

THE BAKKE CASE MINORITY GAINS ATTACKED

BY NAOMI WORONOV AND MICHAEL ZWEIG

Allan Bakke, a 37-year old white engineer, twice applied to the University of California Medical School at Davis and was twice rejected (as he was at a number of other medical schools). At the urging of one of the school's administrators, Bakke filed a suit claiming that he was excluded because of minority preferential admissions, that his place was given to minority students with lower test scores than his. (Bakke is not suing on the basis of the 34 white students admitted with lower test scores than his). The California Supreme Court ruled that Bakke was a victim of "reverse discrimination."

The case is now pending before the Supreme Court in Washington, with a decision expected in another three to four months. In the context of the deepening economic crisis and the attacks on minorities within it, we believe that it was no accident that the Bakke case was catapulted to the U.S. Supreme Court and given a staggering amount of coverage in all the media.

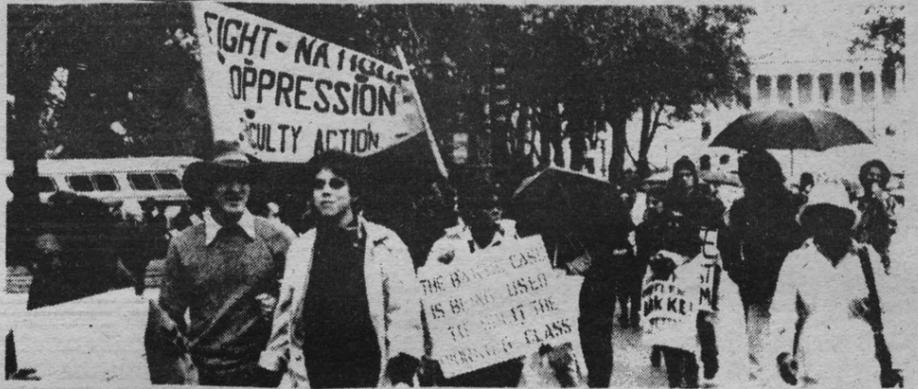
THE ECONOMIC CRISIS: THE CONTEXT FOR THE BAKKE CASE

In many newspaper and magazine articles describing deteriorating conditions in housing, health care, education, jobs and wages, there is a line that reads something like "hardest hit are minorities who...." It's so regular we hardly flinch. The labor department reported that the August increase in the nation's unemployment rate was attributed entirely to an increase in Black joblessness;...the general Black unemployment rate has risen to 14.5%, or more than twice that of whites...the rate for young Black people has risen to 40.1%! (New York Times 9/21/77, p. D-14)

The New York Times, noting studies by economists at the Wharton School and the University of Wisconsin, tells us that:

...since 1968, when Blacks' economic situation was the best since World War II, there have been two recessions, 1969-71 and 1972-73, and two periods of recovery. Blacks bore almost the entire brunt of unemployment in the first recession and had not yet recovered when they were hit by the even more serious eroding economy of 1973-75. (Ibid.)

And in the late seventies, the talk of economic recovery rings hollow. The economy is slipping into worse shape, while any temporary upswing comes together with worsening



DC FACULTY ACTION joins local October 8 anti-Bakke rally called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD)

conditions for most people.

In order to recoup some of their losses, American banking and corporate interests are trying to put the crisis on the backs of the American people, particularly workers and minorities. The oppression of Blacks and other minorities in this country has always been severe; despite the gains of the sixties, that oppression continues to be rampant. During periods of economic crisis, however, this oppression is intensified. A more oppressed minority population (totalling over 45 million Americans in all) provides still higher corporate profits to the degree that wages and social expenditures for minorities can be held down; and low wages with high unemployment for minorities acts as an anchor on the living standards of the entire working population.

The attacks on minorities in society overall also penetrate into higher education, where, in particular, the need to train professionals and semi-skilled workers for the expanding economy of the fifties and sixties is gone; and with the temporary ebb in the Black Liberation movement, the need to grant concessions to cool out political struggle has disappeared. It is time to take away past gains. -- PAGE 3



KENT

PAGE 8

Iranian Students Prepare to Hit Shah's Visit



The Iranian Students Association is planning a big demonstration in Washington on November 15th when the Shah of Iran visits Jimmy Carter (the self proclaimed defender of human rights). The Shah heads one of the most brutal and repressive regimes in the world. FACULTY ACTION will be part of this protest.

Meanwhile, the Shah's secret police, SAVAK, have been busy on over 100 American campuses organizing a pro-Shah demonstration. They are paying students from \$200 to \$600 (plus transportation and hotel) to demonstrate for the Shah when he comes to Washington. SAVAK agents and provocateurs are working hard to sabotage the ISA protest rally. The Iranian Students deserve and need our support.

OPPOSE THE KLAN AND NAZIS

BY BILL KATZ

On July 4, 1977 the American Nazi Party planned a march through the predominantly Jewish neighborhood of Skokie, Illinois under the banner "Six Million More". That same day the Ku Klux Klan held a rally on the steps of the state house at Columbus, Ohio; when Black youths challenged the Grand Wizard, he maced them. Responding to this assault, and to the outrageous nature of the Klan, a group of several dozen workers who had helped organize a counterdemonstration to the Klan rally ripped the sheets off the Klan and broke up the rally. Many of these workers were white.

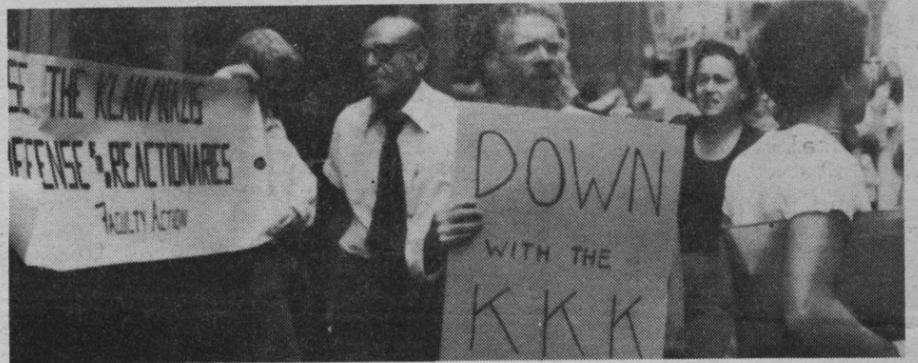
In Skokie and Columbus the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) came to the legal defense of the Klansmen and the Nazis -- not their victims. Previously in a Klan-Black clash at Camp Pendleton, the ACLU came to the defense of the Klansmen.

On the basis of these defenses, thousands have resigned from the ACLU; FACULTY ACTION joined others protesting ACLU policy on a picket line during the summer.

The ACLU position is based on an abstract right of speech, press and assembly. It ignores the destructive record of both Nazis and Klansmen that is hardly abstract. Both groups have advocated genocide and carried it out when given half the chance. The Nazi party, now outlawed in Germany for war crimes against innocents, prisoners and civilians, put eight million people to death during World War II -- and unleashed the world's most devastating war. Today Nazis throughout the world look forward to the good old days when they might complete the work Hitler and his crew began.

The Ku Klux Klan has a sordid, brutal history that is only less devastating because it operated within the confines of the United States. It rose during Reconstruction after the Civil War to terrorize and murder newly franchised ex-slaves and their white supporters. It lynched, maimed and intimidated entire sections of the southland. Its leaders were upper class whites who sought restoration of their pre-war power and a docile labor force. In the 1920s and 1930s, when unions began organizing southern workers, the Klan extended its terror to lynching Black and white union activists. Klan murderers went unmolested. At the turn of the century, Governor James Vardaman of Mississippi spoke for the Klan when he announced "If necessary, every negro in the state will be lynched; it will be done to maintain white supremacy." The Klan still parades under the banner of white supremacy, often trying to present it in the modern terms of "reverse discrimination", and it longs to return to its violent ways.

Those who would defend the abstract rights of fascists choose to forget this history. On October 10, 1977, the president of the German-American Committee of Greater New York and its fifty chapters was quoted in the New York Times as stating "There is no real proof that the holocaust actually did happen." He was opposing high school classes turning to a study of the holocaust.



NY FACULTY ACTION joins picket at ACLU headquarters, opposing the KKK and Nazis, and ACLU support of fascist groups

Since the 1930s the Nazis and the Klan have teamed up, shared public platforms and publications and maintained loose working arrangements. They have not been denied rights granted to other citizens, and have only been stopped by furious Americans opposed to their racism. In the 1920s the Klan paraded 40,000 strong in Washington, D. C. However in eastern cities, they met determined civilian hostility and their meetings were broken up, their speakers chased from town, their fiery crosses torn down. It took National Guard troops to quell 6,000 irate Perth Amboy, New Jersey residents who drove out the Klan in 1923. This proud heritage has been dropped from the history books.

The appearance in strength of the Klan and Nazis today, and their tolerance by governments, is related to the worsening economic situation, particularly unemployment. These fascists divide people by race and religion and place blame on Jews of Blacks. They are the cutting edge of a diversionary strategy that keeps employed and unemployed, Black and white, Jews and Christians from uniting for concerted action to gain jobs and economic security. They would have us fight each other rather than the forces that create unemployment, insecurity and racism.

Rights are not abstractions -- and certainly the murder and genocide practiced by Klansmen and Nazis is not abstract. Such men do not deserve the aid of civil libertarians or anyone else. The tolerance offered them by the government and the media coverage they receive stands as testimony that deteriorating economic conditions will not be met with more employment and job security but by confusion, diversion and efforts to undermine citizen unity.

Our citizens need a defense of their rights. The Blacks who battled the Klan at Camp Pendleton, the Blacks and whites who battled them in Ohio -- should be candidates for ACLU concern and aid. Let the fascists take care of themselves. Besides dignifying the people who would destroy us, the ACLU has muddied the waters of clear thinking about the vital issues of the day and done us all a disservice.

FACULTY ACTION CHAPTER FORMED IN WASHINGTON

BY ELIZABETH DORE

On October 16th, thirteen faculty, graduate students and researchers met in Washington, D.C., to discuss the need for and possibility of forming an ongoing organization of progressive intellectuals, which could take up the progressive struggles of today, particularly those affecting higher education. Out of this meeting came an enthusiastic commitment to form a local FACULTY ACTION chapter in the Washington area.

Represented at the meeting were different nationalities and faculty from most of the colleges and universities in the area--Georgetown University, American University, the University of the District of Columbia (which incorporates Federal City College), and the University of Maryland, College Park campus. General issues about the nature of the organization were discussed, and people expressed a unanimous sentiment that D.C. FACULTY ACTION should not be a "one issue" organization, but should be

an organization of intellectuals capable of taking up a broad range of struggles. To lay the basis for such a militant organization and to deepen the understanding of the role that intellectuals can play in progressive struggles, a committee was formed to draft a provisional statement of the goals of D.C. FACULTY ACTION. These goals will be discussed at the next meeting.

At the October 16th meeting, people discussed struggles developing at their colleges, and representatives from Iranian student organizations discussed their plans for the coming visit of the Shah of Iran to the U.S. D.C. FACULTY ACTION gave its support to the struggles of the Iranian students and people against the Shah's reactionary regime. The major concrete issue raised at the meeting was that of the Bakke decision. Particularly for the D.C. chapter of FACULTY ACTION, the struggle to overturn the Bakke decision is of tremendous importance. It was decided that at the next meeting, concrete steps would be taken to build for the November 19th Bakke Conference.

MINORITY GAINS ATTACKED

BAKKE CASE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

As unemployment and inflation soar and government corruption erupts everywhere, our country's political and economic leaders turn to the classic ploy of promoting racial hatred and racial competition for every job and every place in school to help confuse people politically and deflect their anger away from the source of their problems--the profit problems of the corporations and the banks.

And so they cry that "those" people who are going to school on "your" tax dollars are destroying standards of education for your children. They cry that Blacks and minorities are equal under our "color blind" laws and must compete "equally" for jobs and education. They promote the idea through every means at their disposal--and there are many--that if our cities are crumbling and crime is rampant in the streets and you can't get a job or into school, it's because "those" people are getting a "free ride" -- at your expense-- through welfare, special admissions and affirmative action programs.

In literally every area of employment and education, public and private, the Bakke case can, in the name of reverse discrimination, set a precedent for attacking minority gains. Already lower courts, citing the Bakke decision, have axed affirmative action programs in housing, construction and elsewhere. No matter how narrowly the Supreme Court rules, the Bakke case has helped to create the political and legal climate for further attacks.

At the same time the case and the publicity around it have helped to create massive confusion around such questions as standards and quotas in an effort to win whites to either participate in or at least quietly tolerate increased discrimination throughout society in the name of opposing "reverse discrimination." Such staunch defenders of "equality" and "justice" as Albert Shanker and the Wall Street Journal, for example, jumped to Bakke's defense, claiming they're all for affirmative action--as long as it isn't implemented by such means as quotas. What such forces as Shanker and the Wall Street Journal are playing on is a natural disgust for quotas that comes from their historical use as a means of excluding persons, particularly Jews, from jobs and schools. But affirmative action quotas are not exclusionary of whites--they are a means of mandating the in-

clusion of minority persons systematically excluded in the past. For example, consider that while the physician/population ratio for the nation is 1/700, the ratios of minority doctors to minority population are roughly as follows: Black, 1/3,800; Native American, 1/20,000; Chicano, 1/30,000. Lawyers? Consider California, which has a minority population of 25% and a minority lawyer population of 1%..

QUOTAS

Quotas put necessary teeth into affirmative action programs. The "good will" of the government, corporations and university administrations cannot be relied upon, judging from their past record and their role in society. But just for this reason, quotas alone are also not the answer to discrimination, because quotas on paper are only paper quotas. Only the organized force of the people, rising again to enforce the quotas and secure a society free from discrimination and racism, will solve the problem. Establishing and defending real quotas is one possible step in that battle, and has to be judged accordingly in any particular situation.

The University of California Medical School at Davis only accepts 100 students a year. Out of that total, several places are set aside for the Dean of the College, who invariably fills them with sons and daughters of wealthy alumni. Only 16 positions are reserved for minority students under a special admissions program. In 1974, Bakke was turned away together with 3,600 other applicants (yes, 3,600!). This is the real problem that Allan Bakke together with students of all races confront--the system is set up to allow only a limited number of youth to get a college education, based on the needs of a capitalist economy, not on the needs of society for more college educated people like doctors. How else can you explain why the American Medical Association limits the training of doctors at a time when the American people are in desperate need of more and better healthcare?

So can we argue that it was minorities who kept Allan Bakke from going to medical school? Or was it a system that denies millions of young people, of all races, a college education?

continued on p.4

National Conference on The Bakke Case Affirmative Action AND THE Professions



November 19 and 20
Howard University
College of Medicine
Washington D.C.

For further conference information:
Write: Ad Hoc Committee on the Bakke
Case, Affirmative Action and the
Professions
Drawer L--Inwood Station
New York, N.Y. 10034

Call:

212-280-4969
212-666-5193

Saturday November 19

- 10:00 am Welcoming Remarks
 - 10:15 Keynote--A Historical Overview of the Fight Against Racial Discrimination--Where Are We Now--Abdul Alkalimat--University of Illinois--Chicago Circle Campus
 - 11:00 Panel Discussion
 - The Bakke Case and Its Implications
 - Why Bakke Now?
 - The Meaning of the Justice Department's Position
 - 12:00 Lunch (bag lunch will be distributed)
 - 12:30pm Workshop I -- the particulars of discrimination in the professions
 - 2 workshops with panels from each of the following professions: Law, Medicine and Education
 - 2:30 Workshops II -- building the fight against Bakke and against discrimination within each profession
 - 4:30 Break
 - 8:00 Debate -- Fight to Overturn the Bakke Case -- What is the source of the problem Bakke represents?
 - Who should we focus our movement on?
 - What is the goal of our movement?
 - How should we move forward?
- Participants include Prof. Harry Edwards, University of California at Berkeley.

Sunday November 20

- 10:00 am Speaker -- Where do We Go From Here -- Building the Fight for Affirmative Action in the Professions
- 11:00 Plenary discussions: How to build a campaign in the professions
- 2:00 pm Concluding Speech
- 2:30 Picket line at the Supreme Court.

Initiated By

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Medical Committee for Human Rights

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National Lawyers Guild
National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision
La Raza Medical Association
National Dental Association
Association of Legal Aid Attorneys--NYC

WHAT'S BEHIND THE BIG STINK ABOUT STANDARDS

book review

BY WILLIAM FRIEDHEIM

The End of Education by Geoffrey Wagner, Professor of English at the City College of New York, is a charming little book which defends standards by attacking knowledge, defends truth by promoting slander, and defends civilization by attacking Blacks. Normally, we wouldn't dignify such nonsense with a review. But Wagner and his book have attracted considerable attention in the media as part of the big stink that is currently being raised about "standards." Standards has become a code word in this period of economic crisis for driving thousands of students out of college--particularly minorities. We think that it is important to expose the anti-intellectual currents and outright racism that lie behind the arguments of these self proclaimed defenders of standards--and to expose the ruling powers who seize on this garbage as justification for the dismantling of our colleges and universities.

ATTACKS STUDENTS

The sub-title of Wagner's book is "The experience of the City University of New York with open enrollment and the threat to higher education in America." Wagner argues that our universities are being destroyed as a haven of "disinterested" knowledge. As a result of the student movement of the sixties, says Wagner, our colleges are being invaded by hordes of "abusive," "stupid," "hostile" and "retarded" minority students who together with "balding, bearded guerillas" on the faculty and knee-jerk liberal administrators seem bent on destroying education. Wagner writes that "Remedial classes [at City College] began to include sizable proportions of Panamanians, Trinidadians, Haitians, people with the faintest connection with America (when they weren't outright illegal aliens), because news of the bonanza [of open admissions] soon got south." And still worse is to come. Our good professor maintains that his "student Tyrone, sitting in a half-lotus pose in back of the class with a transistor strapped to his Afro, and nodding off every two minutes, is going to be a city teacher's dream by comparison with what will be occupying his seat in 1984." The author blames "these" students for a multitude of sins: raping and sodomizing female faculty (which according to Wagner is just one more good reason not to hire women faculty); overcrowding the halls and thus by their sheer numbers making it difficult for a colleague who walks with the aid of crutches to get to classes; and forcing "our cities to face the shadow of default." After all, Wagner argues, quoting the neolithic Dr. Barnard of Columbia, "why waste a thousand-dollar education on a five-dollar boy?"

The only thing that makes these slanderous arguments even remotely seductive is a kind of dumb sophistry that goes like this: (1) Over the past several years, the academic enterprise has gone into serious decline and it has become more difficult for faculty to teach (true); (2) The enrollment of students is much greater today than it was ten years ago (true); (3) Hence, students are to blame for the big problems facing education today (false!) Why then have standards declined? Because when CUNY and state officials opened the doors in response to the struggles of students and minorities, they had little commitment to educating open admission students or to providing the full remedial and financial help necessary for the success of open admissions.

Another method of argument that Wagner uses is to take microscopic truth and magnify it into universal principle. For example, he tars the progressive student movement and its faculty supporters by seizing on the behavior of the some of the outrageous fringes of that movement. He points to the professor "who felt so guilty... that he met his class sitting under the table so that they were all of equal rank." The incident is laughable, silly and true. But what's the point? Is he suggesting that all progressive students and faculty are lunatics whose ideal of learning is squatting under a table?

ATTACKS KNOWLEDGE

After you cut through all of Wagner's malicious and silly sophisms, the only thing that seems to give his book an ounce of credibility is that it claims to defend knowledge. But upon closer examination it becomes clear that Wagner does not believe that knowledge has anything to do with reality,

or that humanity can in any way develop its knowledge and understanding of the world in order to change it. All knowledge, according to Wagner, reduces to a few abstract truths which the "masters" developed centuries ago, truths enshrouded in mystery that only an elite few can penetrate and understand. Wagner writes:

As recently as 1965 Professor Alistair Campbell, in the chair of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, could still say, "English literature proper stops at 1830--after then it is only books." And by implication, improper books at that. The recent genuflections to our relevance ritual reverse this premise--only books written after 1830 are literature.

What Wagner shares in common with those who genuflect before everything new is that they both see the accumulated knowledge of past centuries as irrelevant to the present. Those who worship newness discard the past. Wagner, on the other hand, studies it only to enshrine and mystify it, not so much for its own sake--as he would have us believe, but for his sake. He sees knowledge as intellectual capital which can advance his own academic career, intellectual capital whose value is enhanced by keeping it scarce and out of the hands and heads of open admission students. Knowledge is not something frozen in time and space, waiting to be discovered in its pristine purity by Geoffrey Wagner and a privileged elite. To the contrary, our knowledge of the world is constantly changing and constantly expanding. Humanity's rich, cumulative knowledge is tested and further developed through experimentation and our day to day struggles to change nature and society. Wagner screams about standards because he wants to narrow the range of knowledge, to build a wall between the knowledge of the past and the experience of his students--and because he wants to tell everybody how god awful smart he is.

Wagner maintains that the "chief remedial action" for higher education "must be to get politics out of the university." But politics has always been in the university whether it was privileged Oxford and Cambridge (Wagner's ideal) training an elite to govern the British empire, or the modern American system of multiversities and community colleges reproducing the capitalist social order through tracking. Wagner insists that open admissions was a political conspiracy to destroy the university on the part of radical students, minorities, progressive faculty and liberal administrators. But the administrators he talks about were never committed to equal educational opportunity, but rather to a system of expanded admissions that could track and train students for a growing and stratified labor market. When the economic base and the job market began shrinking, these same administrators became willing agents of budget cuts that took funds away from remedial and financial aid programs. Like Wagner, they began to take up the cry of standards. Wagner's polemic does not serve "disinterested" knowledge; it serves the ruling political and economic interests who want to cut back higher education to bring it more in line with the needs of a declining economy. The question isn't politics or no politics, but whose politics: that of a small economic elite or that which serves the vast majority of people by expanding educational opportunity and the development of humanity's knowledge.

BAKKE

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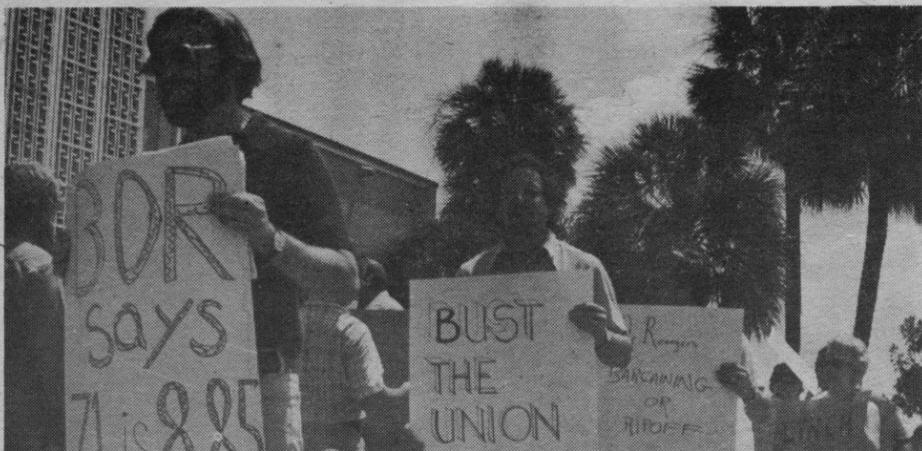
The Bakke Case crystallizes the important questions of discrimination and racism today. Some are using the case to worsen the conditions of minorities and to reverse and blot out the understanding the American people gained in the civil right struggles about the history and condition of minority peoples in the United States.

Many minority and white faculty fought against discrimination in the fifties and sixties, and in the course of those battles exposed a lot of truth about our society. Now again we must unite to prevent the gains of the past from being ripped away, and to fight for equality. That is why FACULTY ACTION is co-sponsoring the "National Conference on the Bakke Case, Affirmative Action and the Professions" (see page 3). We urge our readers to come.

ORGANIZING A UNION IN THE FLORIDA U. SYSTEM

BY BRUCE WILLIAMSON and JAMES FENDRICH (USF -- Tampa)

Ed. Note: This is the first of a three part series on the successful union organizing drive in the Florida university system.



Summer '77 - Florida faculty picket Trustees meeting

In 1976, faculty in Florida's state university system won the largest faculty bargaining election in the U.S. in five years. The American Federation of College Teachers (AFT) won the right to represent 5,400 faculty and professional employees in the nine-campus system. The AFT won the election outright with 54% of the vote, while the AAUP-NEA gathered 15% and only 31% voted no agent.

The AFT victory violated the canons of conventional wisdom. Militant faculty unions are supposed to result only (a) in liberal or progressive non-South states, (b) in areas where most of the blue-collar work force, the K-12 teachers, community college and state workers are already organized, (c) in homogenous, less prestigious 2- and 4-year colleges, not in a 3-tiered university system that contains a heterogeneous mixture of older, well-established universities with 100 or more doctoral programs, four year universities with masters programs, and new urban undergraduate institutions, (d) in those states having strong collective bargaining legislation which enables public employees to organize, and (e) where the faculty are urbane, sophisticated and decidedly left-of-center. In Florida, these conditions were non-existent.

What were the conditions that enabled a small, ragtag army to organize thousands. The movement began with an ill-focused discontent among small groups of faculty who had regular occasion to meet. In order to understand the movement's success, it is necessary to explore the forces external and internal to the movement and the interactions between them in the crucial period from the initial organizing in 1968 to the election and certification in 1976.

Although faculty discontent is almost endemic, three major factors contributed to the union drive. The first and dominant factor was the economic crisis of the seventies which eroded the living standards and working conditions of faculty. Faculty salaries failed to keep pace with the inflating cost of living over a number of years and the crisis culminated in 1974-75 when inflation rocketed above 10% and the Florida state legislature banned any pay raises for state employees. When a collective bargaining election became imminent the following year, the university Chancellor and the Council of Presidents sent a letter to all faculty members promising "to seek from the 1976 legislature a 22% salary increase for faculty and other professional personnel," recognizing that "an increase of that magnitude would only return the purchasing power of salaries to the 1972-73 level." Most faculty members belittled this pipe dream and saw it as part of the administration's anti-union campaign. The union made a mockery of the Chancellor's promise by printing buttons which said "Follow me to '73?" Economically, the situation was out of control.

The second factor contributing to unionization was the managerial reorganization of higher education. The sixties witnessed an enormous growth in public higher education in Florida. The growth modified the location of

the university in the political economy and redistributed the power in the universities in favor of administrators and extraneous constituencies. Universities shifted from semi-isolated centers of teaching and scholarship to action bureaucracies, serving federal, state and corporate clients through research and service. In Florida, the central administration of the university system grew from a director with a few staff assistants and secretaries in the early sixties to a staff of almost 200 by the early seventies. During the two-year period preceding the collective bargaining election when university budgets were stagnant or decreasing, the Board of Regents budget jumped by 97%. Although faculty senates were never very strong, they found the scope and content of their collective decision-making reduced. Both faculty autonomy and normative controls were swamped by management directives about productivity drives. The belief in shared government was difficult to maintain when new "professional" administrators barked like drill sergeants about grading procedures, larger classes and classroom contact hours. Faculty members who had been trained to view their positions as professional academicians were treated like assembly line workers with layoffs, speed-up, and efficiency reports, and without input into the system in which they worked.

The third major factor was the crisis atmosphere of the sixties created by the protest movement. The politically relevant civil-right and anti-war movements acted as a catalyst for demanding a restructuring of universities. During this period, progressive students and faculty were part of movement which helped to bring about some important changes. The retirement of President Johnson, the U.S. withdrawal from Indochina, university reforms, and environmental and minority rights legislation were all major gains. In addition, throughout these struggles a current developed among progressive faculty to question the "system"--the grading system, the degree system, the university system and even the capitalist system.

The state's administration developed carrot and stick tactics to deal with the college campuses. The first was to make necessary concessions and token reforms, giving students a wider range of courses and representation on university committees. The second was vigorous repression of unauthorized political activities. In Florida, there was a rapid turnover of university presidents. Traditional academic administrators who rose through the ranks of academic committees and offices were replaced by hard-liners such as state judges and lawyers.

Thus coming out of the sixties, there was a mood of discontent and political struggle that provided a core of activists who led the unionization drive through the period of the economic crisis and the loss of many professional rights by the faculty. The incident that precipitated union organizing was the firing of a faculty member at the most prestigious institution in the system in 1968. The university fired a psychologist because of his involvement in local civil rights activity. The firing aroused progressive faculty. The local AAUP chapter mobilized resources that eventually led to the university being censured by the national AAUP. Nothing happened. A small contingent of faculty were finally beginning to realize that the AAUP as a professional organization had neither the stomach nor the resources to effectively counter a hostile and conservative administration and Board of Regents.

Realizing the inadequate protection of academic freedom and the lack of adequate resources to fight the power of the university administration, the fired psychologist called a strategy meeting for an ad hoc Committee in Defense of Faculty Rights. He argued that the battle could not be won, admitted defeat and strongly recommended that the faculty should form a union for self protection. The original supporters of the defense group were well established liberal professors from law, medicine and the liberal arts, and young faculty activists. Indeed, the first two faculty organizers were advisers to Students for a Democratic Society and the Southern Student Organizing Committee. The local was chartered on May 1, 1968 with 50 members--a core of organizers who began an eight year battle to victory in unionization for 5,400 faculty

NEXT INSTALLMENT: The Eight-year Organizing Drive

THE DRAPER CAPER

Why did the CUNY Board support Draper and undercut open admissions?

The saga of Edgar Draper, President of Manhattan Community College, has attracted national attention. On August 29th, the City University Board of Higher Education fired Draper. The Board had affidavits and sworn statements in its possession testifying that Draper had helped to doctor an evaluation of Manhattan Community College by the Middle States Accrediting Association and that members of his administration had forged signatures on faculty petitions of support. Faced with a monumental political and criminal scandal and aware of a long history of faculty protest, the Board evidently felt that it was in its best interest to remove Draper. The nagging question, though, is why did the Board wait until August, 1977 to let Draper go?

Draper had an unparalleled record at Manhattan or scandal, incompetence and neglect. On one occasion, his faculty overwhelmingly voted no confidence in his administration and on another, Draper got a court injunction to prevent the opening of secret ballots, thus sparing him the embarrassment of a negative count. Draper continued to house classes in a building full of health and safety violations despite years of protest and numerous serious accidents (one student lost a finger). One of his deans vandalized faculty offices (yes, vandalized faculty offices!) and in 1974 tried to intimidate untenured teachers into attending a testimonial dinner which Draper threw on his own behalf (see FACULTY ACTION, Spring, 1977). Despite a driving snowstorm, the faculty union picketed Draper's "I love me" dinner and the testimonial turned out to be a colossal dud. The faculty at Manhattan Community had a proud tradition of standing up to Draper, even to the point where 75 teachers forcibly occupied his office in the Summer of 1976 to protest the firing of more than 100 full-time colleagues.

Yet, through thick and thin, the Board chose to support Draper. Why? Probably because Draper had close political ties to Nelson Rockefeller and Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton. But the Board's failure to move against Draper over a period of six years also speaks volumes about its lack of commitment to open admissions. Manhattan Community was an open admissions college with an 80% minority enrollment, and the Board, obviously aware of what it was doing, let Draper run it into the ground. It only chose to remove him after he had pared down the school's budget by \$2 million and fired 25% of its full-time faculty.

DRAPER SPILLS THE BEANS

The Board knew what kind of man they were getting when they appointed Draper President in 1971 after months of investigation and deliberations. In his 1971 inaugural address, Draper portrayed himself as an "educational manager" who represented the Board's interest on the Manhattan campus. He made a surprisingly frank and revealing statement about his view of open admissions.

It is...significant that thousands of young people who would have been on welfare, in prison, or in organized revenge against what they view as a hostile society, are gainfully employed. Herein lies the great value of an urban community college...

If we do our job well, there will be fewer welfare recipients, far less unemployment, and the needs for prisons will greatly diminish....As the community college expands its enrollment towards the lower level of achievement among high school graduates, it is bringing into the inner society the young people and the disadvantaged who have been on the periphery....

This will reduce the area of ideological conflict and help institutionalize the democratic process.

Draper spilled the beans. Those responsible for administering open admissions had little concern for the aspirations of thousands of students for a decent education. Their main concern was cooling out "organized revenge" against society. This contempt for open admissions students was later reflected in Draper's failure to establish necessary remedial and support services

In 1974, the Chancellor of the City University chose to raise a big public stink about Draper's failure to establish a formal remedial and basic skills program --rather than quietly handling and correcting this ser-



Faculty and students occupy Draper's office opposing the firing of over 100 faculty, August 1976

ious matter behind the scenes. Page one stories in the New York Times slandered and ridiculed the college, its students and its faculty, and only served to undercut the school's morale. Draper had a spokesman respond to the charges about remediation with the following statement:

It should be pointed out that most laymen have a somewhat confused idea of the relationships which exist between reading level and functional abilities. For instance, many jobs in our society (shop-attendant, service-station attendant, warehouseman's assistant, etc.) call for a fourth grade reading level. And the New York Times news sections are written at a ninth grade level

Draper made his position clear and so did the Board by its continued support for his presidency.

The Board tolerated Draper with its eyes open because it was useful to tolerate Draper. He made cuts, he fired faculty and he seriously compromised open admissions at a time when the city's ruling economic and political powers wanted to end this expensive concession to the student movement and the struggles of the sixties. With a \$13 billion bank debt and a collapsing economic base and job market, the city fathers and their corporate supporters were becoming more and more reluctant to spend money on open admissions.

So now Draper is gone and a new president administers over a college which has been cut down to size. If Draper had come from the same social class as one of his students, he would have been criminally prosecuted for fraud and sent to Attica for a long vacation. Instead, the Board gave him a sabbatical with full pay and the option of returning to the City University as a \$33,000 a-year, tenured, full-professor. The real criminals aren't the students--as Draper suggested in his inaugural address, but those in high places who saw fit to support Draper all these years.

Special Programs Attacked

SEEK and College Discovery, the special programs at the City University of New York which have enabled thousands of minority and working class students to get an education, are under attack. As part of a general assault on welfare and financial aid programs for low-income families, the city of New York is presently cutting stipends for SEEK and College Discovery students who are currently on welfare. The decision is causing great confusion and havoc. Several schools are indefinitely withholding students' monthly checks because it is unclear how and when the cuts are to be made.

These latest cuts are part of clear, developing pattern. First the 129-year old tradition of "free tuition" was ended at CUNY, and then tuition assistance and financial aid programs have been sliced up, making it increasingly difficult for minority, working class (and even middle-income) students to stay in school.

firings loom at brooklyn

Abracadabra. Now you see the faculty, and now you don't. Is it magic? No! It's another college administration toying with the livelihoods of its faculty and the education of its students. According to the October 23rd New York Times, the Brooklyn College administration is trying to make between 60 to 100 faculty (and possibly some programs and departments) disappear. This neat trick would be in addition to the firing of close to 400 teachers since June, 1976. The new firings are being justified on the basis of projections for a smaller enrollment and budget for the 1978-79 school year.

The question of layoffs is closely linked to the new attacks on students. Enrollment is declining (in part) because tuition assistance and financial aid programs are being cut and because of the Brooklyn College ad-

ministration's "Catch 22" policy of cutting remedial and special skill programs and then instituting a basic skills test that sophomores must pass in order to continue. There is nothing particularly exceptional about the policies of the Brooklyn College administration. As the economic crisis worsens, cuts are being made everywhere, social services are deteriorating, living standards are declining and more and more of the crisis is being put on the backs of the people

The faculty union at Brooklyn College (PSC/AFT) says it's investigating whether or not the administration "overreacted", as though it would be fine to accept the layoffs if they were financially "necessary". Nonsense. Whether one job is lost, or a hundred lost, for whatever reason, the loss in faculty and programs is that much an attack on the faculty, that much an erosion of education, that much a sacrifice which, if unresisted, simply invites bigger attacks in the future, as the crisis deepens.

The position of faculty must be to gather our forces to be able to fight every layoff, every program cut and every new attack on the ability of students to get an education. We must win our unions to take this stand because it is the only way they can become effective weapons in defense of our livelihoods and of education.

conference

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FACULTY ACTION is a progressive teachers' organization which takes up issues of concern to faculty as reflected in the articles in this issue of our paper, and in our activity around campus and national concerns. We welcome letters, articles, comments and criticism, as well as financial contributions toward the publication of our paper and the distribution of other materials to build the struggle of faculty.

I would like to be on the FACULTY ACTION mailing list _____

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Enclosed is a contribution to FACULTY ACTION. Please make checks payable to Faculty Action, and send them, and all correspondence, to FACULTY ACTION, Room 368, MCC-CUNY, 1633 Broadway, NY, NY 10019.

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Now there's a new way
to strike gold at Merrill Lynch.

The Krugerrand. The world's most popular gold coin. The only legal tender coin that contains precisely one troy ounce of gold.

You've probably seen the TV ads for the Krugerrand--the gold coin from South Africa. You know the one--where they let you hear the sound of solid gold. What you're really hearing is a call for help from the fast sinking, racist system of apartheid.

Export of gold already pays for one-third of the imports into South Africa, where the 18 million black people have almost no rights and are ruled over by a white minority government. The gold you hear clunking down in your TV set was mined by black workers forced to work 62-70 hours a week for about \$30 a month.

But the real gold mine in South Africa has been for U.S. capitalists who have one billion dollars invested in the country and who have taken out \$4 billion in profit. Armed force, concentration camps and a whole system of laws are used to keep blacks working at wages of 53 cents an hour in U.S. owned factories like International Harvester and Chrysler.

Storms of revolt have swept over South Africa in the last year, with strikes and demonstrations of thousands of black workers and students. An international movement against apartheid has gathered strength and support. The Krugerrand ads are like the cries of a drowning man as the system of apartheid is being brought down. Not all the gold in the world can save it now.

Ban The Krugerrand!

The American people saw through the U.S. government's propoganda about the Vietnam war and will be able to see through the racist South Africa government's "golden veil" covering the misery and horror of Apartheid.

There has already been a lot of activity around South Africa.

--Anti-Krugerrand Coalitions have been formed in several cities to expose the Krugerrand campaign of the Republic of South Africa as a gimmick to sell South Africa to the American people, and as an important source of revenue

--The Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee is planning a big conference on southern Africa

--Struggles continue on many campuses - notably Stanford and Berkeley - to force universities to cut all financial ties with South Africa

For more information, please contact FACULTY ACTION

Victory to the People of Southern Africa

CARRY ON THE SPIRIT OF KENT AND JACKSON



Once again Kent State has become the scene of a fierce struggle.

The Kent State University (KSU) administration planned to build a gym and destroy the hill where four students were shot dead and nine others wounded by national guardsmen on May 4, 1970. Their plans have run into a brick wall of resistance as students and other people have stood their ground against court orders, cops and bulldozers and refused to let these murders, the struggle around them and all they stand for be buried. All spring and throughout the summer students from Kent and campuses around the country have rallied by the hundreds and thousands to demand "Move the Gym!"

On May 4, 1977—seven years to the day after the shootings—thousands of students, 50% of the student body, struck classes at KSU over four demands—

- Move the Gym to Another Site
- Cancel Classes Permanently on May 4
- Name Four Buildings After the Four Dead Students
- A Statement From the Administration that the Shootings Were an Injustice

1500 marched and rallied and later several hundred seized the administration building.

May 12—a week later, thousands demonstrated at a trustees meeting where the final decision was made to go ahead and build the gym.

But the construction was pushed back till July. The University hoped to ride out the wave of struggle and wait for the summer when all the students were gone. But at the May 12 rally the May 4 Coalition called for a tent city to be set up on the site—to be a fortress of defense and a rallying point over the summer.

SUMMER LONG BATTLE

So instead of a cooling off period, the summer became a nightmare for the administration and the rich bankers and corporation owners on the Board of Trustees, as hundreds of students stayed in Kent, lived in Tent City for 62 days, defied every move to get them off—court orders, threats of arrest, harassment, and the beating up of May 4 Coalition leaders. All summer long the action of the students halted the construction.

July 12—194 arrested as the cops and courts moved to end Tent City.

July 22—600 held a powerful demonstration declaring arrests were not going to stop the struggle. Hundreds defied the court injunction and marched back into the site.

July 26—Trustees met 50 miles from campus to

give the go ahead for construction and were picketed by a demonstration. On the way back to campus the demonstrators were stopped by police roadblocks and 27 were arrested for the 22nd demonstration and hit with \$2000 bail each.

July 28—62 people retook the hill—over 150 more protested while the 62 were arrested in the early morning. This action forced another court order halting construction that afternoon.

September 24—3,000 students representing more than 30 campuses march and rally on the Kent campus. After the fence surrounding the site was torn down, 1,500 of the demonstrators marched onto the site in defiance of a new court order and the police. FACULTY ACTION sent a delegation to this demonstration.

October 22—1,500 students from many different states defy an injunction and vicious mace and tear gas attacks from the police, holding a march and rally at Kent.

And through every battle the students gained support, got better organized and got a better understanding of who we're up against in this fight and how to win.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE GYM

What's behind all this? Why are the trustees, the government, the police, and the courts so determined to build the gym on this site?

Is it the cost of moving it as they've often claimed? No—it's already cost them more trying to crush the struggle than it would to move the gym. For that matter, half of the trustees could pay the cost out of their own pockets without hurting.

Is it a lack of land? No. The University purchased 17 acres of land away from the site of the shootings 10 years ago—expressly for this gym.

So what's going on? And why have thousands of

students and others come out time after time to defend this site? Why have hundreds taken arrests—many two or three times? Why have hundreds given up their jobs and summer vacations to stay in Kent all summer and support this struggle?

Because Kent State and Jackson State, the murders and the struggle around them, stand as reminders of a time when the rulers of this country desperately want to cover up.

Reminders of the bloody war they launched to bring the Vietnamese people under their thumb.

Reminders of their vicious response to protest and resistance to their policies and their rule.

Reminders of how people by the hundreds or thousands militantly fought to end the war and went up against the system that caused it.

This is why they want to stamp out the lessons of Kent and Jackson State.

But for students and for the American people, those lessons are important. Not just to remember a time when thousands fought around ending the war, stopping national oppression and discrimination and began to move against the system itself. But to use those lessons to build the struggles that we face today.

BY JANE BRATNOBER

Jane Bratnober is a graduate student in history at Kent State.

LEGAL ASSISTANCE FUNDS NEEDED AT KENT STATE

- court petitions to have the shooting site officially commemorated by the Federal government
- bail and legal fees from the many recent arrests

Please contribute -- send a check payable to FACULTY ACTION - Kent Legal Fund, 1633 Broadway, rm. 368 MCC-CUNY, NY, NY 10019.

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The pamphlet attempts to develop an understanding of the current crisis in higher education by examining it in the context of the larger economic crisis and the changing alignment of social forces. The pamphlet looks at the nature of college education in American society, assesses the economic currents and powerful social movements which influenced the expansion of higher education in the fifties and sixties, analyzes the plans that ruling circles have developed for higher education in the seventies, and examines some key struggles that have erupted on college campuses over tuition, tenure, standards and the attacks on the past gains of minorities and women. A final section takes up the need for organization, for unions, and for progressive organizations like FACULTY ACTION.

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