

action

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PRIORITIES! PRIORITIES!

The recent budget cuts raise serious questions about the priorities of the state, city, and university in their allocation of revenues

It is absurd, even grotesque, that the wealthiest state in the world's most prosperous nation should matter of factly cut funds for health, education, and welfare. The recent budget cuts dramatize with unquestionable clarity the bizarre if not cynical priorities of our politicians and bureaucrats.

VULGAR POLITICS

What is somewhat obscured is a rather ugly form of political manipulation as one group is played off against another as they fight for whatever bones the state is willing to throw them. It is a manipulation that reduces politics to its most vulgar level. The shrewd politician sets welfare mothers against college professors; the university administrator pits students against faculty, poor parents against those of the middle class as the various interest groups compete with one another for what meager funds are available. Chancellor Bowker suggests to the students that salary increases for woefully underpaid lecturers are depriving the former of needed money for new academic programs. Victims are brought to blame other victims for a common plight that affects them all; in the process our politicians and administrators are absolved of much of their guilt.

LOBBYISTS VS. STUDENTS

In the wake of such a crisis, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that our society, despite the potential created by its vast wealth and sophisticated technology, is one with misplaced priorities. The federal government spends bil-

ions on defense, but precious little on programs to resolve its domestic ills. Legislators in Albany are more open to the not-so-subtle blandishments of the automobile and rubber lobbies than the protestations of 13,000 students asking for restoration of funds for a City University which is already operating on an austerity budget. More is spent on roads than the development of a rapid-transit system, even though automobiles pollute our air with noxious fumes from their exhausts and suffocate our cities with traffic. And of course, not so strangely, more is spent on roads than higher education.

TAX INEQUITIES

The state, as is the case with the federal government, has by rather insidious methods provided corporations with extensive tax benefits. When, through the expedient of town meetings, Governor Rockefeller took his budget cuts to the people, he was constantly asked why the state did not raise corporate taxes, a question to which he usually responded by suggesting that any increase would drive industry out of the state on a massive scale, all of which is of course highly dubious. (In this light, a story detailing the AFL-CIO's campaign against inequities in the tax structure appears on page seven.)

QUESTIONABLE PRIORITIES

While the university might not be a perfect microcosm of the larger society in which it operates, many of its priorities are just as

questionable. To a certain extent the university reflects the values of those public and private agencies which wield the power of the purse. The federal government or the Ford Foundation, for example, are more likely to fund certain types of programs and research than others.

PRESIDENTIAL HOUSING

The priorities of the City University, while in certain instances commendable, are in others worthy only of contempt. The chancellor can at one and the same time call with reasoned argument for an increased budget to sustain a system of free tuition and to expand programs such as SEEK (which was originally proposed by the UFCT); and with twisted sophistry, justify the expenditure of \$1 million for housing for eight community college presidents. It takes millions to maintain the university's expanding administrative bureaucracy and the public-relations apparatus which constantly rationalizes and justifies its activities. Still more is spent on the perquisites of administrative privilege. Presidents are handsomely reimbursed for entertainment expenditures and their \$125,000 homes are to be maintained at the expense of university. The presidents complain that the university is squeezed for funds, that faculty must be cut and entering freshman classes reduced in size, but none, in the midst of the crisis, has asked the board of higher education to forego construction of his house. Think how many faculty a president could hire for \$125,000.

LARGER CONTEXT

The United Federation of College Teachers in mobilizing opposition to the budget cuts, has from the outset raised the issue of priorities. While as a union of college teachers, the UFCT has put particular emphasis on the plight of the City University, it has nonetheless sought to place the problem of budget cuts in a larger context. The UFCT wants funds restored to the City University, but not at the expense of mothers on welfare or patients in the city's hospitals. When the Coalition for Adequate Income and Medicaid called a rally at the Central Park Mall on April 15 to protest decreases in funds for health and welfare, the UFCT sent several representatives.

Whether the state expands or contracts its total budget is at this point a somewhat academic question. The real issue, given general prosperity, is how the state spends what money it has. Should it spend more on highway construction than health, education, and welfare; more on race tracks than the expansion of CUNY; more on housing to maintain presidents in a style to which they are accustomed than expansion of SEEK? These are the crucial questions.

—W. F.



Israel Kugler (left), president of the UFCT, leading a demonstration, in protest of cutbacks

of the budget of the City University, in front of City Hall on Friday, April 18. (Story on page two.)

CITY PRUNES \$70 MILLION FROM UNIVERSITY BUDGET

Chancellor Albert Bowker employed an apt metaphor when he commented that Mayor Lindsay's "shoehorn" budget for the City University "would provide a shoehorn without a shoe."

In his fiscal message to the City Council, released on Tuesday, April 15, the mayor allotted \$232 million for the City University. The figure is somewhat deceiving, because it includes \$13 million for salary increases that are presently being bargained for collectively and according to the Chancellor, "at least \$17 million for which there is no assurance for cash transmission to the University."

Funds for salary increases were not written into the original budget submitted by the University. Normally, the city would add money for salary increases only after the bargaining agents had negotiated a contract. Shorn of its \$30 million of padded appropriations, the proposed budget falls below the University's present level of spending.

Originally, the Chancellor asked for \$270 million, but only after pruning the requests submitted by the college presidents by \$16.4 million.

If Lindsay's budget is approved by the City Council, the University will lack \$70 million of the approximately \$270 million requested, or 26 percent of its budget.

The budget finally submitted by Chancellor Bowker represents an increase of \$65 million over last year's appropriation. Of that figure, \$43 million is for mandatory increases, \$12 million for expenditures to improve standards written into the "master plan," including support services, and \$10 million for new programs.

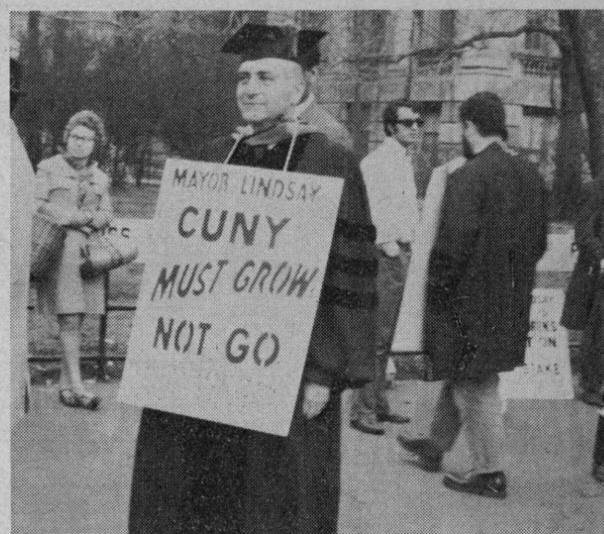
The state has removed the original ceiling placed on its contributions to the University budget and is now pledged to match the city's appropriation dollar for dollar. The onus has been placed on Mayor Lindsay and the City Council who, by cutting the University's budget, deprive it of state as well as city funds.

Of course, the state is not absolved of blame for the University's crisis. By tying its contribution to that of the city, it has by a clever gimmick transferred responsibility for the budget from Albany to city hall. Dr. Israel Kugler, president of the UFCT, together with other representatives of the Ad-Hoc Committee to oppose the City University budget cut, met with a representative of Governor Nelson Rockefeller to per-

suaide him of the necessity of a supplementary appropriation from the state. The legislature is presently considering such an appropriation with considerable encouragement from the UFCT and other concerned groups which are lobbying on its behalf.

The UFCT has coordinated its efforts in opposition to the budget cuts with the Ad-Hoc Committee and the Students Advisory Committee (SAC). Members of the Ad-Hoc Committee, including Dr. Kugler and a student representative, met with Mayor Lindsay on Tuesday, April 15, to express their considerable concern over the budget cuts.

On Friday, April 18, the UFCT participated in a demonstration at City Hall to protest the cuts. The Ad-Hoc Committee, which comprises over 50 organizations, sponsored the demonstration. Except for a large delegation from the UFCT, the turnout was very disappointing. Many of the member organizations, while ostensibly co-sponsors, did not send any representatives to march. The Legislative Conference, the University Senate, and SAC were among the sponsors. While the officers of UFCT were cheered by the turnout of their own members, they were somewhat dismayed by the general apathy of faculty and students toward the demonstration.



Two generations protest cutbacks of the City University's budget at a demonstration in front of City Hall.

Dr. Israel Kugler warned that the "University community should not be lulled into a false sense of security now that the state has raised CUNY's budget ceiling, because the city has succeeded in slashing its funds by some \$70 million. Apathy, at this point, will only succeed in destroying the City University."

Chancellor Bowker claimed that "the mayor's fiscal message to the city council simply does not guarantee sufficient funds to allow the University to admit a freshman class and provide essential educational services for that class and for the University's student body as a whole."

The UFCT has sought to mobilize broad-based support against the budget cuts. It has worked with parents, labor, students, and other faculty groups in opposing the austerity budget. Dr. Kugler has admonished against the restoration of funds to the University at the expense of welfare and Medicaid. Instead of allowing the city and state to play various interest groups against one another, the UFCT has cooperated with other organizations caught in the budget squeeze. On Tuesday, April 15, the UFCT sent a delegation to the Central Park Mall to participate in a demonstration sponsored by the Coalition for Adequate Income and Medicaid. In turn, the UFCT has sought to enlist the support of many organizations, particularly within the labor movement, to mount a common offensive against state cuts in health, education, and welfare.



UFCT submits demands for lecturers

After thorough airing before lecturers and members and discussion and approval by its executive board, the UFCT has submitted its collective bargaining demands for lecturers to the board of higher education. A flyer listing the demands in their entirety will be distributed by the UFCT to lecturers and the general university community within a week or two.

Among the demands are provisions for the following:

• **SALARIES**—Full-time lecturers shall be paid salaries ranging from \$13,000 to \$22,000, distributed over eight steps. Annual salaries for lecturers teaching six hours per semester shall range from \$8,666 to

\$14,666 and for those teaching three hours per semester, from \$4,333 to \$7,333.

• **FRINGE AND WELFARE BENEFITS**—The board shall provide lecturers with life, liability, and total-disability insurance, fees for tuition and books for continuing graduate education pursuant to a doctorate, 25-percent vacation pay, medical-surgical insurance, pension credit, and coverage by the retirement system. The demands also include stipulations covering sick, maternity, and personal leaves and a welfare fund, administered by the UFCT to which the board shall contribute \$500 for each member of the bargaining unit.

• **WORKING CONDITIONS**—The board shall provide lecturers 120 square feet of private, enclosed office space, one telephone per two faculty, and a minimum of 10 hours per week of secretarial service.

• **GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE**—The board shall establish a grievance procedure which allows lecturers outside, binding arbitration as a final recourse.

• **PERSONNEL FILES**—The board shall abolish all secret personnel files.

• **WORKLOAD**—The total workload for full-time lecturers shall be no more than nine hours a semester. No full-time lecturer shall be responsible for more than 100 students per semester. Smaller classes shall obtain for those who teach English composition, speech, language, mathematics, SEEK and remedial classes, science, and certain other subjects.

• **SERVICE CREDIT**—Each member of the unit, in the event of his (her) promotion to a tenure-generating position shall receive credit toward tenure for his (her) service as a lecturer.

• **PROFESSIONAL EVALUATION**—No action shall be taken to discipline, reprimand, suspend, or discharge any member of the unit unless subject to a proper and professional evaluation, including classroom observation, of his work.

• **FACULTY GOVERNANCE**—Annual and part-time lecturers shall be represented with voice on all departmental committees in proportion to their membership in each department. In turn, they shall be represented with voice and vote to the extent of 40 percent on the university senate, faculty councils, and college-wide committees.

• **SABBATICAL LEAVES**—Each member of the unit shall be entitled to a sabbatical leave with pay after six years of service.

• **ACADEMIC FREEDOM**—The demands include a comprehensive statement on academic freedom which parallels the position of the American Civil Liberties Union.

• **TRANSFERS**—Provision is made for a transfer policy should lecturers lose their positions as the result of the phase-out of a program at a particular campus.

• **SPECIAL GROUPS**—The proposed contract covers a variety of contingencies for special groups.

PUNITIVE TAYLOR ACT PASSED

In response to considerable pressure from Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the Republican leadership, the state legislature has passed a new Taylor Act which is much more punitive in its effect than the original law or the discredited Condon-Wadlin Act.

PUNITIVE MEASURES

The Republican leadership mustered exactly the number of votes needed for passage. The law was hastily signed into law by Governor Rockefeller. It provides for:

- unlimited fines for striking unions;
- unlimited suspension of dues check-off;
- mandated loss of two days' pay against individual strikers for each day on strike; and
- imposition of one year's probation and loss of tenure.

In criticizing the bill, Assemblyman Frank G. Rossetti (D-L, 68th AD) commented: "Let's cut out all of this hogwash, and just put a line in this bill to tell the working man, 'If you go on strike we'll take you out and put you against the wall and shoot you.'"

"OVERKILL"

Joseph Zaretski, Democratic senate majority leader, had similarly harsh words for the bill which he condemned as "overkill." "This is a union-busting bill," he said, "and the sole intent is to bust a union which cannot get justice from the government."

Raymond R. Corbett, president of the state AFL-CIO, flayed the measure as a "blow to fair and full-worker employer relations in government. The revised law will provide new incentive on the part of some government negotiators to delay or thwart contract agreements."

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UFCT, ACLU OPPOSE SUMMARY FIRINGS AT QUEENSBOROUGH

Secret files at the City University open its faculty to administrative and bureaucratic manipulation, manipulation which at its worst takes the form of outright political repression and violation of academic freedom. What distinguishes the case of Dr. Donald Silberman, an assistant professor of English at Queensborough Community College, is that it is so flagrant, or, as one member of the UFCT's executive board inadvertently put it, with a Freudian slip, "fragrant." Everything about the case smells of political suppression.

The personnel and budget committee of the English department unanimously recommended professor Silberman for reappointment. After approval by the collegewide P and B, Professor Silberman's name was submitted to Dr. Kurt R. Schmeller, president of the college, for routine approval. Dr. Schmeller held up Professor Silberman's letter of reappointment for three months until April 1, when he notified the latter that he would not be offered a contract for the academic year 1969-70.

On February 26, the English department voted by an overwhelming majority of 27 to 2, with 2 abstentions, to recommend censure of President Schmeller and John Riedl, dean of the faculty, to a meeting of the general faculty. The motion of censure was an outgrowth of long-standing grievances between the department and the administration, one of which was the case of Professor Silberman.

The department drew up a bill of particulars to document its charges against the administration. By way of introduction, the document stated that "at meetings with the president and dean of the faculty, departmental officials, while representing departmental problems and views in response to administrative actions, met with intimidation, coercion, threats, abuse, and total absence of cooperation."

The bill of particulars included a history of Dr. Silberman's case. After the department had approved of Dr. Silberman's initial appointment for the present academic year, Dean Riedl sought to block it. At first, Dean Riedl attempted to mask his political objections to the appointment by contending that Dr. Silberman was ill-disposed for a position at the college because he was more interested in teaching than publication. He expressed concern that Dr. Silberman would be eligible for tenure after just a year because he had taught for several semesters on a tenure-generating line at Hunter College. To break his chain of tenured service, the department finally agreed to hire him as a lecturer for the first semester and an assistant professor the second.

The report goes on to point out that Dean Riedl "expressed disapproval of and exaggerated Dr. Silberman's participation in a student-faculty sit-in at Hunter College in the Bronx. The sit-in, interpreted as an insurrection by the Dean, was, in fact, in opposition to the submission of class rank to the Selective Service System as an aspect of the City University's participation in the war in Vietnam. The sit-in followed the decision of Columbia University to end this practice, and was part of a nationwide movement on this issue supported by leading scholars."

Dean Riedl and President Schmeller, acting in character, responded to the department's bill of particulars with unabashed intimidation. They informed the chairman and his deputy that should they present their bill



Sitting-in at the Administration-Library building.

of particulars for wider distribution throughout the college and should they go before the general faculty with their motion of censure, they would, as stipulated by the board of higher education's memorandum on secret files of December 18, 1967, be guilty of professional misconduct and subject to dismissal for having revealed a confidential evaluation of a faculty member. They were particularly exercised about the department's revelation of Dean Riedl's expressed misgivings over Professor Silberman's participation in the sit-in at Hunter College. Dean Riedl then denied that politics ever entered into his evaluation of Dr. Silberman's qualifications.

After the department's initial confrontation with Riedl and Schmeller, the controversy heated up considerably. The administration claimed that due to a budget squeeze and overstaffing in the English department, it could not grant Professor Silberman reappointment. In effect, Riedl and Schmeller were absolving themselves of guilt by claiming that it was not they but rather an austerity budget or unfortunate circumstance which conspired against Professor Silberman. Politics, they protested, had nothing to do with their decision.

(Manipulation of the budget provides an administration added leverage in situations such as this. By at once cynically and shrewdly playing department off against department, an administration can effectively split its faculty and isolate dissidents in its midst. At Queensborough, lines shorn from the English department can be dangled before other disciplines as bait, thereby denying Professor Silberman's embattled colleagues some of their potential support.)

On March 31, 29 members of the English department signed a strong statement condemning the administration for "disguising its original political objections with budgetary excuses." Eleven days before, on March 20, the executive board of the UFCT voted the following resolution: "The UFCT executive board supports the efforts of the English department at

Queensborough Community College to prevent the violation of academic freedom and due process by the administration's blocking of the appointment of Dr. Silberman."

The executive board of the student government unanimously resolved on April 15 that Dr. Silberman be reappointed and "that the action of the administration in vetoing the decision of the faculty is a breach of academic freedom."

STATEMENT BY QCC CHAPTER

The Queensborough Community College Chapter of the UFCT is shocked and dismayed by the summary dismissals without due process of three members of the instructional staff, Dr. Donald J. Silberman, Dr. Stephen H. Faigelman, and Dr. Robert K. MacDonald.

The three professors were engaged in the exercise of their constitutional rights in a sit-in together with students. Entrances and exits from the building were not blocked, aisles were kept open, there was no damage to property, and no person was evicted from a building or prevented from carrying out duties. Since they are teachers and students and thus members of the Queensborough community, they have every right to the use of buildings as long as they do not violate the rights of others.

Dr. Silberman has been found to be a most competent teacher by his colleagues in his department and by the college Personnel and Budget Committee, and both have recommended his reappointment.

The Queensborough Community College Chapter of the UFCT believes that fundamental questions of academic freedom, due process, and faculty rights are involved in this case. Now the right of peaceful protest is added to the list.

The Queensborough Community College Chapter of the UFCT has been informed that the United Federation of College Teachers is joining with the ACLU and the NYCLU in defense of the rights of the three accused teachers.

We ask for the revocation of the summary dismissals and for the immediate reinstatement of the teachers.

UFCT Executive Committee
Queensborough Community College
April 24, 1969

(This statement was sent by telegram to Chancellor Albert Bowker of the City University)

Dr. Schmeller revealed his hand when a member of the English department decided to take a leave of absence without pay for the coming year, a decision which freed another line. Since, ostensibly, Dr. Silberman had been let go because no lines were available, the department now contended that the president should reappoint him. On Thursday, April 17, the president turned the department down and with his most cynical ploy to date, charged a hand-picked committee to determine, after a survey of the department, if still further reductions were warranted. The political harassment of a single faculty member had now been escalated into a wholesale purge of the English department.

The administration's recalcitrance prompted the formation of the Queensborough Community College Ad-Hoc Student-Faculty Coalition to End Political

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The Kahn Memorandum

When on December 18, 1967, the board of higher education voted approval of a position paper prepared by its legal counsel, Arthur Kahn, which in effect called for secret faculty files, the UFCT was alone in protesting.

The UFCT's efforts over the past 16 months to mobilize support against the Kahn memorandum have evoked more faculty apathy than protest. Only now, after cases as blatant as that of Professor Donald Silberman of Queensborough Community College have dramatized that secret files leave faculty vulnerable to political repression, has a large minority of the instructional staff expressed serious misgivings about the Kahn memorandum.

It is particularly ironic that students seem more alert to the dangers of secret files than faculty. A wide spectrum of student groups has now come out in active opposition against the Kahn memorandum. With the UFCT presently bargaining collectively for an end to secret files, the administration may well retreat from its position.

With the exception of a dissenting statement by Dr. Israel Kugler, president of the UFCT, the board rendered its original position without first hearing testimony from the faculty.

In his statement to the board at its December, 1967, meeting, Dr. Kugler protested not only the

substance of the policy, but the manner in which it was made. He emphasized that it was the position of the UFCT that faculty exercise a voice in policies crucial to their interests.

Dr. Kugler pointed out that the board's decision was at variance with the 1966 statement of the American Civil Liberties Union, which counseled against secret files. The American Association of University Professors, for one, has documented hundreds of cases over the years on nonreappointment and nonpromotion for the most arbitrary and spurious of reasons. Dr. Kugler argued, particularly given the inadequate grievance procedures that presently obtain at the City University, that secret files open the faculty to similar treatment.

The Kahn memorandum denies faculty access to either observation or evaluation reports. It stipulates that "no reasons for nonreappointment need be given." The board's policy permits the instructional staff to discuss observation reports only with departmental chairmen and not the actual observer. Any discussion of evaluation reports by a departmental member is considered prima-facie evidence of professional misconduct.

The UFCT is presently negotiating for an end to secret files and a grievance procedure leading to impartial, outside arbitration as a final recourse.

SEEK IN TRANSITION

By JAMES MONACO

(The following is an account of recent events which led to a change of administration at University Center SEEK. The interpretation of these events is that of the author who teaches English at the Center.—Ed.)

In early April, students and faculty at University Center SEEK effected a change in administration. The events and problems were somewhat similar to those at Queens College SEEK earlier in the year, but there was one significant difference: at University Center, there was considerably less violence and publicity. What follows are some notes on the events at University Center.

BACKGROUND

University Center SEEK was established in January, 1968, to act as a research center for the entire SEEK program. It is located on three floors of the Alamac hotel, Broadway and 71st Street, and now has an enrollment of 540 students. Seventy-five faculty members and counselors offer courses in music, sociology, political science, history, French and Spanish, as well as the usual SEEK preparatory courses in English, speech, reading, and mathematics. After one, two, or three semesters, students transfer to a regular college of the City University. The ethnic balance among the student body is approximately 55 percent black, 40 percent Puerto Rican, and 5 percent white.

CHRONOLOGY

EARLY JANUARY, 1969: The Faculty—none of them having tenure—are worried about the atmosphere of distrust which has been developing among the administration, students, and faculty during the last semester. Some faculty members call a meeting to discuss increased faculty participation in the decision-making process. Several meetings are held, the net result of which is to further divide the faculty from the administration. Meanwhile, the students are beginning to organize a skeleton student government.

FEBRUARY, 1969: Rumors of budget cuts are circulating. The Director, who has previously agreed to abide by the decisions of the semi-official faculty organization, asks the English Department to recommend to him only eight of 17 members for reappointment in the fall. Such a drastic cut is not demanded by any proposed budget cuts. The director makes it clear to the department chairman that the list of reappointments is not to include the name of Steven Cagan, one of the faculty members who had been most active in organizing the faculty members in January. The English department refuses to accept the director's demands. The faculty wants to control personnel decisions, as at every city college, through its own personnel and budget committees. The director refuses, citing the by-laws of the board of higher education: Only tenured faculty can comprise P&E committees, the by-laws say. Since there are no tenured personnel on the University Center Staff except the director, he will act with full power. There are no formal processes for evaluating staff: the director can act on rumor.

MARCH, 1969: The faculty seems to have lost the battle, the director having assumed all power regarding personnel decisions. However, the students, who have organized a student government by now, also find that the director wants full control over their affairs. At a meeting of several department chairmen with the director, the English department chairman comes to an agreement with the director about personnel decisions, but the director refuses to act on that agreement. Faculty give up, start looking for jobs elsewhere.

APRIL, 1969: The students produce a document listing the complaints against the director, titled "Branman's Bangles." The pamphlet is 18 pages long and includes a list of demands asking that a vote of confidence be taken regarding the director, that students be involved in personnel and curriculum decisions, that the ethnic imbalance among the overwhelmingly white faculty be corrected, and that each student and each teacher be presented with a copy of the board of higher education by-laws. The pamphlet outlines a good number of administrative errors that have been made during the past six months.

During the spring vacation, the director meets with the students, acceding to some of the demands. It becomes evident as the meeting continues, however, that the director's interpretation of the demands is very distant from the student's interpretation. The SEEK advisory council, a group of community leaders which acts as a board of trustees for the entire SEEK program, is called in and holds several meetings with students, faculty who support the students, the director, and faculty who support the director. The students and the faculty meet separately and nominate two candidates for the post of interim director. The advisory council chooses one.

APRIL 15, 1969: Aijaz Ahmad, a Pakistani poet and translator, and a member of the University Center English department, is appointed interim director. The majority of the 22 members of the administrative staff resigns in protest. Three faculty members resign.

COMMENTS

1. Student revolts may be inspired by ideology but they cannot succeed unless the other side makes serious and tangible mistakes. For example, it was obvious a year ago that something was seriously wrong with the Queens SEEK program: the program was segregated from the rest of the college, and, more importantly, the dropout rate was nearly twice that of any other SEEK program. At University Center, the director was presented with many opportunities to ameliorate the situation; he refused, self-destructively, to avail himself of any of them. He could, in January, have shared some of his work with the faculty, freeing himself to deal with other pressing problems. Instead, he continued, to the end, to make plans to hire a new and presumably more pliant faculty, while at the same time he told his present faculty he would allow them to advise him on personnel matters. Even during the first week in April, he could have taken the students' side and fought his administrative superiors, who were in many ways most responsible for the problems of University Center.

2. At University Center, the complaints of both students and faculty were almost always professional, never personal. Any good administrator must learn one lesson: The delegation of authority is the key to success. At University Center, the director insisted that all decisions be made at the highest level. As a result, the research programs, which were the center's *raison d'être*, never came into being; the student government was never allowed to function; decisions on personnel were made by the director, who was forced, of necessity, to act on hearsay, further incensing the faculty; and absolutely vital curriculum revisions were stalled.

3. Many white administrators and faculty members come into such a situation with a double fear: fear of the black revolution as well as fear of the student revolution. These fears generate their own causes. The administrator quickly becomes, through fear, dishonest about his whiteness as well as about his relationship to the "power structure." Nothing is more obvious or more annoying to students of any color;

they quickly perceive that, because of the barrier of fear and dishonesty, it is not possible to deal rationally and reasonably with such a man. Leonard Kriegel of City College has pointed this out in an excellent article in *Change* (March-April, 1969):

"The last thing in the world a black student needs is a white teacher trying to make himself over as black. Honesty in teaching black students cannot be achieved by white teachers who stain their psyches with walnut juice, who improvise on vaudevillian blackface, in an attempt to make themselves darker than they are.

"... What one suspects is that once again the white man will pipe the tune and the black man will pay the bill."

The great majority of black students are not racists; they want honest administrators and faculty, not necessarily black administrators and faculty. Sadly, however, they have discovered that the majority of whites in these positions cannot conquer their ingrained fears.

4. The ousted director of University Center SEEK—and men in similar situations—is not, of course, evil. He had the best of intentions, he had worked himself to exhaustion setting up the program over the past year. What finally necessitated his resignation was, simply, a lack of administrative expertise. A man in such a difficult situation must know how to delegate authority and he must know enough about the people he serves to be honest with them. The ousted director knew neither.

5. What prevented University Center from exploding over this issue was, basically, the experience of

(Continued on Page 5)



University Center SEEK is located in the Hotel Alamac (right) at Broadway and 71st Street di-

rectly across from a "Ham 'n Eggs" which is more noteworthy for its supposed traffic in homo-

sexuality and prostitution than its food.

SEEK

(Continued from Page 4)

the SEEK advisory council. Having gone through this a few months previously at Queens, they were familiar with the consequences of inaction. In this they were privileged: few boards of trustees have the opportunity to observe the student revolt at separate insitutions.

6. Aijaz Ahmad, the interim director, faces many problems of course but the greatest of them is the attitude of a few of his administrative superiors who, consciously or unconsciously, do not want the principle of joint student-faculty control to prove successful. If the SEEK program is to survive, if any college is to survive, student-faculty control must prove successful. Finally, if the UFCT which represents more than 6,000 lecturers, all of them, at present, lacking power, does not begin to develop a common program with students, we will not be able to avoid similar pitched battles in the future, which would spell destruction for the City University. We have the public schools as a depressing example.



Student leaders Ray Burrows and Beatriz Morales with the former director of the Center at a student meeting at which a vote of confidence was taken.

Opinion

PASS, FAIL, OR PUNT

By LARRY HYMAN

(Professor Hyman teaches English at Brooklyn College. His article has appeared in abridged form in the Kingman, a student newspaper at Brooklyn College. The opinions expressed are Professor Hyman's and not necessarily those of the UFCT.)

It is difficult to predict anything in history, and particularly so in the middle of a revolution. But I believe that as far as the student revolution is concerned, most of the changes that are being instituted will not affect the colleges as much as the radical students hope or the conservative teachers fear. To dress as they like, smoke what they want, and to have a voice in the hiring of teachers and the determination of the curriculum will not affect the education of students as long as the classroom remains the same. For it is in the classroom, after all, that the students become part of the college or university. And if the classroom continues to be a place where the student must receive a grade from the teacher, then changing attendance regulations, updating the course, or changing the instructor, will not make very much difference. For it is in the classroom, not in the faculty councils or deans' offices, that the real tyranny—as far as the students are concerned—exists.

TARGET

It is not surprising, therefore, that the grading system is now becoming a major target of radical students and teachers. But, despite growing support throughout the country for limiting grades to a pass or fail, and even for abolishing all grades, I do not think that any really significant changes will come about unless some provision is also made for the maintenance of academic standards. For it is unlikely that teachers, at any rate, will want to give up some way of determining competence and excellence in their disciplines. A reformation of the present grading system will not succeed, nor should it, if it results in a lowering of our standards for competency and a disregard of our attempts to encourage excellence. My proposal, therefore, is designed to free the classroom from the tyranny of grades while still providing a way of measuring and rewarding competence and excellence. In brief, I propose that in the classroom we have only a pass-fail system, and that letter grades (the only grades that would really count) be given only in departmental exams. These departmental exams would be taken, for the most part, only by those who intend to major or to minor in a field, and would be taken both upon entering a particular field and upon completing one's major. In general, a student would take one or two departmental examinations in his sophomore year (or at the end of his freshman year) to determine whether he is capable of specializing in a particular field. He would also take one or two comprehensive examinations in his senior year to determine his competence for advanced professional work.

GRADING OPTIONS

The departments could use a conventional grading system in their examinations, and so recommend for graduate or professional work only those students whose grade is quite good. But if a student doesn't wish to "major" in anything; if he wants only to satis-

fy his intellectual curiosity, he could, under this system, take no examinations at all, receive no grades, and take a "pass" degree. In any case, a student would be obliged to prove his competence only in those fields in which he has a vocational interest. Of course, a student would have to show a minimum degree of competence to receive a "pass"—but, then, few students have any real difficulty in getting a "D" grade.

The details of my plan would have to be worked out, and I am sure that many changes would have to be made. Small departments, for example, would have to join with departments in other colleges in order to give an examination; since in such a department it would be difficult to remove one's teacher from the board of examiners. But such matters can be worked out by faculty-student committees. What I am concerned with here is not a blueprint but an attitude towards the classroom. What I would like to see, and what I believe my proposal would accomplish, is to free the classroom from the tyranny of the grade. Without the grade, the work in the classroom would have to be meaningful in itself. The discussion would have to help the student's own development. No longer could a student sit in his chair taking down notes which he later gives back to his teacher. Even those students who intend to take the departmental examinations could not get by with note-taking and yea-saying. For if the teacher is not the sole author and judge of the examination (in some cases he may have nothing to do with it), then the student is responsible for incorporating what is said in the classroom with what he already knows about the subject. He must become, or try to become, a critical thinker rather than a parrot.

CHALLENGE

For the teacher, the challenge is also greater, obviously. A student who sits in his class must find the discussion or the lecture interesting or useful on the student's own terms. The teacher will have to help the student to really master his subject so that the mastery will be recognized by impartial judges. Or the teacher will attempt to make his course interesting in itself, to stimulate the intellectual development of all the students, regardless of whether they ever take an examination in that field. Of course, most teachers will try to do both.

Not only the classroom, but even the examination could take on new meaning under my proposal. Divorced from the classroom and from the individual teacher, the examination can make its own contribution to the intellectual life of the college. It would, of course, retain its practical purpose of encouraging the competent and discouraging the incompetent from entering a field as a major. But it can also do much more. For to elect an examination committee within a college (or a university or a region) to make up an examination, which would then be taken by all students, and in which sample papers with different grades are made public, is to participate in a public debate on some fundamental issues within a discipline. If students were allowed to question the relevancy or the clarity of a question or an answer, the resulting discussion might prove to be significant. When a teacher is forced to defend a question or an answer in public—to both students and colleagues—he may

very well be uncovering fundamental assumptions about his discipline. And such a discussion, particularly in the humanities, may make us think more deeply about the real questions in our disciplines, questions which get to the heart of what we are doing, or think we are doing. A university-wide debate, for example, about what are the really significant and answerable questions about the meaning of a novel, or about the criteria for an adequate interpretation of a historical event, would prove more significant intellectually than most of the research that is done in these fields. (I have some reason for believing that a debate about what is a good exam in the natural sciences might also be useful.)

ORGANIZING KNOWLEDGE

This change in grading can thus be useful not only to students but to all of us who wish to raise the intellectual level of the colleges. Instead of graduating students who have learned, for the most part, how to give the instructor what he wants, we can devise our comprehensive examinations so as to force students to organize their knowledge around some basic problem. In fact, a comprehensive examination in some fields might consist of a research project in which the student applies what he has learned to the solution of a genuine problem, either practical or theoretical.

But, again, my aim here is not to go into details. What I hope to have shown here is simply that the removal of grades from the classroom need not result in a lowering of our standards, but an opportunity to raise the intellectual level of both the classroom and the examination. It is not only the freedom from grades that we should seek, but the freedom to make education more demanding and more relevant to the needs of the student and the needs of society.

Letters

Horrors!

Dear Sir:

The article in the March issue, discussing the status of lecturers, could have been made yet more hard-hitting by citing names and places for the horror stories told. I see no reason why we should protect the anonymity of the department head and the dean who acted so callously in the midsemester firings of two lecturers. Usually, faculty members are not discharged summarily in midterm except for gross misbehavior, and this suspicion will attach to the fired lecturers simply because they were so discharged. Furthermore, our determination to press for better conditions for lecturers will be more evident if we back up our statements with concrete data.

JOHN BOARDMAN
Brooklyn College

(The atrocity reported on page three should more than satiate one's appetite for tales of horror.—Ed.)

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Unions back tax reforms

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.

The double standard in the nation's income tax system that allows the wealthiest to escape all taxes while forcing those in poverty to pay, must be corrected, the executive council of the AFL-CIO has declared.

A resolution passed at the mid-winter meeting of the AFL-CIO council was the latest in a series of calls for tax reforms issued by unions in recent weeks.

The council urged seven specific steps designed, it said, "to achieve a standard of tax fairness." They were:

- Elimination of the loopholes of special tax privileges for wealthy families and corporations.

- A minimum tax on all income over a total which would provide protection for legitimate small investors but which would require at least some tax payment from those whose huge incomes are now preferentially taxed or totally tax exempt.

- Removal of the impoverished from the federal income tax rolls.

- Reduction in the relative tax burden for low and moderate income families.

- Rejection of proposals for new tax loopholes which would create even more inequities in the federal tax structure.

- Dismissal of all proposals for a federal retail sales tax whether called "value-added" taxes or offered clearly as a tax on consumers.

- Repeal of the provision for double depreciation on all new construction except low and moderate-rental housing, and the 7 percent tax credit for business investment in machines and equipment.

The dimensions of the tax inequities were sketched in by the council, which pointed out that in 1967 there were 21 individuals who reported incomes above \$1 million and 155 who reported incomes of \$200,000 or over who "paid not a dollar of federal income tax."

In contrast, some 2.5 million persons whose incomes fell below the government's "poverty line" paid \$100 million in federal income taxes.

The council statement stressed that three major loopholes—capital gains, exemption of state and local bond interest and tax windfalls on oil, gas, and other mineral operations cost the Treasury about \$7 billion in 1968. The 7 percent tax credit on investment in machinery and equipment produced over \$2 billion for corporations.

It pointed out that there are now tax forgiveness proposals to provide incentives to industry for on-the-job training and inner-city industrial development, proposals that "would further reward those who already more than adequately share in America's affluence, and use as their excuse the plight of those who are today in trouble because they do not have their fair share."

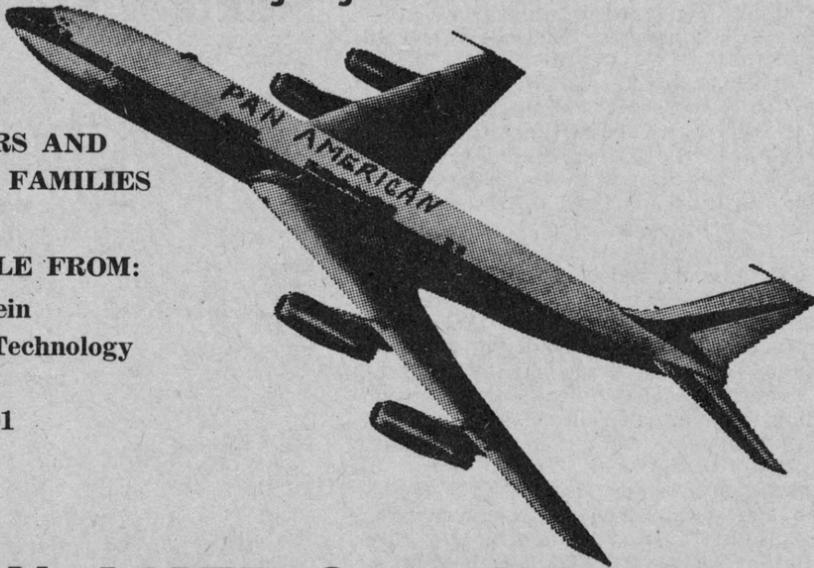
Neither will "no-strings" federal aid plans that are not subject to congressional scrutiny of specific programs be in the national interest, the council declared.

It singled out specifically "talk of adding new tax gimmicks for real estate operators, many of whom are now more accurately considered in the business of constructing tax shelters rather than shelters for people."

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STUDENT UNIONS?

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Free, autonomous, broad-based, multiracial student unions which could negotiate with college authorities were suggested as an answer to current campus turmoil by AFT President David Selden here last month.

"If such unions were developed on a credible, self-governing basis, students would have a peaceful outlet for legitimate protests," the AFT president said.

Selden made his proposal as he wound up his testimony before a special House subcommittee looking into the question of cutting off federal financial aid to disruptive college students. He told the subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.), that Paragraph 504(a) of the 1968 Higher Education Act, which singles out for punitive action students who receive federal assistance, should be repealed.

Selden said the AFT opposed Paragraph 504(a) for several basic reasons:

- "The legislation is an unwarranted interference in local affairs by the federal government." (Selden said it was improper for a committee of Con-

gress to intervene in a local matter like that at San Francisco State and implied that subcommittee members were more interested in headline-grabbing than in seeing the conflict resolved.)

- "The legislation is discriminatory on a class and racial basis." He explained, "A high proportion of students receiving federal assistance are non-white, and all of those receiving such assistance are poor. This law would wreak a harsh penalty on such students."

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Queensborough

(Continued from Page 3)

Suppression. The coalition sponsored a rally on Wednesday, April 16, in support of Professor Silberman. At the conclusion of the rally, students and faculty marched to the President's office where they taped a list of two demands to the door, calling for (1) reappointment of Professor Silberman to a tenure-generating line, and (2) abolition of secret files at the college.

On Friday, April 18, from 650 (CBS's estimate) to 750 (the coalition's count) students and faculty sat-in in the fourth floor lobby of the library-administration building in peaceful and orderly protest of the administration's failure to renew Dr. Silberman's contract. No offices were occupied and the demonstrators allowed administration and staff free movement throughout the building as well as access to and from it.

Dean Riedl, guilty of a momentary indiscretion, admitted, after thorough cross-examination by the students, that he had called Hunter College the previous spring to ascertain Professor Silberman's role in the sit-in protesting the submission of class rank to the selective service. Riedl stated that Professor Silberman's participation in the demonstration at Hunter played a significant part in his original deliberations over the appointment. The students taped his statement. Just three days before, when questioned by representatives of the UFCT's grievance committee, Dean Riedl had vigorously denied that Professor Silberman's political activities at Hunter had influenced any of his decisions.

Dr. Schmeller clearly overreacted when he summarily informed the assembled students and faculty that since they had not been invited to the fourth floor lobby, they were guilty of criminal trespass. According to the New York Times, he asserted that he would suspend all "recognizable" students. He backed intimidation with force, when he summoned the tactical police, who, 450 strong, moved onto the campus. At the sight of the police, the demonstrators, deciding that discretion was the better part of valor, quietly vacated the building.

LATE DEVELOPMENTS

On Monday, April 23, students and faculty resumed their sit-in. The demonstrators restrained neither the activities nor movements of administrators or staff in the building.

Somewhat chastened by his ill-advised move the previous Friday, Dr. Schmeller, with the considerable legal assistance of the corporation counsel of the city of New York, decided to devise a new strategy, which he boasted would "make legal history." He secured a court order enjoining 25 student leaders, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), the Ad Hoc Committee, Professor Silberman, and selected faculty from sitting-in. Despite the order, the sit-in continued.

Dr. Schmeller next proceeded to summarily dismiss Professor Silberman and two of his colleagues, Professors Stephen Faigelman and Robert MacDonald for "outrageously unprofessional conduct." Roughly

translated, that means that they actively participated in a peaceful sit-in. All three are union members. The college-wide P and B, with only two dissenting votes and a rather unbecoming forbearance, rubber-stamped the president's action.

While Dr. Schmeller had made his share of tactical blunders in his enthusiasm to punish dissenters, he had succeeded handsomely in splitting the faculty. Numerous faculty began to complain that the English department was overstaffed, and one, while by no means reflecting majority sentiment, spun an elaborate conspiracy theory, to the effect that it was the conscious policy of the English department to "foment revolution by hiring radicals," an accusation which does not even merit the courtesy of a reply. The students, however, and many faculty, putting their jobs on the line, remained firm and true in their support of professors Faigelman, MacDonald, and Silberman.

The UFCT has joined with the American Civil Liberties Union and the New York Civil Liberties Union in legal defense of the three dismissed faculty members. It is the contention of the lawyers that the restraining and enjoining orders secured by President Schmeller violated the constitutional right to dissent of faculty and students who sought redress of grievances through peaceful demonstration. It was the administration, with its crude and impolitic recourse to police force, rather than the demonstrators who disrupted the life of the campus. A dean, who has broken with the administration, has agreed to testify as a witness on behalf of the defense. He has already contested the president's version of events in the Administration-Library Building. Accounts of violence and confrontation, with all of their ugly connotations, he claims, are clearly at variance with the facts.

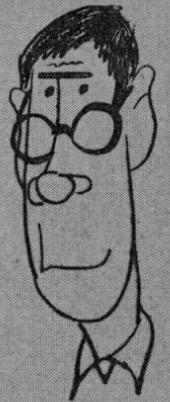
The Queensborough Chapter of the UFCT has issued a strong and unequivocal statement deploring the "summary dismissals without due process of three members of the instructional staff." Members of the chapter have manned an informational picket line at the college.

By Thursday the sit-in had grown to over 1,000 participants and at least one department, in addition to English, had voted a resolution in condemnation of the actions of the administration. The English department, refusing to retreat in the face of harassment, released and expanded the bill of particulars which Riedl and Schmeller had sought to repress the previous month. In effect, the frail props upon which the Kahn Memorandum (secret files) rested had been undercut, for both the department and the administration had publicly revealed confidential information.

Even though Dr. Schmeller had clearly and contemptuously rendered due process and academic freedom a farce at Queensborough he continued to receive substantial support from about one-third of the faculty.

His support, however, contracted rather than expanded as he persisted in misusing his powers. On Friday, April 25, the faculty voted by over 2-1 to call for the reappointment of Dr. Silberman and immediate reinstatement of those faculty summarily dismissed; an end to secret files; dropping of all court charges; and a new college policy stipulating that police should not be summoned to the campus unless there be immediate and dire threats to life and property. Dr.

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Schmeller participated in the meeting, but upon hearing the results of the voting stated that the faculty convocation was illegal and by no means binding upon the administration.

Events at Queensborough, transpiring as quickly as they are, may well date this article by the time *action* reaches its readers. Nonetheless, lines have been clearly drawn and, because the administration has played such a heavy hand, a spectator's program is not necessary to distinguish the good guys from the bad. There are, though, administrators in the City University who, protected by the camouflage of secret files, are much more insidious and skilled at methods of political suppression. The Silberman case was blatant; other are not. Until secret files are abolished and a grievance procedure is established whereby the administration as an advocate does not sit as final judge and arbiter, good teachers like Donald Silberman, Stephen Faigelman, and Robert MacDonald will remain subject to political repression.

—William Friedheim
April 28, 1969

FATHER HESBURGH, TAKE NOTE

By RICHARD HIXSON

(Richard Hixson is college director of the American Federation of Teachers. His comments originally appeared in the March issue of the AFT American Teacher. The opinions expressed are his and not necessarily those of the AFT or UFCT.—Ed.)

This column has been on my mind for weeks. I've tried to write calmly, but even in the small hours of the morning there come more reports of new waves of Guardsmen on the campus, more teargassing, and more unprovoked arrests of our members.

The central problem, it seems to me is that college and university administrators have failed to recognize and, indeed resisted legitimate grievances from the faculty and student segments of the academic community. Colleges and universities for too long have tolerated and condoned injustices that should never have existed in the first place. These conditions are, I suppose, considered part of the "normal operations" of the university. We have for years tried to resolve these problems. For our pains, we are being forced into defensive strike after defensive strike to establish a degree of relevancy to academe. We knew that the resolution of our grievances would take time, but the brutal truth is that time has run out.

What indication do we have, for example, that the other side of the table wants to work with us in ending the hideous and inhumane conditions under which thousands of teaching assistants must work and teach. Where is the concrete evidence indicating that the exploitation of these "academic serfs" is equally repugnant to administrators and legislators. Who, besides our side of the table, really fights for a real system of due process for faculty members. We know that tenure policies are not worth the paper they're written on. For example, one organization regularly reports on the outcome of academic freedom cases. Usually the accused is exonerated, rather like the operation being a success even though the patient has expired. Is it rational to sustain faculty senates that are in reality cruel charades of democracy, at best, and are tools of administrations, at worst. To even call it "communication" is a distortion. Where are the black teachers and the black students. The "supply and demand" defense just won't work any longer. Who really is concerned on the other side of the table about the economic and working conditions of thousands of faculty members in this country.

If there is anarchy and "mob tyranny," who really is to blame. We

have insisted that the other side of the table show good faith in the redress of our grievances, but we have seen little evidence of it until we have taken the defensive action necessary.

I believe we are witnessing a revolution on the part of teachers and students toward a system that allows injustice to be written into that system. If I read the signs of these dangerous

times correctly, then I think that we are seeing a struggle on the part of faculty and students to establish the liberty and autonomy of the university community that should be its lifeblood.

The Orwellian propaganda of the media and Hayakawa have sinisterly turned the argument around.

The truth is that if fascism comes, it will come in spite of us.

