroomed in the municipal colleges.

Sixteen chemical industry corporations supported a chemistry program at Brooklyn. The Rockefeller Foundation came up with funds for area studies programs in the Far East, West Asia, and North Africa. The Ford Foundation delivered cash for redesigning courses in political science and economics. The Carnegie Corporation blessed Brooklyn with a substantial grant to deepen studies in the Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Soviet Union. As Rosenberg noted in 1958, "industry and government are insatiable in their demand for highly qualified personnel."

At the same time, not surprisingly, concerted

efforts were made to rid the faculty of subversives and other potential critics of the new order. The results resembled the purges of the thirties and forties. From roughly 1948 to 1958, first under the leadership of the liberal Ordway Tead and then, when Tead was criticized "for not urging stronger methods in dealing with alleged Communist influence in the municipal colleges," under the more hard-nosed Joseph B. Cavallero, the BHE worked to sniff out and destroy suspected leftists. The Board worked hand in glove with state inquisitors—the 1949 Feinberg Law required an annual certification of ideological purity—and with national inquisitors—the McCarthys, Jenners, and McCarrans. When they finally ground to a halt they had fired fourteen professors and forced twenty-nine others to resign. The hunt died out for a variety of reasons, among them that the Supreme Court ruled favorably on Professor Harry Slochower's appeal that he had been denied due process. Slochower, like others, had refused to cooperate with the McCarran Committee, and had been fired under Section 903 of the New York City Charter, which made such non-cooperation grounds for dismissal. Slochower was ordered reinstated with back pay in 1956.

The BHE's campaign against enemies of capitalism was only part of the story. Local college presidents started their very own reigns of terror. The most notable of these campaigns was led by Harry Gideonse of Brooklyn. When the Board appointed Gideonse, they knew about and approved of his staunch anti-left background; indeed Gideonse "had made it explicitly a condition of his acceptance of the post that he be allowed to deal with such Communism as he might find on the campus with a free hand." With unrivalled arrogance and a serene disregard for due process, Gideonse shut down campus papers, banned left-wing speakers on or off the campus, expelled student critics and fired faculty ones. In 1951, writes an enthusiastic supporter, he ended student elections. These had, after all, led only "to meaningless conflicts utterly unrelated to the education role of student activities, to 'impeachments,' and student 'strikes,' and propaganda"; they allowed students to gain office, simply because they were "able to pile up a majority." No more. Now only leaders of officially approved clubs, each assigned a faculty watchdog, could sit on a sanitized council—a puppet government, in effect.

So zealously did Gideonse go about this work

that he became something of a sensation among witch hunters on the national level and won an invitation to testify before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. He had been the first college president so honored, said Senator Jenner, the committee's chairman, because "in no other university in the country had the problems of Communism been taken so firmly in hand."



The Birth of the University, 1958-1961

The city colleges, then, had been doing their best to meet the post-war requirements of capitalism, as had the new SUNY system. But when Sputnik was sent aloft in 1957, American capitalists, terrified by its implications, undertook a major reappraisal and reordering of the entire educational system. In New York State they acted swiftly and decisively.

The new campaign began, appropriately enough, after the election of Nelson Rockefeller to the Governorship in 1958. One of his first actions after taking office was to establish a panel to advise him on reorganizing higher education.

This panel was the Heald Commission and its three members represented the very top of the corporate capitalist hierarchy. Henry T. Heald was the president of the Ford Foundation, a nationally-known proponent of better educational management and financing, and a man understood to enjoy close working and personal relations with the Rockefeller Foundation, Governor Rockefeller, and other members of the Rockefeller family. John W. Gardner was the president of the Carnegie Corporation, and he had a reputation as a strong advocate of "excellence" in higher education and the man who had recently intensified the Corporation's interest in improving the formal structure of American higher education. Marion B. Folsom, the third member, had served three years as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Eisen-

hower, and she represented the federal government's deepening concern for higher education in the post-war era.

The extraordinary composition of the Heald Commission was clearly reflected in the tone and logic of their 1960 report. Like Cottrell and others who had argued on behalf of expanding the municipal college system in New York City, they emphasized that higher education must be made more responsive to new social, economic, and ideological needs, particularly now that "the Russian sputnik illuminated our educational skies":

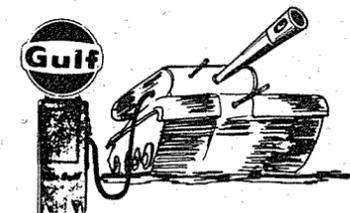
... higher education in America [the Commissioners argued] has been propelled into a distinctively new era by a combination of powerful world wide forces. There has been an accelerated pace of human events, an explosion of knowledge, a surge of population, an almost unbelievable breakthrough in science and technology, and possibly more important than any other force, a menacing international contest between democracy and communism.

The difference between the Heald Commission and earlier groups was that they believed these new needs could not be served without a massive effort to centralize control over higher educational policy and financing in the state. New York, they observed, is the nation's "leading business, industrial, scientific and cultural center." Yet its system of higher education remains "a limping and apologetic enterprise," desperately in want of both organizational streamlining as well as a "new alignment" of its component institutions to meet the global crisis. The current system—and that included the municipal colleges—was "not equipped to meet the needs of the future."

To remedy the defects, the Commission urged a massive system-wide centralization. At the top should go a Council of Higher Education Advisers. The Commission suggested it be composed of a "small body of prominent citizens . . . interested in higher education but not employed by an institution of higher education." Their function would be "to assess higher education in the state, to compare it with what is being accomplished in other states, to review progress that is made toward the achievement of the goals and objectives set by the Governor and the Legislature, and to recommend publicly and loudly what ought to be done to keep our system of higher education in line with our needs—statewide, nationally, and in view of the world situation."

The Commission next suggested that the municipal colleges of New York City be absorbed with SUNY into a new statewide higher educational system. SUNY officials would be required to prepare a Master Plan and then "take the full responsibility for implementing the policies and goals set forth in the Plan." A uniform tuition of \$300 would be imposed on all units. (This would, of course, have ended the city colleges' long-standing free tuition policy, and it touched off an explosion of outrage and dismay in New York City that we shall examine shortly.)

The Heald Commission also urged the introduction of modern management techniques to improve efficiency. "Education could learn from such dynamic industries as chemicals, electronics, petroleum, and even agriculture," in which rapid technological improvement, high expenditures on research and development, and administrative streamlining "has enabled productivity to rise dramatically."



For the municipal colleges, what all of this boiled down to was nothing less than a brutal vote of no confidence in their recent efforts to meet the new postwar requirements of capitalist development. Administrative reorganization, the creation of community colleges, the addition of many new programs in direct cooperation with business and industry and government—the entire program of the past dozen years had been examined and found wanting by representatives of the foundations which now determined higher educational policy on the national level for the capitalist class.

The municipal colleges fought back. The BHE's Committee to Look to the Future, appointed the year before "to develop a long range plan for the municipal college system as a whole," issued one of the first official replies to the Heald Commission. A hastily-drafted Interim Report, inserted in the BHE Minutes for December 1960, recommended that all the New York City colleges be reorganized as the City University of New York, not merely to strengthen centralization, but also

to meet "an increasing need for doctoral programs to serve business, industry, education and all segments of community life." Final authority over the new structure "would, of course, remain in the hands of the Board of Higher Education," though the Board would be glad to "keep in constant communication with its co-equal, the State University of New York." There would continue to be no tuition charged.

The municipal colleges, in other words, would go along with Heald and Rockefeller on a more efficient organization for capitalism, but they would fight to retain local control and free tuition.

A massive public struggle against the unwelcome portions of the foundation verdict was spearheaded by a broad coalition of CCNY alumni, organized labor, various ethnic, racial, business and civic groups, all under the unofficial leadership of Mayor Wagner. The intense lobbying and public-relations campaign made it obvious that the municipal colleges enjoyed the solid support of the city's middle and working classes. They—not the banks and corporations and Wall Street law firms who wield such power in the City—rallied behind the colleges to fight Rockefeller and the foundations. Nor was there any paradox in the fact that they did so: despite the colleges' attentiveness to the demands of the capitalist class, the preservation of local control and free tuition had also in fact kept public higher education in the City unusually responsive to the aspirations of middle and working class youth. What Wagner and his coalition knew full well, in sum, was that local control and free tuition were essential to continuing inter-class support for the colleges' policies and programs. Rockefeller, in his zeal for having the form of higher education more closely resemble its content, had gravely endangered that arrangement and had to be stopped, lest higher education in the city become an object of open class struggle.

Rockefeller was stopped. Under enormous pressure from the Wagner forces, the legislature agreed to take no action on either Heald's recommendation to impose uniform tuition on the state's public universities and colleges or on his proposal to give the state representation on the BHE. In the spring of 1961 it then passed legislation creating CUNY and providing funds for one-half of the debt service on CUNY's capital construction program. Upon signing this legislation, moreover, the Governor vowed not to make

the tuition issue a barrier to further state aid to CUNY, but neither side was under any illusions that the conflict had been settled.

For the moment, however, the city had triumphed, CUNY had emerged, and the first Chancellor, John Rutherford Everett, had been inaugurated with pomp, splendor, and a clear sense of the future responsibilities of the new university. Mayor Wagner laid out the ideological ground rules for the assembled guests this way:

During the first half of the twentieth century our American universities have been confronted with a grave and fundamental menace, global in nature, and never before encountered, contemplated, or adequately comprehended. It is, namely, the threat to our national security, the threat to our individual freedoms and to our way of life.

In this era of national peril we must call upon all institutions of higher learning to further develop within their students traits of leadership that will enable the American people to answer the momentous challenges that face us The universities of tomorrow must provide the laboratories for liberty, learning, and leadership.

The new Chancellor was in hearty agreement. This mid-twentieth century, he said, is "a period of fright." We are struggling to "establish our institutional, our public, and our private lives upon some foundation that will save us from the gathering storm." Our universities were just such a foundation, he went on, for they supplied knowledge to government, to industry, and to "the defense establishment." But mere knowledge was not enough: "For a university to be truly great it must be distinctly and unequivocally partisan. . . . The context of its instruction must be an affirmed and a declared and a positive commitment."

The Multiversity Emerges: 1961-1969

Successful resistance to the Heald Commission gave the new City University breathing room and a chance to continue planning for the future. Exactly where CUNY was going became evident in 1963, when Albert Hosmer Bowker replaced Everett as Chancellor. Fascinated with the systems analysis approach to higher education—a cue he took from the prestigious American Council on Education—Bowker argued in his inaugural address that the crucial element in planning CUNY's future was "the employment profile of our city."

The pattern of jobs had been shifting rapidly, he noted, though the city's private colleges appeared to "lack the resources or the incentives" to deal with the new requirements.

The heart of the matter was the dramatic drop in jobs for unskilled workers and the sharp increase in opportunities for workers in categories requiring two years of education beyond high school. On the other hand there were enormous numbers of unskilled blacks and Puerto Ricans moving into the city. CUNY's mission was to put jobs and people together. Said Bowker: "There will be more jobs in developing New York City, but they will be jobs of a new kind—jobs which require what has been called sub-professional education. The jobs will be here—the question is, will young New Yorkers be trained to fill them, or will they have to be filled by persons brought in for the purpose from elsewhere? Our tremendous push on the community college front represents a major answer: We want the children of the newer migrations to rise to fill the newer needs!"

Bowker was as good as his word. The University continued to expand, added the Graduate Division (1962), York College (1966), John Jay College (1966), Richmond College (1966), a mass of new top-level administrators at the Central Office—and two new community colleges, Kingsborough

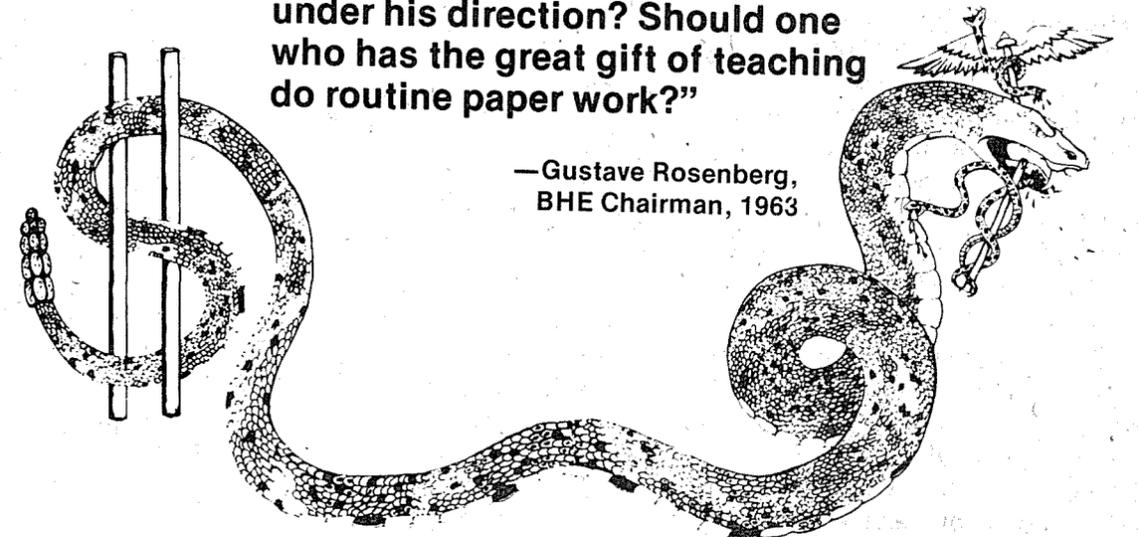
and Borough of Manhattan (both 1966). As BHE Chairman Porter R. Chandler reported to Rockefeller and the legislature, the new community colleges were particularly notable because, strategically located in the city's ghettos, they would give local residents "personal upgrading in market scarce job skills."

And, he added, the Board planned to do more. A community college planned for the South Bronx would provide a "comprehensive health careers complex for the training of young people and adults in paraprofessional health skills." A new teacher-training complex was contemplated for Harlem, while in East Harlem a projected "Health Sciences Institute" would offer "advanced training in medical technologies." Bedford-Stuyvesant would receive a college offering two-year career programs in education and nursing, while the new BMCC would arise "near the World Trade Center and New York's Civic Center and [thus be] accessible to the largest concentration of office employees in the world."

Finally, Chandler saw Brooklyn's Atlantic Terminal Urban Renewal site as the place for a new "campus with course curricula oriented to business and public administration, geared to meeting managerial personnel requirements of business and government in the Metropolitan

"How diminished is the product of the engineer if he has no trained aides? Must not a top-flight scientist depend on a corps of workers under his direction? Should one who has the great gift of teaching do routine paper work?"

—Gustave Rosenberg,
BHE Chairman, 1963



area.”

Now on paper it might seem a self-evidently splendid goal to bring educational institutions to the people, and to provide the unemployed with needed skills. But we must be clear about what motivates Porter Chandler and his kind. They seek, as they say, to meet the “managerial personnel requirements of business and government.” Their focus is on the needs of the employers, not the employees. There is not a word in Chandler’s report about bringing education to the people so that they might understand the social forces shaping their world. Not a word about giving students the intellectual tools they might need to become active agents in shaping their own future. Not a word about the personal or cultural benefits that might flow from philosophy, language, or literature courses. Nothing but concern for the “managerial personnel requirements of business and government.”

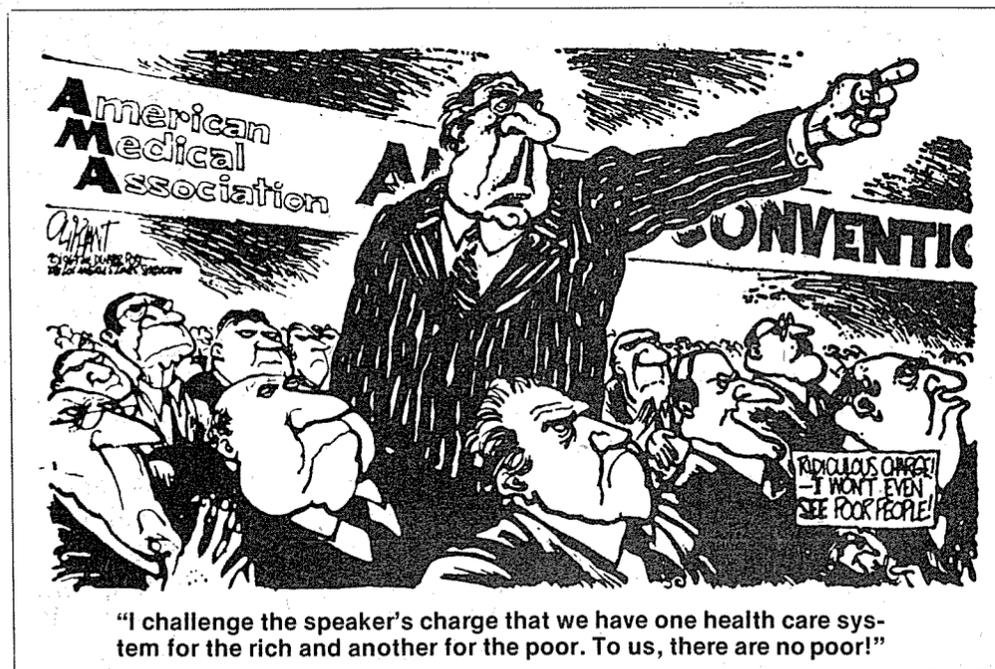
Nor do the Chandlers spell out some of the other less-than-noble reasons for their sudden concern with expanding working-class education in areas like “health services” (a term usually reserved for manual-technical work; they are not training many *doctors* in the ghettos.) They do not dwell on the collapse of the American “fee-for-service” medical system. They do not explain that American hospitals are now on the verge of total bankruptcy, that millions of working and middle class Americans cannot afford to be sick (in marked contrast to the free health care available to

British citizens), that this is due in large measure to the desires of the giant insurance companies and AMA elite to perpetuate their own profits, that these groups are struggling against the introduction of a truly socialized medicine, that they prefer to stave off disaster to profit-oriented medicine by staffing hospitals with the cheapest possible labor force, and that this has something to do with their sudden concern with “expanding educational opportunity” for ghetto residents.

Bringing the campuses to the people? A fine idea, but until it is truly done with the interests of the people, rather than corporate profits uppermost in mind, it will not live up to its true potential.

While CUNY’s administration forged ahead, the new guiding trinity of American higher education—the foundations, corporations, and the federal government—were also hard at work. From 1961 to 1969, at least seven different national foundations—Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie, Sloan, Field, Russel Sage, and the New World Foundation—gave money to one or another of the colleges for various types of projects.

At Brooklyn College, for example, Rockefeller and Carnegie helped finance new courses in the Far East and India, the Middle East and North Africa, the Islamic world, the Caribbean and West Indies, and Africa south of the Sahara; Ford poured money into Queens for urban education research and the Institute for Community Studies, and into the Central Office for developing a



“pre-tech” admissions program, “in which some 700 students in fifteen city high schools are being prepared to enter a community college to study health, engineering, or business technology”; Rockefeller gave money to Mt. Sinai “to study motivation for family planning,” and to CUNY to help start the Center for Urban Education; and so on, almost endlessly.

“We want the children of the newer migrations to rise to fill the newer needs!”

—Chancellor Bowker, 1964

Meanwhile, Chase Manhattan Bank and CUNY officials were huddling over ways to cooperate more effectively, aware that “programs like SEEK, which reach into disadvantaged neighborhoods, provide employers with a new resource of management talent,” and that already CUNY “has been actively soliciting summer jobs” which will better “acquaint students with the ways of the business community.” Chemical Bank, not to be outdone, was soon in the act with grants to BCC for a small business course for Puerto Rican merchants, and to KCC for small business workshops that provided “a basic background in management practices for beginners and an advanced program for established business owners.”

Various departments and agencies of the federal government—HEW, the Office of Education, the Atomic Energy Commission, National Institute of Health, Justice Department, the Public Health Service, and the Small Business Administration—pumped money into CUNY for counselor training, nuclear technology programs and basic research, hospital administration studies, work-study programs in nursing schools, special courses in the operation of business machines, secretarial and management training for prospective federal employees, and even the creation of a Psychological Center at CCNY to “extend knowledge of psychological problems among the poor.”

CUNY, in short, allowed its priorities to be dictated from without. In this, of course, it was not unique. Clark Kerr, in his *Uses of the University* (1963), observed that most campuses were moving ahead vigorously, but that their “directions have not been set as much by the university’s visions of its destiny as by the exter-

nal environment, including the federal government, the foundations, the surrounding and sometimes engulfing industry.” Robert Paul Wolff, toward the end of the decade, put his finger on the consequences of such a system. American universities had forgotten—in their rush to be of service to “society”—to distinguish between true *social or human needs* (“a want of something material or social, whose presence would contribute to physical and emotional health, to the full and unalienated development of human power—in a word, to true happiness”), and *effective or market demand*. The latter meant simply the existence in a market economy of buyers who have money in hand and are prepared to spend it for a particular service or item. Many human needs under capitalism simply do not get expressed as market demands; most people don’t have the money to compete with the Rockefellers. So in the end, Wolff noted, the more appropriate title for Kerr’s book would have been *University for Hire!*



The Rockefeller Wars—The Free Tuition Struggle, 1961-1969

Throughout the sixties, obviously enough, CUNY did yeoman service for capitalism. But also during the sixties, it stubbornly refused to go along with Rockefeller’s grand strategy of incorporating CUNY into SUNY and instituting tuition.

Recall that the legislature did not act on Heald’s uniform tuition proposal when it created CUNY in 1961. But it had, in the act establishing the new university, cleverly removed the 125-year-old statutory mandate for free tuition and empowered the BHE to charge tuition if it saw fit. A strong incentive to do so was concurrently supplied in the act creating Scholar Incentive Awards for students attending tuition-charging institutions, and made still stronger in 1962 when the

SUNY trustees adopted a \$400 tuition rate. The coalition that had emerged to fight the Heald Report saw the dangers in these measures and for several years waged a vigorous campaign both to restore the free tuition mandate at CUNY and to roll back tuition at SUNY. Rockefeller and the legislature resisted, however, and on both counts the City forces were unsuccessful.



More important still in prolonging the conflict was the certain knowledge that CUNY's continued expansion would be impossible without substantial increases in state aid. The vast operating and capital costs of expansion became clear in 1962 with publication of the BHE's *Long Range Plan*, but the Governor and everyone else knew that the plan would never bear fruit if the City alone had to bear the financial burdens.

Despite earlier promises, Rockefeller was thus in a position to drive a hard bargain: if CUNY wanted great sums of money from the state, it should expect to give the state at least a proportionate voice in its affairs, and it should also expect to do the fiscally responsible thing and charge tuition. Sheer financial necessity, in other words, would in time put the University right where Rockefeller and Heald wanted it.

CUNY's prospects of survival grew dimmer in 1963, when the Governor's forces tried to split the coalition opposing them along class and racial lines. The attack began when the Republican Assembly Speaker, Joseph P. Carlino, blasted free tuition as a policy that meant, in effect, free higher education only for a middle-class elite. The case was distressingly persuasive: without tuition CUNY could not finance adequate facilities, and without adequate facilities it had to restrict admission to those comparatively few, well-to-do

students who stood at the top of their high school classes.

Other voices picked up the refrain, and by the following year black and Puerto Rican spokesmen were also beginning to doubt their interest in preserving free tuition. Rockefeller meanwhile floated word he might build SUNY branches in the city for students turned away from CUNY because of inadequate space.

Alarmed, Mayor Wagner and his forces moved quickly to deal with the threat. A College Discovery Program was inaugurated to attract more minority students into the colleges, and the free tuition policy was extended to the two-year institutions. It was apparently at about this time, too, that serious thinking began on what would later become the Open Admissions program.

Before the effects of this counterattack could be discerned, however, CUNY's united front was shattered by an internal explosion. Early in 1965 fears mounted that the city had run out of money for CUNY and would be unable to give it additional aid for the upcoming fiscal year, despite an anticipated 25% jump in expenses. Suddenly faced with the disaster that Rockefeller had been awaiting, Chancellor Albert H. Bowker devised a plan for presentation to the BHE: if the state would agree to assume the full operating budget of the senior colleges, the University would agree in return to a "nominal imposition of tuition" and pledge the proceeds to the State Dormitory Au-

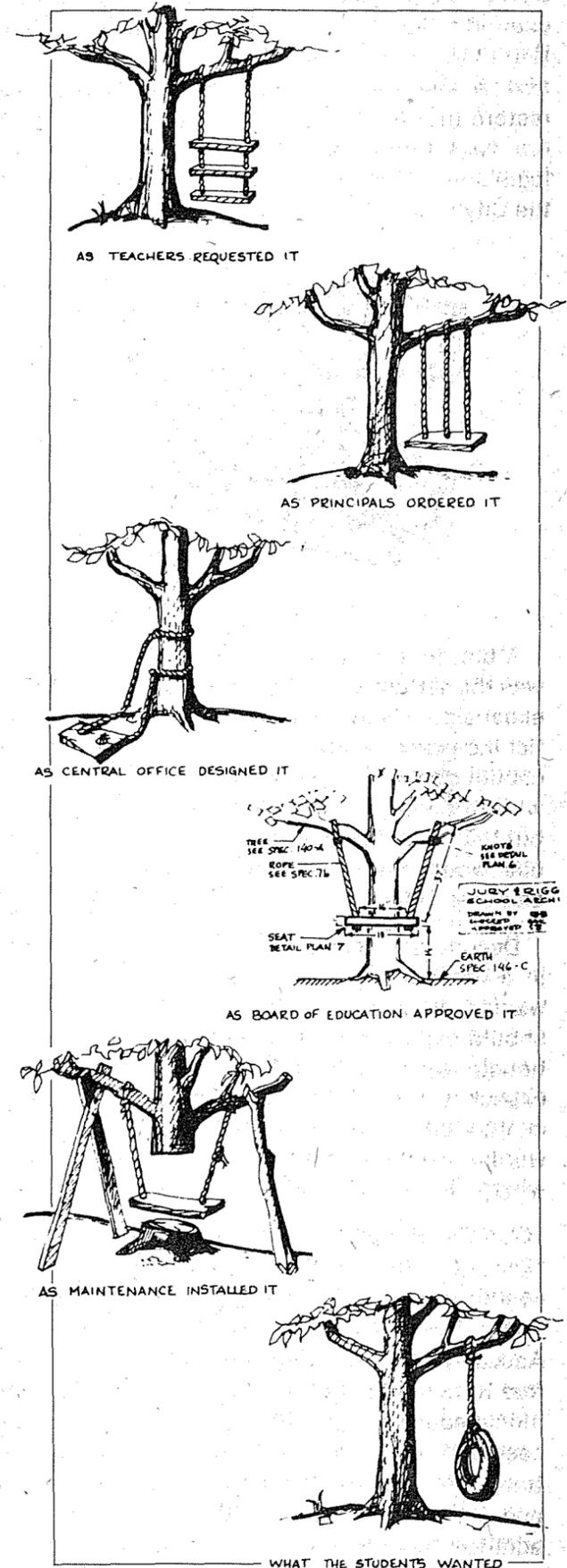


thority as backing for capital construction bond issues. Before Bowker had a chance to present his plan formally, however, its contents were leaked to the public by President Meng of Hunter and President Gallagher of City College. The ensuing uproar made the response to the Heald Commission report sound like a tea party.

The BHE responded by calling a special meeting to assure everyone of its firm support for the free tuition policy. It also scolded Meng, Gallagher, and Bowker for insubordination, whereupon Bowker, Meng, and Gideonse of Brooklyn submitted their resignations. Meanwhile, Mayor Wagner and an expanded coalition of some thirty alumni, business, and civic groups rallied to defeat Bowker's scheme and find new revenues for CUNY. By November the situation had become so grave that the Assembly's Joint Legislative Committee on Higher Education was preparing to launch a thorough investigation.

If Rockefeller thought that CUNY was now within his grasp, he was, as it turned out, to be disappointed for a second time. In March of 1966, after several months of hearings, the Joint Legislative Committee issued a series of recommendations that gave the University a new lease on life: (a) the free tuition policy should be continued; (b) the Governor should abandon plans to build SUNY units in the City; (c) state support should rise to 65% of undergraduate operating costs; (d) the city and state should each pay \$200 for every CUNY student into a City University Income Fund, which would pledge these monies to the State Dormitory Authority as backing for capital construction bonds. Elated, CUNY's supporters campaigned vigorously for legislative adoption of the committee's proposals. Coordinating this effort was a new umbrella organization of labor, business, and civic groups in the City—the Ad Hoc Committee for CUNY.

Rockefeller, obviously dismayed, declared his willingness to see the state supply half of CUNY's capital and operating costs, but no more—not unless the University was willing to charge tuition and accept some form of merger with SUNY. He won at least that point. When the Assembly passed the so-called Travia bill in July 1966, it provided that the state would pay half the operating budget for all undergraduate and graduate education at CUNY, except at the community colleges, where the figure would be one-third. A second provision of the Travia bill created a City



AS TEACHERS REQUESTED IT

AS PRINCIPALS ORDERED IT

AS CENTRAL OFFICE DESIGNED IT

AS BOARD OF EDUCATION APPROVED IT

AS MAINTENANCE INSTALLED IT

WHAT THE STUDENTS WANTED

University Construction Fund, which resembled the JLC's "income fund" idea except that it worked with student *fees*, not matching city-state grants—a subtle modification probably designed to placate the Governor somewhat, since higher fees and/or the adoption of tuition would give CUNY additional resources for financing capital construction. A third provision of the bill established the SEEK program, doubtless a great help in the Ad Hoc Committee's struggle to avoid a split between its low income and middle income members on the tuition issue.

Six years had elapsed since the Heald Commission report proclaimed the intention of the capitalist class to absorb the municipal colleges into a new, massive system of higher education. In 1961, and again in 1966, the colleges had successfully defended their independence and unique no-tuition policy—thanks in large part to the emergence of a powerful coalition of Democratic politicians, organized labor, and various business and civic groups. After 1966, with increased cooperation from racial and ethnic organizations, this coalition would become the main political force behind the new University and its preservation. But the power behind the next major transformation at City University—guaranteeing admission to every high school graduate in the city—was not the Ad Hoc Committee, or the Board, but the students and faculty on the campuses themselves.

The Battle for Open Admissions

During the Rockefeller wars, as we have noted, the Board of Higher Education seems to have begun thinking seriously about instituting open admissions at CUNY. Such a policy would help keep minority groups firmly within the pro-CUNY power bloc. But open admissions looked attractive for other reasons too. Black ghettos were exploding all across the nation, and it was clear to CUNY officials that they were sitting on a powder keg of their own. Some were also concerned liberals who had become increasingly unhappy about school and college systems that patently discriminated against the poor and minority groups. But the consideration that weighed most heavily upon them was still the changing nature of the New York City job market.

Blue collar work that did not require advanced

“How can we make our school system, upon which we spend more money than any other people, fit the children for their life-work and furnish our industries . . . with the army of skilled and willing workers they need?”

—G. Stanley Hall,
“Educational Problems,” 1911

education had continued declining rapidly. White collar service jobs that did require some “postsecondary” training had continued growing in number. Planners now predicted that by 1978 the city would require 75,000 fewer manufacturing workers, but 250,000 more service workers; by that year, according to their projections, almost 50 per cent of all job openings would be in service or clerical categories.

The working class of the city, however, was increasingly composed of blacks and Puerto Ricans—the least educationally prepared to take on the jobs the planners wanted them to take on. Minority group population doubled during the fifties, and there was every indication that their percentage would continue to rise swiftly.

As the New York City Master Plan of 1969 summed up: “The growth of the city’s economy is in jobs requiring education and skill. [But] the growth of the labor force has been in people who have little education, and few skills.” Fifty per cent of Puerto Ricans were in blue collar jobs, as were 27 per cent of blacks; while only 12 per cent of whites were so employed. And blue collar jobs were rapidly disappearing. The consequence was deepening unemployment that struck all working class people, but particularly minority groups. As unemployment increased, so did welfare rolls, anger, frustration, and violence.

The public schools were doing precious little to improve matters. As the composition of the schools began to change—in 1960 37 per cent of primary and secondary school children were black and Puerto Rican, but by 1968 the figure had risen to 54 per cent—they began increasingly to act as barriers to continuing education, rather than as stepping stones to it. In 1968, out of every 100 children who entered a ghetto school at the first grade level, only 45 had not dropped out by high

school, and only 13 would graduate with an academic diploma. A steady filtering process lightened the hue of the public academic high schools with each year of attendance. Thus 11th graders in 1968 at such schools consisted of 24% blacks, 11.7% Puerto Ricans, and 64.3% whites and others. The next year found that blacks had dropped to 21.0%, Puerto Ricans to 9.5%, and whites and others risen to 69.5%. By 1970, when that class graduated, it had changed once again: blacks—18.5%, Puerto Ricans—7.5%, whites and others—73.8%.

CUNY, too, was little help. In 1969, first-time entering freshmen were 13.8 per cent black, 5.9 per cent Puerto Rican, 75.9 per cent all other white, and 4.4 per cent other, figures that were way out of line with the black and Puerto Rican college age population in the city.

The Board of Higher Education, taking its cue from a spate of foundation studies, decided to open CUNY’s doors wider. The objective was simply to repair the damage done by the public school system and to integrate the black and Puerto Rican populations into the changing productive system. As Bowker had said, the planners wanted the “children of the newer migrations” to fill the newer, low-level clerical and technical slots.

The first official announcement of the new policy came in the 1968 *Master Plan*, which laid out the BHE’s justifications for what they called 100% Open Admissions. This policy, they said, would provide “each student, regardless of high school achievement, the opportunity for more advanced study so that each may progress to his fullest potential.” The program would begin operation by 1975 at the earliest.

It all sounded very progressive—until you looked a bit more closely at what the Board had in mind. By no means were they prepared to guarantee all students access to the same kind of education. Rather they wanted to keep them in three separate tracks. The top 25% of high school graduates (overwhelmingly white and of the higher income levels) would be allowed into the senior col-

leges. The remainder of the top two-thirds would be sent to the community colleges. And the bottom one-third (overwhelmingly the least affluent whites, blacks, and Puerto Ricans) would be restricted to what the BHE euphemistically called “Education Skills Centers,” where they would be given vocational training. This was hardly open admissions. It provided even less access than did the grossly tracked California system. It did not even measure up to the Carnegie Commission’s call for at least the community colleges to be totally “open door” colleges. It was definitely a Brave New Worldish proposition. And finally, such changes as it would bring were to be put off for almost a decade.

This tidy scheme was blown apart in the Spring of 1969 by infuriated students and faculty.

Early the previous winter, a black and Puerto Rican student community group at CCNY had presented President Buell Gallagher with four demands. They wanted the racial composition of all future entering City College classes to reflect the racial composition of the city’s high schools—then about 50 per cent. They wanted a separate school of Black and Puerto Rican Studies. They wanted separate orientation for black and Puerto Rican students. And they wanted a voice on hiring, firing, and educational policy in the SEEK program. Later they would add a demand that all education majors—most destined to teach in the city’s schools—be required to take some black and Puerto Rican history, and to study some Spanish. These five demands became the basis for a massive, multi-campus upheaval throughout the City University.

Gallagher stalled. One hundred students took over the Administration building for four hours on February 13. But still no significant response was forthcoming.

It was not until April 21, with the school year’s end fast approaching, that the situation boiled over. On that day, over one thousand students paraded through CCNY denouncing racist admissions policies. The next day hundreds of black and Puerto Rican students blocked the gates to



the South Campus, and reiterated the five demands. Gallagher then shut down the campus, and it stayed closed until May 5. In the meantime other campuses exploded. At Queens whites and blacks together sat-in by the hundreds, protesting the firing of radical professors. Similar demonstrations broke out at Queensborough Community. At Brooklyn a coalition of students shut down that campus and demanded all black and Puerto Rican applicants be admitted in 1970. Back at Queens, hundreds occupied buildings to force dropping of charges against earlier demonstrators, and then Borough of Manhattan blew up—hundreds sitting in for Black and Puerto Rican Studies programs. By May 3 only Hunter, among the four oldest colleges, was still open.

Back at City, while the Administration debated a demand for guaranteed 50 per cent minority enrollments, pitched battles began to break out between demonstrators and counter-demonstrators who opposed further loss of class time and feared that quotas plus a limited number of openings at each campus would spell diminished opportunities for them. Said one black student in reply: "So you lose a day, a week, or a semester. We lost generations and damn it, this is what we intend to stop."

The confrontations continued in May. The black and Puerto Rican faculty at City, forty in number, went out on strike in support of the demands. Bronx Community joined the fray with a twelve hour sit-in. And finally on May 9, Francis Keppel, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the BHE, gave some ground. He tentatively approved the SEEK and separate orientation demands, agreed to the education major demand, but said further negotiations would be required on the central issue of guaranteed access.

The next two weeks saw a mobilization of opposition to any such guarantee. Political leaders denounced the plan (Rockefeller and Wagner both opposed it) and the Faculty Senate rejected it. The Board was trapped. It could not go back to the original Brave New World plan—the blacks, Puerto Ricans, and a great many white students would not stand for it. They could not guarantee 50 per cent of openings to minority groups—the many working and middle class Irish, Italians, Jews, and others who might be frozen out would not stand for it. The Board, in fact, had almost nowhere to go but forward.

That was precisely the direction that communi-

ty groups, labor unions, social agencies, and the embattled parties themselves began to urge on the Board. Go forward, they said, and open up the system to *everybody*. And *now*, not in a decade. The Board gave in. On July 9, 1969, they held a special meeting and announced that they had "re-appraised" the situation. They promised to offer admission "to some University program to all high school graduates of the City." (The "some" would, in time, be the escape clause that allowed them to perpetuate a good part of the tracking system.) They promised sufficient remedial services, maintenance of standards of academic excellence, ethnic integration of the colleges, and all to begin the very next year.

The people of the City had scored a spectacular victory with which everyone could be happy. *If* access would be truly open. *If* sufficient funding would be forthcoming to make it work. *If* Open Admissions would spell the end of tracking and discrimination. Not all of those conditions were fulfilled, but the struggle was an immense step forward.



The Era of Open Admissions, 1969-1974

The decision to go ahead with Open Admissions brought the University once again to the brink of political crisis over the tuition issue. Resigning in disgust in the wake of the BHE's decision, President Gallagher of CCNY declared that Open Admissions would strain facilities to the breaking point and bankrupt the University if it did not begin to charge tuition. The powerful Citizens Union agreed. The UFT, the Ad Hoc Committee, and Harry Van Arsdale of the Central Labor Council, among others, spoke out firmly against the adoption of tuition on the grounds that it would make a mockery of Open Admissions and exacerbate race and class tensions. In December 1969 the BHE decided to have the entire issue of CUNY's finances thoroughly aired and named former Mayor Wagner to head a special commission for that purpose. Everyone then sat back to see what would happen when Open Admissions went into effect the following year.

Everyone, that is, except the BHE. Mindful of its primary responsibilities, and nervous about putting all its eggs in one basket, the Board took steps to create a separate, parallel structure that would see to the training and tracking of the working class should Open Admissions not work out. This "Regional Manpower System" was set up in close conjunction with the federal Manpower and Career Development Agency. Its network of Regional Opportunity Centers, explained Dean Leon Goldstein, "is a plan for New York City to provide vocational training, basic education and job placement to poverty area adults lacking a high school diploma." MCDA created eleven Regional Opportunity Centers in poverty areas to administer part of this plan and contracted with the university to provide "basic skills education" at those eleven centers. In April 1970 MCDA asked CUNY to further expand its involvement by assuming responsibility for the "Vocational training component" at nine centers, which CUNY did on July 1, 1970.

Administered from the community colleges and funded by both the city and federal governments, the new program had a budget for fiscal year 1970 pegged at about \$6 million. Its main programs taught "reading and math skills which are required for job skills," enough English "to handle job skills," and finally vocational preparation for "such jobs as typist, clerk, stenographer, key-punch operator, maintenance-repairman, service repairman." Again, the least knowledge possible.

At the end of 1971, however, the University abandoned the program, and it was taken over by private corporations. The explanation was that by then the University felt confident that such functions could be adequately carried out within the context of the Open Admissions program. CUNY has maintained some of the other former competitors to the Open Admissions program—the Urban Center and College Adapter Program for instance—but most of their functions have now been switched to the community and senior colleges themselves.

Also in 1971, a new round in the Rockefeller Wars began when the Governor called for tuition charges at CUNY, linked to "generous" state scholarships. One week later, William T. Golden quit as head of the Construction Fund, declaring that CUNY was going under and could no longer service its debts. By the end of the year, with no word yet from the Wagner Commission, Rockefel-

ler created his own State Task Force on the Financing of Higher Education in New York under T.N. Hurd. Mayor Lindsay promptly called for 100% state financing of the University's operating budget.

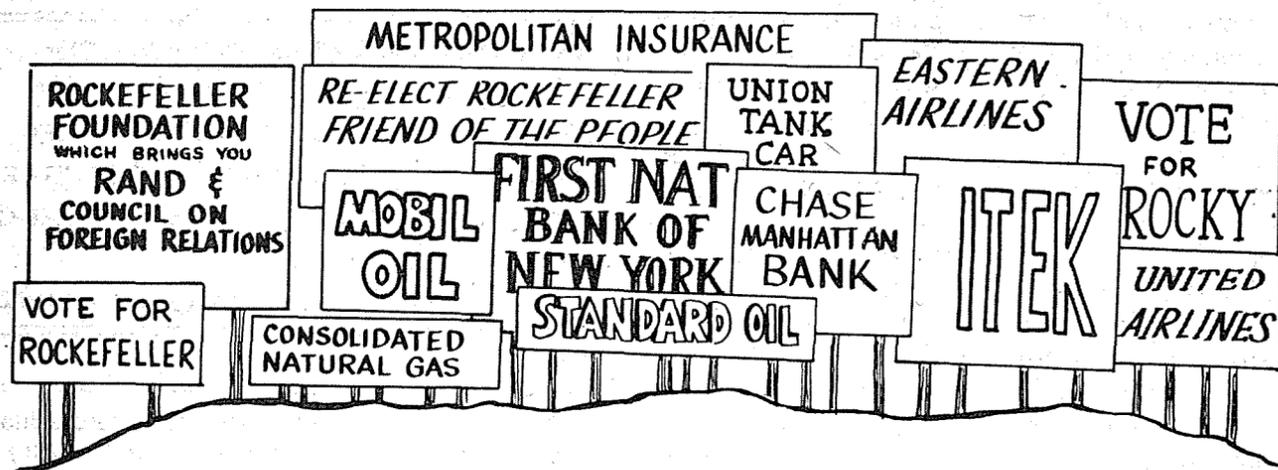
By February 1972 the Hurd Commission had finished its work. Its report was a disappointment to the Governor, however, for the Commission had failed to take a firm stand against CUNY's no-tuition policy. In April the Governor got more bad news with publication of the Wagner Commission's report.

Composed largely of representatives from the same groups which, with Wagner himself, had been fighting Rockefeller ever since the 1960 Heald report, the Wagner Commission's conclusions were hardly surprising: (a) continuing free tuition; (b) raising state contributions to senior college operating costs from 50% to 75% "without a change in the structure of controls, relationships, or identity"; (c) dedicating student fees and existing tuitions to service of Construction Fund bonds, thereby relieving the state of the need to supply one-half of the debt service charges; (d) removing community college construction costs from the city's capital budget and funding them on the same basis as those of the senior colleges; (e) giving the BHE *de jure* as well as *de facto* control over the community colleges; (f) creating a Chancellor's Council of Citizen Advisors, which would, in effect, serve as a local equivalent of the Heald Commission's proposed Governor's Council of Higher Education Advisors.

(Sylvia Deutsch, in a revealing dissent from this portion of the Wagner report, argued that the Ad Hoc Committee she had helped to found already fulfilled the purpose of such an advisory body. It now consists, she said, of:

over 60 civic, community groups. It has represented the community of New York for the past seven years in the continued battles for increased CUNY budgets, in support of open admissions and SEEK and for the maintenance of a free tuition policy for undergraduates. The Committee refused a BHE suggestion that it turn itself into an official part of the University structure. . . .)

Six months after the Wagner Commission report, in September 1972, the controversy became still murkier when the Regents issued their "Tentative Statewide Plan for Development of Post-Secondary Education." The plan commended CUNY for its Open Admissions program, but ad-



monished the University to move more rapidly on the necessary capital construction—though it would almost certainly require “a rational tuition policy” to do so. Free tuition, the Regents added, is directly contrary to their state philosophy, and CUNY’s adamant opposition to closer ties with SUNY and other higher educational institutions in New York is deplorable. This challenge to the Hurd and Wagner reports gave Governor Rockefeller room to resume his offensive. In October, therefore, he named yet another task force under Francis Keppel for the purpose of investigating the financing of all higher education in the state.

If the Wagner Commission comprised the forces that had been opposing Rockefeller since 1960, the Keppel Commission comprised the forces that had supported Rockefeller since 1960. Its seventeen members included one SUNY president, one SUNY trustee, and representatives from twelve private institutions of higher learning, ten of them in New York State. The Carnegie and Ford Foundations each had delegates, as did the College Entrance Examination Board, the state government, the federal government, and the world of great banks, corporations, and Wall Street law firms. And so it came as no surprise that when the Keppel Commission issued its report in March 1973, it did little more than echo the recommendations of the Heald Commission thirteen years earlier.

It was no surprise, either, that the Keppel report met with immediate, withering return fire from the same forces that had been defending CUNY against Rockefeller since 1960. Resistance, in fact, seemed all the more urgent in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s, for free and equal access to CUNY seemed to have become the only remaining political bulwark against savage class warfare and

the continued flight of the middle class from the city. As Albert Blumenthal put it at the time: “Perhaps there is no other institution left in this City which provides the opportunity for the poor and the middle class to work together effectively. This is absolutely essential to the survival of New York City. . . . A city cannot survive without these coalitions.” Free tuition and open admissions, Blumenthal added, were the cement of that coalition:

To destroy these essential and critical supports of City University policy would be to invite disaster for our City. I am not overstating the alternatives. To destroy Open Admissions, free tuition, SEEK and College Discovery would generate intergroup frictions on an order of magnitude this City has never before experienced. It would make Ocean Hill-Brownsville look like a picnic.

What the Keppel Commission proposes, agreed Chancellor Kibbee, is nothing less than “a major change in New York City’s social policy,” and one that might well “reap the whirlwind and contribute to the destruction of the city.”

“If the Keppel Commission’s recommendations were implemented, another resulting development would be increased class warfare between the poor and the lower and middle income working families. . . .”

—S.H. Lowell, President of CCNY Alumni Association, in testimony before the Joint Legislative Committee on Higher Education, 1973

Such local concerns, of course, do not impress Rockefeller and the foundations—or if they do, not so deeply as the need to assume greater and greater control over all higher education in the country. In sum, resistance to direct state rule of the University should not be romanticized as a working-class, anti-capitalist uprising—but neither should it be cynically dismissed as superficial and unimportant. CUNY and the City would be very different indeed if Rockefeller took over.

Nor should the struggle for control of CUNY be linked too closely to Rockefeller himself. The Governor’s resignation in late 1973 did give CUNY forces some unexpected breathing room. But just as pressure for a state take-over of the municipal colleges had begun well before Rockefeller’s appearance on the scene, so will it continue under his successors. The logic of capitalist intervention in higher education, as we have seen, requires that the issue be joined, again and again, until finally resolved.

And neither should it be forgotten that the struggle for control has and will take place in a context of increasing cooperation between CUNY and the capitalist system. Even now, the Central Office is pressing on with its program of turning the University into a massive training center for industry and government, at public expense, without the public having any voice in the matter.

The 1972 Master Plan clearly reveals what they want and we can expect:

“Given City University’s broad expansion in the past decade,” write the Masterplanners, “it is particularly important that its planning reflect the manifold social and economic pressures and trends of its urban environment.” Demographic and employment profile analyses show that those “pressures and trends” consist of the following: continued decreases “in the need for unskilled and semi-skilled blue collar workers and continued increase in the need for college-trained personnel in the professions, government, business, and other service areas”; “continued high rate of technological change which will require more frequent re-training for many types of jobs”; the “growth of leisure time [unemployment?] and job demands for higher levels of education which will encourage more individuals to pursue higher education in their adult years”; a “dramatic change in population mix.”

The meaning of all this for CUNY is that it must “completely restructure many of its cur-

“Educational programs are consciously geared to preparing students for a wide range of occupations and professions, and to meeting manpower needs of public and private employers.”

—CUNY Master Plan, 1972

ricula, re-emphasize learning how to learn, and establish logical points at which undergraduates can suspend their college careers and qualify for jobs.” Particular areas in which the Masterplanners believe “the University’s training capability” can be brought to bear include health care, education, paraprofessional work, and library science.

The latest indication of CUNY’s commitment to its work for capitalism comes in the Chancellor’s budget request for 1973-1974—the blueprint for what is going on right now. It reeks of manpower development imperatives. Over and over again we read of “curricula to meet professional and career needs.” Of “new curricula . . . to improve the training of vocational teachers and to provide management training for minority entrepreneurs.” Of “the changing skill demands of a dynamic economy” and of how “the University is seeking to keep abreast of this demand.” Of the University’s “role in providing the academic support for new, changed and expanded job requirements.” Of programs that “are critical in meeting the changing manpower needs of the City.”

How different it would be if less enthusiasm were displayed for shaping people to fit jobs, and more for enabling them to shape their jobs to suit themselves.

Governance, Power, and Control

Who actually runs things at CUNY from one day to the next? Given the conclusion of this chapter—that CUNY is largely a creation of the capitalist class—it would seem we are bound to suggest that representatives of that class are here, as elsewhere in American higher education, firmly in control. Yet a good deal of evidence seems to suggest that his would be a grossly simplistic, even silly conclusion. Unlike most private institutions, where control is clearly in the hands of

self-appointed and self-perpetuating cliques of rich old trustees from the worlds of business and finance, CUNY is a public university. It is exposed at a great many points to political, governmental, and public interference. At least a dozen city and state offices share responsibility for CUNY's affairs, and when any one of them dares to hold a public hearing, the parade of spokesmen for civic, ethnic, business, and community organizations seems almost endless. Then, too, the bitter struggles for autonomy, free tuition, and now Open Admissions have been, as we have seen, precisely a struggle waged by local working and middle income groups *against* ruling class interventions in University policy.

It might appear, then, that we are about to be caught in something of a paradox. Is there any way to resolve it?

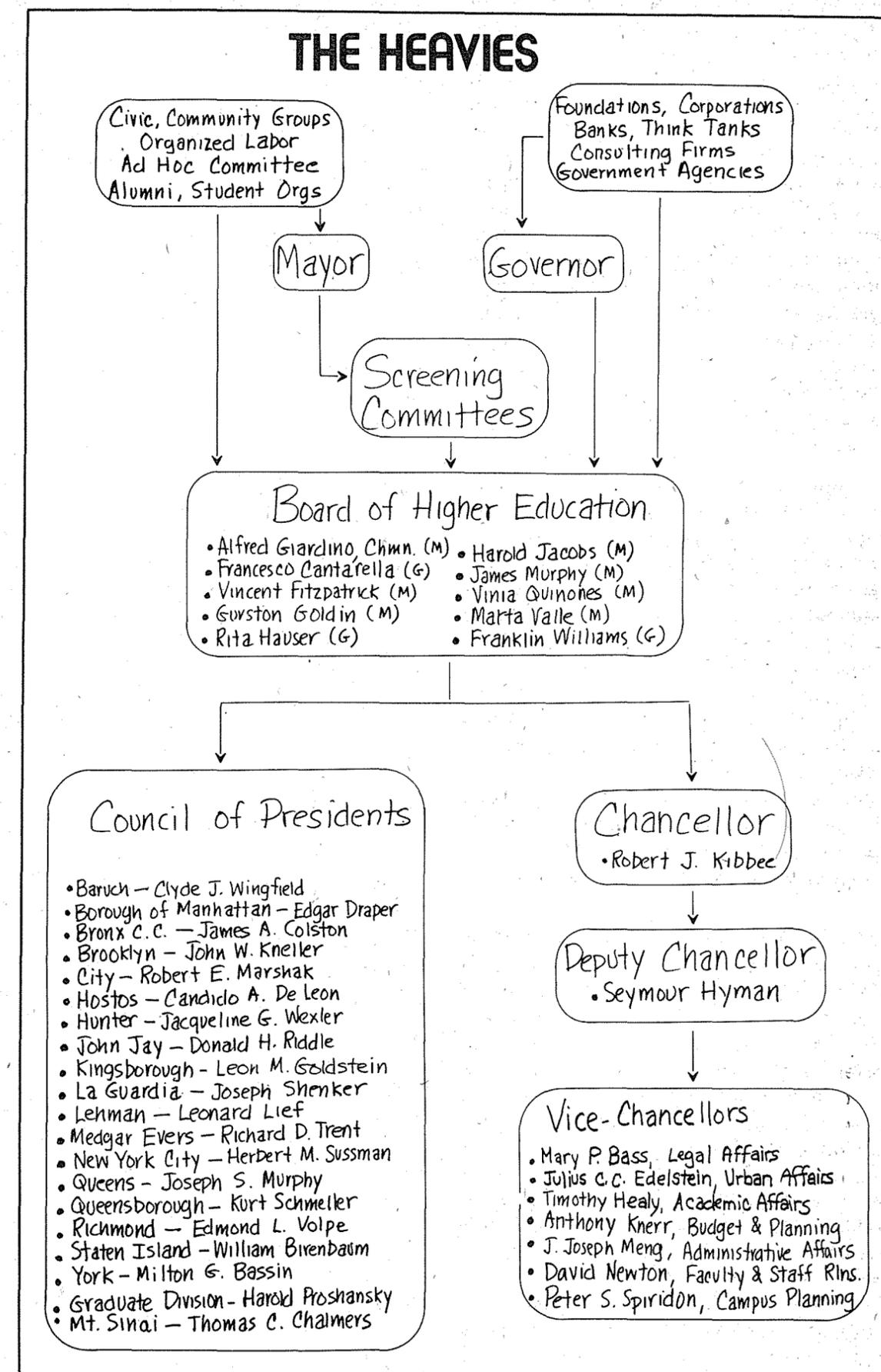
Let us begin to sort out the question of governance by considering the seven mayoral and three gubernatorial appointees who currently sit on the Board of Higher Education, CUNY's highest governing body. What one notices first of all is a judicious ethnic balance among the ten. There are two blacks (Franklin Williams, Vinia Quinones), two Irish-Catholics (Vincent Fitzpatrick, James Murphy), three Jews (Gurston Goldin, Rita Hauser, Harold Jacobs), two Italians (Alfred Giardino, Francesco Cantarella), and one Puerto Rican (Marta Valle). There is also, upon closer inspection, a sharp difference between Mayor Beame's and former Governor Rockefeller's appointees with respect to their status, prestige, power, and connections to the ruling class.

Hauser, Williams, and Cantarella—the three named by Rockefeller—could easily blend in with the corporate bigwigs who sit on the boards of major private universities. Cantarella is vice-president and director of public affairs for David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, where he handles governmental relations for the bank and (in his own words) "an urban affairs program to help find a solution to the socio-economic problems besetting the city." A former fellow of the prestigious Brookings Institution in Washington, he also serves as a director of both the Public Affairs Council and the Empire State Chamber of Commerce. Hauser is no lightweight, either. A specialist in international law and partner in one of the leading Manhattan law firms, she is also a trustee of the United Nations Association, trustee

of the Legal Aid Society, a member of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on World Order Under Law, and, perhaps most significant, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the shadowy ruling-class organization that largely determines the course of U.S. international policy. Williams, for his part, is a former N.A.A.C.P. official, past Director of the Columbia University Urban Center, and formerly U.S. Ambassador to Ghana, now serving as president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a private foundation that "supports educational programs in Africa and among black and American Indian schools." Williams is also a trustee of Fordham and Lincoln universities, and he sits on the boards of Consolidated Edison, Carver Federal Savings & Loan, and U.R.S. Systems, Inc.

Beame's seven appointees, by contrast, are women and men of more ordinary attainments. Fitzpatrick and Giardino, the Board Chairman, are both partners in respected but small Manhattan law firms. Murphy, another attorney, is a vice-president with Chemical Bank. Jacobs is a Brooklyn businessman, Quinones a hospital administrator, Valle an educational administrator, and Goldin a psychiatrist. What all seven have in common, on the other hand, are long years of involvement in local, community, and business affairs. Between them they have access to or a sound working knowledge of all the major religious, ethnic, and civic groups in the city; they know their way around the health, welfare, and educational establishments, the political parties, and the City Hall bureaucracy. All of the seven, furthermore, have taken a firm public stand in favor of Open Admissions and free tuition, and against further state interventions in CUNY affairs. Indeed, as Jacobs candidly told one student paper, "I am for open admissions and free tuition—or I wouldn't have been appointed." When asked their opinions on the same issues, Rockefeller's three appointees either waffled or refused to answer.

The conclusion to be drawn here is simple: the BHE, as presently constituted, is dominated by the same local forces that have been in the forefront of the struggle against Rockefeller and the foundations since 1960. It is especially notable in this connection that Murphy, the banker and apparent exception, served loyally on the pro-CUNY Wagner Commission, while chairman Giardino, at the time of his appointment to the



CHANCELLOR KIBBEE: RUNNING THE TRAINS ON TIME

When the BHE announced in July 1971 that Robert J. Kibbee would succeed Albert H. Bowker as Chancellor of the City University, just about everyone was astonished at his apparent lack of qualifications for the job. A native of New York who held an A.B. from Fordham (1943) and a Ph.D. in college administration from Chicago (1957), Kibbee was then in his sixth year as Vice-President for Administration and Planning at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh. Before going to Carnegie-Mellon, he had held deanships in a succession of small midwestern colleges and served briefly as an advisor on higher education to the government of Pakistan. A ten-year-old article on "Higher Education in Pakistan" was his only publication of note, and, as the Times delicately put it, he was "virtually unknown in higher-education circles outside Pennsylvania."

The logic of Kibbee's appointment becomes a good deal clearer when you examine the contents of his doctoral dissertation, "Policy Formation in American Higher Education." Ostensibly a narrow study of decision-making in three small Arkansas colleges, it was in fact a manifesto for the get-tough administrative policies and practices that the BHE would find especially desirable in the 1970s.

Colleges and universities, Kibbee declared, are not microcosms of the larger world around them: students and professors may have certain rights to political participation in civil society, but that doesn't mean they have an equivalent right to participate in decision-making on the campuses. Indeed, his research showed that faculty in particular would be perfectly willing to accept, and probably better off with, a benevolent administrative dictatorship: "several of the decisions made in the most arbitrary manner," he noted, "received almost unanimous support in the faculty while some of those that had enjoyed the greatest degree of faculty participation . . . incurred the most faculty disfavor." So much for democracy.

Altogether too often, Kibbee continued, administrators put adherence to mere form ahead of goal-oriented effectiveness: they become ensnared in institutional formalities and procedures, losing sight of the larger purposes for which the institution exists. When circumstances compel them to act boldly, without regard for the formalities, the resulting "hypocrisy" tends to "create frustration and destroy morale" among those who have been deceived about the role in the scheme of things.

The solution, obviously enough, is to set matters straight by making sure at the outset that these people harbor no illusions about their powerlessness, for then they won't be "frustrated" when their wishes are ignored. Besides, so long as the trains run on time, they probably won't mind anyway.

Sound familiar?



BHE, was heading the Ad Hoc Committee for the City University, the umbrella organization of all pro-CUNY groups in the city. Nor is there any doubt that the seven mayoral appointees see themselves in this light. As Jacobs again candidly declared: "The city still controls [CUNY]. All seven of the mayor's choices are committed and if there was ever any major problem we would hold the majority. In that sense they [Rockefeller's people] don't really have a voice."

"In the City of New York, recommendations for appointment by the Mayor to the Board of Higher Education are made by an independent panel of distinguished citizens. This procedure . . . has kept governance of the City University absolutely free of partisan politics. Members of selection panels have included presidents of foundations, former college and university presidents, present and former professors, distinguished lawyers, and civic leaders, who have no political axes to grind."

—BHE Chairman Luis Quero-Chiesa, 1973

How the pro-CUNY forces have managed to get and to hold their position is the next question. The answer is to be found in the extraordinary and largely unknown role of blue-ribbon "screening committees" in soliciting, reviewing, and recommending candidates for appointment to the BHE. First developed by Mayor Wagner in 1963, amid mounting criticism that free tuition was an obstacle to the admission of working-class and non-white students, and then subsequently continued during the Lindsay and Beame administrations, these screening committees have become an essential fixture of CUNY politics. Their recommendations have rarely been ignored, and since their advent, every major ethnic, racial, and religious group in the city, as well as organized labor and business interests, has been quietly assured of one or more representatives on the Board at any time—thereby legitimating and

cementing the inter-class alliance that keeps Rockefeller and the foundations at bay. The only difference in this regard between the present Board and its predecessors is the presence of the three gubernatorial appointees since 1974. And they, as we have seen, are a different breed entirely.

It is the make-up of the screening committees themselves that holds the key to who runs CUNY, however. Consider only the three most recent committees: two named by Mayor Lindsay and one by Mayor Beame. Lindsay's first panel, in business from 1966 to 1970, was headed by none other than Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation, director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and more. Another leading Pifer panelist—Frederick Sheffield—was a prominent attorney, corporation director, and trustee of the Carnegie Corporation.

Lindsay's second panel, in business from 1970 to 1973, was headed by Arthur Singer, a vice-president of the Sloan Foundation, the president of which was placed on the BHE in 1970. Singer's colleagues included Robert Carter, a prominent black attorney; William T. Golden, a wealthy corporation director, trustee of the Carnegie Corporation, and member of the Council on Foreign Relations; Charles Monaghan, editor of Book World and member of the Kings County Democratic Committee; Virginia Sexton, professor of psychology at Lehman College; Howard Squadron, prominent Manhattan attorney and former head of the Ad Hoc Committee; Frederick Sheffield, held over from the Pifer panel; and at least four other community, civic, and labor leaders.

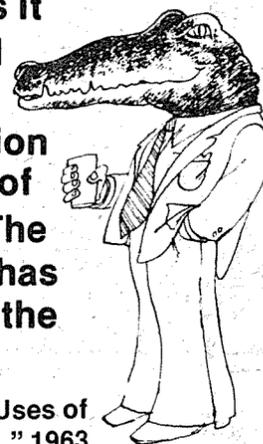
The Beame panel was headed by Abraham Feinberg, a banker and business executive with extensive personal and financial connections to the Mayor and the Democratic party. Feinberg's colleagues included Porter R. Chandler, partner in one of New York's top law firms, former chairman of the BHE, and an outspoken supporter of Rockefeller's program for higher education in the state; three holdovers from prior panels, Arthur Singer, Alan Pifer, and Howard Squadron; two former ethnic members of the BHE, Benjamin McLaurin and Francisco Trilla; Blanche Lewis, former president of the United Parents Association; and E. Howard Molisani, an official of the ILGWU.

The obvious and striking thing here, of course, is the presence on the screening committees of the very corporate and foundation interests that now dominate American education in general and want to dominate CUNY in particular. They do not by any means control the screening panels: Mayors Wagner, Lindsay, and Beame have apparently been quite careful to give a sure majority of committee positions to representatives or officials of groups which, like the Ad Hoc Committee, support free tuition, Open Admissions, and independence from the state.

The participation of corporate and foundation representatives in the selection of BHE trustees is nonetheless extremely significant, for it points to the existence of an at least tacit accommodation between the pro-CUNY forces and their ruling-class antagonists. The two salient features of this accommodation can be summarized as follows: (1) the pro-CUNY coalition is assured of a BHE that is solidly behind free tuition and Open Admissions, as well as fairly partitioned among their constituent groups; (2) the corporate-foundation axis, in return, receives something like a veto power over BHE nominees, such that it can be assured of Boards sympathetic to capitalist needs except only where Open Admissions and free tuition are concerned. On those two issues the BHE will continue to respect the wishes of the city's

"As the institution becomes larger, administration becomes more formalized and separated as a distinct function; as the institution becomes more complex, the role of administration becomes more central in integrating it; as it becomes more related to the once external world, the administration assumes the burdens of these relationships. The managerial revolution has been going on also in the university."

—Clark Kerr, "The Uses of the University," 1963



working and middle-classes.

Given the potentially explosive consequences of a no-holds-barred fight, this trade-off is doubly advantageous to both sides. The corporate-foundation axis is able to continue its pressure on CUNY through Albany, without risking a working-class takeover of the University. The pro-CUNY forces, for their part, avoid the open class warfare many see as a result of defeat and meanwhile buy time to build their political strength. The upshot of it all—and this brings us back to the problem we began with—is the odd spectacle of a multiversity, built and run to serve capitalism, in which the working and middle classes have managed to hold small but significant beach-heads.

Capitalist influence in CUNY affairs has been greatly increased in recent years through the emergence of a massive, "professionalized" bureaucracy beneath, but virtually autonomous from, the BHE. Or, more accurately, two bureaucracies, for just under the Board the University's table of organization begins to divide in half—on one side through the Council of Presidents, on the other through the Chancellor, who is the Board's chief administrative officer. Each of the twenty presidents on the COP commands a growing army of vice-presidents, provosts, and deans on her or his campus. The Chancellor, too, commands an ever-expanding army of subordinates, this one based at the Central Office on E. 80th Street in Manhattan and consisting of the Deputy Chancellor, seven Vice-Chancellors, a half-dozen University Deans, and various lesser functionaries. The Deputy and Vice-Chancellors together constitute the Chancellor's "cabinet," the top policy-making body in the administration. Officially, cooperation between these two branches of the University hierarchy is assured by having the Chancellor preside over meetings of the COP, and by University by-laws requiring him to discuss certain specific kinds of issues with them.

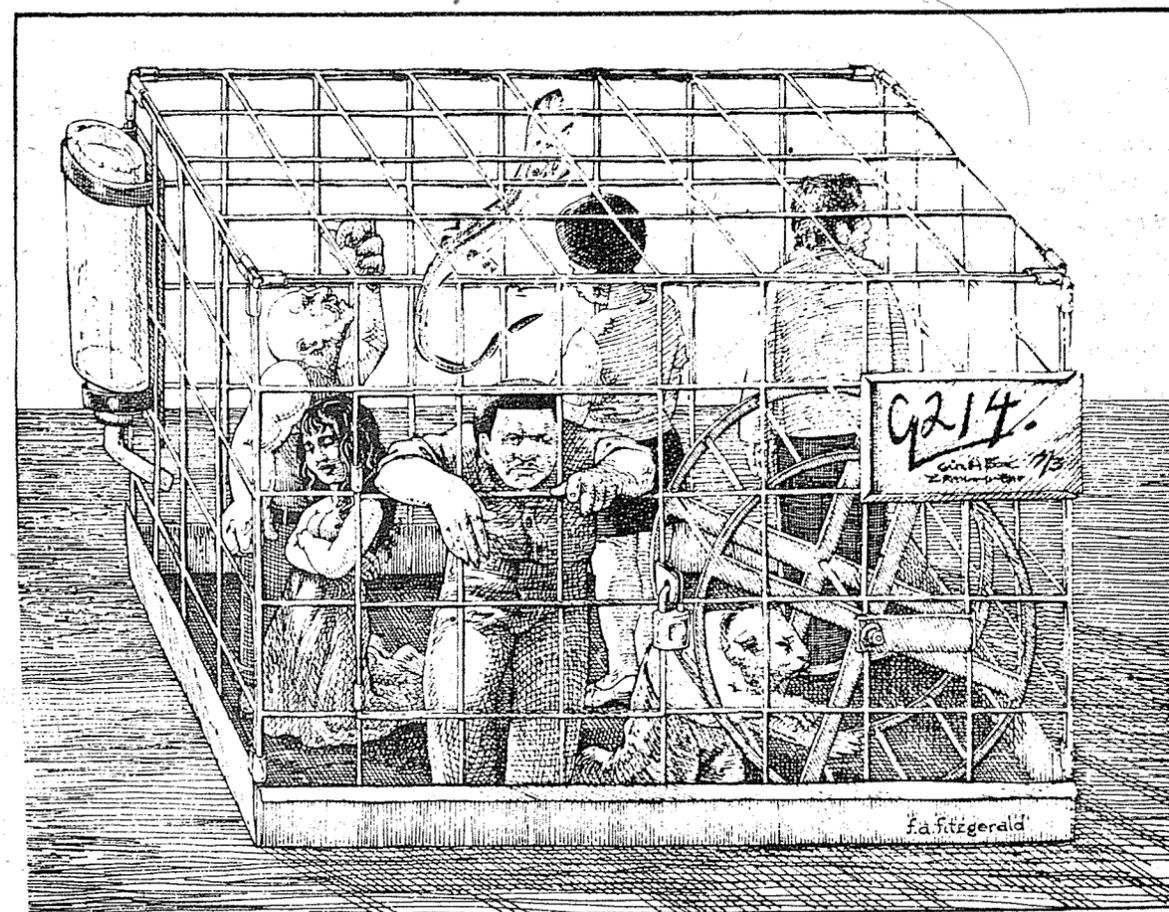
Unofficially, the COP and its side of the hierarchy are by far the weaker of the two. Since the creation of the University in 1961, the Central Office has absorbed more and more responsibility in such vital areas as finance, collective bargaining, governmental relations, construction, and admissions. The independence of individual campuses, along with the power of the presidents, have declined steadily to the point where the COP has become more or less a rubber stamp for the Chancellor. At the same time, of course, the

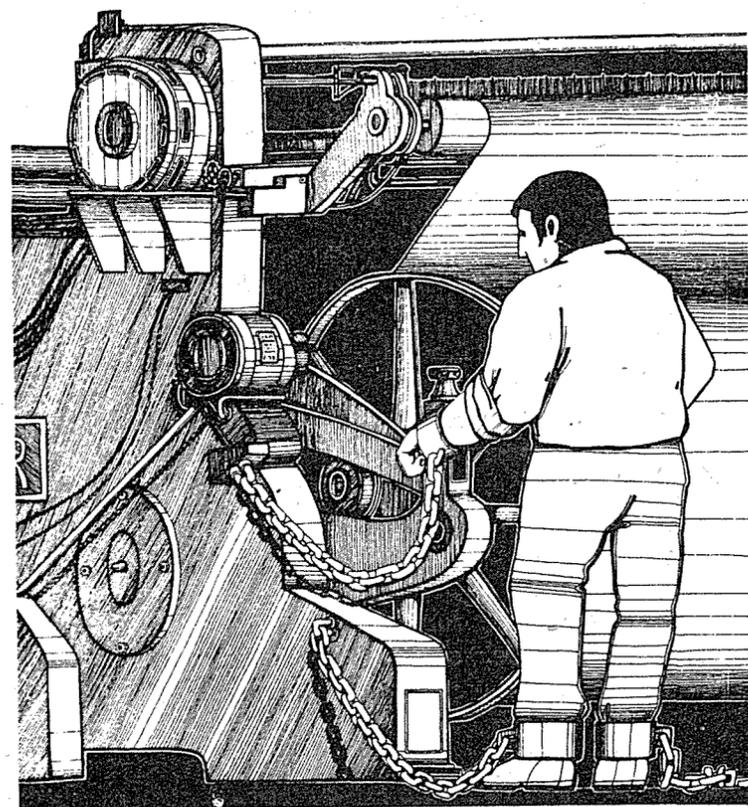
power of both students and faculty has also declined sharply, since their access to the Central Office is even more restricted than their access to the administrations of the individual campuses. Creation of the Faculty Senate and Student Senate did not materially improve the situation, since both are merely "advisory" bodies and the Chancellor is under no obligation to pay them any heed unless it suits his purposes to do so.

As the power of the Central Office bureaucracy has grown, so has it become more and more consciously "professional" in outlook. Many top administrators, to be sure, have been drawn from campus faculties and administrations, and most are entirely committed to Open Admissions, free tuition, and CUNY's independence from state control. Even so, the Central Office has become notoriously contemptuous in recent years of what it regards as incompetence and inefficiency on many campuses. It has become increasingly enamored of "managerial" values and attitudes

and styles. Cost-effectiveness, productivity, efficiency, hierarchical order, organizational unity—all of these business-like standards of operation are rapidly supplanting the more leisurely and less constricting standards of traditional academic administration.

Part and parcel of this transformed outlook at the Central Office—and here we come to the heart of the matter—is a growing attentiveness to the foundation-corporation-government nexus that secures capitalist control of the higher educational system generally. Why the BHE permits it to happen is not surprising. The trustees, after all, have already received the capitalists' seal of approval in the screening panels, and their principal obligation is to see that nobody tampers with free tuition and Open Admissions. From one day to the next, providing only that it adheres loyally to both policies, the Central Office is free to build the multiversity as it pleases.





“Nobody deals with whole problems anymore, and that is an important preparation for a world in which no worker ever produces a whole product.”

4. What Next?

What's ahead for CUNY? That depends on who's making the decisions.

If the decisions are made by the faculty, students and their families, campus workers, civic and community groups, and allies in the labor movement, CUNY will look one way. If the foundation planners, corporate executives, and state bureaucrats make the decisions, CUNY will look quite different.

At the moment they are clearly more organized, more informed, and more sure about what they want than we are. They have multi-million dollar foundations steadily at work, studying, projecting, calculating, issuing a stream of recommendations. They have—and they make no effort to hide it—a relatively coherent “game plan” for the future of American education, including the City University of New York. It would be foolish of us to ignore their intentions. We have already seen that they have transformed colleges and universities in the past, CUNY among them, and we have also seen that they are responsible for so many of the difficulties in our daily lives. So in this chapter we intend to sketch out their vision of our future. Once we are clear about *their* program, we can return to a consideration of what *ours* might be.

Keep in mind as we go along that we are not describing some basement cabal of conspiratorial cigar-smokers. Our ruling elite, to be sure, engages in conspiracies when it suits its interest (the oil companies fix prices, the CIA overthrows Allende), but normally they operate openly. The educational masterplanners have already published scores of books, reports, pamphlets, and studies laying out exactly what they're up to. Then again they are not—for the most part—nasty Blue Meanies. Many are liberals who seek to “improve”

and “modernize” the educational system. The problem is that they will never make “improvements” that might undermine capitalism (and if they did they would no longer be paid salaries from the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie fortunes). And this spells disaster for the rest of us, for capitalism's survival requires our continued exploitation.

The Eightfold Path to the Knowledge Factory

A review of the establishment think-tank literature suggests an overall strategy of tightening control over the campus in order to transform it the way most other institutions have been transformed under capitalism. Like the factory, like the office, like the school before it, higher education is slated for a reorganization in the interest of greater productivity, uniformity, and “efficiency”—a code word for management control. That reorganization is thought to require the following tactics. *First*, gathering ultimate, system-wide control over higher education into the hands of the educational elite, by imposing state authority on the campuses. *Second*, assigning each campus a specific educational task within the framework of the overall masterplan worked out at the system-wide level. *Third*, ensuring that the right classes and races are tracked to the appropriate campuses; this is seen as requiring an imposition (or increase of) tuition so that the poorest students are forced into the lowest-level institutions. *Fourth*, instituting rigorous managerial authority over both faculty and students at the different campuses. *Fifth*, eliminating what is left of faculty ability to hinder “modernization.” *Sixth*, with power now concentrated at the top, and faculty resistance undermined, imposing “scien-

tific management" and "cost-efficiency controls" at each campus. Seventh, introducing educational technology (Techteach) as a labor-saving device, rather than simply a useful auxiliary to human efforts. Eighth, restoring ideological control in order to reverse the universities' emergence as centers of criticism of capitalism.

Let us examine each of these tactics in turn.

1. ASSUMPTION OF SYSTEM-WIDE CONTROL BY THE STATE: The masterplanners would like to impose order on what they consider to be an anarchic and wasteful university system. They would like to remove what elements of autonomy still characterize the American campus world. This requires, to their way of thinking, grouping together various campuses (units) under some larger umbrella authority. Local units should be combined under a university system (as the municipal colleges in New York City were brought together under CUNY); these university systems should in turn be brought under the aegis of state-wide planning boards; and the state authorities should in turn receive direction from federal authorities, themselves advised by the foundation masterplanners. The scaffolding for this massive centralized structure is now either in the process of construction or on the drawing boards.

At the federal level, progress has been especially rapid: In addition to the vast influence that such agencies as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Defense Department already possess by virtue of their control over so much of the funding of universities, the federal government has already begun to institutionalize its power over the higher educational system. Section 1202 of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 thus established State Postsecondary Education Commissions, which will undertake comprehensive planning for state education systems and, particularly, occupational education programs. These "1202 Commissions," as they are called, are currently in a sort of limbo, however, because the Nixon Administration's 1974 cut-backs in educational funds temporarily blocked their development. Nevertheless, it is widely assumed that as soon as the flow of cash is restored, they will swiftly develop into important instruments for concentrating federal power over American campuses.

Another nationwide agency, the Education Commission of the States (for the membership

and background of this and other groups, see our list of Masterminds and Masterplanners at the back), is also urging the institution of planning networks. Their Task Force on Coordination, Governance, and the Structure of Postsecondary Education recently recommended that each state establish a central agency to develop (in "consultation" with the campuses) a state-wide education plan, and that this agency be made sole disbursing of all state and federal funds so that it will have the power to make the campuses go along with the plan. As the Task Force blandly puts it, the educational institutions (private as well as public) would "be held responsible for achieving the mutually agreed-upon program and policy objectives." The agency's central office would constantly audit the different campuses to ensure that "proper fiscal management [had] been achieved."

New York State, as we have already seen, has been in the forefront of the movement to centralize control over higher education. During his long reign in Albany, Nelson Rockefeller assembled a string of commissions, each packed with foundation bigwigs and corporation magnificos, and each dedicated to building pressure for greater central authority over the state's colleges and universities. The recent Keppel Commission, for example, boasted an eye-popping collection of luminaries—Wall Street's Porter Chandler, ex-head of the BHE; Allan M. Carter of the Carnegie Commission; Clifton W. Phalen, Chairman of Marine Midland Bank; a gaggle of private college presidents; and such consultants as Earl Cheit (see "Masterminds and Masterplanners")—who concluded, not unexpectedly, that "the size, complexity and cost of post-secondary education require a streamlining of governance, planning and coordination." Specifically, they urged creation of a State Planning Council for Post-secondary Education, appointed by the Governor. It would plan and coordinate all post-secondary education, with special consideration given to "manpower supply and demand," and the "establishment and maintenance of an adequate data collection system."

As we have also seen, the Keppel Commission's recommendations are being hotly contested by such local groups as the Ad Hoc Committee and the Wagner Commission, so their proposed Planning Council is not yet a reality. But powerful forces are pushing in that direction.

SUNY Chancellor Ernest L. Boyer has predicted that in the near future the state will move to "force closer cooperation" between itself and the campus, and that when it does so, the campuses will "have to begin to 'fall in line.'"

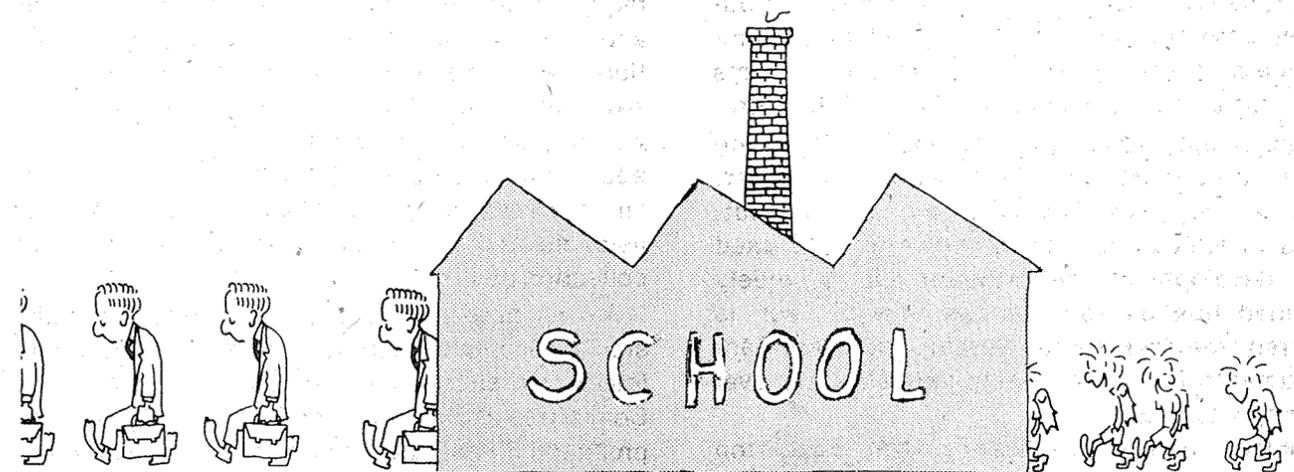
One disturbing example of the power and determination of those who are moving to have the state gather educational power unto itself concerns the recent battle for control of CUNY's community colleges. Though La Guardia, Manhattan, and the rest are under *de facto* BHE control, they are in fact *legally* under State authority. CUNY, for many years now, has sought to have legal control transferred to itself. Last year the transfer movement picked up speed, and it looked for a time as if the switch might be accomplished. SUNY did not object, and the State Senate and Assembly voted a transfer bill almost unanimously. But the new governor, Malcolm Wilson, hesitated. Why, in the face of such apparent unanimity? The *New York Times* explained it this way: "The only remaining roadblock now appears to be manned by some behind-the-scenes lobbyists who consider the move a threat to their dreams of one super-university that would some day engulf the city institutions and place all public higher education under command of the State University." Albany scuttlebutt had it that the behind-the-scenes forces included Nelson Rockefeller and several of the Keppel Commissioners, who of course want to see the State absorb CUNY, not vice-versa. Governor Wilson vetoed the transfer bill.

In the not too distant future, therefore, we may expect to see the creation of some super-agency

to "streamline" and "modernize" higher education, and we may safely bet that it will be staffed by representatives of the foundation elite. Phase one of the masterplanners program will then have been completed in New York State.

2. INSTITUTING STRICT DIVISION OF LABOR BY CAMPUS: An orderly educational system, the masterplanners feel, requires that each campus (like each factory) specialize. Each should be devoted to the production of a distinctive product. Duplication, overlap, and waste should be eliminated. The demand for sharply-defined production quotas is a staple of the current corporate literature. It is usually couched somewhat more gently as the call for campuses to define clearly their "goals," or alternatively, their "missions." Once "goals" are established, then the universities would proceed to eliminate all programs that do not work toward fulfilling those "goals."

The clearest and most succinct statement of this popular proposal comes from one of the most powerful ruling class organizations in the United States—the Committee for Economic Development (see "Masterminds and Masterplanners"). The CED recently issued a study entitled *The Management and Financing of Colleges*. This report recommends that each college and university in the country establish a set of goals. It does not leave us in the dark as to what kinds of goals are acceptable, either. It rejects broad, humanist goals. It derides as impossibly sloppy and vague such traditional "missions" as producing "well-rounded, thinking men and women able to cope effectively with a wide range of personal and



from the New York Post, 2/21/74:

Dick Freundlich is a smart planner. He chose plastics, he chose BCC, and he's on the move!



"When I was in high school," says Dick, "I made a decision to go into plastics research. It's a wide-open growing field with great pay. I looked around at other schools, but I chose Bronx Community College to give me the right training — free. I figured it was the place for me and I was right!"

Today Dick is part of the team at Western Electric's Research Center outside of Princeton, New Jersey, working on processing and recycling projects that affect everybody's future. Like other graduates of BCC's plastics program, Dick got a professional-level job with top pay after only a two-year program.

If you haven't checked out plastics it's not too late to make a move.

Find out more. Call 367-7300 ext. 442 and talk to the professors at BCC about a career in Plastics. For information on admission or transfer from other colleges, write: Office of Admissions, Bronx Community College, University Avenue and 181 Street, Bronx, New York 10453.

Act now for September admission.
Tuition-free for qualified city residents.

societal problems and needs."

What the CED is after, instead, are solidly specific vocational goals. As they bluntly put it:

If a college is to develop a distinctive mission, its goals must be described in specific terms, such as "preparing not less than one-fourth of the elementary teachers needed by the state over the next five years"; "qualifying students to enter accredited schools of law, medicine, and public administration"; "providing the basic elements of a scientific and liberal education for those intending to seek the Ph.D."; or "promoting the acquisition of knowledge and training in the basic skills essential to (specified types of) technical vocations."

Now those are the kinds of goals a businessman can live with.

3. TRACKING AND TUITION: Suppose now that the system has been tightened up. Different campuses devote themselves entirely to different "missions." The curriculum of each is tightly focused on transmitting only those skills that the future worker needs to know.

The next step is to ensure that the right kind of people are sent to the right kind of campus and then to the right kind of jobs. The working classes must be channeled into the manual, technical, and clerical positions. Those in somewhat higher income brackets must be funneled to the supervisory positions in industry and government bureaucracies—social workers, teachers, etc. Those of still higher brackets are to be trained for the professional slots—doctors, lawyers, and the like. And those sons and daughters of the wealthy who are destined for command positions in the banks, corporations, and government will be given the finest and broadest educations. The masterplanners' preoccupation with tracking, as we have already discovered, stems not simply from its alleged potential for greater economic efficiency, but also from its role in perpetuating and strengthening the class structure of capitalist society.

From the masterplanners' perspective, however, the present tracking system is woefully inadequate and flawed. If higher education is to remain useful to capitalism in the future, tracking must be improved in two ways. First, it must be made much more flexible. Second, it must be tightened drastically, for too many people are getting too much education these days.

Consider the need to make tracking more

"Chancellor Robert J. Kibbee of the City University of New York today announced receipt of a \$300,000 grant from the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare to establish the first large scale computer-based admission and vocational counseling program in the United States. Each applicant who comes to the center will be given a career interest survey. Based on the information supplied, the prospective student will use a computer terminal to ask for a list of available educational programs."

—"Ken" [Brooklyn College],
September 10, 1974

flexible. The problem now is that the campuses are not sufficiently sensitive to the precise wishes of big business; individual university centers often over- or under-produce many kinds of trained workers, and the masterplanners consider this both wasteful and a source of discontent. What must be done, as the National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education recently announced after a fourteen-month, \$1.5-million study, is to subject *quantity* of trained workers produced at any given center to more finely-tuned control (see "Masterminds and Masterplanners"). While the Commissioners generally praised the universities for doing an acceptable job of meeting "the shifting demands for trained personnel," they fretted that the speed and tempo of modern industry were getting ahead of the campus. The "new work-force requirements" were difficult to forecast accurately using the old methods. They concluded that "post-secondary institutions will have to develop a greater capacity for expanding and contracting their professional and occupational training programs according to continuing measures of demand. . . ." "Demand," as usual, is to be determined not by the public interest, but by the interest of the capitalists in increasing their profits.

The second flaw in the current tracking system

endangers not only efficiency, but the class structure itself. A basic requirement of capitalist education, remember, is that people don't get "overeducated." Too much education, under capitalism, is not just a wasteful use of resources. It also starts people thinking about higher wages, better jobs, better lives—in short, it undermines the class, race, and sex divisions of capitalist society. This is exactly what was bothering the Rockefeller-appointed Keppel Commission when it observed that "The State's projected supply of college-educated citizens appears to exceed the economy's projected demand for those who complete the baccalaureate degree and for many graduate degrees as well." The "demand," rather, is for "students at the two-year, technical and occupational level." The basic assumption here is that higher education should be pared down to a minimum vocational training. The needs of employers are to take precedence over the needs of people. Colleges are to be places to train workers, not places where citizens can go *both* to learn skills *and* to discover and develop their potential as human beings, to figure out how the system really works, to become informed and able to take part in running their own society. In fact, the masterplanners and their minions sneer at the educational aspirations of working people. As President William McGill of Columbia University recently said: "We . . . created the ridiculous situation in which a college degree is deemed necessary to be a policeman, or to drive a truck or to operate a telephone switchboard." Obviously a BA is not necessary for efficient truck *driving*, but a truck *driver* just might find one of value.

The device upon which capitalism relies to control access to different campuses is the pricing mechanism. Private colleges simply charge so much that only the rich can attend. (To be sure, those capitalists who worry about the future of the system recruit *individuals* from the working class to join them, which helps disguise the true nature of the system while depriving workers of some of their best potential leaders. This policy of selective exemptions from poverty in the form of scholarships will continue. The American Banking Association has begun funding a banking program at Texas Southern; the Kellogg Foundation has awarded \$250,000 to North Carolina A.&T. for a business education program; the Ford Foundation has bestowed \$1 million on the Atlanta University Center for a

graduate school of business. Such corporate largesse to minority groups, however, is quite limited. In 1971-2, public and private black colleges got about 1% of the corporate dollar for higher education, and less than 1% of the foundation dollar. Most blacks are to be channeled down, not up.)

The upper reaches of the system are in good working order; it is the bottom that is not. Too many centers properly reserved for the middle orders are packed with the lower orders. All those cops and truck drivers are getting overeducated. Why? Because tuitions are not high enough to keep them out. And in some outrageous instances—most notably the City University of New York—no tuition is charged at all!

There are other reasons that free or low tuition dismays the masterplanners. For one thing, the ruling class dislikes anything that is free as a general principle. It gives people bad ideas. It undermines discipline. Says the Carnegie Commission with a shudder: "Some believe that



"We believe that tuition charges at many colleges and universities are unjustifiably low. We recommend an increase in tuitions and fees, as needed, until they approximate 50 per cent of instructional costs . . . within the next five years."

—CED, 1973

[higher education] should be a 'free' service, as it is in primary and secondary schools." The antidote to this dangerous frame of mind, the Commission adds, is "more reliance on a market model for higher education and less on an intensification of the public utility model."

On top of everything else, American capitalism is in crisis again. Confronted with vigorous foreign competition, a crumbling international monetary system, and defeat in imperialist adventures, the corporations must gouge the workers further to maintain profits. This will be done not simply by taxation, price hikes, and inflation, but also by having the public bear more and more of the cost of its own education (the public *already* pays over 60% of all college costs).

For all these reasons, then, a major campaign is on to smash free tuition, and CUNY is a major target. The Committee for Economic Development tells us "that tuition charges at many colleges and universities are unjustifiably low. We recommend an increase in tuitions and fees, as needed, until they approximate 50 percent of instructional costs . . . within the next five years." Rockefeller and Keppel agree: "Tuition charges should be uniform in public institutions throughout the State, *including the City University of New York.*" [emphasis added]

Raising tuition is part one of the masterplanners' plan to strengthen tracking. Part two is to institute a system of loans (and in some cases grants) to needy students, and "needy" means only the most poverty-struck. But in every one of the masterplanners' proposals, financial aid is to be made available *only for the first two years of higher education*. This effectively blocks almost all the working class from getting any but the barest-boned occupational training. Here is Carnegie's statement of the plan: "Public institutions—especially the community colleges—should maintain a relatively low-tuition policy *for the first two years* of higher education. Such tuition should be sufficiently low that no student, *after receipt of whatever federal and state support he or she may be eligible for*, is barred from access to some public institution by virtue of inadequate finances." [emphasis added]

What does this mean? First, access to college would be effectively barred for the second two years. Second, since poorer students (indeed, most students) would be utterly dependent on the state—even for the first two years—they would be

completely frozen out if in any given year money was not available. Who would decide whether or not money would be available? The State and its masterplanner advisers. We do not have to stretch our imaginations overly to understand that *this* is where "flexibility" would be attained. If the state wanted to cut back on student enrollments, they

"I appreciate and know of the tradition of free tuition. However, I don't believe any policy should be maintained because it is a tradition. There is tuition at SUNY and perhaps it would be a sound policy that tuition based on an ability to pay should be re-instated [sic!] at the city colleges."

—BHE member Rita Hauser, 1974

would come up with a "budget crisis." Financial aid, and thus access to college, could easily be pegged to shifting priorities of business, not social needs. And there would be no effective appeal. In 1972, for instance, just after he had again proposed instituting tuition at CUNY, Nel-

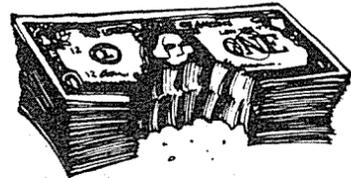
son Rockefeller was asked at a news conference whether or not he would guarantee sufficient scholar incentive money to needy CUNY students to offset his proposed tuition. He would certainly try, he said. One newsperson then pointed out that the state had eliminated 5000 scholarships that very year, and asked Rockefeller to account for that. "Financial reasons," the millionaire said curtly.

The masterplanners, we might point out, are not unanimous on the advisability of instituting and/or hiking tuition. Some are worried that the working class might erupt over the issue. One economist employed by the American Council on Education points out that the new demands for tuition represent a shift in the rules of the game at precisely the time that low-income students have begun entering the system. "It would seem that the current student generation, particularly the lower-income students, could be justifiably outraged," she says. Representative James G. O'Hara, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Higher Education, also worries about the new push for tuition. He writes of the enormous

burden such a move would place on the shoulders of what he calls "the middle class": "From the point of view of the Detroit auto worker who is making over \$12,000 a year now and has to moonlight to make ends meet—from the point of view of the school teacher or the cop or the accountant or the salesman who has seen meat priced out of his life-style it doesn't make sense blithely to suggest that he ought to be forced to pay more of the money he doesn't have to send his kids to college. . . ."

One of the most alarmed is Fred Hechinger, Education Editor of the *New York Times*. In a remarkable article entitled "Class War over Tuition" he assails the conventional assumption that "the majority of families are affluent and that, except for the aberration of poverty, ours is essentially a classless nation composed, in the main, of one all-inclusive middle class." Not so, says Hechinger. The so-called middle-class is actually poised on the brink of poverty. Just consider the family incomes of college-age youth: 23% are in poverty (making under \$6000 a year), 58% make between \$6000 and \$15,000, and only 20% make \$15,000 or more. That 58%, Hechinger rightly warns, is extremely vulnerable financially. "A minor financial disaster can push those on the plus side of the line back into poverty," he says, and a tuition hike might be just the disaster that would do it.

As yet, however, the Cassandras are not being heeded by majority capitalist opinion. The benefits that hiking tuition will bring are thought to outweigh the potential disadvantages.



4. IMPOSITION OF HIERARCHY: The Masterplanners are not simply concerned to reshape the higher education system, they want each *unit* redone.

The prelude to this part of their program is the gathering of all authority—actual as well as legal—in the hands of those at the top. Currently, power in academia is excessively diffused, or, as the Committee for Economic Development puts it, there is "an unusual dependence on voluntary group effort and broad participation in decision

making." This unfortunate state of affairs, they assure us, can be rectified: "Experience has already shown that many principles of management employed in other fields can be adapted successfully to institutions of higher learning."

"Faculty remain committed to a traditional ideal of the university as an integrated community, at the same time giving constant evidence that they fail to grasp its real operational nature and managerial complications."

—E.D. Duryea, Professor of Higher Education at SUNY Buffalo, 1974

"Principles of management" means top-down control. The Trustees or Boards simply must take charge, the CED insists. "They must take the ultimate and decisive actions or be ready to endorse or reject those actions when taken by others." Sharing power with the Trustees, but subordinated to them, should be a strong president. This top management should do the planning both of goals and means.

To help administrators in bringing sound business practices to the campus, the CED advises that they "engage the advisory services of qualified management and financial consultants."

A whole flock of such consultants is ready to help, for a fee. In the last few years a mini-industry has sprung up, nurtured by the corporate foundations and the government. A typical outfit is the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems. Currently under a \$4.9 million contract from HEW's National Institute of Education, it has also received \$621,000 from private foundations over the past few years. Now developing "computerized systems for measuring, planning, and controlling colleges and universities," it is also fervently spreading the managerial gospel. Their director, Ben Lawrence, says that "those of us who are not up on modern trends in management must get with it," and his group helps by conducting seminars of the new techniques which in the past three years have been attended by over 18,000 academic administrators.

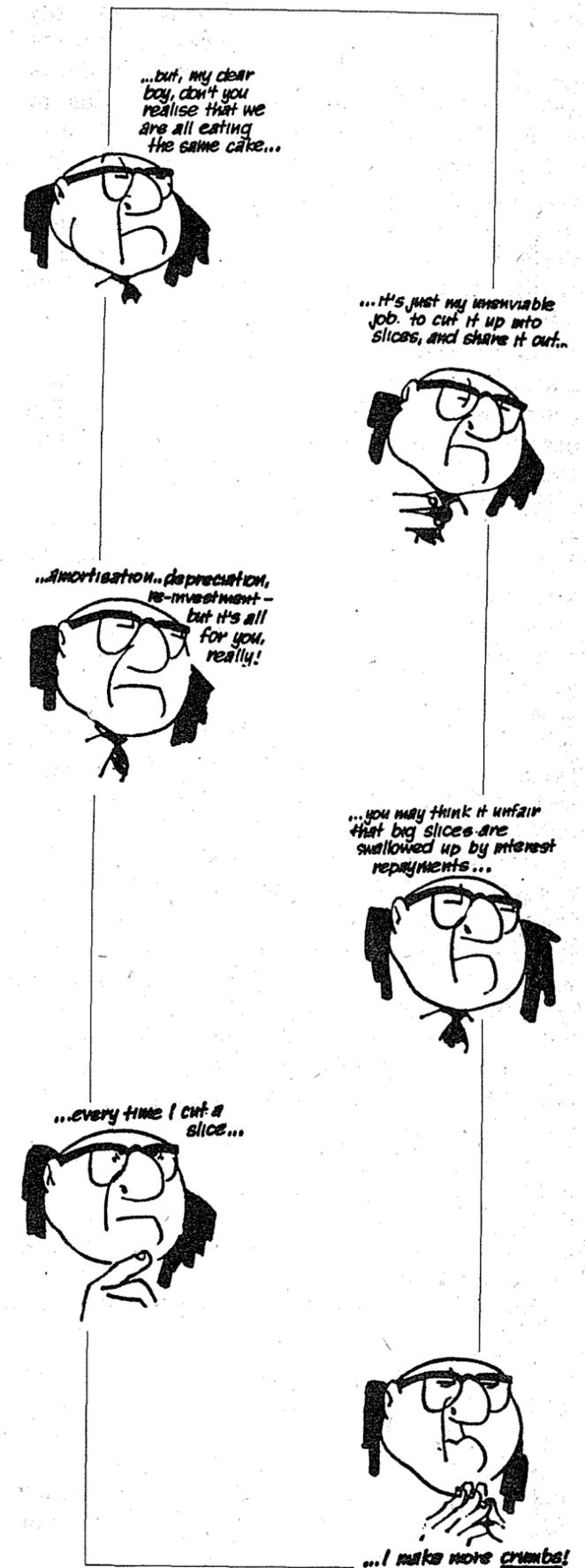
These sharks are already swimming in our waters. In April, 1974, an outfit called the Academy for Educational Development produced A

Guide to Improving Management at John Jay College of Criminal Justice; it cost fifty thousand dollars. (By way of background: the President of AED is a former Executive Director of the Ford Foundation Education Program, and its Vice-President was an Associate in the same program. Its Board of Directors include such heavyweights as the Chairman of the Board of Atlantic-Richfield Company, a Vice President of Standard Oil of California, and the Better Business Bureau's President. One of its "consultants" formerly served the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems just referred to; such interlocking directorates are numerous.)

The AED scolds John Jay because "lines of authority are not clear, and certain functions, such as planning, are not being conducted adequately." The President is *too* accessible: "his closeness to many administrators and faculty has encouraged some persons to come to him directly for resolution of issues instead of to their immediate supervisors." The administration has failed to request written "work plans" from their inferiors, and such items are "vital to the process of orderly and systematic planning."

AED's experts propose scrapping the existing administration altogether. In the new order of things the President would take control. He would, with his assistants (almost no role is envisioned for the faculty or students), draw up a five-year plan setting academic, administrative and budgetary priorities. He would, of course, need help here, and AED proposes that "the President should announce that the establishment of a management information system is a major College priority" and then seek funds for a "software package" (here AED strongly recommends HEPS, already in use at Brooklyn and coming soon to LaGuardia and Hunter). The President should then assign authority for seeing that everyone toes the line to a variety of subordinates, such as a Director of Internal Audit and a Director of the Computer Center. Academic affairs would be managed by a Vice President of Academic Affairs who would, together with the Director of Institutional Research, keep tabs on "the effectiveness of academic programs and policies." What AED wants, in sum, is for John Jay to "get in tune with the management philosophy and systems adopted by the central administration."

Indeed 80th Street is far ahead of the colleges,



and has been trying for years to institute "better management." Way back in 1969, then-Chancellor Bowker attacked the outmoded practice of electing department heads and P&B committees. Faculty control of those key spots was, he said, "the force against the recruitment of outstanding figures and for the entrenchment of mediocrity."

"Many of our faculty come from N.Y.U. and Columbia, and they are not the best students from these institutions. The present system is not leading to outstanding recruitment and selection of faculty."

—Chancellor Bowker, 1969

He proposed that faculty control be ended: "I find it difficult to see how in this day and age a president can be held responsible for his chairmen without appointing them." The BHE, then chaired by the ubiquitous Francis Keppel, found Bowker's logic persuasive and in 1971 issued a Statement of Organizational Policy. In the future, said the Trustees, there must be "clear presidential authority to appoint a department chairman at any time when the best interests of the college necessitate such action. Such authority necessarily includes the power of removal where necessary." Under this provision Chairmen have indeed been appointed and removed, even at inefficient John Jay. Only determined faculty resistance prevented the Board from going all the way and appointing all Chairmen.

In fact, *many* of the improvements that those imbued with the managerial mentality have proposed have encountered faculty resistance. This accounts for the next component of the masterplanner's game plan: a drive to end the Faculty's current capacity to impede "progress."

5. UNDERCUT FACULTY POWER: The attack on the Faculty is multi-faceted. Many masterplanners take a cultural or psychological approach. As they have done for over a century, they cloak themselves in the garb of "modernity" and label themselves "educational reformers." They run down the faculties as hidebound and stodgy conservatives, blind to the wonders of the computer

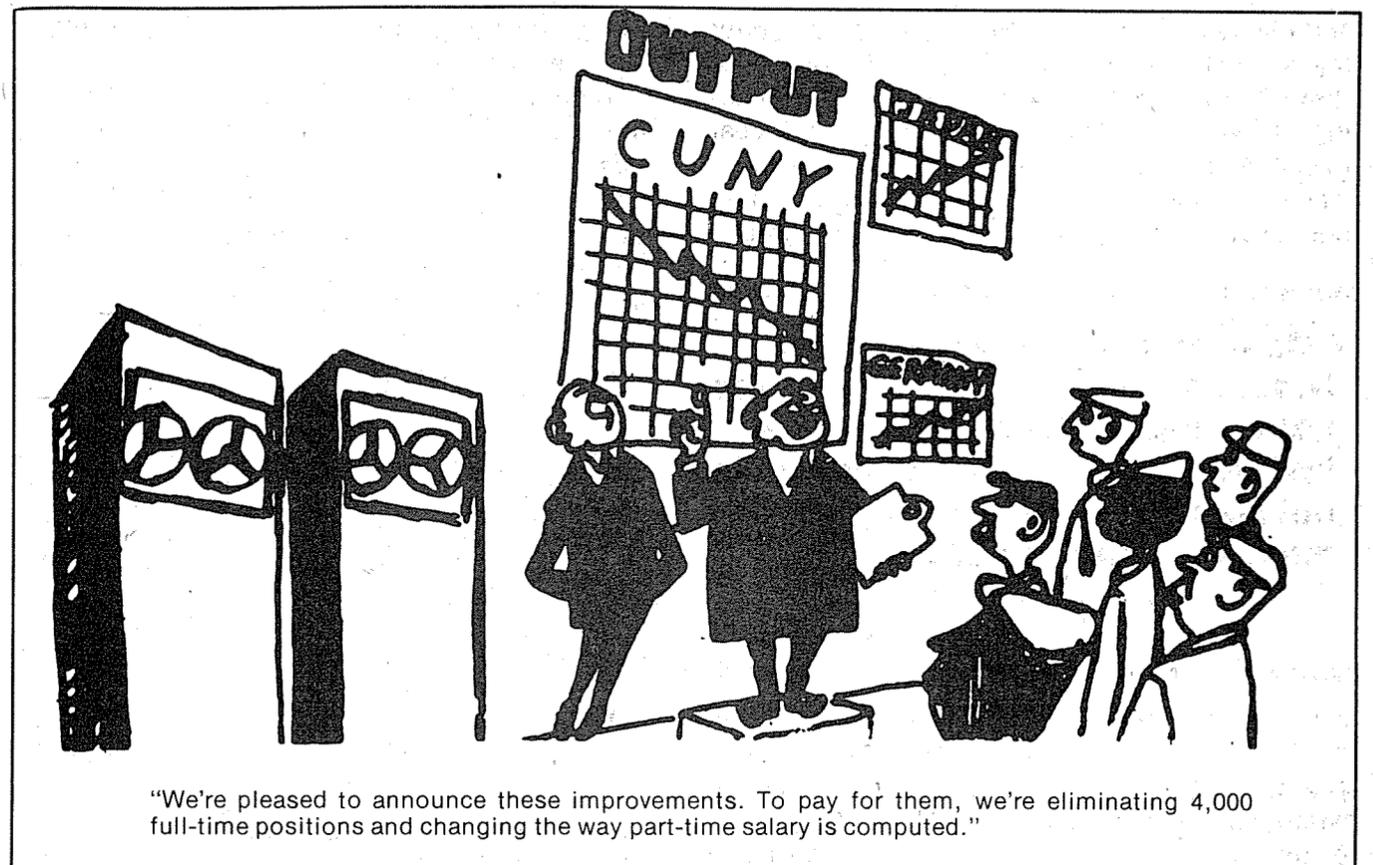
and production chart. Things old are bad, things new are good.

Tenure—in particular—is bad. "I cannot for the life of me see how, especially in these times, an institution can hope to be good and to remain good unless it protects itself against dominance by a heavily tenured and aging faculty body," one college president said recently. (Aside from its anti-age stance—the old in America are never considered wise—this reasoning ignores the constant flow of "young blood" afforded by their own revolving-door, cheap-labor, adjunct policy.)

It is hard in America to defend past practice, as it is hard to defend and preserve beautiful old buildings. (We are a nation of "revolutionary new washday miracles" and plastic monumental architecture, chiefly because a manipulated passion for novelty plus planned obsolescence equals continued corporate profits.) Thus, in the confrontation, the professoriate is at a psychological disadvantage when the masterplanners assault tenure.

Tenure is *not* an unquestionable good. It often decreases social responsibility. It enshrines the rights of the individual faculty member at the expense of students and colleagues. But the capitalists are hardly concerned with these matters. Their current assault on tenure is an assault on the faculty's job security and its potential for critical opposition to the masterplanners' goals. The Committee for Economic Development, for example, wants a tenure quota of 50%, with tenure being given only to those who "clearly support the accepted objectives and long-range goals of the institution." For many "modernizers," the ideal is a situation in which a small number of tenured folk, carefully chosen, help police their non-tenured colleagues who would serve at the pleasure of management. But some would press further and institute "tenure review," i.e., eliminate tenure altogether. With tenure then out of the way, and most faculty on annual or short-term contracts, there would be nothing in the way of "modernization."

Except perhaps unions. Unionization, as always, troubles the capitalists. Gloomily the CED notes that "professional pride is not keeping faculty members from joining unions." But management has shown it can live with unions, and even find them useful, if they are the proper kind. If, that is, the unions are run, from the top, by bureaucrats who "understand" management's



side of things, who will be "responsible" and agree to enervating "no-strike clauses," and who will curb "excessive" militancy in the ranks. A good union is one that stays within acceptable bounds, and the capitalists are currently urging that faculty unions accept such parameters. The Academy for Educational Development's Vice President believes that a proper collective bargaining agent does not concern itself with "questions of basic educational policy, such as educational objectives, access to higher education, curriculum, instructional procedures, degree requirements, and evaluation of student perform-

"The rapidity of the pace [of faculty unionization] strongly suggests that the time for reaction to the phenomenon is limited."

—Education Commission of the States, 1974

ance." A proper union limits itself to bread and butter issues.

Besides seeking to curtail tenure and to limit the scope of union activity, the masterplanners are actively experimenting with a variety of anti-faculty gimmicks. For instance, the Group for Human Development in Higher Education—a creature of the Carnegie Corporation, the Lilly Endowment, and the Danforth Foundation—has called for an insurance system that would make it easier for professors "to leave their profession at mid-career," i.e., to be fired or eased out. The premiums for this insurance would be paid for by the future victims themselves. The GHD calculates that if they can get 300,000 faculty to go along with this scheme, each would only have to pay \$810 a year to guard against his own future unemployment. Not only was this shameless hocus-pocus concocted by the foundations and their agents, but it is now being vigorously marketed by their media hirelings as well—*Change* magazine, for example, which has given special attention to the GHD proposals, is supported by both the Ford Foundation and the

Exxon Education Foundation.

Once the power of the Faculty is sufficiently curbed, the masterplanners can complete their remodeling of the university. The final three steps would consist of an efficiency movement comparable to that which swept the public schools early in the century, the mass introduction of teaching machines to replace faculty, and the restoration of capitalist ideological control over the campus, a control badly weakened in the sixties.



6. MAXIMIZE EFFICIENCY AND COST EFFECTIVENESS: "Scientific management," which helps capitalists raise profits through more efficient exploitation, was first applied to education

(Ah, Efficiency)

"For considerable periods, the four oboe players have nothing to do. Recommendation: Their number should be reduced and the work spread evenly over the whole of the concert, thus eliminating peaks of activity. All the violins were playing identical notes. This seems unnecessary duplication. Recommendation: The staff of this section should be drastically cut. If a large volume of sound is required, it could be obtained by means of electronic amplifier apparatus. There seems to be too much repetition of some musical passages. Scores should be drastically pruned. No useful purpose is served by repeating on the horns a passage which has already been played by the strings. Recommendation: It is estimated that if all redundant passages were eliminated, the whole concert time of two hours could be reduced to 20 minutes and there would be no need for an intermission. The conductor isn't too happy with these recommendations and expresses the opinion that there might be some falling off in attendance. In that unlikely event, it should be possible to close sections of the auditorium entirely with a consequential saving of overhead expense, lighting, salaries for ushers, etc."

(From a satirical "management consultant study" on the "inefficiency" of a symphony orchestra. Cited in response to demands by the Governor of Wisconsin for higher productivity in the state university.)

—with disastrous consequences—more than a half-century ago. Now the time-motion tune is going to be heard in higher education.

Some steps have already been taken, but it appears there are problems. "Scientific management" works with products and procedures that can be counted, charted, weighed, graphed, and valued in dollars and cents. Yet how does one put a value on an exciting seminar or measure the productivity of an inspiring teacher? The CED allows as how "much that pertains to basic educational achievement cannot be represented in quantitative terms." But this appears to be only a temporary concession. Other masterplanners have already begun an all-out drive to reduce education to numbers, for quantification of educational "output" is a prerequisite to cost-effectiveness studies.

The biggest effort to date was the fourteen-month study by the National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education. (See "Masterminds and Masterplanners.") They, too, were stymied. As their staff noted, although it would be ideal to attain "completely quantified objectives," there are two great obstacles. First

"the question of developing an adequate integrative theory remains particularly vexing." Second, the data is insufficient and far from uniform. Not to be deterred, the Commission called for a massive drive to develop "national uniform standard procedures" and to extend measurement to more and more objectives.

Data collection is now underway. Since 1969, the Education Commission of the States has been receiving six million dollars a year from the Federal Office of Education for this purpose. Most campuses are converting to one or another standard information gathering system prepared by management consultants. One such operation, called Oasis (for On-Line Administrative Information System), is described by its sellers as a "management information system . . . to provide department chairmen, program directors, and top level administrators with current data compiled, compared, and analyzed according to their individual needs." It includes, they add, "a security system to prevent one department from calling up data it is not supposed to see."

Still, the masterplanners have not yet succeeded in defining "output." Though they may soon develop some standard state or nation-wide tests (similar to the Regents Exams peddled by New York State) which all college graduates will have to take, they have not yet got that far.

For the moment, they have decided pretty much to ignore matters of quality and go directly to solid facts they *can* measure. The CED suggests concentrating for the moment on "(1) degrees awarded and the cost per degree, (2) enrollment and the cost per student enrolled, (3) student credit hours and the cost of each credit hour, and (4) student-faculty ratios." The NCFPSE staff adds such refinements as measuring "square footage per faculty member."

Once quality is defined as the number of students processed—i.e., given degrees—then the masterplanners will be on familiar territory and can justify a wide variety of strategies to cut costs or improve efficiency: packing more students into classes, cutting wages, increasing teaching loads, paring down staff, or replacing faculty with teaching machines.

Consider the first option, packing more students into classes. The Academy for Educational Development recently issued a pamphlet frankly entitled *Higher Education with Fewer Teachers*, research for which was paid for by the Exxon

"Class size has to be tied to income, and if we choose to louse it up by considering the influence of a teacher on a student, then we'll go bankrupt."

—Dr. Phelps Trix, Vice President for Academic Affairs at Detroit Institute of Technology, 1974

Education Foundation. In it, the AED gleefully reports interviews with administrators who had recently boosted class sizes, only to discover that the conventional academic wisdom—"small classes are preferable to large ones"—is so much nonsense. "The number of students sitting before a faculty member in a classroom has little to do directly with the quality of the educational results achieved," the report concludes with evident satisfaction. Now that another obstacle to scientific management has been removed, moreover, the AED anticipated all sorts of innovations. They especially liked the idea of "establishing large lecture classes with from 200 to over 1000" in such areas as History, Philosophy, Biology, and Speech. They also advised "hiring only faculty willing to teach relatively large classes," but if that is not feasible, then "increasing salaries only when faculty agree to larger classes."

And lots of people are listening. At the January 1974 annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges, Dr. Phelps Trix, Vice President for Academic Affairs at the Detroit Institute of Technology, asserted: "Class size has to be tied to income, and if we choose to louse it up by considering the influence of a teacher on a student, then we'll go bankrupt." A more subtle version of the same reasoning comes from the Committee for Economic Development. "In higher education," they suggest, "the principal source of possible savings is in instruction. Theoretically at least, increased faculty teaching loads, in the form of larger class-size averages, would result in significant reductions in the cost of instruction. This is not to argue for more large lecture courses," they add suavely, "but rather for fewer unnecessarily small classes."

Now consider a second option—wage cuts. One management consulting firm, Robert H. Hayes and Associates, recently peddled this advice to administrators: "Must colleges pay competitive salary rates? We think not. First

employees [faculty] are not that motivated by money. Second, they do not expect it. And, third, on a cost-effectiveness basis, colleges will get very little for their money by increasing salaries to reflect competitive salary conditions." Hayes and Associates counsel each institution to develop an "aggressive manpower-planning program." Consultants should be hired to bring "specialized skills" to bear on the "staff-reduction problem." But as Robert Nielsen (Director of the AFT Colleges and Universities Department) observes, these consultants are simply professional hatchet-men: their job is to provide "high-sounding excuses for university managers to make budget reductions."

Yet another masterplanner option, increasing faculty workloads, has already been proposed for CUNY in a 1973 report of the Citizens Budget Commission, candidly entitled *Faculty Workload at the City University: The Case for an Increase*. (By way of background, note that although the CBC calls itself "a non-partisan civic research organization supported by public contributions," its membership is hardly your run-of-the-mill "public." Look the Board of Directors and you find—not lathe operators, secretaries, college teachers, or firemen—but a swarm of big bankers: the honorary Chairman is President of the Bowery Savings Bank, the actual Chairman comes from Chemical Bank, and other trustees represent Morgan Guaranty Trust, Dry Dock Savings, Greenwich Savings, New York Bank for Savings, Irving Trust, and Carver Federal Savings and Loan. For the sake of diversity, one presumes, they have also accepted officials of General Motors and the New York Chamber of Commerce.)

The Banker's message to CUNY is that it is possible "to achieve major savings by increasing faculty contact hours with students." Currently, the CBC calculates, with their various duties faculty work between 26 and 49 hours. For most the upper figure would seem far too modest. But, say the Bankers, this is not enough. They propose a three-hour *contact* load increase, which would permit a reduction of 15-20% in full-time faculty lines. *This is a speedup*: fewer faculty teach longer hours.

The Bankers, by the way, approve of the adjunct policy and want it extended. They even go one better and propose hiring high school teachers (working high school hours at high school pay) to handle all remediation work. Neither adjuncts nor

high school teachers, the CBC notes, are likely to be as effective as full-time professors, but "the cost savings . . . would be substantial."

"Remedial education is currently handled by full university faculty, of all ranks. Thus, many full professors of English teach spelling, grammar, and composition while full professors of Mathematics teach elementary algebra. Were high school teachers, working high school hours, employed, the cost of remedial education at City College could drop by about \$900,000. Over the City University system as a whole, the cost savings would reach about \$15 million."

—CBC, Inc., "Faculty Workload at the City University: The Case for an Increase," 1973

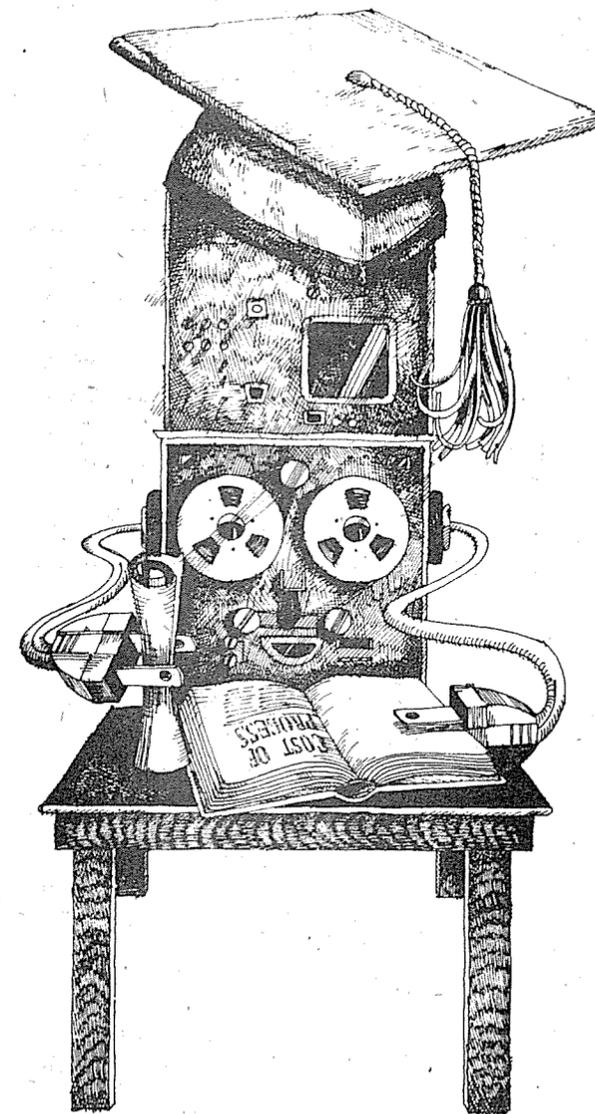
Another classic of this genre is the AED's infamous *319 Ways Colleges and Universities are Meeting the Financial Pinch*. This report was sent to presidents, financial vice-presidents, and business managers of most universities in the country—at whose expense we are not sure—and its 319 nostrums include the following:

- Requiring faculty to be available on campus for a full 7 or 8 hour day when not in the classroom;
- Cutting back on the number and extent of sabbaticals given to the faculty;
- Limiting attendance of faculty and staff at conferences away from campus;
- Lengthening the working day without providing additional compensation;
- Employing more part-time evening faculty who are not entitled to fringe benefits.

And so it goes.

7. TECHTEACH: The application of technology to education is an idea whose time has unquestionably come. It provides so many answers to so many questions that one wonders why the capital-

ists, who pioneered in replacing human beings with machines, have waited so long to introduce mechanization into higher education. Consider the advantages. It saves on labor costs. It breaks up human interaction between faculty and students. It splits student from student by placing each before a machine. It teaches those very students, if nothing else, how to work and get accustomed to the machines they will probably be using in their jobs when they graduate. It affords close political control over the content of instruction. It allows for standardized teaching and grading. And, last but by no means least, it affords a stupendous market for such giant corporations as IBM. Yes, indeed, we are about to become the recipients of a "revolution" in teaching.



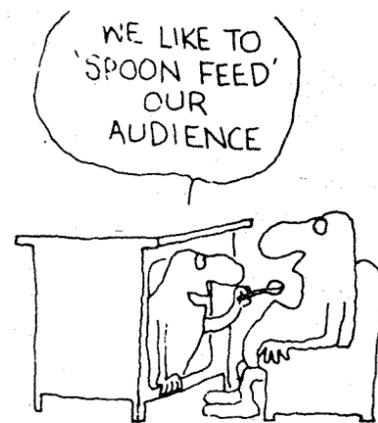
Consider these straws in the wind now blowing through the nation's colleges and universities:

- Alexander M. Mood, director of the Public Policy Planning Organization of the University of California-Irvine, gets \$50,000 from Carnegie and \$130,000 from Ford to write *The Future of Higher Education*. One of his proposals is for a national "Video University" in which "machines might carry out higher education in the future without benefit of faculty or campuses." The student might sit at home and play rented cassettes on his or her TV set, and never, ever have to talk with anyone else, never discuss, debate, interact with other human beings at all.
- The University of Nebraska gets more than \$880,000 in grants from the U.S. Office of Education and the National Center for Educational Technology, precisely to develop something like Mood's Video University.
- At a recent conference on "Cable Television and the University" (sponsored by the Cable Television Information Center, the Educational Testing Service, and the Interuniversity Communications Council ((EDUCOM)), Amos B. Hostetter, chairman of Continental Cablevision tells the assembled educators that cable TV "is a super technology in search of a market."
- Charles Monroe, former president of a Chicago community college, announces that "community college students tend to be less intelligent and self-motivated than senior-college students. Therefore, they need more guidance and control. If students are properly motivated, the programmed learning approach seems to provide an ideal amount of specific direction."
- The Academy for Educational Development, in its masterpiece, *Higher Education with Fewer Teachers*, proposes "closed circuit educational television for courses enrolling as many as 2,000-3,000 students."
- The Carnegie Commission observes: "There is new technology available, the most important for higher education in 500 years."

The same wind is whistling down the corridors of power at CUNY, too. Chancellor Kibbee came out strongly for techteach several years ago, commenting that it was "one of the few practical

ways a university can keep pace with the proliferation of knowledge *without letting instructional cost get out of hand.*" [emphasis added]

Techteach is in fact already a reality at CUNY. Consider, for example, CUMBIN (City University Mutual Benefit Instructional Network). Here lecturers sit before a camera at the Graduate Center and are beamed simultaneously to several or more local campuses. In the very descriptive words of two CUMBIN architects: "A student registered for a course to be broadcast from a remote campus appears at the scheduled hour in a receiving classroom on his own campus. At the designated time the remote professor appears on the screen and the lecture begins. . . . The cameras act as the eyes of the remote student, as if eavesdropping on the lesson." Terrific.



The University plans to expand the CUMBIN system to all the campuses, but it is expanding techteach in other areas, too. In KBC's College Learning Laboratory, students sit in row upon row of individual carrels and study taped lessons. At Hostos, the college intends to center instruction around a "Systems Learning Approach," using computer-assisted instruction and closed-circuit TV. At Brooklyn, the university has established the Computer-Assisted Instruction Research Center to do research on furthering computer technology. At John Jay, television sets linked to a central computer have been placed in almost every classroom (and bolted to the floor), so that the faculty now teach with their potential replacements staring unblinkingly over their shoulders.

CUNY's basic commitment to techteach is clear. The question is, what does it mean? There is, after all, nothing wrong with a judicious application of technology to teaching. As an aid to the faculty, computers and tapes and closed-

circuit TV can all be exciting, interesting, and well worth welcoming. Most of the ardent proponents of techteach, however, stress the machine as a *replacement* for faculty. Consider, for example, some of the discussion that took place at a CUNY Conference held in May, 1972, on the theme of "Innovations in Educational Technology."

One enthusiast, John Haney, Director of the Center for Instructional Development at Queens, told conference members he drew inspiration from B.F. Skinner. That paragon of the behaviorist, Haney said, was much misunderstood. In truth all Skinner wanted was "to break the classroom lockstep, and change the teacher-centered to the student-centered classroom. He thought pupils entirely too passive and reinforcing techniques much too harsh and inhuman." So because faculty-student interaction is so "inhuman," faculty should be replaced by machines. An example of the new order that Haney described was Psychology I at Queens. In Psych I, technology handles six hundred students, and is assisted by one full-time faculty, one assistant, and one undergraduate tutor. One questioner wanted to know what TV teaching did to interaction with students. Haney blithely responded: "I am not one who says we must have interaction."

John Barlow of KBCC also praised Skinner, the invisible Godfather of the techteach movement. "Skinner's style and emphasis," Barlow admitted, "make his method seem to some mechanistic, even anti-humanist. In my opinion such an interpretation is entirely incorrect." Computer teaching, he declared pugnaciously, is applicable to "any subject matter, once one decides, 'What is it I really want to teach? How can I measure it?'"

Mary Dolciani, Chairman of Math at Hunter and University Dean for Academic Development, noted another advantage of teaching-machines over faculty: "In a traditional classroom, there is no guarantee that the instructor will go through all the topics. In the learning center, the student has to learn everything that is there." A measurable and uniform output! Quantification at last!

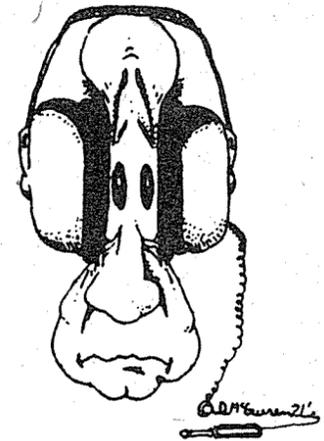
Techteachers argue that, with machines, students may set their own pace, get immediate feedback, have a correct response reinforced, and be freed from faculty tyranny. This sounds good in theory and has some measure of truth in practice. But "student-centered learning" in fact usually *isolates* the student, breaks up any serious social interaction (a prime capitalist item,

remember, on the "silent curriculum"), and as Dolciani emphasized, gives the student no one to blame if he or she flunks out: "The learning center has placed the responsibility where it should be, on the student, and many of them are finding that they cannot meet this responsibility."

In fact, students are finding the "student-centered learning process" an enormous drag. Dolciani was asked at the Conference how Hunter students liked a new program in which they "purchased" study units at the beginning of the semester and then dealt directly with the machines thereafter. She replied that some liked it since they could go at their own pace, that some liked it since they didn't have to keep up with the instructor, but most inexplicably—to her way of thinking—"insist[ed] on having a lecturer teach them." Indeed, she adds, students "complained very bitterly in Calculus I in the fall that they wanted a lecturer, so this semester we gave them lectures in addition to the materials available in the learning center." In the future, she said, there would be no more such concessions: students would be barred from "traditional" learning, unless they took courses at night. Why the exemption for night people, she was asked? Because, she replied, "we tried to introduce the learning center to the evening in the fall of 1970, but it met such great opposition and the students protested so much against it that we limited it."

Hunter faculty, too, were far from delighted. Teachers in the labs, Dolciani admitted, "go stir-crazy." "Periodically a teacher announces that she is going to give a lecture . . . and sometimes I have the feeling she is going to give that lecture even if the lecture hall is empty. She has got to give a lecture!" Dolciani, too, missed "the ability to play it by ear, to look at the faces of the students and see what is 'going over.'" But she and most techteach zealots will steel themselves to this loss of contact, even when they find themselves displaced: "Am I supposed to say, 'No. I won't do this, it doesn't meet my needs as a human being?' That would be most unfair to the students."

The militant vanguard of CUNY's techteach movement is also prepared, it seems, to ride roughshod over those faculty who don't buy their Skinnerian claptrap. Thus John Haney proposed to the Conference that each course in the instructional program should be taught both by the "conventional method" and by machine (his idea



"In higher education, the principle source of possible savings lies in instruction."

—CED, 1973

of "individualized instruction"). The point, he said, is that this "makes each department develop individualized instruction for the course it already offers." Asked one astonished listener:

Q. Did you realize that key word? You said "make" the departments.

A. That was the key word.

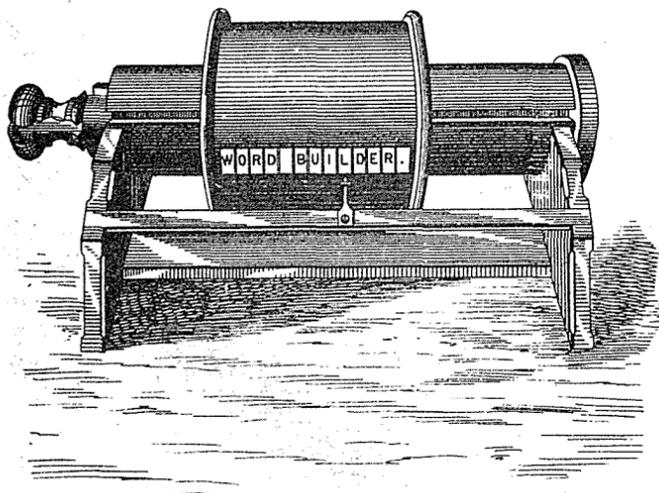
Q. "Encourage" the departments [the questioner suggested].

No, said Haney, there must be "administrative innovation" if educational innovation is to work. This apocalyptic mood was shared by Joseph Buzio of Kingsborough, who proclaimed: "To desire failure for innovative approaches and technological advances cannot prevent their success. After all, historically, obstructionists, and this may include administrators and educators, have been swept away."

The Buzios may well be the wave of the future—they've certainly got powerful enough support—and if they have their way, CUNY will be a very different sort of institution indeed. Exactly how, no one can predict. But the following scenario of a Brave New University isn't at all farfetched:

At the Graduate Center, the techteachers will assemble a small but "eminent" (politically safe) staff who will deliver lectures, via CUMBIN, to all twenty campuses simultaneously. At the terminal

points, hundreds of students will gather to view the broadcasts. One "top-flight" historian at the Center will thus replace at least twenty full-time historians now employed at the individual colleges. Old-style classes would not be eliminated entirely, however. A flexible teaching force consisting of rotating teams of adjuncts would supervise recitation sections of 100-200 students at the CUMBIN terminal points. This would be cheaper, allow the administrators to effectively monitor course content, and be a splendid addition to the "silent curriculum" by teaching passivity and ending social interaction. Far fetched? The techteachers have already laid the basis for an institution exactly like this.



8. RESTORING IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL: Capitalists have become alarmed—and with good reason—at the political state of the nation's campuses. Repeated student upheavals of the sixties frightened them badly, not simply because of the disorder, but because of the disaffection from capitalism that fueled them. Capitalists are dismayed, too, by the critical spirit of the professoriate, ranging from consumerism and ecological reform movements to full-scale Marxist critiques of the capitalist order. College campuses are also crawling with subversives again, and young graduates headed for the professions, the government, the corporations, and the media are taking that subversive spirit with them.

So one of the highest-priority items in the overall capitalist game plan is to curb the campuses. The difficulty here is that there is no

general agreement on how best to proceed. Within the last few years, in fact, a serious factional quarrel has erupted within the ruling class itself on exactly this issue.

On one side, representing the "traditional" approach, are the corporate liberals—the spokesmen from the great foundations, giant corporations, and government agencies that have been pretty much running the show for the last twenty-five years. An early indication of both their concern and their proposed solutions came at a massive conclave held at the New York Hilton in early November 1969 under the aegis of the Academy of Political Science and the Council for Financial Aid to Education. (The latter group, recall, is the super-foundation created in the fifties; it is now funded by over two hundred corporations and headed by Roger Blough, former board chairman and chief executive officer of U.S. Steel.) In attendance were top scholars, important college presidents, foundation executives, and a slew of corporate bigwigs. These people knew one another well, they had worked together successfully in the past, and they hoped to work together successfully in the future.

All of the participants knew why they were there. The very title of the conference was "The Corporation and the Campus"; the difficulty was that that connection was now under severe strains. Edgar F. Kaiser, chairman of the board of Kaiser Industries, outlined the problem. We all know, he began, that the American system "not only works, it excels" at delivering opportunity, freedom, and goods. Even so, "some discouraging statistics remain and are seized upon by those who would shatter the system with social and economic revolution." Some of the discouraging statistics were cited by Kaiser. For example: "26 million Americans . . . still remain entrapped in the clutches of poverty," many others suffer "racial and ethnic discrimination," there are gross inequalities in housing, clothing, and educational opportunity, pollution costs \$12 billion a year, and more. All of this, Kaiser observed solemnly, has discouraged many Americans. "Tragically, for themselves as well as for society itself, some have lost faith in the system. . . ." Not only the inner-city dwellers, but also the sons and daughters of the more affluent on the college campuses: they are "more conscious of the system's imperfections than any preceding generation." They blame business. They doubt that

business is able to solve the problems it has created. They "seriously doubt whether business will be where the action is."

The key question, Kaiser continued, was this: "How does one reach these children of change? . . . Where does one turn for help in restoring their wavering confidence in the abilities and motivations of American business?" The answer was: more of the same, much more. "One of the most pressing needs in meeting the challenges of the 1970's," intoned Kaiser, "is a new and closer relationship between business and education." Business and education must work harder to persuade young Americans to work within the system. They must strive to combat despair and hostile ideologies. They must show youth that "the corporation [is] an institution both concerned with, and relevant to, the humanistic values of life and . . . an entity capable of bringing about constructive change."

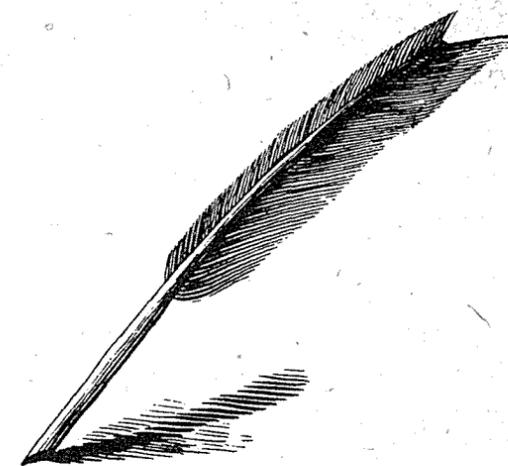
The head of U.S. Steel agreed with the head of Kaiser Industries. Business needs these young people on the campuses "with all their iconoclasm and eagerness," for they will be "the managers of the world in which mankind will dwell in the future—the near future." And if business wants these young people on its side, Blough said, it must continue to invest in and cooperate still more closely with the top management of the higher educational system:

The corporation and the campus are interdependent. It is not enough to utter the truism which has become a cliché—that the corporation needs educated people to make a profit and the colleges need dollars to produce educated people.

Corporate support of higher education contributes significantly to the long-range goals of a corporation, for business is not only concerned with producing goods and services at a profit today but also with the continuity of a profitable enterprise.

If American business does not aid in the maintenance of liberal education as the bulwark of good government, it is not properly protecting the long-range interest of its stockholders, its employees, and its customers.

CUNY's very own Franklin Williams (one of Rockefeller's appointees to the Board of Higher Education) put it neatly when he said that such support made "good business sense. The universities are the main source of corporate recruitment now—and they are smart to protect that source for the future."



"I pray that you . . . be especially solicitous of the youth, and see that they are well instructed and indoctrinated so that they do not fall into the evil and forbidden opinions."

—Francis I of France to the faculty of the University of Paris, 1535

The problem was that all this boiled down to empty incantations. It was all fine and well for W. Clark Wescoe, vice-president for the Sterling Drug Company to pronounce that "it is *natural* for the university and the corporation to exist in symbiotic relationship," to insist that "a healthy economy spurred by the success of corporate endeavor is beneficial to higher education [and] a strong university system ensures the future for corporate enterprise." But it wasn't working the way it was supposed to. And the liberals had little more to offer than continued, unrestricted corporate support of the colleges, and continued collaboration between the ruling class and ruling academic administrators.

"More of the same" was also the theme of a 1974 conclave of college administrators and corporation executives in St. Louis. Many participants called for a "new detente" between universities and business, and the *New York Times* proclaimed that "a new mood of accommodation" had in fact emerged. "It may be," said a spokesman from the academic side, "that the growing alliance between industry and academe will be due to the fact that within the tenor of the current times there is the overdue realization that we may really need one another and, indeed, can truly help one another." In other words, given the current economic crisis, universities need money, and will give capitalists what they want in exchange for money. And what the capitalists wanted was not left to the imagination. As another report of the meeting put it, a number of the executives explicitly urged "instilling in students a greater respect for the creation of capital and the morality of businessmen."

Not all capitalists these days think that the traditional strategy—warm, clubby cooperation between the campus administrators and the corporate-foundation-government trinity—will be enough to restore ideological control. To a vocal minority of hard-liners, it was precisely this traditional strategy that allowed things to get out of hand in the first place. Bleeding-heart foundations and soft-headed administrators, they argue, actually encouraged the campus upheavals of the sixties by failing to stand up to small handfuls of radical extremists when the chips were down. As a result, the radicals took over and have now turned the universities into hotbeds of socialism, sedition, and smut. A corporate-campus detente? The campuses, reply the hard-liners, are the *enemy*. If

ideological control is to be restored, it will be by getting tough with the colleges, not coddling them.

The hard-liners' opening salvo was fired by Lewis F. Powell, a prominent Richmond attorney and onetime Chairman of the American Bar Association. In August 1971, writing at the request of Eugene B. Sydnor, Jr., the Director of the National Chamber of Commerce as well as his neighbor and long-time crony, Powell drew up a memorandum entitled "Attack on American Free Enterprise System." Its effect was electric. It was reprinted, distributed, and debated throughout the capitalist class, and it helped earn for its author—two months later—a Nixon nomination to the Supreme Court. It bears close examination.

Powell was perturbed that the American Free Enterprise System (their term for capitalism) had come under heavy attack, not only from "the minority socialist cadre," but also "from perfectly

Profits Scoreboard

(Some of Major Corporations Reporting Yesterday)

CORPORATION	APR-JUNE EARNINGS 1974	PER CENT CHANGE FROM 1973
American Can	\$26,500,000	+36.6
Champion International	33,300,000	+19.4
Continental Can	37,900,000	+36.6
Du Pont	161,000,000	+1.3
B.F. Goodrich	22,000,000	+25.7
NCR	19,800,000	+47.8
Philip Morris	45,200,000	+17.8
St. Regis Paper	30,300,000	+68.3
Texasgulf	34,300,000	+142.9
U.S. Industries	12,600,000	-36.7
Abbott Laboratories	\$12,500,000	+22.6
Allied Chemical	50,500,000	+80.4
CBS	29,300,000	+25.8
Colt Industries	23,300,000	+258.5
Control Data	11,900,000	-23.7
Crown Zellerbach	32,600,000	+10.5
Int'l. Paper	75,100,000	+61.2
PPG Industries	25,400,000	+4.9
Reynolds Metals	33,200,000	+482.5

respectable elements of society: from the college campus, the pulpit, the media, the intellectual and literary journals, the arts and sciences, and from politicians." Polls showed that almost half the students on representative campuses favored socialization of basic U.S. industries, and worse.

What was distinctive about Powell's Memorandum was that he went beyond these familiar lamentations and accused the capitalists themselves of aiding and abetting the new anti-American, anti-business sentiment. Remarkably enough, he said, "the enterprise system tolerates, if not participates in, its own destruction." "Appeasement" seemed to be in favor among the boards of directors and top executives of the nation's corporations. True, "businessmen have not been trained or equipped to conduct guerilla warfare with those who propagandize against the system, seeking insidiously and constantly to sabotage it." Nonetheless, the time had come for action.

First the enemy had to be located. That was easy: it was the campus that had become the dynamic source of subversion, particularly social science faculties whose members were "unsympathetic to the enterprise system." The Marcuses were perhaps not the majority, but they were "the most attractive, magnetic, stimulating and prolific." Their influence was out of proportion to their numbers. Together with liberals, the leftists had had an enormous impact on millions of young students who had then entered the media, the government, politics, and other universities. Those who entered business, of course, "quickly discover the fallacies of what they have been taught," Powell said, but too many headed for peripheral institutions, like regulatory agencies, where they had large authority over the business system they did not believe in. It was against the campus, then, that the counter-attack should be

launched.

Powell proposed a variety of measures to deal with the crisis. The Chamber of Commerce, he thought, should establish a staff of pro-business social science scholars to evaluate textbooks (especially in economics, political science, and sociology) in order to restore "balance." A team of pro-business speakers would meanwhile carry the fight directly to the campuses. The FBI compiles each year a list of speeches made by avowed Communists on campuses, Powell noted, and in addition to the 100 of this sort delivered in 1970, there were many hundreds more by leftists and and liberals. If the campuses did not begin to issue invitations to corporate anti-communists, the Chamber should "aggressively" insist on "equal time" and exert "whatever degree of pressure—publicly and privately"—was necessary to get them.

The Powell Memorandum had a good deal more of this stout-hearted advice on high schools, media, and scholarly journals (a steady flow of publications must issue from "independent scholars who do believe in the system"). Powell wanted bookstores and newsstands stocked with attractive pro-capitalist literature, a multi-million dollar budget for pro-capitalist advertising, and direct political action—buying politicians, filing *amicus curie* briefs in crucial court cases, mobilizing stockholders, and the like.

But these were stopgap measures. The core proposal was much uglier. The most "fundamental problem" on the campuses, Powell asserted, "is the imbalance of many faculties." What to do?

Correcting this is indeed a long-range and difficult project. Yet, it should be undertaken as a part of an overall program. This would mean the *urging of the need for faculty balance upon university administrators and boards of trustees*.

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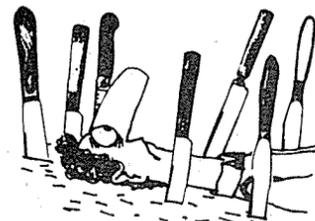
RIGHT



The methods to be employed require careful thought, and the obvious pitfalls must be avoided. Improper pressure would be counter-productive. But the basic concepts of balance, fairness and truth are difficult to resist, if properly presented to boards of trustees, by writing and speaking, and by appeals to alumni associations and groups.

This is a long road and not one for the fainthearted.

Here is the seed bed out of which will spring the next McCarthy committee, the next Rapp-Coudert witchhunt, the next Feinberg anti-subversive laws, and maybe the next BHE purge of the CUNY faculty.



It is hard to tell what individual crusades have been launched by Powell's Memorandum, but there has already been an impressive marshalling of corporate resources behind much of his program. The National Chamber of Commerce has set up a coalition of a dozen national associations (such as the National Association of Manufacturers) and task forces have been put to work. A center was established to produce propaganda films, and business kits (one called *America Needs to Know*) were assembled and disseminated. The Lilly Endowment of Indianapolis gave a million dollars to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation to send pro-business speakers on tour of university campuses, a program heralded in one educational journal as "a nationwide program aimed at strengthening the detente between the academic and business worlds." The Business RoundTable (composed of executives from General Electric, A.T.&T., American Can, Alcoa and DuPont, among others) set up a Subcommittee on Economic Education to counter critical investigations of capitalism, and it has been joined by such as the American Economic Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System, the Committee for Constructive Consumerism of the Council of Better Business Bureaus, the Joint Council on Economic Education, the National Center for Responsible Enter-

prise, the Campus Studies Institute, the National Schools Committee for Economic Education, Inc., and others of the same ilk.

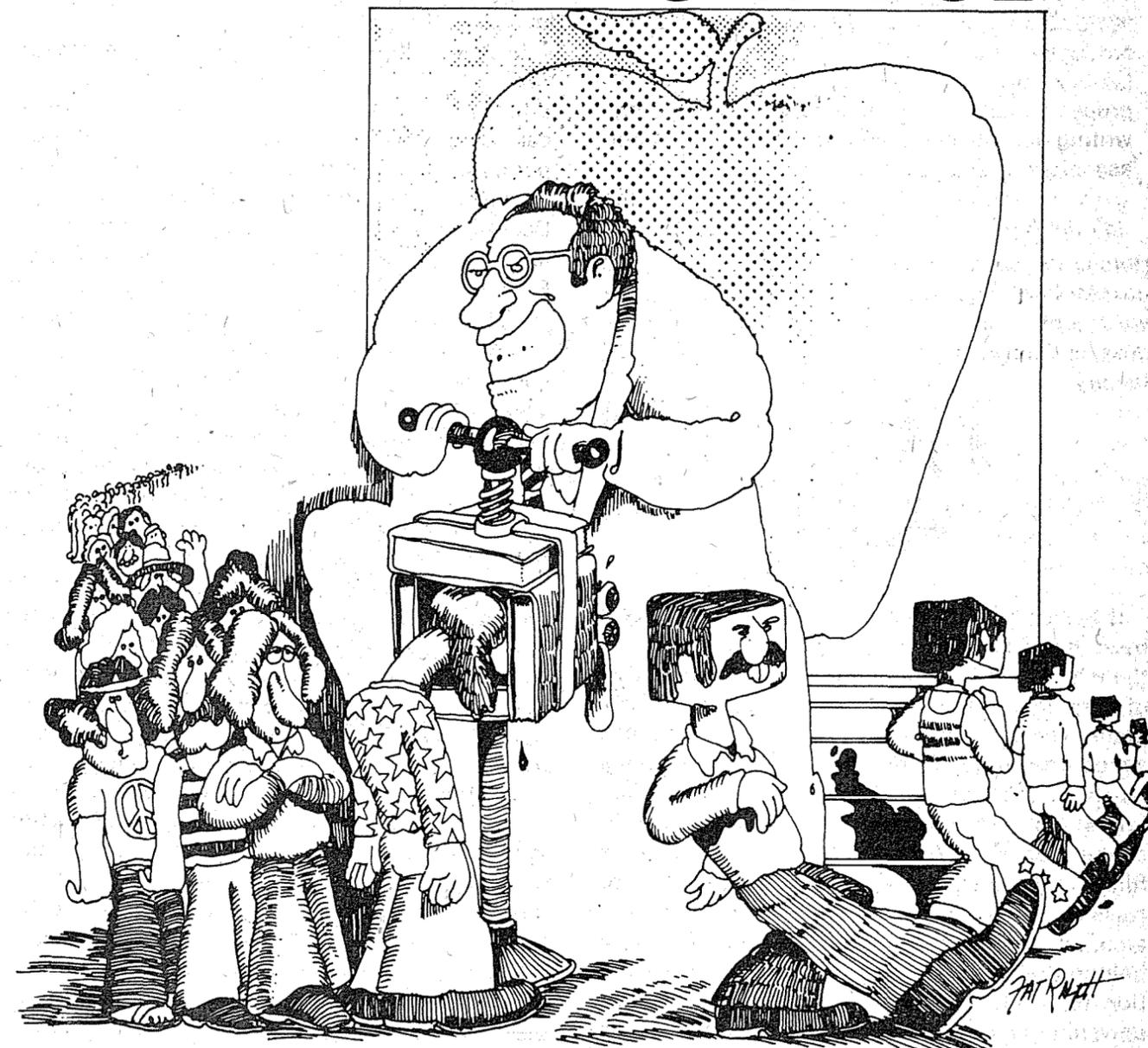
In October 1973, while the Powell Memorandum was still rousing red-blooded businessmen (or rather *blue*-blooded businessmen) for a get-tough campaign against the campuses, the hard-liners got another boost from David Packard, chairman of the Hewlett-Packard Company and former Deputy Secretary of Defense. In a soon-to-be-famous tirade before the Committee for Corporate Support of American Universities, Packard blasted American corporations for blindly pumping money into colleges and universities run by their enemies. Once-responsible governing boards, he said, had been invaded and taken over by ragged bands of "students, faculty, alumni, various ethnic groups, etc." The faculty had engrossed more and more power for themselves, and "too often faculty decisions are determined by a militant minority of the faculty." Under these circumstances, Packard raged, it was no wonder that one survey should find nine of every ten college students convinced "that American corporations are evil and deserve to be brought under government control." They were taught to believe it, and yet American businessmen meekly picked up the tab. The corporate-campus alliance, declared this latter-day Robber Baron, had better be fixed up so that the corporations get back in firm control. If business was to put money into higher education, Packard insisted, it should make damn sure that the results "contribute in some specific way to our individual companies, or to the general welfare of the free enterprise system."

Packard's outburst—the right cross after Pow-

"We asked the president of the university for a list of items that made up the total campaign. . . . but we did not run the risk of money going into an area without specification that could militate against the competitive enterprise system."

—William F. Leonard, a vice-president of Olin Corporation, 1974

BACK TO SKOOL



ell's hook—rocked the liberal establishment out of its complacent talk of a new harmony. Within weeks none other than McGeorge Bundy, head of the Ford Foundation, and Alan Pifer, head of the Carnegie Corporation and member of the mayor's screening panel for CUNY trustees, were frantically counterpunching in an attempt to regain the advantage. Pifer's effort, a letter to the *New York Times*, accused Packard of harboring reactionary views on the purposes and administration of higher education. Did Packard really mean, Pifer wondered, "to turn the clock back half a century to the days when powerful businessmen controlled

the boards of trustees and could get professors who espoused unpopular views fired summarily?" And if college students today disapprove of American corporations, Pifer went on with liberal reasonableness, isn't it the result, not of ideological corruption by their professors, but rather of corporate misconduct? "When corporations have earned the respect of our young people," Pifer added, "it will be time enough to start criticizing students for being antibusiness."

Indeed, said Pifer, Packard and others like him were exaggerating the danger of criticism from the campuses in the first place. Business has not

really lost control over higher education, and its financial support is not really contributing to the destruction of capitalism. "Fortunately," Pifer concluded, "there are many enlightened businessmen who do sit comfortably on modern, democratic, diversified boards of trustees" and continue to give money freely and liberally to colleges "knowing it is the best investment they can make in America's future."

In a supporting editorial, the *Times* backed Pifer completely. Higher education is "the engine of economic and social progress," the paper said, but if hard-liners like Packard manage to compel the kind of rigid ideological conformity they think necessary, the result will be institutions that "very soon cease to supply the nation—and the corporations—with any human product worth the price of the degree."

Which faction in this controversy wins is not—you should excuse the expression—an academic question. Should the new Robber Barons, the Powells and Packards, prevail, then the struggle to end campus unorthodoxy will be a crude and ugly affair. Should the Bundys and Pifers win out, the effort will be more in accord with the

Foundation Strategy worked out at the beginning of the century, an effort marked by more finesse and restraint.

It is easy, on the other hand, to become so engrossed in handicapping the factions in this struggle that we lose sight of their common outlook and purpose. Liberals and hard-liners alike, after all, want to keep capitalist control over the colleges and really differ only as to means. Nor is it wise to pin any hopes on a liberal victory: corporate liberals, if necessary, can be as remorselessly vicious and destructive in the pursuit of their objectives as any of the more straight-talking hard-liners: they, after all, masterplanned the Vietnam War. The point is that either way we lose.

Tighter state control, stricter division of labor by campuses, better tracking and more tuition, improved hierarchical control over each campus, undercutting faculty power, maximum efficiency and cost-effectiveness, expanding techteach, and the restoration of ideological control—this is what we can expect from the capitalists in the near future if they have things their way. Whether we let them have their way is the next question.

SOLUTION



5. What Is To Be Done?

Now we come to the really tough question: what are we going to do? We've seen what capitalism wants from higher education, and how it tries to get what it wants. We've seen how CUNY in particular has been designed and operated to serve the needs of capitalism and how our lives as students and teachers have suffered as a result. We've had a glimpse of what capitalism has in store for us in the future, and it looks grim. Now we have to decide whether we sit back and let them have their way, or whether we resist them. And how. And for what alternative.

Perhaps the best way to begin to deal with these questions is by having a look at what is already being done by student and faculty groups around the University. For in fact at this moment people throughout CUNY are struggling against what is happening to them, and we can learn much from their experiences so far.

The Faculty Union

By far the best-organized and strongest organization within the University today is the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the legal bargaining agent for the 16,000 faculty and many non-teaching personnel.

The PSC scored several notable victories last year, but its greatest achievement was a well-orchestrated resistance to the BHE's so-called "tenure quotas." Sponsoring rallies, mobilizing support from political figures, giving effective testimony at BHE hearings, and keeping up a steady barrage of fliers and pamphlets, the union did more than any other single organization to make the administration drop a scheme that would have cost the University many fine teach-

ers. It also produced a study of Open Admissions that punctured some official myths about the program's effectiveness. It fought arbitrary firings, political harassment, and sex discrimination. Its newspaper, the *Clarion*, has become more and more aggressive and outspoken, devoting increased attention to the root causes of the University's problems. Further evidence of this new, broader perspective came during the tenure-quota struggle, when the PSC issued a leaflet that explained the connection between the quota plan and studies conducted by the Ford Foundation—an organization, the union noted, which "represents the financial and industrial giants in a country-wide strategy."

But, overall, the PSC is not and has not been as militant as it might be. In too many ways the current structure and politics of the union form part of the problem and not part of the solution. This is perhaps more understandable if we take account of the PSC's history.

The PSC represents the merger of two previous faculty groups. One, the Legislative Conference, was founded in 1938 to attain legislative recognition of tenure rights for senior faculty; as we have seen, it refused in the thirties and forties to fight purges and attacks on the militant College Teachers Union, and indeed drew much of its early membership from the CTU's ranks. In the mid-forties, according to a recent study of the PSC, the BHE began to "realize that mutually acceptable results could be achieved by consulting with the LC in matters that concerned the faculty." Thus began a decorous collaboration that lasted down to the mid-sixties. In 1964, Chancellor Bowker and the CUNY Administrative Council

raised the possibility of the LC's becoming the formal bargaining agent for the faculty. Belle Zeller, chairperson of the LC, thought that a good idea and applied for the position.

The LC was immediately challenged by Local 1460 of the United Federation of College Teachers, an AFT local, on the grounds that the LC was a "company union." The UFCT had been organized in 1953 at New York City Community College by Israel Kugler and William McMillan and had adopted a militant trade union posture. In 1965, Kugler suggested a merger of the UFCT and the PSC, but the LC turned him down—citing the fact that Kugler's group was connected, via the AFT, with the AFL-CIO, an affiliation which Zeller and her group deemed "inappropriate" for their constituency.

When the Taylor Law legally guaranteed public service employees the right to organize (though not to strike), the Public Employees Relation Board (PERB) arranged for a CUNY-wide election in which the 8000 faculty would decide (a) whether or not they wanted a collective bargaining agent and, if so, (b) which one—the LC or UFCT. At this point the LC, fearing defeat, called on PERB to split the faculty into two units, one for the full-time, one for the part-time employees. Their legal brief called the senior faculty "the heart and core of the university." The UFCT and the BHE opposed this stand; "a teacher is a teacher," said the Board. But PERB declared for two units and the election proceeded, marked by an anti-union campaign on the part of Chancellor Bowker, who went so far as to print and mail to the faculty an anti-union tract at University expense. In the end the LC carried Unit I (faculty holding actual or potentially tenureable positions), and the UFCT won Unit II (instructors in non-tenure bearing lines).

The result, then, was a two-headed union, established more or less by state law, and having no legacy of rank-and-file faculty struggle for representation apart from the UFCT's earliest efforts. The faculty had had no preparation and training in the theoretical and practical tasks of labor union activism. The union leadership was—and remains—detached from the rank and file.

By 1971, the absurdity of a divided union was clear to almost everybody, and a merger movement developed. After a year of debate and maneuver it was consummated in the formation of the PSC, Zeller and Kugler sharing power. But

fairly soon, under pressure of negotiating the most recent contract, the compromise collapsed, and Zeller managed a thoroughgoing purge of Kugler and his supporters.

Under its current leadership—composed very largely of higher-ranking professors—the PSC has returned to the LC policy of close cooperation with the University management. The PSC does not challenge managerial prerogatives, but limits itself to bread and butter issues. And while it has had some successes here (e.g., in gaining at least *formal* equalization of pay scales for senior and community college faculty), even its work in this area has tended to get only passable benefits for senior faculty—usually at the expense of junior faculty, particularly adjuncts (the enormous expansion of the adjunct class, in fact, coincides with the formation and growth of the PSC).

The union shuns grass roots organizing. Its dues (most of which go to affiliates) are forbiddingly high for adjuncts, who are thus effectively barred. The union is not growing, and for this the leadership is largely to blame (though, to be sure, the rank and file has not, until recently, seriously challenged the leadership's direction). It has failed to provide a proper organizational vehicle for mobilizing the very real discontents among the faculty. It reflects and perpetuates the current academic hierarchy imposed by management, and—except on economic issues—is relatively acquiescent to administration policy.

The last contract was a disaster. The PSC's top leadership, while publicly professing militancy, accepted signoffs on key positions. The most catastrophic was the union's agreement to a "zipper clause," which reserves to management every right not specifically granted to the Union by the contract. This clause also gives the Board the right to change at will any term or condition of employment not explicitly stated in the contract, despite past practice. It was a vital concession, since the contract says nothing about organization of departments, peer judgement, election of department chairmen or P&B committees, faculty control over curriculum, and other critical matters. These are all governed by BHE by-laws, which the Board can change *at will*. The Board is thus no longer bound by traditional and customary procedures. They have a green light, with absolute legal authority, to impose *all* the managerial transformations we have been discussing. There are other unfortunate clauses, eroding

grievance procedures, selling out adjuncts on a variety of issues, and the like.

The quid pro quo for all these concessions to management was money (again, even here, adjuncts were severely short-changed). The PSC got an impressive-looking series of salary increments, which was all to the good, but it should be kept in mind that the rate of increase did not even keep pace with inflation. So there was no net gain—even in the area defined as the PSC's point of maximum effort—and a serious decline in most other areas.

These and other deplorable actions by the current leadership have generated a variety of internal factions and dissenting groups within the union. With the old UFCT leadership out of the way, Zeller and the LC faction now run the PSC in a ruthlessly authoritarian manner (still another reason for limited faculty support). In response, the former UFCT leaders have formed the Unity Caucus to run anti-Zeller candidates. They stand for opening up the union, encouraging active membership participation, and confronting management on such issues as class size and teaching load, increased space and facilities, and a cost of living escalator clause in the next contract. (For more information about the Unity Caucus write Professor Margaret Donnelly, 245 E. 80th Street, New York, New York 10028.)

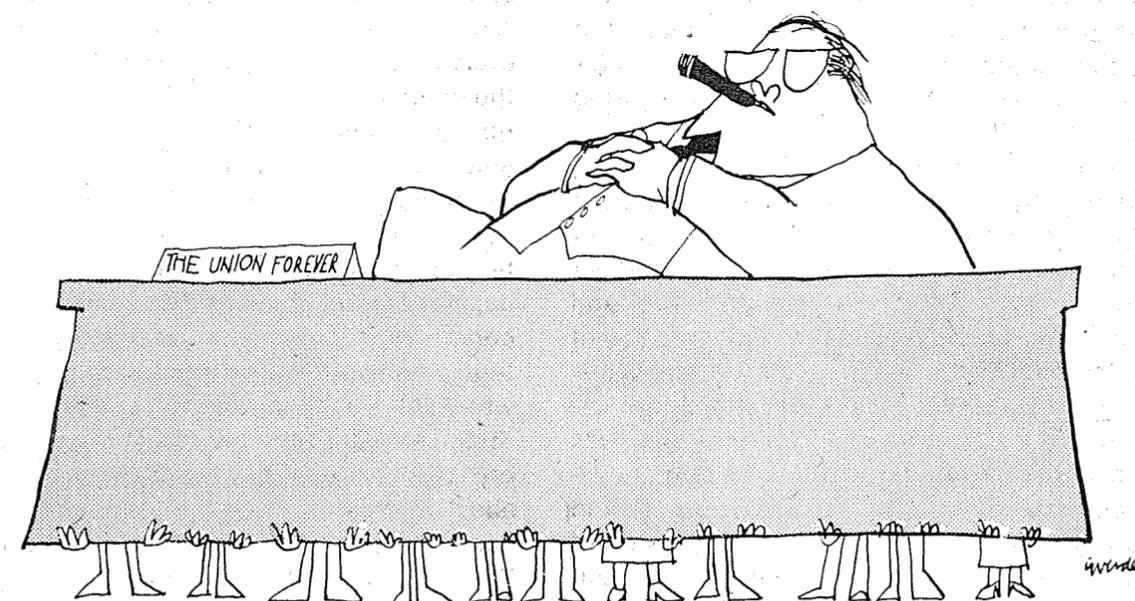
Some adjuncts, chief victims of current union policy, have been protesting within the union. William Leicht, PSC Vice-President for Part-Time Personnel, fought the last contract on the grounds that it discriminated on salary and fringe

benefits, eroded job security, and eliminated multiple positions and tuition exemptions.

Others have moved to form new organizations. The Adjunct Faculty Association fought the contract, and issued a long list of demands with "equal pay for equal work" at the top. They seek "to perform as many as necessary of the functions which the PSC is supposed to, but does not carry out for adjuncts." Hoping to launch a separate union for part-time faculty, the Association recently protested to the PERB that the current PSC leadership had discriminated against them and failed to bargain in good faith on their behalf. Predictably, the Association got nowhere. It is now urging all adjuncts to join the PSC and bore from within. (For more information write the AFA at Box 176, Ansonia Station, New York, New York 10023.)

Another offshoot of union discontent in the PSC is the Labor Caucus. Formed in April of 1973 to oppose dictatorial methods in the union and to fight the contract, it now publishes a newsletter that furnishes valuable commentary on PSC activities. (For further information, write Bob Cowen, Treasurer, Labor Caucus, 164-22, 75th Avenue, Flushing, New York 11366.)

These three groups—the Unity Caucus, the Adjunct Faculty Association, the Labor Caucus—are important developments, but far-from satisfying. The Unity Caucus, representing the old UFCT forces, is not significantly different in orientation from the PSC leadership. While their principles and program represent a clear advance over the present leadership, their past practice and present



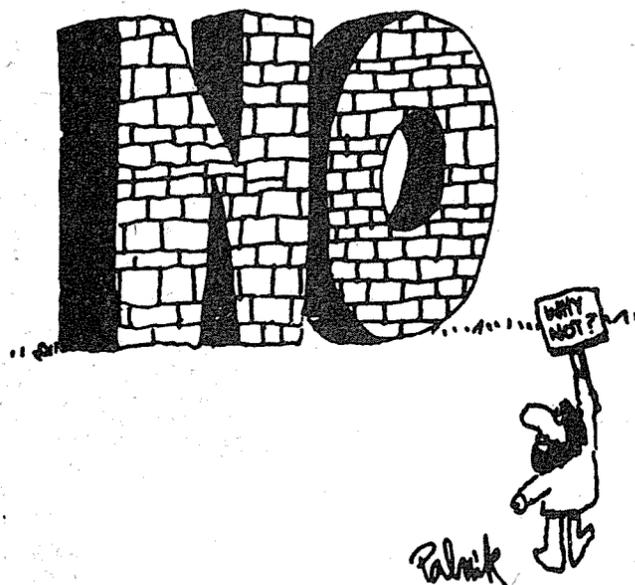
strategies suggest an adherence to incrementalist policies that will never get to the roots of the problems we face at CUNY. The Adjuncts face enormous difficulties in organizing and have tied themselves up in legalistic and formalistic debates on organizational structure. The Labor Caucus tends to accept management prerogatives and is content mainly to organize a more effective and more democratic faculty body to negotiate with the BHE over limited issues. None of these groups considers the larger questions of who runs the University and why—indeed some dismiss such matters as simply “theoretical.”

Grass-Roots and Ad Hoc Groups

Events of the past year or two have generated numerous grass roots groups of CUNY faculty and students on individual campuses. Though often short-lived and often out of touch with similar groups on other campuses, their common aim has been to resist, as best they can, what is happening to them.

Purges and firings, of course, have generated the most resistance. Faculty have often felt the need to go beyond the union, since its present leadership typically prefers narrow legalistic maneuvering over procedural rules to mass mobilization and militancy—the only effective way to deal with the current assaults on the faculty and their rights.

Thus at City College, when *forty-five* faculty were fired, the union local went through channels, got seven reappointed, and then praised the administration for being “flexible and fair.” But at



SICC, when the administration fired 200 adjuncts and cancelled several hundred courses without even an official announcement, an ad hoc group of students and faculty formed swiftly, held hearings, took testimony, and demanded reinstatement for all. *All were reinstated*, and President Birenbaum got additional funds by deciding not to comply with the city's accrual demands. (Under city policy, all institutions must give back a hefty proportion of their budget allocation at the end of the year, which refunds are called “accruals.” This is an insane and stupid policy and Birenbaum is to be congratulated for fighting it, but of course the primary credit goes to the militant students, staff and faculty who pushed him into taking such a step.)

Militancy was displayed often last year. At Brooklyn, an ad hoc group called the Committee to Save D.E.S. (Department of Educational Services) organized demonstrations when the Administration fired 20. After two and a half months of agitation eight were rehired. The group published a bilingual newsletter, the *Brooklyn College Telegraph*, ran several mass actions, launched PSC grievances, and initiated state and federal investigations.

At John Jay, midway through registration, the Administration killed forty courses without consulting or notifying the faculty, to say nothing of students, and laid off many adjuncts. Outraged faculty and students demanded that President Riddle restore the damage done by the Wednesday Night Massacre (which violated the Dean's own published guidelines). When he refused, members of the Jay faculty—which up till then lacked even a Faculty Senate—organized an Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Faculty, issued several analyses of the situation, and called a mass meeting to which over one-third of the faculty turned out, despite the fact that vacation had not yet ended. The mass meeting in turn launched a move for a permanent faculty body, established a Committee of Inquiry to investigate the administration of the college, and elected a Steering Committee that negotiated with President Riddle and secured the restoration of some, though by no means all, of the cut courses.

At Manhattan, students and faculty published *Tiger Paper*, which fought cutbacks in student aid, terrible facilities, and addressed itself to the larger political issues.

At Lehman, a Committee for Student Rights

picketed the tenure hearings held by the BHE, demanding increased student participation in tenure decisions. Also at Lehman, a Lehman College Coalition of students and faculty held a mass rally to protest the firing of Suzanne Ross. The meeting was addressed by Tom Hayden who told the crowd: “Her only security and her job is your interest in her keeping her job. After all, she doesn't represent the milk lobby, or the Defense Department, or carry money for bribes.” At open forums held by the President, Coalition members hammered away at the Ross affair and raised a host of other issues.

At Hunter, a CUNY-wide Puerto Rican Studies Conference drew over 400 students and faculty in an attempt—as Benjamin Ortiz, Director of Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter, put it—to mobilize support for a defense of all such programs currently under administrative assault.

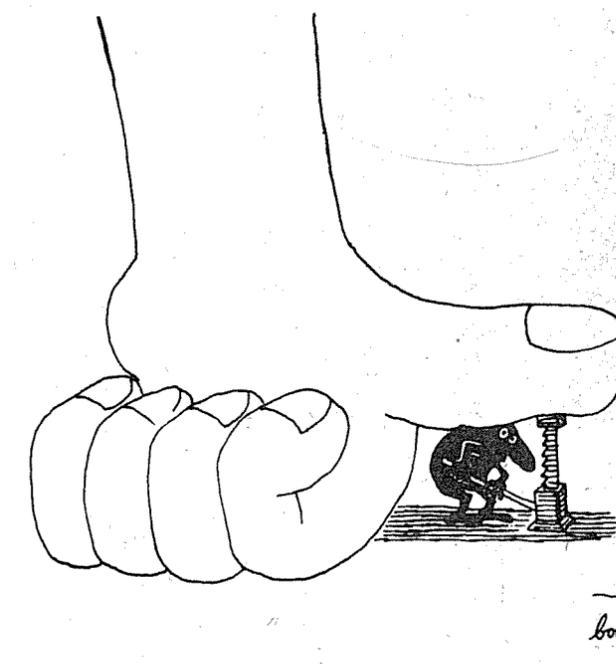
At Queens, the college faculty overwhelmingly resolved to have the college-wide P&B Committee review the cases of nine faculty members to whom the Committee had denied tenure, a clear criticism of its action. The faculty also asked for the abolition of the Committee of Six, a small group of department heads who make final decisions for the college-wide P&B—thus demanding the reversal of the centralizing tide of the last decade.

In mid-January, the CUNY Women's Coalition (CWC) filed the largest sex discrimination suit ever brought against a university, demanding \$40 million from CUNY in back pay and benefits. This class action suit followed CUNY's failure to respond to prior individual suits and HEW findings of gross discrimination. (Information about CWC activities can be obtained by calling LE 4-5392.)

Finally, in an attempt to bring these, and still other emerging resistance groups together, some CUNY students and faculty organized the People's Education Project. PEP's organizational structure provides for a citywide General Assembly and local chapters on various campuses. They have called for a militant defense of free tuition and open admissions, an increase in financial aid, equalization of faculty pay and teaching loads, elimination of racist and sexist practices, and a democratization of the university and the PSC. (For further information contact Lorraine Cohen, Department of Economics, Political Science and Philosophy, Staten Island Community College, Staten Island, New York 10301; or phone 390-7606.)

“College graduates have no more control over the kinds of jobs available to them or the kinds of lives they can lead than other workers have over the structure of the job market. . . . Powerlessness—the class-determined inability to define the direction of their own lives—is the social link joining college-educated workers to the more traditional sectors of the proletariat.”

—David Smith, “Who Rules the University,” 1974



Bulletin: Brooklyn College

On October 24, 1974, the arrest of 44 BC students and faculty climaxed a three-day occupation of the Registrar's Office in protest against President John W. Kneller's refusal to name Prof. Maria Sanchez chairperson of the Puerto Rican Studies Department. Prof. Sanchez had the *unanimous* support of her colleagues and students in the Department; she had also been recommended to the post by Kneller's own hand-picked Search Committee. But Kneller, arguing that Sanchez was "unqualified" because she did not yet have a Ph.D., decided instead to name someone else who had failed utterly to win the confidence of either students or faculty in the Department. He refused to discuss the matter further and left Sanchez's supporters with no way to air their grievances except through direct action.

It was not the first time Kneller had abused his authority, and from the very start his arbitrary and capricious conduct toward the Puerto Rican Studies Department aroused the concern and indignation of the entire BC community. The day after the arrests, a large and spirited rally was held to demonstrate support of the Department, speakers from numerous campus organizations assailed Kneller's position, and a one-day strike was called. The BHE's abrupt decision on October 28 to approve Kneller's candidate has only intensified the struggle: student and faculty groups are, even as we write, marshalling their forces to make Kneller back down and to guarantee that this kind of situation will not happen again.

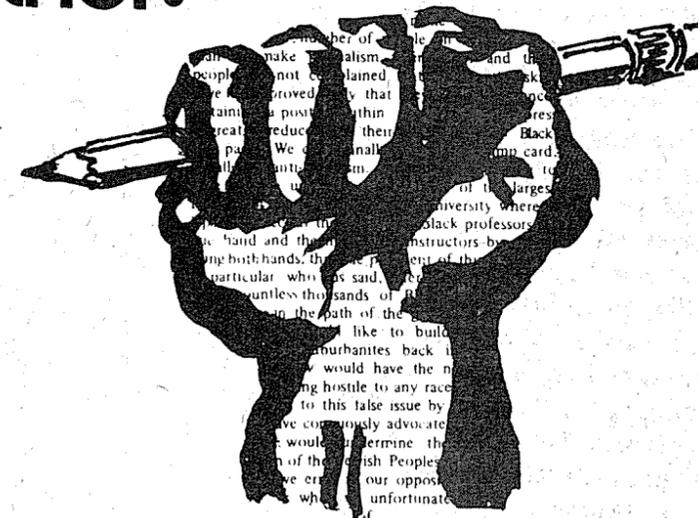
The unity of many diverse interests in this crisis—student government, veterans, ethnic organizations, political groups, and faculty bodies—reflects a widespread understanding that the issue

goes far beyond who becomes chairperson of any one department. First, it touches on the right of *all* students and faculty to self-determination: if Kneller has his way here (and remember that the presidential appointment of chairpersons is a priority item for the BHE masterplanners), he will be further along the road to unlimited presidential interference in *any* department. Second, the fate of Open Admissions is involved. BC's Puerto Rican Studies Department, a product of the Open Admissions struggle and one of the most politically militant departments anywhere in the University, could prove a major obstacle to diverting the stream of Open Admissions students away from the four-year colleges and into the two-year colleges where they had been intended to go all along—unless it can be "pacified" first by the appointment of an administration lackey as chairperson. Finally, there remains the larger question of securing tighter ideological control (see above, pp94-100). A department known for the lack of traditional authoritarian divisions between students and faculty sets a bad example for the campus in general. Then, too, Kneller's candidate—who has close personal connections with the pro-statehood forces in Puerto Rico, not to mention with certain high CUNY officials—will help the college crack down on all dissidents, especially those militantly opposed to the worldwide advance of American multinational corporations.

The outcome of this struggle remains to be seen. Win or lose, however, the emergence of a broadly-based movement on the BC campus is a timely reminder that we *can* get together. We *can* and we *must*.



Getting It Together:



Some Suggestions

So resistance has begun. But where do we go from here?

Newt has no simple blueprint, no tidy strategy that will—in seven easy steps—guarantee that CUNY will be wrenched free of corporate control. What we do have, after our months of study, is a deep anger at the present course of events, an appreciation of the strength of the opposition, and a conviction that a united effort can turn the situation around. The proof lies in our own history: Rockefeller and the foundation masterplanners have for over a decade been struggling to impose tuition on City University students; and they have failed. Rockefeller and the masterplanners sought to block the establishment of Open Admissions; and they failed. CUNY, to be sure, is badly flawed; it has been pulled way off course by the power and money of bankers and businessmen. But CUNY is a far better place to work and study than the masterplanners wished. That is the result of our own struggle and the aid given us by our many allies throughout the city. We are once again under assault. We must once again resist.

But how? There is a whole barrelful of tactics available to us. In our final pages we'd like briefly to lay some of them out. Most draw on the

experience of friends and allies currently doing resistance work throughout CUNY; they are approaches that people have found useful and effective. Some are tactics which can be pursued alone, some require collective efforts. Some deal with local campus problems, some with CUNY-wide issues, and still others with the wider social system to which the University is so intimately tied. We are not listing them in any order of preference. Each is vitally important. All are mutually supportive and reinforcing.

ANALYSIS

See if Newt's analysis makes sense on your campus. Plug into an already established resistance group, or set up a study group with some friends or colleagues, and begin to examine how your campus really works. Investigate who makes policy, who determines the budget, who does the hiring and firing, who plans new construction, who approves curriculum changes, who deals with local employers, campus workers, outside agencies. Find out what special programs have been set up in cooperation with banks, corporations, and foundations, and whose interests they

serve. Check out the percentage and number of adjuncts on your campus; investigate how far your administration has gone in the introduction of technology; study what's been happening to class sizes over the past few years. See if "management consultants" have been called in, or computer-based management systems installed, and with what effects. Look into vocational and remediation programs to determine how well they're working, and who they're working for. Try to get data on what happens to graduates in terms of jobs and salary levels. Find out what's been happening to financial aid and work-study, and why. See if the firings currently underway follow any particular pattern. (At BCC this semester most faculty let go were in liberal arts and those kept on in vocationalism.) If there is a pattern, who's setting it? According to what criteria, what philosophy of education? Who gave them the right to make such decisions? Ask around about the extent of administrative interference in departmental and curricular affairs and look for significant patterns there, too. (At John Jay, for example, the administration has been pressuring liberal arts departments to bend their disciplines into a "criminal justice," i.e., a vocational mold.)

This kind of research might also be launched by classes in political science, history, sociology, and economics—or jointly by several of them. The best scholarship often begins at home.

Such a study would be a natural for campus newspapers. Investigative reporting a la Woodward and Bernstein is a lot more interesting than covering Deans' teas.

Faculty committees, faculty senates, or union locals might also get into applying their skills to a study of their own workplace.



Student governments might find it rewarding to sponsor a study that focused on such problems as course cancellations, increasing class sizes, inhuman registration procedures, class and racial tracking, diminishing job opportunities, sexual discrimination, shrinking work-study and financial programs, the tuition threat, insufficient counseling, and the like.

Whoever does the research, Newt will be glad to help. We can try to answer research questions, put you in touch with other researchers on your campus, and so on. But in fact, with a couple of weeks' work—digging in files, reading back issues of campus papers, checking out the *CUNY Courier* and the *PSC Clarion*, interviewing cooperative college or university officials, visiting the public monthly BHE meetings—you'll know a lot more about the nature of power relationships on your campus than we do.



ACTION

Local administrators, either on their own, or under pressure from the CUNY Central Office, are—right this minute—cancelling courses, firing faculty, denying tenure, cutting back student aid, increasing class sizes. They will seek to smother resistance to these measures by wheeling out all the cover stories we've talked about in earlier chapters. People in possession of the true facts can blow such "justifications" apart. Official rhetoric can be translated; hard questions can be asked.

When administrators justify cuts by talking about "efficiency," that can be unmasked as a code word for "management control." When they prattle about "the mission of the college," that can be exposed as a devotion to vocational training at the expense of liberal arts and critical thinking (a devotion fostered by outside agencies of wealth and power). "Modernization" can be shown to mean "diminishing democracy," "computer-assisted instruction" to mean—all too often—"labor-saving technology" and "dehumanized

education," "increased productivity" to mean the old "speed up" (more work for less pay), "tuition for those who can afford it" to mean another assault on the working people of the city. When they fire faculty because of "declining enrollment" they can be confronted with the fact that enrollments throughout CUNY are up, not down. They can be asked why a drop in student enrollments—were it to materialize—should not be seized upon as a chance to diminish class size and thus decrease the outrageous drop-out rate. They might be pressed—should a drop occur—to bring in more students by expanding educational opportunity; this would allow them to hire more faculty from the ranks of the currently unemployed.

When college officials carry on about how we must all tighten our belts because the economic "pie" is only so big (the Ford Administration line), it might be asked—for starters—why they shouldn't tighten their *own* belts first. We might

demand a complete and accurate and impartial analysis of the budget, and begin to discuss the wisdom and necessity of such items as the million-dollar outlay for presidential housing (see accompanying box).

The "pie" people could be pushed still farther. They might be asked how there can be a "budget crisis" when enrollments are up—when city taxes are the highest in the nation—when corporate profits are soaring. We don't take Exxon at its word; why should we take the BHE's?

Get your demystifications out to the community. By letters to the campus papers (which almost everyone reads). By guerrilla media: xeroxing or mimeoing statements and tacking them to bulletin boards. By addressing student and faculty governance groups. By urging union representatives to spread the word.

RESOLVED, That the Board approve the purchase as a residence for the President of The City College, of a cooperative apartment known as Apartment 5B, at 101 Central Park West, New York, N.Y., at a cost of \$115,000 plus any incidental legal costs; and be it further . . .

RESOLVED, That the City University Construction Fund be requested to authorize the expenditure by the Dormitory Authority of up to \$30,000 for the cost of renovation and rehabilitation work and up to \$20,000 for the cost of furnishing the public rooms;

EXPLANATION: . . . Heretofore the Board and the City University Construction Fund have authorized the Dormitory Authority to acquire residences for the Chancellor and six of the senior college presidents. Further, allowances of up to \$30,000 for renovation work and up to \$20,000 for furnishing of public areas in the residences have been authorized. The total amount expended for the acquisition, rehabilitation and furnishing of these residences was \$930,632.86."

—Board of Higher Education,
Calendar, September 23, 1974.

Sometimes a mobilization of community opinion will be sufficient to reverse arbitrary administrative decisions. Most college administrators are so accustomed to passive faculty and disorganized students that a well-informed resistance can either bowl them over, or force them to pass the buck upward. Many local administrators consider themselves friendly and sympathetic to faculty and students. The notion that they are straw bosses for a remote and aloof management at the Central Office is unsettling and painful for them. Give them a chance to prove their solidarity. Force them to take a stand, either for students and faculty, or for the Central Office. Many, faced with that choice, will prefer to channel pressures upward. This is exactly what happened at Staten Island and elsewhere last year.

At times, however, widespread discussion and protests "within channels" won't work. It might then be time to pick an issue—the firing of a talented and popular teacher, aid cutbacks, overcrowded classes—around which the entire campus community can be most rapidly and effectively organized, and make a strong stand. This might mean mass demonstrations, or picketing, or huge letter writing campaigns (of the kind that proved quite effective in the thirties and forties). Again, a clear-sighted, well organized, determined movement is quite likely to be successful, at least on the local level.

Because it is likely that the serious problems will get passed upstairs to the heavies at 80th Street, or to the BHE itself, and because it is probable that they will support their local administrators, resistance to current CUNY policy must open up a university-wide front. CUNY officials, after all, have centralized their power; we, too, should confront them in a united way. How can this be done? How can we—given our current divisions—begin to form the link-ups and connections that are the necessary ligaments of student and faculty power?

Establish Committees of Correspondence. Groups already in opposition might link up with their counterparts.

Campus newspapers doing investigatory work might contact other CUNY journals, and perhaps together establish a permanent Intercampus News Service. Through that network they could trade

stories for publication, or perhaps issue their collective work in pamphlet or book form for distribution on all the campuses.

Faculty could take over and remake the PSC. As currently organized and led, the union leaves a lot to be desired. But a concerted campaign could transform it, rather as the Miners for Democracy transformed the United Mine Workers.

Currently many faculty are refraining from joining the union, partly because union membership is expensive, partly because—given the union's past performance—they are doubtful about its usefulness. The answer to both these objections is that the PSC will either help us fight the Central Office, or help the Central Office fight us. If we stay out the union will not be strong enough to fight for our interests even if it wants to. Weak unions make concessions at the negotiating table. When they do, whatever is saved by not paying dues is lost many times over.

If you, or, better, you and a group of your colleagues do join, a united and determined presence at local chapter meetings can quickly make a decisive difference. In fact, because most local chapter meetings are poorly attended, and the local leadership is often ineffectual, a comparative handful of energetic faculty can take over an entire chapter without enormous difficulty. Were this to happen, newly elected chapter delegates would be sent to the PSC where, in conjunction with like-minded representatives from other chapters, they could begin working for control of the entire union apparatus. Within a year or two at most, the PSC could be completely revitalized and made an effective instrument of faculty interests. What would a re-dedicated PSC do?

Publish pamphlets like this one.



Report systematically to the membership on CUNY finances, tie-ins with corporations and foundations, construction programs, schemes of management consultants. Have union accountants go over university books to check out their claims of "financial exigency." A militant union would—while vigilantly battling for better wages and hours—also delve into the "deep structure" of the university and investigate all the channeling, tracking, and creeping vocationalism that goes on here. It might begin to devote serious attention to

the future of the university rather than simply reacting to whatever moves the BHE makes. Union spokespeople might spread the word throughout the country—at all the national conventions they attend—about how, at CUNY and elsewhere, higher education is corrupted to serve the interests of bankers and businessmen, rather than students, faculty, and working people.

Students—having no counterpart to the PSC—might construct new university-wide institutions. A CUNY Student Union might be set up to coordinate local campus efforts more effectively.

A starting point might be a CUNY-wide conference on a particular issue of concern—tuition for example. The imposition of tuition that Rita Hauser (Rockefeller appointee on the BHE) thinks might be a good idea, would in truth be a spectacular disaster for CUNY students; it would force half of them out of college and doom them to permanent unemployment or the bottommost rungs of the economy. A conference on tuition might provide a chance for students from different campuses to get to know one another and to form lasting alliances.

Again, eventually the Central Office or the BHE—their cover stories exploded and their true intentions laid bare—will be forced to exercise arbitrary power to get their way. Then analysis and organizational unity may have to be supplemented by more concerted and militant activity. For the union, a strike. For the students, a mass demonstration. Remember that there are sixteen thousand faculty and a quarter-million students at CUNY. If they decide to work together, to bring to bear the vast power of their numbers, their collective energy, their massed talents and abilities, things will begin happening fast.

If and when we take on the top administrators, the masterplanners, and the powerful capitalists behind them, we will need allies. Fortunately there are many allies in New York City. They have helped us before, and they will help us again. Who are they? And how can they be contacted?

One of the simplest ways is for students to talk to parents and relatives. They are our greatest allies. It is they, after all, who own City University, not Rockefeller or the Foundations. They are the



people that Big Brother Carnegie glibly tells to tighten their belts and to shell out more for tuition, or to stand by while educational opportunity for their children is slashed. If students were to talk to their parents' organizations—unions, trade associations, church and community groups, civic organizations—and ask them to come to the aid of the university, an enormously potent political force would be born.

The PSC might reach out to those same organizations. Organized labor, for example, has a sizable stake in the City University, both for their members' own future education and that of their children. There are few more potentially powerful (or mutually advantageous) alliances around than that between labor and the university. Imagine the consequences of militant organized labor support for a PSC picket line. Imagine a university that taught its students not just narrow skills but the politics of work, that clued them in on what it takes to truly survive and resist in a capitalist economy. Imagine a united effort to expand educational opportunity for working people. Right now the university works primarily for the advantage of employers; there is no reason that it could not work for the interests of working people instead.

This is no pipe dream! With strong alliances we can begin to turn CUNY around. Strong alliances have worked in the past. With strong alliances we can go on to *demand* further expansions of opportunity and smash the tracking system once and for all. We can *demand* that students and faculty run the University, not the masterplanners and hack bureaucrats. We can *demand* an end to racism and sexism on the campuses. We can *demand* not only the preservation of free tuition, but even the creation of the financial stipends for students that are common in Europe. We can *demand* that training in skills be complemented by a critical education in the functioning of the economy and society. We can *demand* that technology be used to improve learning and teaching, not as an excuse to boost class sizes and fire faculty.

We can go a long way toward wrenching CUNY free from corporate control, if we get ourselves together, and get together with others. But we should be under no illusions that a permanent and satisfactory solution can be attained for CUNY as

long as capitalists dominate the economy, the society, the politics, and the culture of the United States. If our study suggests anything, it is that the university is intricately tied to a social order that is irrational and exploitative. That social order corrupts and distorts the university at every point it touches it.

Capitalism sucks the university into the production process and makes it an adjunct of the factory and the office. It uses the campus to help reproduce an unequal social order by dividing students according to class, race, and sex, and giving them an unequal education. It sets educational and scholarly trends and fashions by funneling money to people and projects the system finds useful. It sets limits on the amount of education working people can get, because it fears a truly educated work force. These constraints operate in the best of times.

In the worst of times—during capitalism's repeated crises—matters on the campus, as everywhere else, degenerate swiftly. Tuitions are hiked, driving the already hard pressed working class out of college (or limiting them to the barest vocational training); the spectre of a work force that understands the system gives capitalists nightmares. When student enrollments decline, they turn on the faculty, laying them off by the thousands. So we get to the point where masses of unemployed teachers walk the streets while millions of potential or ex-students are deprived of an education. This is precisely the same state of affairs capitalism generates throughout the economy: millions of workers are unemployed despite an enormous need for their services.

In the long run, then, the degradation of higher education is part and parcel of the degradation of American life under capitalism. The present system may be a great benefit to Exxon and Chase Manhattan, to ITT and A&P, to General Foods, General Motors, General Electric, and the generals at the Pentagon, but it is an enormous albatross around the necks of the rest of us. The time has come to cut it loose so that we can begin to grow again.



Appendices

MASTERMINDS & MASTERPLANNERS

GOING FARTHER: SOME SUGGESTED READING

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Masterminds & Masterplanners

What follows is a partial checklist of those individuals and organizations active in formulating educational policy for the capitalist class. Keep an eye on them: they're planning your future for you.

Howard R. Bowen

A "liberal economist" who has been associated with many groups in the Educational Establishment (Ford Foundation, Coordinating Council for Post High School Education, Brookings Institution, Joint Council for Economic Education) . . . currently Chancellor of the Claremont University Center . . . authority on how to cut costs and improve "efficiency" in higher education . . . author of *Efficiency in Liberal Education* (1971) for the Carnegie Corporation.

McGeorge Bundy

The Harvard dean who served JFK and LBJ as special assistant for national security affairs from 1961-1965 . . . reportedly played major role in planning Bay of Pigs, the Dominican Intervention, and escalation of Vietnam war . . . left to take up present post as head of Ford Foundation, replacing Rockefeller's old crony, Henry T. Heald . . . will continue to push the Foundation's interventions in all aspects of education.

Earl F. Cheit

Associate Director of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, formerly head of the Ford Foundation's Office of Higher Education and Research (succeeded by Peter de Janosi of Standard Oil of New Jersey) . . . major claim to fame was accurate warning in late sixties that higher education was in for financial difficulties . . . now one of the leading authorities on cost-cutting and efficiency . . . like Bowen, moves easily back and forth between the academy and the foundations.

Francis Keppel

Former Rockefeller agent on the BHE (1967-71), later headed the so-called Keppel Commission for Rockefeller . . . presently chairman of the General Learning Corporation (an educational affiliate of Time-Life and General Electric), trustee of the Russel Sage Foundation, and member of the Harvard Board of Overseers . . . son of Frederick Paul Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation from 1923-42 . . . was dean of the Faculty of Education at Harvard, 1948-62; Assistant Secretary for Education at HEW, 1965-66; U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1962-1965 . . . author of *The Necessary Revolution in American Education* (1966).

Clark Kerr

Head of the Carnegie Foundation, former President (1958-67) and Chancellor (1952-58) of the University of California at Berkeley, trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, and trusted advisor to many organizations in the Educational Establishment (Ford Foundation, National Science Foundation) . . . most widely known for his 1963 ode to the multiversity, *The Uses of the University*.

Alexander M. Mood

Directs the Public Policy Planning Organization of the University of California at Irvine . . . former Assistant U.S. Commissioner of Education (1964-67) under Keppel . . . author of *The Future of Higher Education* (1973), a study financed by the Carnegie Commission and the Ford Foundation.

Alan Pifer

President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and council member of its various operating agencies, including the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education . . . frequent speaker at educational planning conferences around the country . . . strong advocate of community colleges as community service institutions rather than places for liberal higher learning . . . lately emerged as spokesman for continued cooperation between corporations and campuses against hardliner backlash . . . also sits on the Council on Foreign Relations, HEW's Advisory Committee on Higher Education, chaired Nixon's Task Force on Education, director of NY Urban Coalition, and member of the elite Century Club . . . also has sat on at least two screening panels for members of the BHE.

Academy for Educational Development, Inc.

Led by former officials of the Ford Foundation's Educational Program . . . chairman of Board is Robert O. Anderson, the Chief Executive Officer of Atlantic Richfield . . . board members include James O'Brien, a Director and Vice-President of Standard Oil of California; John Diebold; Theodore Kheel, labor negotiator and president of the Foundation on Automation and Employment, Inc.; and James A. Perkins, president of Cornell, trustee of the Rand Corp., member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a director of Chase Manhattan Bank . . . this is the outfit that did the recent study of management practices at John Jay College.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education

Headed by Clark Kerr, with 19 prestigious members from academia, business, and the foundations; spent \$6.3 million, issued 22 major studies and dozens of other important documents dramatically influencing the direction of American colleges and universities . . . officially disbanded October 1973 and replaced by the CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON POLICY STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION which continues to work in the same direction.

Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education

Headed by Clark Kerr, who had chaired the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, it is the administrative arm of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and prepares commentaries on issues and trends in higher education. Among its priority interests are "the changes in organizational and structural patterns of faculties and in retirement, tenure and collective bargaining policies," as well as the role of government at different levels, budgetary matters, and "the effectiveness of innovations."

Citizens Budget Commission

It would be more apt to call this group the Bankers Budget Commission because its membership is almost entirely composed of representatives from dozens of the New York City banks. The CBC recommends budget cuts and economy measures to the city, including in 1974 its plan for the mayor to save \$28 million by increasing workloads of the CUNY faculty. Its frankly-titled study, "Faculty Workloads at the City University: The Case for an Increase," should be required reading by all faculty.

The City Club

A powerful group of "four hundred prominent businessmen and professionals" in the City . . . Alfred Giardino, Chairman of the BHE is a club trustee . . . recently issued a report entitled "A More Effective Labor Policy" that recommends limiting the kinds of issues that can be negotiated in collective bargaining with public employees in order to preserve management prerogatives . . . arbitration is acceptable so long as it's only about wages and employment conditions. No negotiations, they say, should be permitted about "matters which relate to the nature, quality, or standards of public services, or restrict the ability of government officials to manage the work force." In short, collective bargaining is OK so long as management maintains the power over workers. This view will heavily influence upcoming BHE negotiations with the PSC.

Commission on Academic Personnel Practices

Established by the BHE in May, 1974, following rescinding of tenure quotas . . . co-chaired by Quigg Newton, president of the Commonwealth Fund of the City of New York (a major financial contributor to special CUNY projects), and by Francis Kilcoyne, former president of Brooklyn College . . . now sitting to suggest policies regarding hiring and tenure.

Committee for Economic Development

CED is the leading domestic policy-making body of the capitalist class. Its members include the top management of over two hundred corporations, banks, and foundations. Its chairman is the Executive Vice President of Exxon, its treasurer is a partner of Morgan, Stanley, and its trustees represent Gulf Oil, General Foods, Dillon Read, the Brookings Institution, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Standard Oil of California, Du Pont, United States Steel, AT&T, Chase Manhattan, General Motors, Ford Motor, Lehman Brothers, and Xerox, to name a few. The CED researches and makes "suggestions" on domestic policy (a complimentary group, the Council on Foreign Relations, handles foreign policy), and it usually sees its suggestions implemented. It hires or otherwise buys the best academic talent available, while many of its members slip effortlessly into top government positions. CED's 1973 report, "The Management and Financing of Colleges," called for high tuition in public colleges, bemoaned the fact that "professional pride is not keeping faculty members from joining unions," and recommended a 50 per cent tenure quota. It is a measure of their power and influence that the BHE tried to implement this policy "suggestion" within months after the report came out.

Educational Commission of the States

Founded in 1966. Quasi-governmental umbrella agency, based in Denver, which acts as operating arm and governing board of the

Compact for Education, an agreement between the states for interstate coordination about educational issues. Brings together educators who want money for schools with politicians who decide how to spend money . . . composed of 7 representatives (the governor, 4 persons appointed by the governor, and 2 state legislators) from each of 45 states, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Member states pay annual dues pro-rated by population, and the federal government, through the Office of Education, contributes heavily . . . ECS compiles information, does educational research and performs service functions for member states. Did ten-year-long study entitled "National Assessment of Educational Progress," which was funded mainly by Office of Education at \$6 million/year. Study claims ECS will have determined what students know in ten different disciplines . . . issued another report about unionization and labor relations in colleges and universities, including collective bargaining, federal and state bargaining laws applicable to higher education. Worries about increasing unionization and how to deal with labor relations in "public sector," especially higher education. Maintains that higher education is unique, especially since "faculty members are at times in effect part of management."

The Group for Human Development in Higher Education

Funded by the Carnegie Commission, the Danforth Foundation, and the Lilly Endowment. Most famous for its proposal that since faculty may want mid-career changes, an insurance plan should be established for those who wish to leave teaching. Faculty would pay for this insurance.

HEPS, CAMPUS, CAUSE, TOTAL, SEARCH

These are five out of a large number of computer-based management systems. HEPS (Higher Education Planning System) is a computerized planning system now in use at Brooklyn College. CAMPUS (Comprehensive Analytical Methods for Planning in University Systems) uses simulation tech-

niques. CAUSE (College and University Systems Exchange) seeks to organize information relating to computer programs to facilitate easy exchange between schools (and super-funding agencies). TOTAL is designed to keep total check on all day-to-day operations of the college. SEARCH (System for Evaluating Alternative Resource Commitments in Higher Education) was developed for a consortium of eight colleges by Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Co. and allows simulations ten years into the future. (We found Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Co.'s private, not-for-citation studies of CUNY helpful in our work.)

Institute for Research and Development in Occupational Education at CUNY

Has developed a computer program that allows students to gather information about possible career options by using a terminal keyboard themselves, following search instructions. This project, designed to help those not going on beyond high school, is funded by the First National City Bank. Citibank president William Spencer described financing of the project as an "investment."

International Council on the Future of the University

Formed in fall, 1970, ICFU is an organization of European and American educators that meets in different countries. Recent session held at the CUNY Graduate Center. Nathan Pusey, former president of Harvard, Francis Keppel of Keppel Commission, and presidents of various New York and New England private universities were among those who attended. Professor Paul Seabury, of the University of California, at Berkeley, attacked Affirmative Action Programs and lamented that the university is becoming "a public utility" [!]. . . members solemnly agreed that higher education in industrialized countries was "trivialized and vulgarized" as a result of student activity of the '60s and disapproved strongly of inflation—in grading policies. (According to a supportive New York Times editorial, "Such apprehension is clearly justified by the shocking

experience of some European campuses where radical extremists have virtually banished academic as well as political freedom." Equally alarming are cases of institutions "paralyzed by one-man, one-vote, procedures in which the janitor's and the president's votes cancel each other out.") A more extremely conservative offshoot is the **University Center for Rational Alternatives**, formed by Sidney Hook and others.

The National Center for Higher Education Management Systems

A top-priority federal higher education research organization . . . funded mainly by HEW and private foundations . . . has annual budget of \$5 million and works with advisory bodies from higher education associations, national professional organizations, statewide coordinating boards, private and public colleges . . . facilitates cooperation between colleges and coordination of higher education on state and federal levels. Especially concerned with centralizing information about higher education and creating uniform measurement categories to make cost-effectiveness analyses of higher education possible . . . they have developed measurement scales for information on such things as finances, students (including how many friends the average student has), campus facilities, and faculties . . . they believe they have been able to quantify more with respect to education than anyone else . . . information is made available to federal and state agencies, and administrators of colleges.

National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education

Set up in 1972 by Congress to study financing of higher education . . . seventeen-member Board with a mixture of administrators of public and some private universities and administrators of public education systems nationwide; two Representatives, two Senators, a bank president, a governor, a deputy U.S. Commissioner for Higher Education, and Boyer, Chancellor of SUNY, are among the members . . . its 14-month, \$1.5 million study concluded in

January, 1974 . . . central demand was for uniform national standards in measuring the costs of educating students in all fields, in all kinds of institutions. Like other such groups, it also urged targeting financial assistance on an individual basis. Discusses, e.g., differential costs of training an engineer vs. an historian . . . reports sent to college presidents, governors throughout the country . . . information kept in Office of Education of Federal Government. National Center for Educational Statistics of the Office of Education will distribute information to anyone who happens to have a computer terminal.

Robert H. Hayes & Associates, Inc., Management Consultants to Educational Institutions

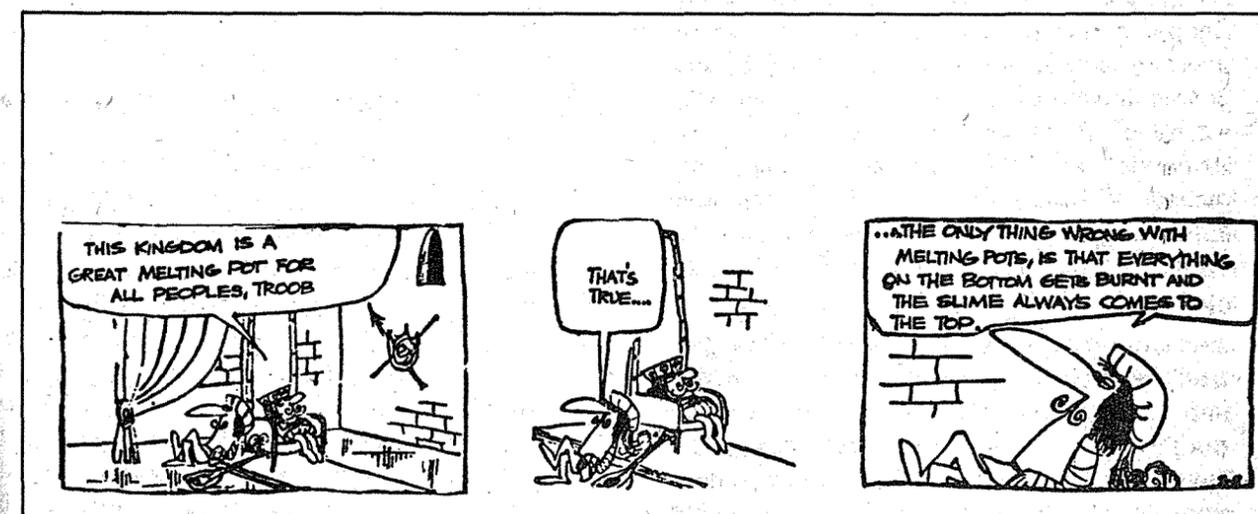
A Chicago-based consulting firm, one of a growing number. Their reports generally justify gross budget reductions on the grounds, e.g., that "significant staff reduction is possible at most schools without touching the basic excellence of the institution." . . . perhaps best known for their answer to the question, "Must colleges pay competitive salary rates?" "We think not. First, employees are not that motivated by money. Second, they do not expect it. And, third, on a cost-effectiveness basis, colleges will get very little for their money by increasing salaries to reflect competitive salary conditions."

Society for College and University Planning

National organization composed of about 1250 university and college presidents and other administrators involved in long-range planning, as well as government agencies and private consulting firms . . . sponsors meetings, lectures, workshops on higher education. Maintains placement and consultant services. Does study and research projects in higher education planning . . . concerned about continued state support for private as well as public colleges. Urges private colleges to coordinate programs with public colleges . . . held conference on the theme: "Academic Planning *With Faculty Without New Dollars.*"

Task Force on Coordination, Governance, and the Structure of Postsecondary Education

Created by the Education Commission of the States, and headed by the executive vice president of the North Carolina Agribusiness Council . . . has called for the establishment of one central agency in each state to coordinate all forms of postsecondary education, to be in charge of disbursement of federal and state funds, and to conduct post-audits to ensure program objectives had been achieved. Also wants federal legislation of guidelines for post-secondary education.



Going Farther: Some Suggested Reading

FOR MORE ON HIGHER EDUCATION:

David N. Smith's **Who Rules the Universities** (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), is the best single book we know of on American higher education under capitalism.

SOME INTRODUCTIONS TO HOW THE SYSTEM REALLY WORKS:

Studs Terkel. **Working: People talk about what they do and how they feel about what they do.** New York: Pantheon, 1974.

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"The Food Packet," "The Energy Packet," and other up-to-date analyses of the current crisis can be obtained from the Union of Radical Political Economics (URPE), Political Education and Action Office, 133 West 14th Street, NY, NY 10011. (691-5722).

FOR STILL DEEPER DIGGING:

Paul Baran and Paul M. Sweezy. **Monopoly Capital.** New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968.

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SOME JOURNALS AND NEWSPAPERS TO SUPPLEMENT AND/OR COUNTERACT
 THE TIMES AND THE NEWS AND THE TUBE:

The Wall Street Journal is a splendid source of information on what's really going on as it is addressed to the ruling class itself and tells it like it is far more than does the New York Times. The Daily News, though written in straightforward English, obscures the truth even more, precisely because it is aimed at working people. Other capitalist organs like Fortune, Barron's, and Forbes are well worth examining.

Socialist journals, weeklies, and papers that help make sense out of current events include: Monthly Review, Liberation, City Star, UR (University Review), and The Guardian. Special mention should be made of the columns by Nicholas Von Hoffman in the New York Post—they are gems of penetrating analysis, written in punchy and often funny language.

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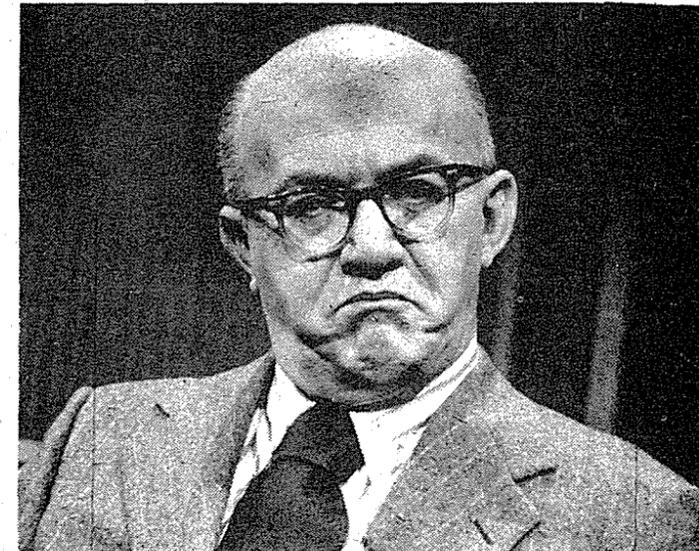
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In addition to these books, articles, and pamphlets, Newtniks ransacked past and present issues of a variety of newspapers and magazines. The most useful, in addition to the New York Times, are the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and *Change Magazine* (both of which have bad politics but useful information), *American Teacher* (the AFT paper, much of which is useless except for the outstanding column produced by Robert M. Nielsen), the *PSC Clarion*, the *CUNY Courier*, *The Voice* (a new journal of the Student Senate), and the *University Faculty Senate Newsletter*. Newt also reads all of the campus newspapers.

The City University itself published many of our sources. We pored over the Minutes and Proceedings of the BHE for decades past (until recently they were an invaluable source for the Oral Report of the Chancellor, and—under Bowker—gold mines of revealing information). We also perused back files of the Reports to the Mayor by the Chairman of the Board of Higher Education, the various Master Plans, the Chancellor's Budget Requests, Reports of the Construction Fund, special organs like *Federal Notes: News from the CUNY Office of Federal Relations*, local organs like the *Faculty/Staff Newsletter of Queens College*, and, of course, the various colleges' catalogs. Many of these materials may be found at the City College Archives or at the central City University Archives. The Office of University Relations is a good place to begin gathering information.



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