CRISIS AT CUNY

THE NEWT DAVIDSON COLLECTIVE

CRISIS AT CUNY

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

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

CRISIS AT CUNY

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Newt would like to thank:

Mike and Junius and Bill and Gerry and Amy and Nanette and Bev and Eric and Moe and Stefan and Phillip and Mike and Blanche and Vicki and Bart and Andy and Rusty;

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and finally, our very best to Karl.

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Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I. Daily Life At CUNY

The Students

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

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

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

But which college? You've got no savings, your parents aren't rich, and you didn't do so well in school that you're going to get a scholarship. So you're priced out of private colleges like Columbia or Barnard. (Four years at such schools now cost a preposterous $24,000—minimum.) But CUNY is free. CUNY's got Open Admissions. Of course you'll have to work to get money to live on and pay for books and subways, or help out at home. But that's OK. You still won't have to pay tuition. So you apply to the University Application Processing Center, put down your six choices, and get assigned to the Borough of Manhattan Community College.

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

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

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

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

Black & Puerto Rican Entering Freshmen [Percent]

Senior Colleges

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

Community Colleges

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

Income of Families of All Students 1971

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

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

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

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

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

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

On to registration. Here you brave the long lines and computer cards and register for a vocational program, rather than the liberal arts program. If you're female, likely as not you'll be in what they call Secretarial Science. (Ninety-nine per cent of those in secretarial studies throughout CUNY are female, as are 97.2% of those in nursing and 100% of those in Dental Hygiene.) If you're male, you might take Data Processing. (Across CUNY, males account for 86.7% of the students enrolled in data programming; males are also over 80% of those taking chemical technology, commercial arts, market-retailing, hotel administration, and over 90% of those in mechanical technology and graphic arts, and 100% [up to 1971] of those in pre-pharmacy, electrical, construction, and civil technology programs.)

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

SECRETARIAL SCIENCE
[Bilingual Secretarial Concentration]

First Semester

Stenography I: Theory or Stenography II: Pre-Transcription	3
Typewriting I	2
Introduction to Business Administration	4
English I	3
Music or Art	2
	14

Second Semester

Stenography II: Pre-transcription or Stenography III: Introduction to Transcription	3
Typewriting II	2
English	3
Language	3
Mathematics Through Statistics I	4
Liberal Arts Elective	2
	17

Third Semester

Bilingual Stenography I	3
Bilingual Typewriting I	1
Office Practice & Machines I	1
Accounting I	3
Language	3
Physical Education	1
Social Science Elective	3
	15
Cooperative Education Internship	2
	17

Fourth Semester

Bilingual Stenography II	3
Office Practice & Machines II	1
Business Law	3
Fundamentals of Speech	3
Health Education	1
Science	4 (or 3)
	15 (or 14)
Cooperative Education Internship	2
	17 (or 16)
TOTAL CREDITS	65 (or 64)

DATA PROCESSING

First Semester

Introduction to Business Administration	4
Introduction to Data Processing	4
English I	3
Mathematics (Fundamentals of Mathematics I or Finite Mathematics or Analytic Geometry & Calculus)	4
Physical Education	1
	16

Second Semester

Basic Cobol Programming	4
Social Science Elective	3
Accounting I	3
English II	3
Fundamentals of Speech	3
Health Education	1
	17

Third Semester

Advanced Cobol Programming	3
Programming Systems or Management Systems	3
Science	3 (or 4)
Accounting II or Managerial Accounting	3
Liberal Arts Elective	3
	15 (or 16)
Cooperative Education (Career Planning or Internship or Business Management Elective	2
	17 (or 18)

Fourth Semester

One of the following:	3 (or 4)
a) Assembler Language Programming	4
b) Programming Language I	3
c) Two of the following:	4
Basic IBM 360 Computer Operations	2
Basic RPG Programming	2
Disc Operating Systems Concepts	2
Time Sharing Operations	2
Systems Implementation	3
Business Elective	3
Music or Art	2
Electives	3 (or 4) (or 5) (or 6)
	15 (or 16) (or 17)
Cooperative Education Internship or Business Management Elective	1 (or 2)
	17 (or 18)
TOTAL CREDITS	68

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

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

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

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

Local employers are enthusiastic about cooperative education. "The internship experience," declared a high official of the Chemical Bank recently, makes CUNY graduates "more flexible and less ritualistic" as workers. As the *CUNY Courier* observed in the autumn of 1974: "Employers . . . may test interns and experiment with new positions without making costly long-range commitments. These advantages can reduce a company's recruiting and training costs, provide job flexibility and lower abrasive severances. [!]" Employers, the paper went on, prefer interns to "four-year graduates who often come with inflated job expectations and soon leave, causing an expensive turnover problem." The federal government is also enthusiastic about co-op ed. "HEW administrators view 'co-op ed' as a 'very cost-effective' idea," the *Courier* reports. "HEW recently awarded $11 million for cooperative programs for fiscal 1975. LaGuardia, Bronx Community and Manhattan Community were awarded more than $100,000 of these funds, with LaGuardia receiving a $60,000 grant."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Amy Hosa

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus—should you go to Queens and graduate with high grades—it is far more likely that you might become a lawyer, than if you attended one of the community colleges. But Queens itself, in the larger, nation-wide ranking system, is by no means at or near the top of the heap. So you might not get into law school at all, as the competition these days is fierce. If you do make it, chances are you won't make the *best* law school (though Queens is now building one of its own). And that means that when you get your law degree you will probably land a not very exciting job in a large, bureaucratic law firm where you'll spend most of your time drafting briefs for the Harvard-trained barristers to try in court. And if you don't get into law or medical school, there's always social work, teaching, or some other civil service job. Unless the depression commences before you do. And Queens won't prepare you to deal with that.

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

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

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

CAREER OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN


manufacturing


pediatrics


homemaking


communications

business management


merchandising


religion


agriculture


recreation


law enforcement

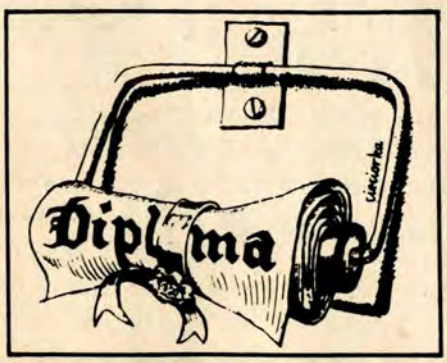

animal husbandry

genetic research

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

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

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



A Word About Open Admissions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Faculty

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

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

Who are you, kid?

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

We know your type, kid.

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

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

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

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

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

The "regular" Faculty, then, overlook or ignore or openly scorn the adjuncts. The full-timers act this way partly because of the (understandable) conviction that adjuncts have no long range stake in the department, for though they are here today, they may very likely be gone tomorrow. Perhaps, also, they feel somewhat guilty around adjuncts, for they are told that their own higher salaries are dependent on the existence of a mass of exploited workers below them.

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

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

—Kautsky, "Class Struggle," 1892

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consider job security. Adjuncts, of course, have none. Assistant professors are in little better shape. They creep, often in fear and trembling, annual contract by annual contract, toward the magic up-or-out cut-off point of five years. At any time in that period they may be expeditiously axed. This past year many heads have rolled. Pleading the "tenure quota" or, more cleverly, declining enrollment (which is always hailed as an excuse to fire, rather than an opportunity to reduce class size, improve teaching, and decrease the drop-out rate), a massive pruning in the lower ranks has been going on. City College fired forty-five, Lehman laid off forty, Brooklyn booted seventeen. To some it came as a Kafkaesque, bewildering shock. Charles Evans, 40, had been teaching for nine years at City College, the last five as an Assistant Professor. His department unanimously recommended him for tenure. The College P&B approved that decision. A special review board of deans fired him nonetheless. And they refused to tell him why: "I had to defend myself against charges about which I'm not told," Evans told a *New York Post* reporter. According to the PSC, there were, as of February 1974, over two hundred cases similar to his.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"No institution of higher learning in the United States of any claim to respectability whatsoever would hold that tenure for an individual faculty member is a right and not a privilege. Like all other legislated rights, it becomes one when it is conferred and not before."

—Report of the CUNY President's Committee on Tenure, 1973

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

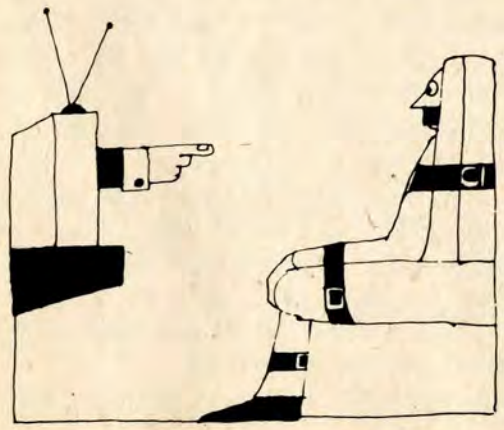
CUNY is not that place. It is a processing factory, dedicated less to truth than to "post-secondary education" in the service of corporate capitalism. Newly-arrived faculty find, in addition to bad working conditions, a student body that is not wholeheartedly given over to learning. Many students are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

Under these circumstances, different faculty re-

act in different ways.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

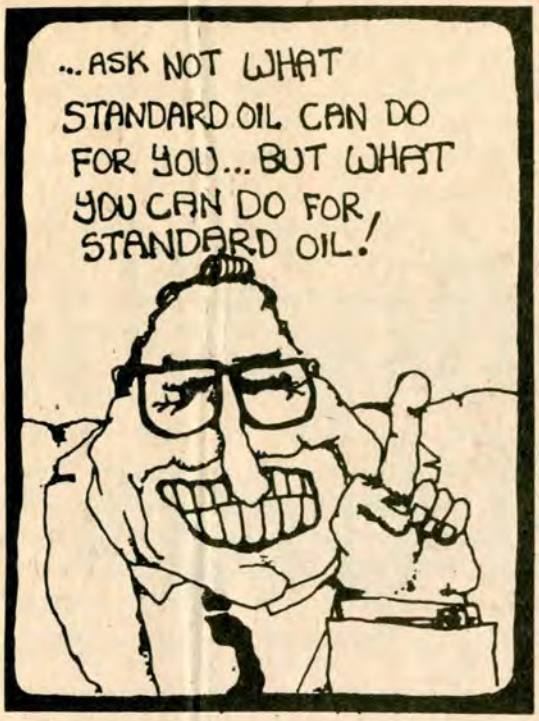
No. Most of what ails us, inside CUNY and out, can be traced back to the way things are organized and run in this country, to the system called capitalism.

What is capitalism?

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

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

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



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

Capitalism repeatedly collapses into depression. Why? Under the current system, capitalists pay their workers as little as they can get away with. This keeps their profits high. But capitalists also are forced to rely on those very same underpaid workers (in their role as consumers) to buy all the products that are produced. But that's not possible. Working people just don't make enough money to buy all the goods pushed on TV. So sooner or later the system breaks down. Factory production is cut back, because there's no profit in full production when they can't sell all the goods. Workers are laid off. They then have even *less* money to buy goods. So more factories close down. Soon we have a depression. Factories stand empty while millions are unemployed. In the great depression of the 1930s, millions were also on bread lines, while at the same time pigs were killed, milk dumped in rivers, kerosene poured on potatoes, and fruit left to rot. It's insane. But under capitalism, it's logical: capitalism is less concerned with feeding people than with harvesting profits, so supply was artificially restricted to drive prices up even though people were starving.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We want to show, too, that none of these groups or individuals works like a General Staff, poised on top of a chain of command that is responsive to their every wish and whim. Rather they are Masterplanners. Their think tanks, commissions, foundations, councils, consultants and specialists define "objectives," discuss "options" and "trade-offs," and then let individual schools and colleges work out their own "game plans" within the generally-accepted "guidelines." No cloak-and-dagger stuff, no conspiracies. They simply structure the educational order so that "standard operating procedure" works to their, and not to our, advantage.

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

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

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

2. Capitalism and Education

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

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

After Decanting, education proceeds in the Neo-Pavlovian Conditioning Rooms. Hypnopedic suggestion (taped messages played all night to the drugged infants) create future consumer demands ("I do love having new clothes, I do love . . .") to meet future industrial production. Manual workers learn to hate books. Everyone learns to hate thinking in generalities. And, most important, everyone is trained in Elementary Class Consciousness. All night long speakers whisper at Sleeping Betas: "Alpha children wear grey. They

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

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

—Aldous Huxley, "Brave New World"

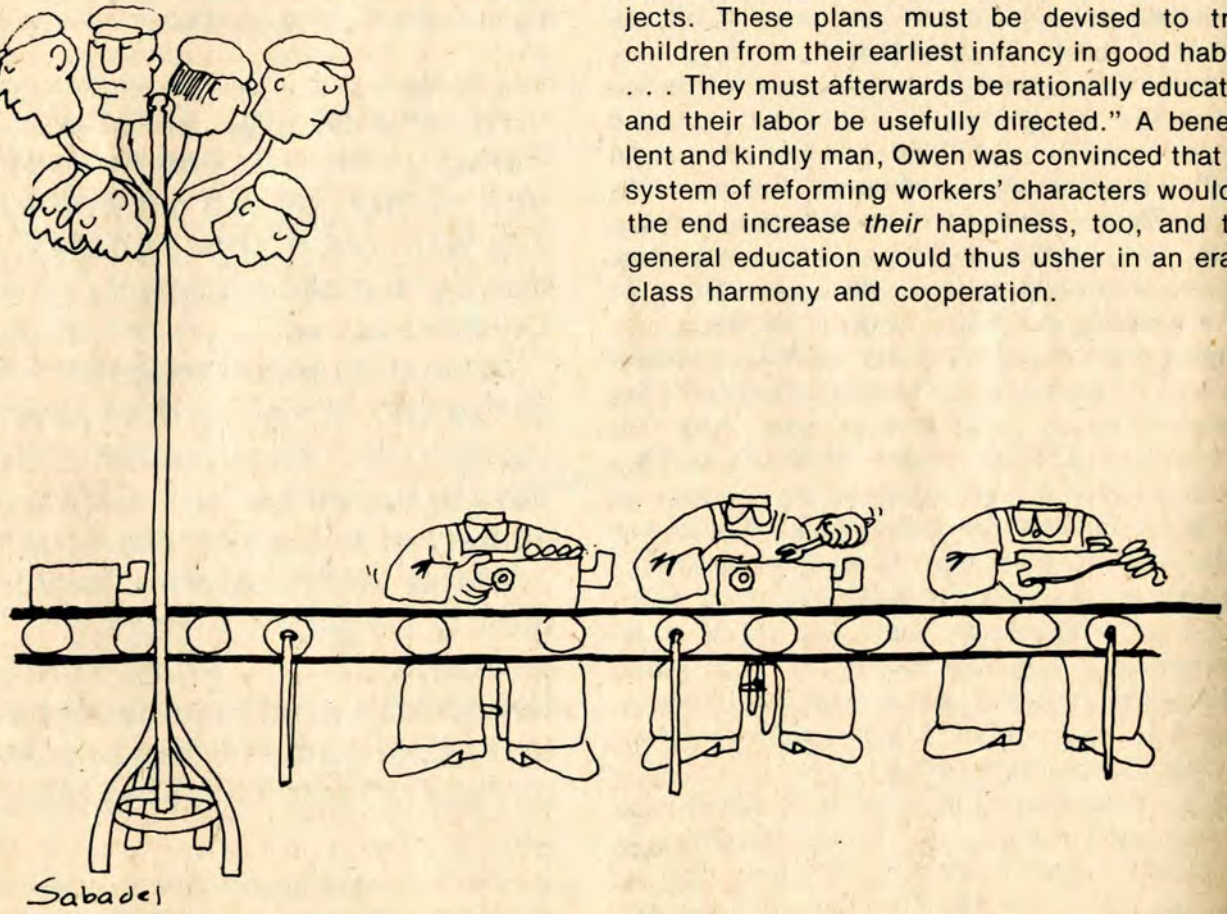
work much harder than we do, because they're so frightfully clever. I'm really awfully glad I'm a Beta, because I don't work so hard. And then we are much better than the Gammas and Deltas. Gammas are stupid. They all wear green, and Delta children wear khaki. Oh no, I *don't* want to play with Delta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

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

The Early School Reform Movement

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Horace Mann, 1841

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Efficiency and Vocationalism: the Modern System Emerges

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Managing the schools like factories was a means to other, still more vital ends. Labor discipline, as in the past, was one of the most important. As the president of the National Education Association said, good schools did more "to suppress the latent flame of communism than all other agencies combined." Good schools, agreed the federal Commissioner of Education, would contribute to class cooperation, combat the writings of Karl Marx and Henry George, and teach pupils "first of all to respect the rights of organized industry." Good schools, added the President of Harvard, would also teach the masses greater respect for the experts and specialists who were to direct public affairs. "The democracy must learn . . . in governmental affairs," he said, "to employ experts and abide by their decisions." Schools, he added, should "make the masses aware of their limitations." ("Alpha children are so frightfully clever, I'm awfully glad I'm a Beta.")

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Roger Babson, 1914

Capitalism Goes to College

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

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

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

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

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

—Henry Lee Higginson, benefactor of Harvard, 1886

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

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

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

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

Sometimes entire universities were built from scratch by impatient Robber Barons. Rockefeller took thirty-four million dollars and created the University of Chicago. Railroad mogul Leland Stanford, Jr. immortalized himself with Stanford University. Soon everybody wanted one. Carnegie built a university for himself, and Mellon, and old Vanderbilt, and Charles Pratt of Standard Oil, and Johns Hopkins.

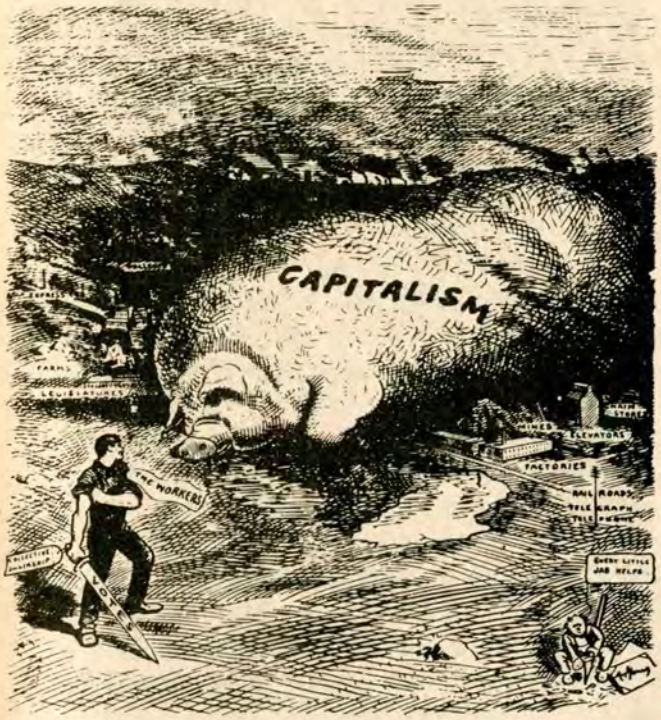
And what the capitalists didn't buy or build, they took over. Big businessmen, bankers, brokers, and philanthropists flocked to seats on the governing boards of colleges and universities until, as Charles and Mary Beard put it, by "the end of the century the roster of American trustees of higher learning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

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

Enter the Foundations

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

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



The general solution—one almost dictated by the swift development of the corporations—was for the Robber Barons to take a lower profile and let impersonal organizations with corps of public relations officers polish their images. John D. Rockefeller, an early pioneer in this field, hired Ivy Lee, a prototype of Huxley's Professors of Emotional Engineering, to work on his. Lee knew perfectly well what he was supposed to do. As he put it: "We know that Henry VIII by his obsequious deference to the forms of law was able to get the English people to believe in him so completely that he was able to do almost anything with them." Blunt imposition was on the way out; tactful indirection on the way in.

The specific solution for smoother dealings with higher education was what could be called the Foundation Strategy.

In 1902 John D. Rockefeller established the General Education Board, a private foundation with an endowment of forty-six million dollars. Three years later, in 1905, Andrew Carnegie ("the richest man in the world," according to J.P. Morgan) set up his own Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which would soon be worth over 150 million dollars. The purpose of these new organizations, in the words of the GEB director, was "to discourage unnecessary duplication and waste, and to encourage economy and efficiency" in higher education. More to the point, they aimed "to promote a comprehensive *system* of higher education in the United States." Mr. Rockefeller, said his aide, "desires the fund all the time to be working toward this great end."

Carnegie's organization provides a superb illustration of how the Foundation Strategy worked. The CFAT did not tell professors and administrators what to do. Rather, it generously offered vast sums of money to colleges to pay for professors' pensions, no strings attached. Of course, since there were so *many* colleges in the country, and since not even Carnegie could hope to endow *all* of them, some means had to be devised to select the most "worthy." The CFAT thus set us some standards—that is, defined what it considered to be the best kind of institution—and announced that only colleges and universities meeting those standards would be eligible for Carnegie's largesse.

A proper college, to the CFAT, had to have at least a $200,000 endowment (later raised to $500,000)—forcing many institutions to greater dependence upon private concentrations of wealth. A proper college also had to have strict entrance requirements ("Carnegie units," as they were in time known)—which meant, in turn, wholesale changes in high school curricula throughout the country. A proper college was

"We know that Henry VIII by his obsequious deference to the forms of law was able to get the English people to believe in him so completely that he was able to do almost anything with them."

—Ivy Lee, spokesman for John D. Rockefeller, 1915

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Harold Laski, after a stay at Harvard

The Era of the Multiversity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the top of the list is daily indoctrination in the individualistic, competitive morality of "free enterprise" capitalism. Each student is on her or his own in a dog-eat-dog, sink-or-swim competition for recognition, grades, and even admission to courses. To survive is to become self-reliant, cynical, combative, and ready, when necessary, even to cheat or cohnive against friends in the quest for success and personal advantage. Those who drop out of the running are stigmatized as weak, ineffectual, doomed to failure. The notion of learning as a collective enterprise has little if any support. Indeed, one learns that learning is *work*—and like all work in capitalist society something to be avoided, evaded, and escaped from as soon as possible.

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

—Frank Abrams, ex-head of GM

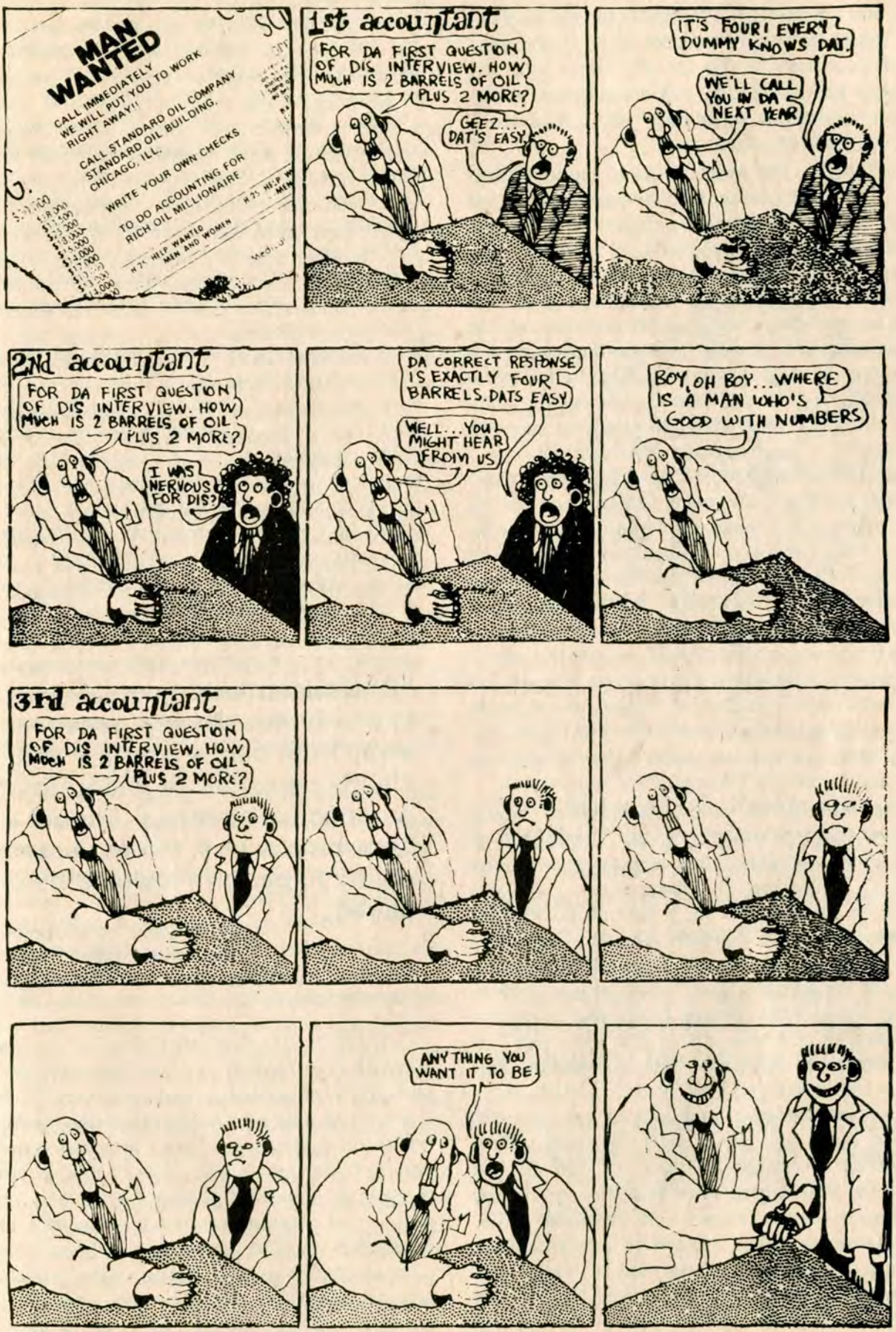
Along with indoctrination in competitive individualism goes specialization. Knowledge is broken into pieces—sociology here, economics there. Nobody deals with whole problems anymore, and that is an important preparation for a world in which no worker ever produces a whole product. Anyone who defies this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

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

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

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

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


MAN WANTED
CALL IMMEDIATELY WE WILL PUT YOU TO WORK RIGHT AWAY!!
CALL STANDARD OIL COMPANY STANDARD OIL BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL.
WRITE YOUR OWN CHECKS
TO DO ACCOUNTING FOR RICH OIL MILLIONAIRE
H 25 HELP WANTED MEN AND WOMEN
1st accountant
FOR DA FIRST QUESTION OF DIS INTERVIEW. HOW MUCH IS 2 BARRELS OF OIL PLUS 2 MORE?
GEEZ... DAT'S EASY
IT'S FOUR! EVERY DUMMY KNOWS DAT.
WE'LL CALL YOU IN DA NEXT YEAR
2nd accountant
FOR DA FIRST QUESTION OF DIS INTERVIEW. HOW MUCH IS 2 BARRELS OF OIL PLUS 2 MORE?
I WAS NERVOUS FOR DIS?
DA CORRECT RESPONSE IS EXACTLY FOUR BARRELS. DATS EASY
WELL... YOU MIGHT HEAR FROM US
BOY, OH BOY... WHERE IS A MAN WHO'S GOOD WITH NUMBERS
3rd accountant
FOR DA FIRST QUESTION OF DIS INTERVIEW. HOW MUCH IS 2 BARRELS OF OIL PLUS 2 MORE?
ANY THING YOU WANT IT TO BE.

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

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

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

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

These "extensions of high school" are intended to serve black and white working class youth, giving them technical and industrial training, *but little else*. Training is kept specific—graduates have only a narrow range of occupational skills, and will thus be locked into one occupational slot. They are given only the scantiest of liberal arts coursework, usually in a standardized high school fashion, and, ideally, they get absolutely no critical awareness about the nature of the economy and society they will soon be entering. The extra-curricular activities and general cultural life so important a part of the elite campus world are generally absent, and, as most working class students must work to support themselves, they would have little time for such amenities anyway. Quasi-parental controls and counseling aimed at developing "realistic job expectations" complete the picture. Such an education will almost certainly guarantee that working class students remain in the working class despite the possession of a "college education."

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

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

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

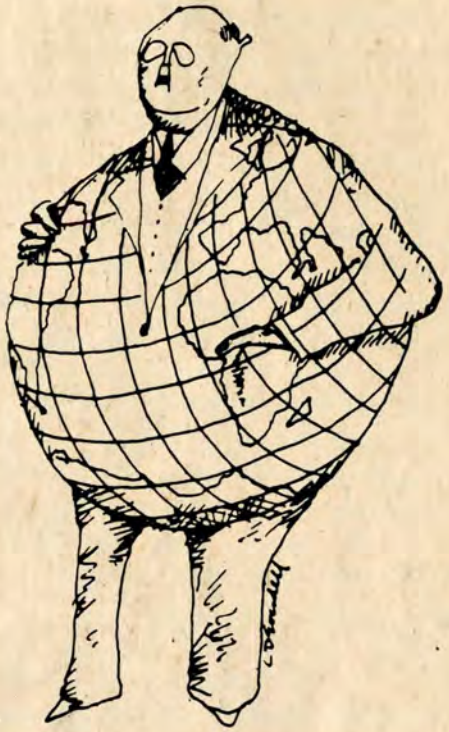
COOLING OUT THE UNEMPLOYED: Capitalism has also looked to higher education to absorb, even temporarily, large numbers of young women and men who might otherwise have entered the job market immediately after high school—only to find no jobs. The roots of this go back to the end of the Second World War.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

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

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

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

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



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

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

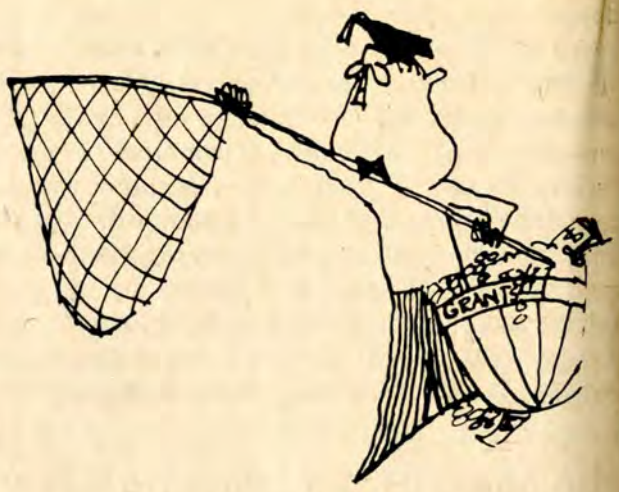
al offices of such operations as the Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, First National City, Mobil Oil, and the Pentagon. The campuses not only were not supplying such personnel, they resisted doing so.

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

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

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

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



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

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

demonstrate their validity?"

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

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

—Council for Financial Aid to Education, 1956

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

The very next year, the big foundations established a super-foundation called the Council for Financial Aid to Education (CFAE). CFAE's board consisted of sixteen leading capitalists and twelve university presidents. The top leadership included Abrams, Alfred Sloan (ex-Chairman of the Board of General Motors), and Irving S. Olds (former Chairman of the Board of U.S. Steel). The CFAE promptly began funneling corporate money into colleges and universities. Its leaders admitted, moreover, that altruism was the farthest thing from their minds: "Company contributions have now been tested over a long enough span of time to be proved a sound investment. They are *not* philanthropy. Guided by reason and a clear purpose, they *are* an aspect of good management in the conduct of business." Last year the corporate sector poured some $400 million into higher education in the interests of business.

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

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

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

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

Contradictions and Resistances

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

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

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

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

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

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

Big Brother Speaks:

(from the Carnegie Commission's FINAL REPORT)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Capitalism and CUNY

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

The First Hundred Years

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—"The Staff," Brooklyn College, October 1936

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

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

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

cuously silent during the Rapp-Coudert hearings and subsequent purges. The LC's leaders—Harry Levy, Mina Rees, and Ruth Weintraub—were all anti-communist. Many faculty, in fact, fled the College Teachers Union during the purges for the relative security of the LC. At this time Belle Zeller resigned as president of the Brooklyn College CTU chapter, moved to the LC, and shortly became its president.

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

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

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

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

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

Toward a University, 1945-1960

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

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

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

> The increased preparation demanded of those who are to go into directive positions in industry and commerce, the increased need for technological workers, the increasing enrollment in all types of general and vocational secondary schools, the upward reach for an ampler social and spiritual life—these are the forces that will make our present inadequate facilities utterly incapable of meeting the increasing demand for post-high school education.

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

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

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

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

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

> Every thoughtful citizen recognizes the fact that a more complex world requires more and better education. Social and economic change is occurring at an accelerated tempo. Improved means of transportation and communication increase contacts among far-flung peoples.
>
> The job or profession of today requires many abilities in human relations as well as technical skills. Conflict between world powers and ideologies takes place on Main Street as well as on the international scene.
>
> Men and women must be able to do more than just earn a living. They must carry their share of the responsibility for our democratic leadership at home and abroad.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Buell G. Gallagher, former president of CCNY, 1974

of expansion and reorganization.

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

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

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

At the same time, not surprisingly, concerted

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

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

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

The Birth of the University, 1958-1961

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rockefeller was stopped. Under enormous pressure from the Wagner forces, the legislature agreed to take no action on either Heald's recommendation to impose uniform tuition on the state's public universities and colleges or on his proposal to give the state representation on the BHE. In the spring of 1961 it then passed legislation creating CUNY and providing funds for one-half of the debt service on CUNY's capital construction program. Upon signing this legislation, moreover, the Governor vowed not to make the tuition issue a barrier to further state aid to CUNY, but neither side was under any illusions that the conflict had been settled.

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

> During the first half of the twentieth century our American universities have been confronted with a grave and fundamental menace, global in nature, and never before encountered, contemplated, or adequately comprehended. It is, namely, the threat to our national security, the threat to our individual freedoms and to our way of life.
>
> In this era of national peril we must call upon all institutions of higher learning to further develop within their students traits of leadership that will enable the American people to answer the momentous challenges that face us . . . . The universities of tomorrow must provide the laboratories for liberty, learning, and leadership.

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

The Multiversity Emerges: 1961-1969

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

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

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

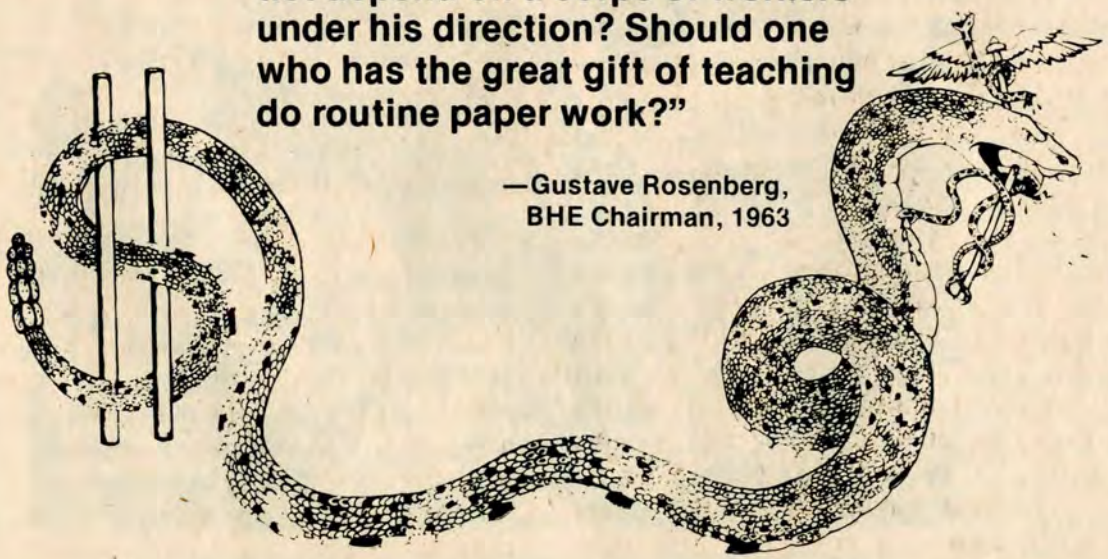
Bowker was as good as his word. The University continued to expand, added the Graduate Division (1962), York College (1966), John Jay College (1966), Richmond College (1966), a mass of new top-level administrators at the Central Office—and two new community colleges, Kingsborough and Borough of Manhattan (both 1966). As BHE Chairman Porter R. Chandler reported to Rockefeller and the legislature, the new community colleges were particularly notable because, strategically located in the city's ghettoes, they would give local residents "personal upgrading in market scarce job skills."

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

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

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

—Gustave Rosenberg, BHE Chairman, 1963



area."

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

Nor do the Chandlers spell out some of the other less-than-noble reasons for their sudden concern with expanding working-class education in areas like "health services" (a term usually reserved for manual-technical work; they are not training many *doctors* in the ghettoes.) They do not dwell on the collapse of the American "fee for-service" medical system. They do not explain that American hospitals are now on the verge of total bankruptcy, that millions of working and middle class Americans cannot afford to be sick (in marked contrast to the free health care available to British citizens), that this is due in large measure to the desires of the giant insurance companies and AMA elite to perpetuate their own profits, that these groups are struggling against the introduction of a truly socialized medicine, that they prefer to stave off disaster to profit-oriented medicine by staffing hospitals with the cheapest possible labor force, and that this has something to do with their sudden concern with "expanding educational opportunity" for ghetto residents.

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

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

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

"I challenge the speaker's charge that we have one health care system for the rich and another for the poor. To us, there are no poor!"

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

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

—Chancellor Bowker, 1964

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

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

CUNY, in short, allowed its priorities to be dictated from without. In this, of course, it was not unique. Clark Kerr, in his *Uses of the University* (1963), observed that most campuses were moving ahead vigorously, but that their "directions have not been set as much by the university's visions of its destiny as by the external environment, including the federal government, the foundations, the surrounding and sometimes engulfing industry." Robert Paul Wolff, toward the end of the decade, put his finger on the consequences of such a system. American universities had forgotten—in their rush to be of service to "society"—to distinguish between true *social or human needs* ("a want of something material or social, whose presence would contribute to physical and emotional health, to the full and unalienated development of human power—in a word, to true happiness"), and *effective or market demand*. The latter meant simply the existence in a market economy of buyers who have money in hand and are prepared to spend it for a particular service or item. Many human needs under capitalism simply do not get expressed as market demands; most people don't have the money to compete with the Rockefellers. So in the end, Wolff noted, the more appropriate title for Kerr's book would have been *University for Hire!*.

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

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

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

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

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

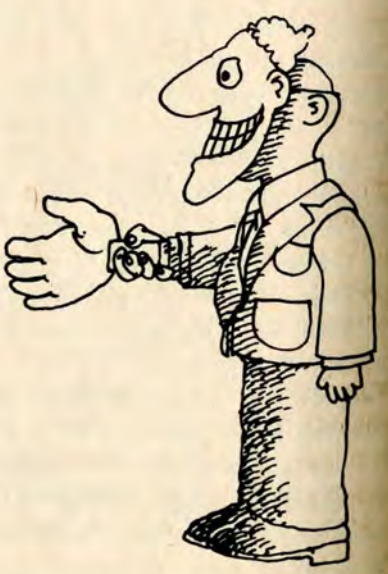
Despite earlier promises, Rockefeller was thus in a position to drive a hard bargain: if CUNY wanted great sums of money from the state, it should expect to give the state at least a proportionate voice in its affairs, and it should also expect to do the fiscally responsible thing and charge tuition.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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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