

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

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

The Battle for Open Admissions

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

Blue collar work that did not require advanced

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

—G. Stanley Hall,
"Educational Problems," 1911

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

That was precisely the direction that communi-

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

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



The Era of Open Admissions, 1969-1974

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

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

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

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

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

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

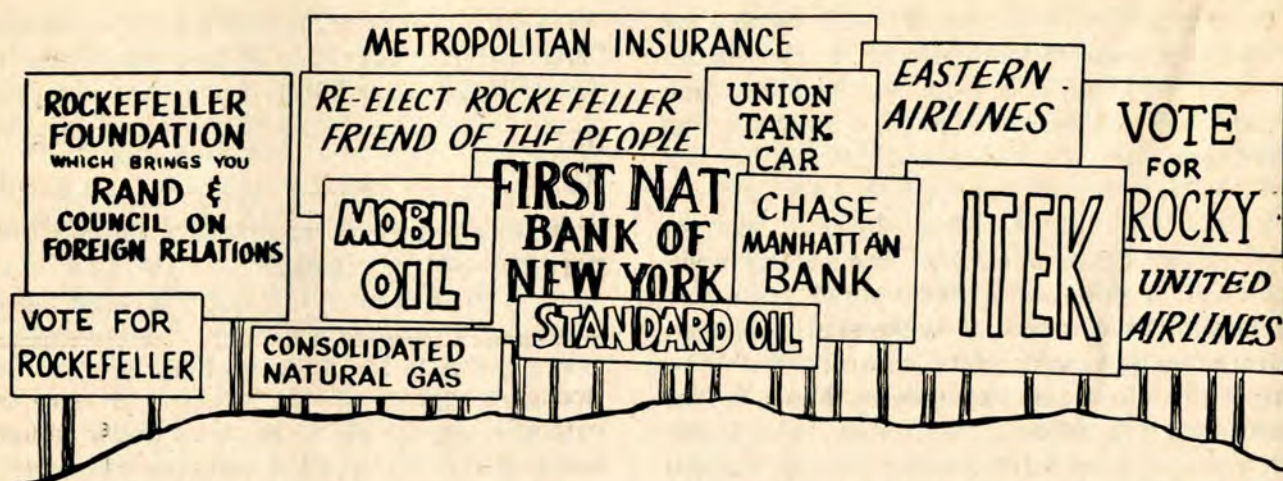
By February 1972 the Hurd Commission had finished its work. Its report was a disappointment to the Governor, however, for the Commission had failed to take a firm stand against CUNY's no-tuition policy. In April the Governor got more bad news with publication of the Wagner Commission's report.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—CUNY Master Plan, 1972

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

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

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

Governance, Power, and Control

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

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

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

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

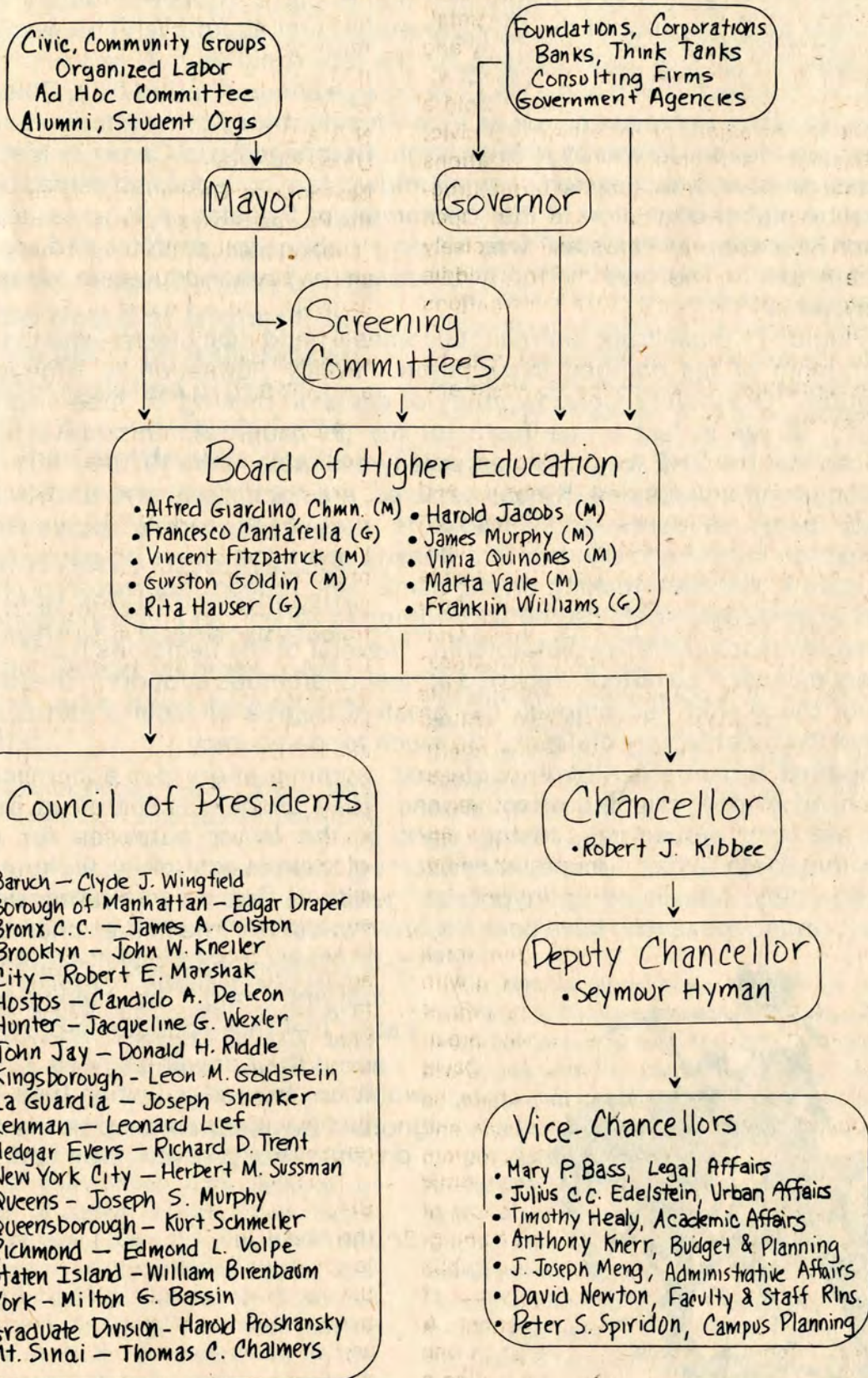
Hauser, Williams, and Cantarella—the three named by Rockefeller—could easily blend in with the corporate bigwigs who sit on the boards of major private universities. Cantarella is vice-president and director of public affairs for David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, where he handles governmental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

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

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

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

THE HEAVIES



CHANCELLOR KIBBEE: RUNNING THE TRAINS ON TIME

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

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

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

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



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

Sound familiar?

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

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

—BHE Chairman Luis Quero-Chiesa, 1973

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

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

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

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

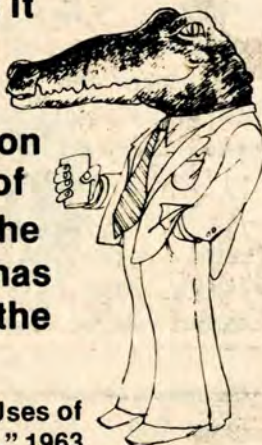
The Beame panel was headed by Abraham Feinberg, a banker and business executive with extensive personal and financial connections to the Mayor and the Democratic party. Feinberg's colleagues included Porter R. Chandler, partner in one of New York's top law firms, former chairman of the BHE, and an outspoken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

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

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

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

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



working and middle-classes.

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

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

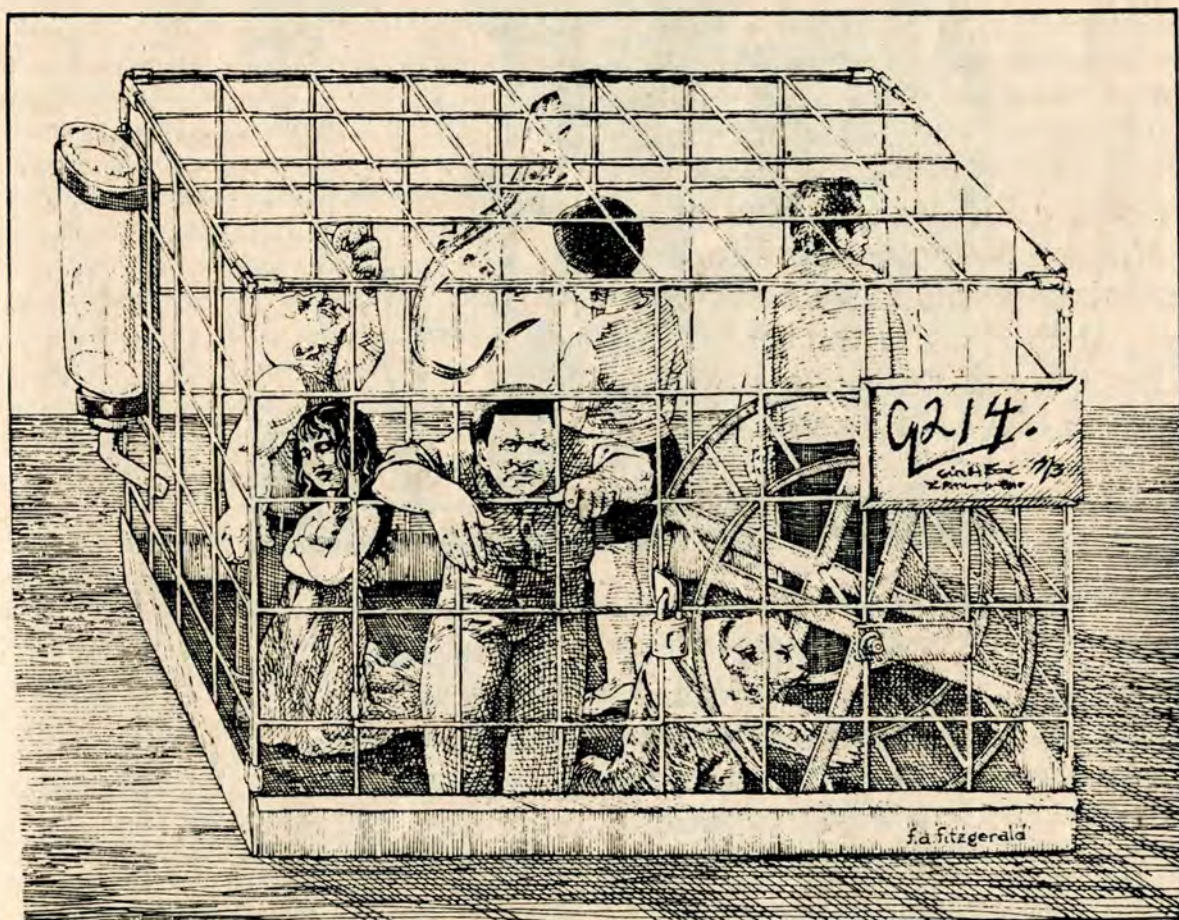
Unofficially, the COP and its side of the hierarchy are by far the weaker of the two. Since the creation of the University in 1961, the Central Office has absorbed more and more responsibility in such vital areas as finance, collective bargaining, governmental relations, construction, and admissions.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

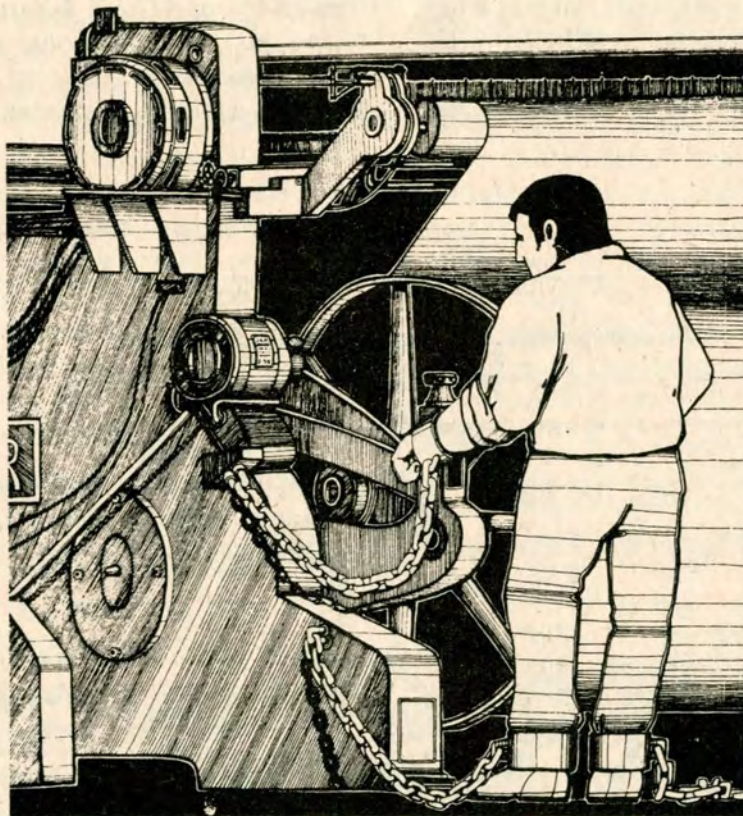
power of both students and faculty has also declined sharply, since their access to the Central Office is even more restricted than their access to the administrations of the individual campuses. Creation of the Faculty Senate and Student Senate did not materially improve the situation, since both are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

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

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

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





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

4. What Next?

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

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

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

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

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

The Eightfold Path to the Knowledge Factory

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

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

Let us examine each of these tactics in turn.

1. ASSUMPTION OF SYSTEM-WIDE CONTROL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

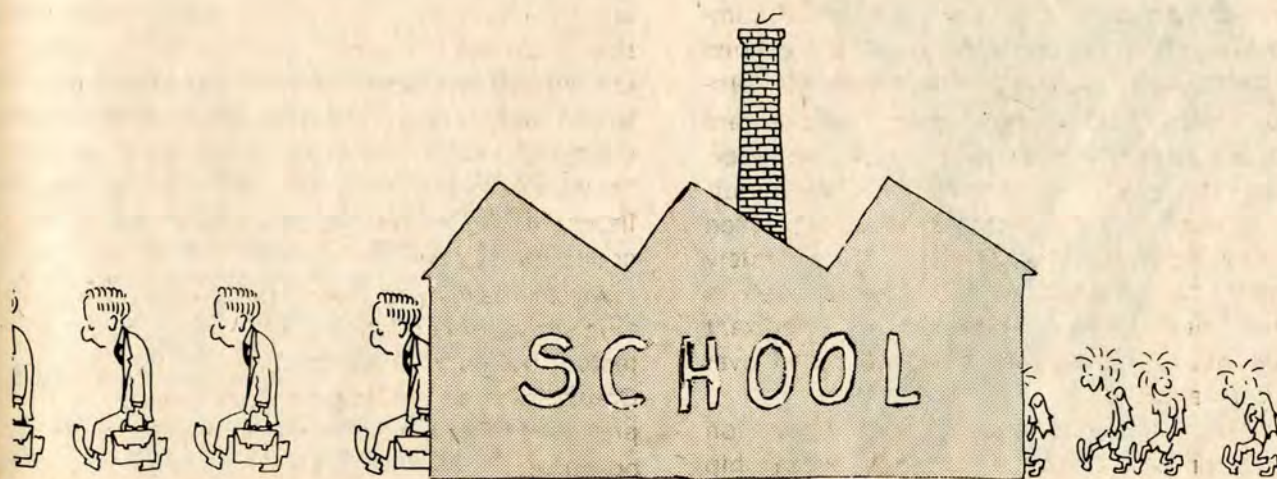
One disturbing example of the power and determination of those who are moving to have the state gather educational power unto itself concerns the recent battle for control of CUNY's community colleges. Though La Guardia, Manhattan, and the rest are under *de facto* BHE control, they are in fact *legally*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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

societal problems and needs."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the need to make tracking more

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

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

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

The second flaw in the current tracking system

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

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

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

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

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



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

—CED, 1973

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—BHE member Rita Hauser, 1974

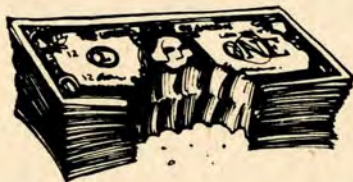
would come up with a "budget crisis." Financial aid, and thus access to college, could easily be pegged to shifting priorities of business, not social needs. And there would be no effective appeal. In 1972, for instance, just after he had again proposed instituting tuition at CUNY, Nelson Rockefeller was asked at a news conference whether or not he would guarantee sufficient scholar incentive money to needy CUNY students to offset his proposed tuition. He would certainly try, he said. One newsperson then pointed out that the state had eliminated 5000 scholarships that very year, and asked Rockefeller to account for that. "Financial reasons," the millionaire said curtly.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indeed 80th Street is far ahead of the colleges,

...but, my dear boy, don't you realise that we are all eating the same cake...



...it's just my unenviable job: to cut it up into slices, and share it out..



...amortisation.. depreciation, re-investment - but it's all for you, really!



...you may think it unfair that big slices are swallowed up by interest repayments...



...every time I cut a slice...



...I make more crumbs!

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

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

—Chancellor Bowker, 1969

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



"We're pleased to announce these improvements. To pay for them, we're eliminating 4,000 full-time positions and changing the way part-time salary is computed."

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

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

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

—Education Commission
of the States, 1974

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

Exxon Education Foundation.

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



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

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

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

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

(Ah, Efficiency)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

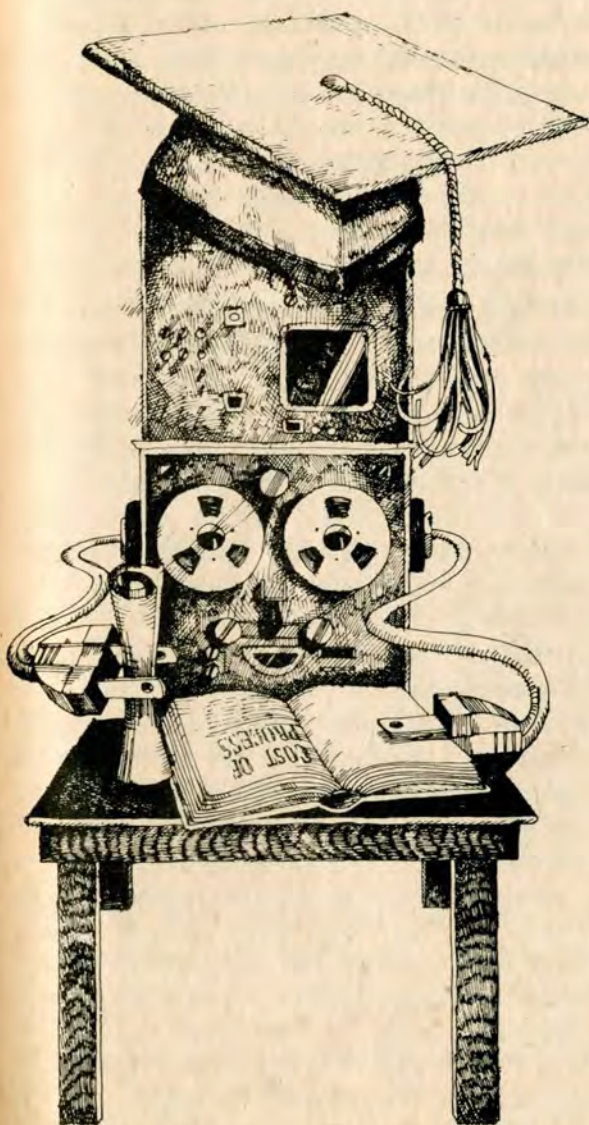
Another classic of this genre is the AED's infamous *319 Ways Colleges and Universities are Meeting the Financial Pinch*. This report was sent to presidents, financial vice-presidents, and business managers of most universities in the country—at whose expense we are not sure—and its 319 nostrums include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

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

And so it goes.

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

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



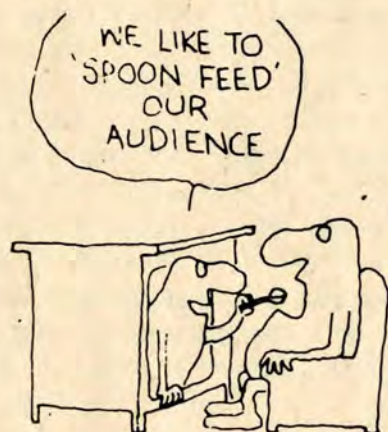
Consider these straws in the wind now blowing through the nation's colleges and universities:

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

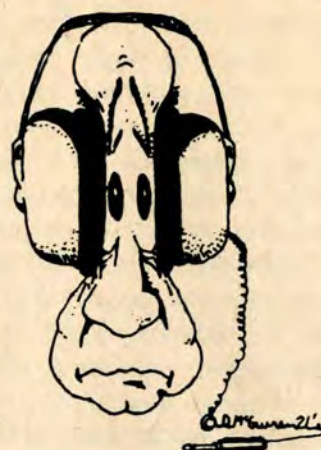
Techteachers argue that, with machines, students may set their own pace, get immediate feedback, have a correct response reinforced, and be freed from faculty tyranny. This sounds good in theory and has some measure of truth in practice. But "student-centered learning" in fact usually *isolates* the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

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

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

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

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



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

—CED, 1973

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

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

A. That was the key word.

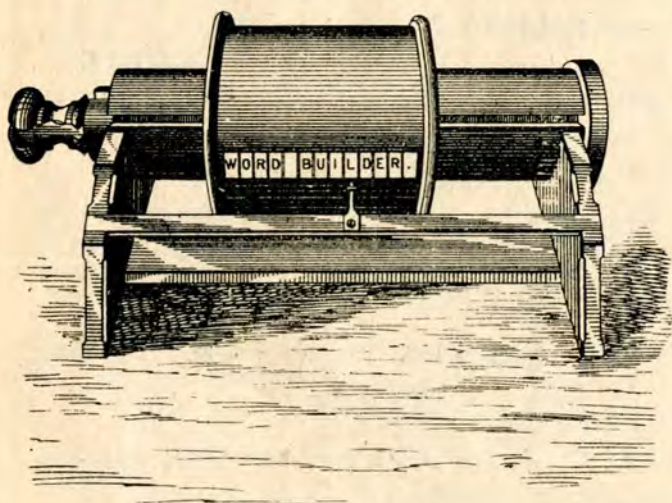
Q. "Encourage" the departments [the questioner suggested].

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Profits Scoreboard

(Some of Major Corporations Reporting Yesterday)

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

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

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

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

launched.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

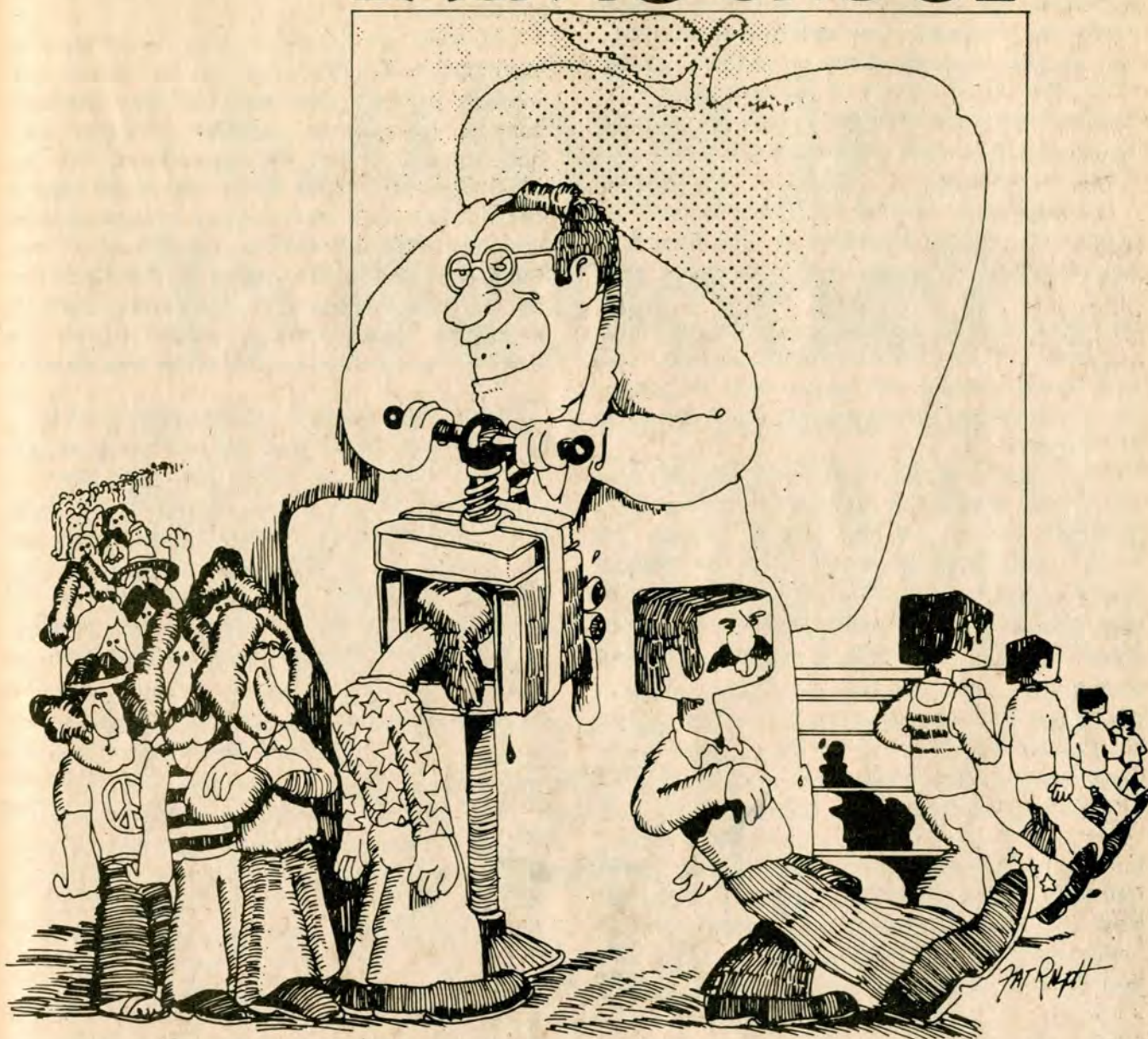
In October 1973, while the Powell Memorandum was still rousing red-blooded businessmen (or rather *blue*-blooded businessmen) for a get-tough campaign against the campuses, the hard-liners got another boost from David Packard, chairman of the Hewlett-Packard Company and former Deputy Secretary of Defense.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

Packard's outburst—the right cross after Pow-

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

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

BACK TO SKOOL



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOLUTION



5. What Is To Be Done?

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

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

The Faculty Union

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

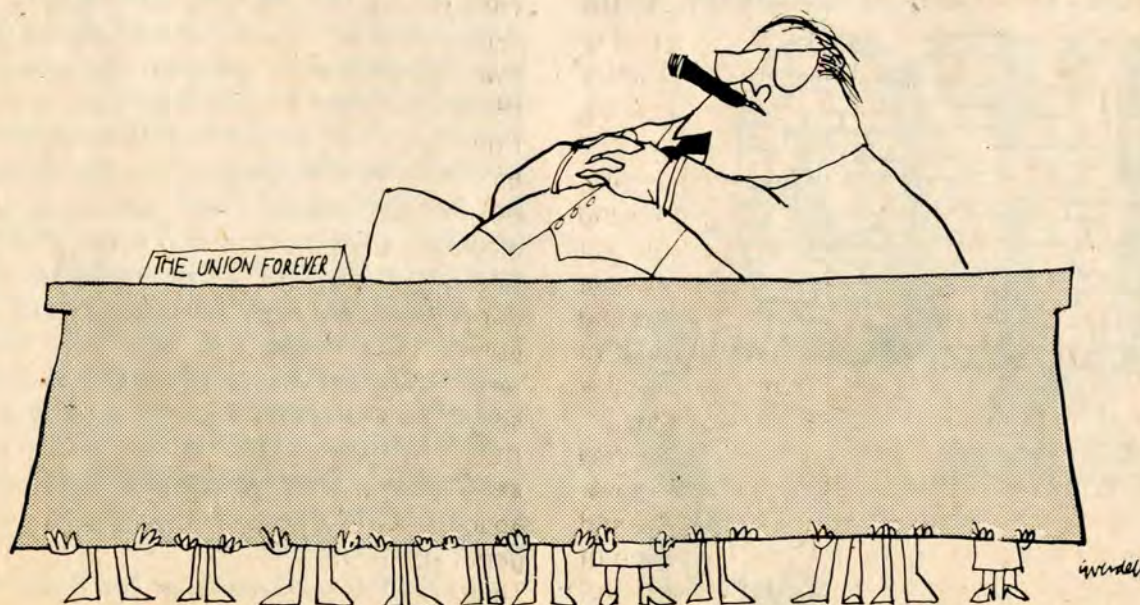
Some adjuncts, chief victims of current union policy, have been protesting within the union. William Leicht, PSC Vice-President for Part-Time Personnel, fought the last contract on the grounds that it discriminated on salary and fringe

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

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

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

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



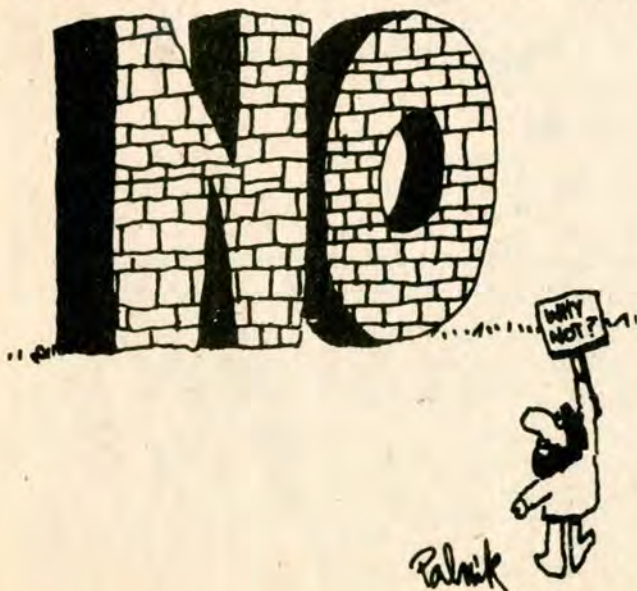
strategies suggest an adherence to incrementalist policies that will never get to the roots of the problems we face at CUNY. The Adjuncts face enormous difficulties in organizing and have tied themselves up in legalistic and formalistic debates on organizational structure. The Labor Caucus tends to accept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

Grass-Roots and Ad Hoc Groups

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

At Lehman, a Committee for Student Rights

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

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

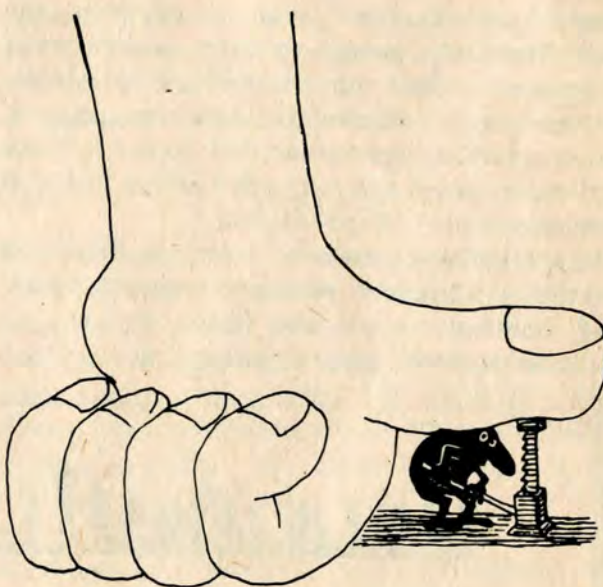
At Queens, the college faculty overwhelmingly resolved to have the college-wide P&B Committee review the cases of nine faculty members to whom the Committee had denied tenure, a clear criticism of its action. The faculty also asked for the abolition of the Committee of Six, a small group of department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

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

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

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

—David Smith, "Who Rules the University," 1974



Bulletin: Brooklyn College

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

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

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

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

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



Getting It Together:



Some Suggestions

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

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

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

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

ANALYSIS

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



ACTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Publish pamphlets like this one.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Appendices

**MASTERMINDS &
MASTERPLANNERS**

**GOING FARTHER:
SOME SUGGESTED READING**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Masterminds & Masterplanners

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

☐ Howard R. Bowen

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

☐ McGeorge Bundy

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

☐ Earl F. Cheit

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

☐ Francis Keppel

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

☐ Clark Kerr

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

☐ Alexander M. Mood

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

☐ **Alan Pifer**

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

☐ **Academy for Educational Development, Inc.**

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

☐ **Carnegie Commission on Higher Education**

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

☐ **Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education**

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

☐ **Citizens Budget Commission**

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

☐ **The City Club**

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

☐ **Commission on Academic Personnel Practices**

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

☐ **Committee for Economic Development**

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

☐ **Educational Commission of the States**

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

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

☐ **The Group for Human Development in Higher Education**

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

☐ **HEPS, CAMPUS, CAUSE, TOTAL, SEARCH**

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

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

☐ **Institute for Research and Development in Occupational Education at CUNY**

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

☐ **International Council on the Future of the University**

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

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

☐ **The National Center for Higher Education Management Systems**

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

☐ **National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education**

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

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

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

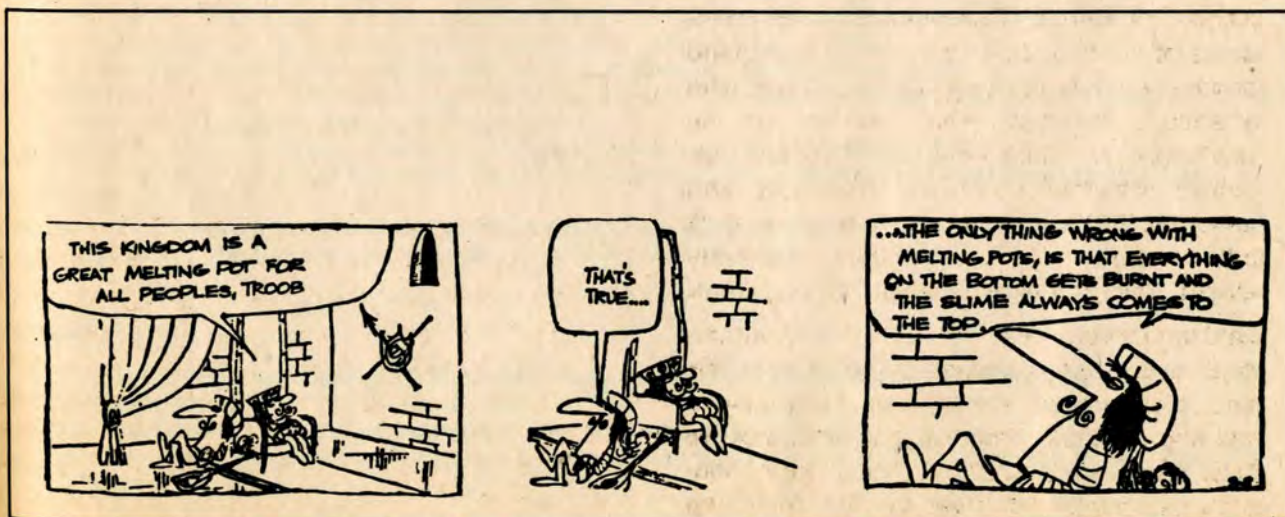
A Chicago-based consulting firm, one of a growing number. Their reports generally justify gross budget reductions on the grounds, e.g., that "significant staff reduction is possible at most schools without touching the basic excellence of the institution." . . . perhaps best known for their answer to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

☐ **Society for College and University Planning**

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

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

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



Going Farther: Some Suggested Reading

FOR MORE ON HIGHER EDUCATION:

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

SOME INTRODUCTIONS TO HOW THE SYSTEM REALLY WORKS:

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

Andrew Levison. **The Working Class Majority.** New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1974.

G. William Domhoff. **Who Rules America?** New York: Prentice Hall, 1967.

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Richard C. Edwards, Michael Reich and Thomas E. Weisskopf, eds. **The Capitalist System.** Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972.

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

FOR STILL DEEPER DIGGING:

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 Mao Tse-tung. **Selected Readings.** Peking: Foreign Languages, 1971.
 Nikolai Bukharin and E. Preobazhensky. **The ABC of Communism.** Baltimore: Penguin, 1969.
 Trotsky. **History of the Russian Revolution.** Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957.

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

The Wall Street Journal is a splendid source of information on what's really going on as it is addressed to the ruling class itself and tells it like it is far more than does the New York Times. The Daily News, though written in straightforward English, obscures the truth even more, precisely because it is aimed at working people. Other capitalist organs like Fortune, Barron's, and Forbes are well worth examining.

Socialist journals, weeklies, and papers that help make sense out of current events include: Monthly Review, Liberation, City Star, UR (University Review), and The Guardian. Special mention should be made of the columns by Nicholas Von Hoffman in the New York Post—they are gems of penetrating analysis, written in punchy and often funny language.

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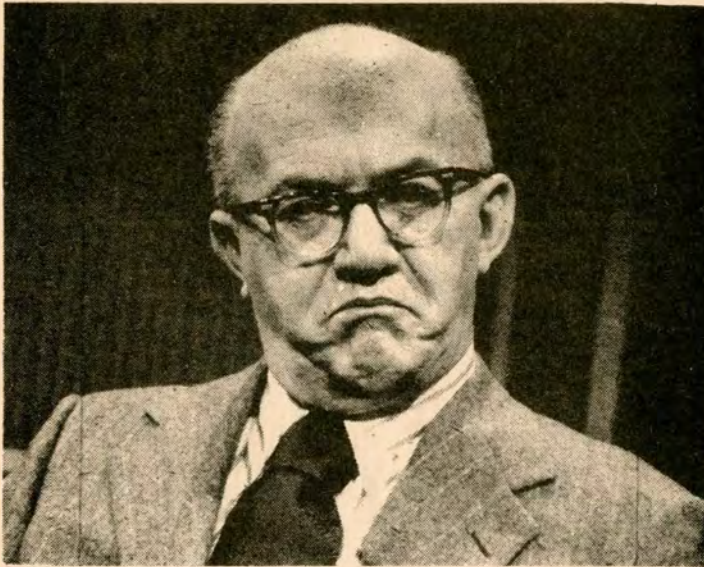
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In addition to these books, articles, and pamphlets, Newtniks ransacked past and present issues of a variety of newspapers and magazines. The most useful, in addition to the New York Times, are the Chronicle of Higher Education and Change Magazine (both of which have bad politics but useful information), American Teacher (the AFT paper, much of which is useless except for the outstanding column produced by Robert M. Nielsen), the PSC Clarion, the CUNY Courier, The Voice (a new journal of the Student Senate), and the University Faculty Senate Newsletter. Newt also reads all of the campus newspapers.

The City University itself published many of our sources. We pored over the Minutes and Proceedings of the BHE for decades past (until recently they were an invaluable source for the Oral Report of the Chancellor, and—under Bowker—gold mines of revealing information). We also perused back files of the Reports to the Mayor by the Chairman of the Board of Higher Education, the various Master Plans, the Chancellor's Budget Requests, Reports of the Construction Fund, special organs like Federal Notes: News from the CUNY Office of Federal Relations, local organs like the Faculty/Staff Newsletter of Queens College, and, of course, the various colleges' catalogs. Many of these materials may be found at the City College Archives or at the central City University Archives. The Office of University Relations is a good place to begin gathering information.



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