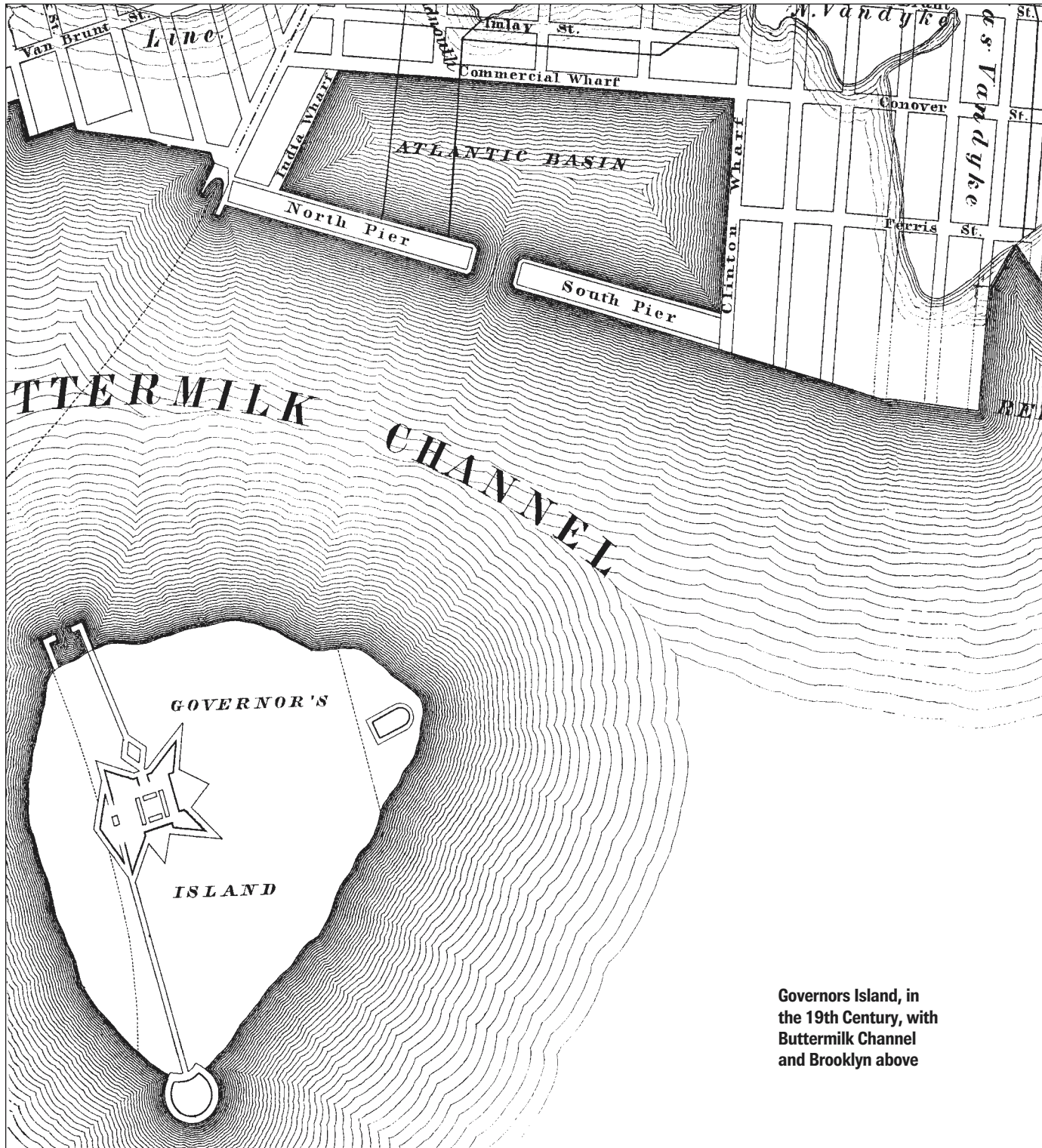


Clarion

NEWSPAPER OF THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF CONGRESS / CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK



MAY 2002



Governors Island, in the 19th Century, with Buttermilk Channel and Brooklyn above

FROM CASINOS TO CUNY

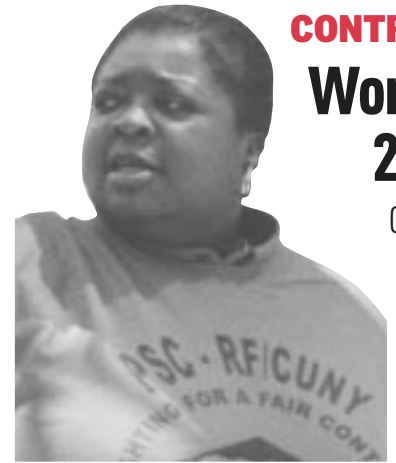
GOVERNORS ISLAND

Historic Governors Island will soon be home to a new CUNY campus. The former Coast Guard base has classrooms, housing, sports facilities and a national monument. But there are more questions than answers about the island's future use. And plans to move public high schools into existing CUNY space in exchange for CUNY's new island space are moving forward. Some CUNY faculty and staff are concerned that they're not being consulted about the implications of opening up to 15 new high schools.

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CONTRACTS

Working 24/7?



Organizing heats up as RF and EOC talks continue.

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CLASS SIZE

100 or even 200 students – and no TA

A PSC investigation finds classes with 150 to 200 students or more, taught by adjuncts with no TAs. Are working conditions and learning suffering?

PAGE 5



STATE BUDGET

PSC, others rally for TAP, CUNY funds

As the state budget gets finalized, the PSC and others take to the streets to tell lawmakers not to cut CUNY again.

PAGE 5



DEBATE

War, peace, labor and CUNY

What is labor's role during war-time? PSC members sound off on whether or not the PSC should take a position on the war and if so, what.

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PSC backs AFT at NYU

The PSC has endorsed the AFT/NYSUT campaign for adjunct faculty for union representation at NYU and is encouraging all PSC members who teach as adjunct faculty at NYU to vote for AFT/NYSUT.

In March, the AFT/NYSUT and the UAW both filed petitions to represent the adjuncts at NYU. The PSC is supporting the AFT not only because they are our affiliate but also because they have negotiated collective bargaining agreements that represent more than 50,000 adjuncts nationwide.

The AFT has a proven track record of increasing wages and benefits and improving teaching conditions for adjunct faculty. The UAW does not currently represent any adjuncts.

The 2,700 adjuncts at NYU would have an additional benefit to choosing the AFT: being in the same union as the PSC will make it easier to pool our resources to influence the nature of part-time labor within higher education across NYC.

Ballots were mailed out on May 17th and are due back by June 4th. For more information, contact the AFT/NYSUT office at (646) 602-1494 or call Penny Lewis at the PSC.

PSC members, students boycott cafeteria

By JIM PERLSTEIN
BMCC

The PSC staged a boycott of the Graduate Center Cafeteria May 2-3 to show solidarity with restaurant workers who face abusive management and the lack of a contract. The GC food service franchise is run by Restaurant Associates, Inc., whose 800 unionized employees in the metro area have been working without a contract since February. On April 20, workers at the Graduate Center Cafeteria joined fellow members of HERE Local 100 in voting overwhelmingly to authorize job actions up to and including a strike.

The PSC boycott resulted in the Graduate Center Cafeteria taking in only \$1,800 over the two days, compared to a normal day of \$4,000-\$5,000, according to restaurant workers.

One of the cafeteria workers, Jesus Garcia, lives in Queens with his wife and five kids. In twelve years at the Grad Center, Jesus has worked his way from dishwasher to busboy to salad maker to line worker to pizza maker to party caterer. Name the task and he can do it. Yet he earns just \$9.75 an hour after twelve years on the job. So to make ends meet, after Jesus puts in his five days at the Grad Center, he works weekends at

Solidarity at the Graduate Center

a Times Square eatery. But Times Square redevelopment recently closed that place, so now he's looking for a new second job. "Vacations?" he says. "Yeah, once in a while we take a blanket to the park."

Restaurant Associates has threatened Local 100 members with loss of health benefits if it doesn't get its way in negotiations, and the union has filed Unfair Labor Practice claims against Restaurant Associates with the city labor board for harassment, intimidation and illegal firing of workers.

Restaurant Associates operates food services all over the New York area: at U.S. Trust, Goldman Sachs, the Metropolitan Opera, Rockefeller Center and the Museum of Natural History. They run Au Bon Pain at JFK and they hold NYC's Krispy Kreme franchise. RA has a record of fighting hard against union representation for its workers.

At the bargaining table in New York, Restaurant Associates has taken a hard line. It has threatened to cut off employee health benefits in the absence of an agreement, and for raises has offered nothing in the first

year and ten cents an hour each of the next two. Their health and pension offers are similarly inadequate, according to the union. Faced with an antagonistic employer, HERE sees the unionization of all Restau-



rant Associates shops in the city as the key to securing a decent contract for its overwhelmingly immigrant workforce. And so a central contract demand is "card check neutrality."

Card check neutrality means that the employer agrees to recognize the union and enter collective bargaining once a majority of the work-

ers at a particular shop sign cards asking to join the union. This process, which is standard in Canada, is an alternative to requesting a government-supervised election. Under current US labor law, management has learned how to drag out the election process long enough to fire key activists and organizers, and intimidate the rest of the work-

force through threats, delivered at closed-door meetings. Illegal tactics are punished by mild fines, and can be cheaper than paying a decent wage. As Local 100 President Bill Granfield puts it, "In the workplace, real democracy means the freedom to participate in the union. Card check neutrality means management respect for worker choices without intimidation or harassment."

Local 100 currently represents 800 Restaurant Associates employees, roughly one-third of its workforce in the metro NYC area, and has organizing campaigns underway at shops employing an additional 200. Members at the Graduate Center say they support card check neutrality as a key noneconomic demand, viewing it as crucial to the long-term viability of their union.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR | WRITE TO: CLARION/PSC, 25 W. 43RD STREET, FIFTH FLOOR, NEW YORK, NY 10036. E-MAIL: PHOGNESS@PSCMAIL.ORG. FAX: 212-302-7815.

A creative and comprehensive contract

● It has been my privilege and pleasure to serve as John Jay Chapter Chair for the past 29 years. This is the eleventh contract settlement I have been a party to, and in my opinion it is the most creative and comprehensive in maximizing the 9% economic package to which we were constrained. It addresses virtually every issue that has needed improvement, and sets the stage for dealing with remaining issues in future contracts. Our union leadership accomplished a most remarkable agreement under the most adverse conditions.

—Haig Bohigian
John Jay

Reds and roses

● Tucked away in the middle of Steven Leberstein's reminiscence about the late Moe Foner is the statement, "Moe himself was a member of the Communist Party..." I have never been able to understand how activists of that period reconciled their social commitment with membership in an organization subservient to the rule of the Soviet

Union when that country had completed a peace treaty with Hitler Germany, invaded Poland and the Baltic nations, attacked Finland and committed 20,000,000 of its own citizens to the horrors of the vast Gulag network.

Here in America, in 1946, this same small group of communists, in control of the CIO in Wisconsin, engineered by 5,000 votes the defeat of Senator Robert LaFollette, Jr. in the Wisconsin primary, because he raised questions about Soviet expansionism, favoring instead the candidacy of Joseph McCarthy.

I hope that at the memorial ("Celebrate Moe!"), between the singing of folk songs, someone will address the question of how intelligent, sensitive, humanist-inspired individuals could have aligned themselves with the worship of and commitment to the tenets of communist totalitarianism.

—Seymour Reisin
Bronx CC (emeritus)

Clarion asked PSC member Dan North for a response. North worked with Foner on his memoir, Not For

Bread Alone, which will be published this summer by Cornell University Press.

Dismissing a life dedicated to social justice because of early membership in the Communist Party is like wanting to expel Babe Ruth from the Hall of Fame because he drank. It offends one's sense of proportion.

Moe Foner (1915-2002) joined the Communist Party in the late 1930s because he believed no one else in America was as serious as the Communists about fighting poverty, unemployment and racism, and because American Communists died fighting fascism in Spain when no one else seemed to care.

More specifically, Foner was drawn to the Communist Party at City College because it was trying to unionize the faculty and introduce a black history course taught by a black professor.

In the 1950s, Foner acknowledged Soviet atrocities and ended his already frayed relationship with the Communist Party. The ostrich-like inability of American Communists

to detect Soviet crimes is indeed a subject worth investigating. But should Foner's early views, however misguided, overshadow what was at the heart of his 55-year union career? While anti-Communist witch-hunters peered under their beds, Foner and his fellow 1199 leaders worked with courage, sacrifice and principle to build a union of more than 200,000 members that immensely improved the lives of once-forgotten health care workers.

—Dan North
CCNY Center for Worker Education

Education in the Americas

● In his scurrilous screed, *The Patriot*, Mr. Karkannis goes beyond distortion to libel in his attack on my alleged "junketeering" with "our dues money." I attended the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, as chairperson of the PSC's International Committee – but did so entirely at my own expense. I spent almost the entire time listening to panels of the World Education Seminar and building our union's relationships with university unionists

from other countries. The PSC did cover my air fare (but no other expenses) when I attended an earlier conference in Morelia, Mexico – a conference held in a large school building that had only one working toilet. I was not there merely "to understand and learn about global issues affecting women," but rather to connect with the organizing group, the Civil Society Network for Public Education in the Americas. The Network is working against the trend to cut public higher education funding, a problem facing public universities all over the world. Subsequently, the Executive Council and Delegate Assembly resolved to join the group and to participate in its activities relevant to the PSC.

—Renate Bridenthal
Brooklyn College (emerita)

Write to Clarion

Letters should be no more than 150-200 words in length and are subject to editing.

A new chapter for Governors Island

From casinos to CUNY

By TOMIO GERON

After years of debate over its future, Governors Island is now slated to become a unique CUNY campus.

With Mayor Michael Bloomberg and Governor George Pataki at his side, President George W. Bush announced on April 1 that he would transfer the island to City and State control. Bloomberg and Pataki said they want to move existing CUNY programs to the island and use the vacated CUNY space for NYC's overcrowded public schools. University officials suggested that the island could be used as a center either for teacher education or for science and math.

Leaders of the PSC and the United Federation of Teachers cautiously applauded the unexpected move, which could add as many as 15 new high schools. "What's great about this initiative is that it locates higher education, physically and symbolically, as a gateway to New York," said PSC President Barbara Bowen. "The map of the city has been redrawn. But if the plan is going to work, it will have to include substantial new funding and real participation by faculty and staff."

The PSC and others have pressed for details on how the City, with a budget deficit of \$5 billion or more, would pay for the island's annual maintenance costs of \$20 to \$30 million and for the necessary increased ferry service. "If this is a good idea, let's make it real," said Charles Barron, head of the City Council's higher education committee.

Bloomberg has argued that the

funds can be found, pointing to the city's \$900 million capital budget for fiscal year 2003.

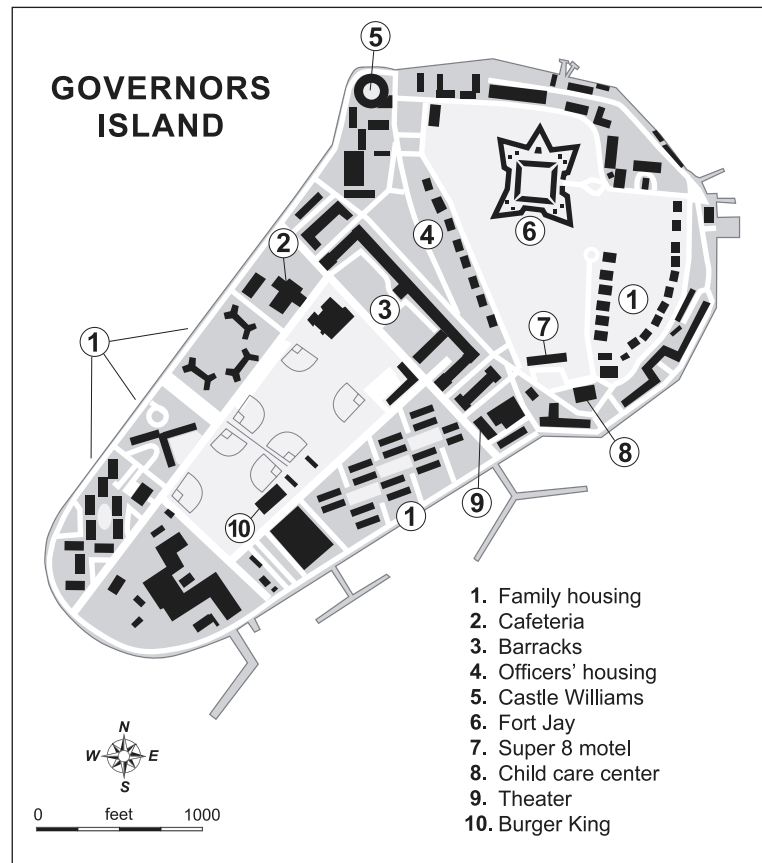
The first CUNY classes on Governors Island should begin this summer, even before a long-term plan is developed, according to University spokesperson Michael Arena. And CUNY's central administration is already moving to start three new high schools at CUNY campuses (see story below).

To encourage broad public input, the PSC is organizing a conference in September entitled "Spaces of Hope: The Future of Governors Island." Leading scholars in urban planning, geography, history, architecture and the arts will convene to discuss the possibilities that the island offers for CUNY and New York.

Tibbi Duboys, professor of early education at Brooklyn College, thinks Governors Island could be ideal for a "cross-campus" graduate education program. "We could be at the forefront of teacher education in the US," said Duboys. CUNY already has public high schools on 12 campuses. Duboys said that her own program, which serves 1,300 students, is "cruelly cramped" for space.

SUMMER SCHOOL

Suitable ferry service will be crucial if the island is to host a viable CUNY campus. This would be especially vital for education students, who have to travel often between



of ex-Mayor Giuliani.

Though Bloomberg and Pataki described the proposed CUNY campus as a done deal, the *Daily News* and *New York Post* have questioned CUNY's presence on the island. *The Post*, seeking private ownership, called the idea a "loser," while the *News* warned against the island "sinking" in a "CUNY swamp."

In 1995 President Clinton offered to transfer ownership of the island for the token price of a dollar. But Congress wanted the island sold to the highest bidder, hoping to fetch as much as \$500 million. The current Bush-Bloomberg-Pataki agreement, however, calls for reassessing the island for non-profit use so that the city could buy it for a nominal fee. Some private operations might still be included, to help cover costs of maintenance and ferry service. Proposals include restaurants, hotels or a 2,000-foot antenna tower supported by local broadcasting executives. But Bloomberg has been cold to the antenna idea, citing interference with air traffic and concerns over the health effects of broadcast radiation.

NUTTEN ISLAND

Chancellor Goldstein will soon announce a steering committee comprised of faculty, students, trustees and Bloomberg and Pataki representatives, which will create a long-term academic plan for CUNY on the island.

campus and on-site teacher training, education faculty said. When Pataki stepped off a Coast Guard boat onto the island on April 2, Chancellor Matthew Goldstein greeted him with the words, "Welcome to CUNY, Governor," *The New York Times* reported. Goldstein is moving to turn CUNY's claim to Governors Island into an established fact as quickly as possible. "We want to have some sort of pres-

ence this summer," said Arena. "We want to get in there as soon as possible and go from there." Though the island's buildings are now "mothballed," CUNY is looking for some that could be swiftly converted for summer classes. The urge to move quickly may in part reflect the sharp debates over contending plans for the island in the last few years. Proposals for the former Coast Guard base have ranged from a helicopter-based United Nations center to a site for the 2012 Olympics to luxury gambling casinos – the latter a pet idea

Three new high schools slated for CUNY

In April, CUNY central administration suddenly announced plans to start three new public high schools on CUNY campuses. In May, the Board of Education announced that the three schools would use the same entrance exams as Stuyvesant, Bronx Science and Brooklyn Technical High Schools.

This September, inaugural ninth-grade classes of about 125 students each are scheduled at York, Lehman and City Colleges. A new ninth-grade class will start each of the next three years until full four-year schools exist.

The announcements prompted heated reaction from PSC members, who say there was no consultation and that the initiative is being rushed through without real planning.

"Especially if CUNY is contem-

plating more high schools, the University should not start these schools without consulting faculty and staff," said PSC President Barbara Bowen. "Having high schools on campus materially affects our working conditions; there is no excuse for this complete disregard for the faculty and staff. We've seen high schools work spectacularly at CUNY. But if they don't have the enthusiasm of faculty and staff, they won't work."

LACK OF COMMUNICATION

At the April University Faculty Senate meeting, Chancellor Matthew Goldstein argued that since high schools teach standard curriculum in the first year, faculty involvement is not needed in curriculum until a later date. "I don't think the business of faculty consultation

at this particular point is really that critical," he said.

PSC leaders and chapter chairs met with Chancellor Goldstein on April 30 to discuss union concerns – security, library and computer access, maintenance and, most importantly, space – about the new schools. Goldstein stated that CUNY had been planning these schools even before the news about CUNY's role on Governors Island (see main story); he later told the press that the plans were sped up after the Governors Island announcement.

The Chancellor also argued that the approximately 125 students per campus would be manageable. Goldstein acknowledged a lack of communication on the issue and agreed to the formation of task forces, including faculty and staff, to participate in local planning. PSC repre-

sentatives responded that the 125 students per campus scheduled for this Fall would eventually become four times as many, and that no planning has been done to ensure adequate space or appropriate campus facilities.

Faculty and staff at York feel "outraged" and "betrayed" by President Charles C. Kidd, Sr.'s actions on the new school, said York PSC executive committee member Jack Schlein. In an April 17 letter to Goldstein, Kidd wrote that "York faculty and staff stand ready to collaborate" on the high school – even though York faculty and staff were not aware of the plan.

TRAILER HIGH SCHOOL

"In principle, we're not opposed to a high school. It just has to be planned and done carefully," said Schlein. "We feel disrespected in that we were not consulted."

At Lehman College, the process

appears to be off to a better start. Though planning is still in the early stages, the President and the VP for Administration at Lehman did notify the PSC about the high school plan, said Chapter Vice-Chair Manfred Philipp.

Faculty and staff at City College were the last of the three campuses to be notified, having heard of it only through the April 30 meeting with Goldstein. Larry Hanley, PSC chapter chair at CCNY, disputes the Chancellor's claim that there is space at City. He cites CUNY's plan to put the new students in the temporary trailers erected for classes displaced from BMCC after 9/11, four blocks from the main campus, as evidence that City does not have excess space.

"I think putting a high school on campus would be a good thing," Hanley said. "But the way it's being implemented is not conducive to good results." – TG

BoT pick slammed as anti-gay

Rev. John Bonnici's nomination to the CUNY Board of Trustees was confirmed by the State Senate on April 16, despite strong opposition. The PSC and other critics cited his lack of experience in higher education, and his organizing against both gay rights and the reproductive rights of women. Bonnici is director of the New York Catholic Archdiocese's Family Life/Respect Life Office.

"In his Senate confirmation hearing, Bonnici showed his lack of knowledge of CUNY," said Steve London, PSC First Vice President. "To rebuild CUNY we need to work in partnership with Trustees who understand the academic and fiscal issues facing CUNY, and who celebrate CUNY's diversity."

State Senators Thomas Duane, Liz Krueger and Toby Stavisky joined CUNY faculty and staff in opposing Bonnici at a press conference at the Graduate Center on April 14. "I'm opposed [to Bonnici's nomination] because it has been his job to argue against, lobby against and fight against reproductive rights and lesbian, gay, transgender rights," said Duane. City Council member Christine Quinn and 12 other members of the Council also opposed the

No background in higher ed

nomination, writing a joint letter to Governor George Pataki that urged him to withdraw Bonnici's name.

Bonnici was a leader in organizing against a 1999 Westchester human rights bill because it included protections for gays and lesbians. A November 12, 1999, Family Life Office memo to local priests urged them to speak out against the legislation, arguing that it "advances an agenda that undermines marriage and the family by including 'sexual orientation' as a protected class." The Westchester ordinance, which does not mention marriage, is similar to NYC's anti-discrimination law.

TENURE AND CURRICULA

"We can't imagine that [Pataki] would recommend a candidate who had expressed hostility to the civil rights of, say, African Americans or Jews," the Board of Directors of CUNY's Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies (CLAGS) wrote in a letter to state senators.

In the Westchester controversy, Bonnici contended that his stand was not anti-gay. "We are not in the business of condemnation," he told

the *Westchester Journal News*. "Our message is pastoral in tone... In no way do we use any language that is inflammatory or divisive or politically motivated."

Duane called Bonnici's Westchester actions an "attack" on gay rights, saying that Bonnici "inserted himself on a political issue. If he's willing to do that in Westchester, he'd do that in New York City."

Clarion tried to reach Bonnici for comment, but his office responded that he is not talking to reporters.

PSC members expressed concern that Bonnici could play a significant role in the BoT's approval of new curricula and courses, as well as tenure cases. "Will he be able to put his bigotry aside when considering, for example, the tenure of a young scholar working in the field of Queer Theory?" asked Alisa Solomon, executive director of CLAGS.

Bonnici's outspoken opposition to abortion rights sparked concern that he might try to reshape CUNY's student health services, as well as the University curriculum on reproductive health.

"As a clinician," said Ilene Tan-

nenbaum, Director of the Brooklyn College Health Clinic, "I worry about the potential for sanctions against providers of reproductive health services for students."

Bonnici will fill the seat vacated by Father Michael Crimmins. Bonnici's critics generally praised Crimmins' record on the BoT. The problem with Bonnici, they said, was not his Catholicism, but his lack of experience in higher education combined with his record of organizing for an

anti-gay political agenda. Many characterized the nomination as an effort by Governor Pataki to please conservatives at a time when Pataki has reached out to some unions and to Latino voters. The Bonnici nomination was strongly supported by Cardinal Edward Egan.

"TOTALLY UNAWARE"

Sen. Stavisky said Bonnici had failed to allay concerns about his lack of qualifications during his confirmation hearing. "He's not familiar with CUNY," said Stavisky. "CUNY faces serious budget constraints; TAP is being denied to students. He's totally unaware of what's going on." — TG



State Senator Toby Stavisky, bottom left, Manfred Phillip, center, and PSC First Vice President Steve London at the April 19 press conference.

DASNY construction scandal

By TOMIO GERON

A former manager of construction projects at CUNY has been indicted for taking more than \$456,000 in kickbacks from contractors at the Kingsborough, Queensborough, Queens and York campuses.

The alleged scheme may have created safety hazards for CUNY workers and students, *Clarion* has learned.

The 53-count indictment charges that from June 1997 to February 2001, project manager Michael O'Connor took cash, merchandise and services from contractors who never completed work but were still paid. O'Connor also had the contractors do work on his Wayne, N.J. home, Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau said when he announced the indictment in March. O'Connor was employed by the Dormitory Authority of the State of New York (DASNY), a state agency that finances and carries out construction for schools and hospitals. A 17-year DASNY employee, O'Connor resigned last year.

"I'm appalled, but not surprised," said PSC Health and Safety Officer Joan Greenbaum. "There is no mechanism for DASNY to be accountable to CUNY management or

Safety a concern at CUNY

unions, and a lack of accountability can breed corruption."

DASNY would not confirm whether contractors allegedly involved in the kickbacks have been taken off CUNY jobs. Spokesperson Claudia Hutton would say only that DASNY had taken "appropriate action" in cases where the District Attorney (DA) felt it would not threaten an investigation.

On a roof replacement job for the Performing Arts Center at Kingsborough Community College that was completed about a year ago, O'Connor directed a contractor not to provide exterior netting, the DA said. But the contractor allegedly billed for the netting, and a non-existent construction trailer, and paid O'Connor a \$10,000 kickback.

Greenbaum told *Clarion* that lack of required netting would be a serious safety violation. In 1998, a 17-year old girl was killed by a brick that fell from a School Construction Authority project on the roof of a public school in Brooklyn.

At York, O'Connor was indicted in connection with four separate jobs. One involved an upgrade to the school's fire alarm system in the Academic Core building, in which

one contractor gave more than \$12,000 of computers and furniture for a Douglaston, Queens apartment rented by O'Connor. O'Connor used the apartment for gambling and prostitutes, the DA's office said. In exchange the contractor was allowed to bill for a construction trailer that it did not provide.

HOME IMPROVEMENT

For the building of a parking lot on "Site 9" at York, another contractor gave O'Connor about \$40,000 in falsified change orders, the DA said. The work is still not complete, and no company is currently on the job.

The DA also charged that O'Connor told a subcontractor not to do work on miles of underground tunnels and building repairs at Queens College for which the subcontractor received \$400,000. In return, O'Connor allegedly received \$30,000 cash and a carpenter and \$26,000 in materials to renovate his house.

At Queensborough, a contractor allegedly gave O'Connor \$80,000 in exchange for inflating bills for building repairs and roofing jobs. The contractors involved in this project who were working with O'Connor have been removed, according to Stanley Suski, campus facilities officer.

Also charged in the case was architect Robert Marsac, who alleged-

ly took a three-week Australian vacation while O'Connor helped him bill DASNY for the time.

The O'Connor case is the latest in a string of DASNY scandals. In February, Frank and Kenneth Stubbolo, major fundraisers for Governor George Pataki, were indicted for stealing \$5.3 million from DASNY in a dorm project at SUNY Old Westbury. In March, there were reports of a criminal investigation of DASNY work in the Bronx.

Last August, a crane collapsed on a DASNY job at Queens College, falling across an often-crowded pedestrian path. Fortunately, the campus was largely deserted at the time and no one was hurt. The main contractor on the job, the non-union firm Trataros Construction, has been hired repeatedly by DASNY, even though Trataros has a long history of safety violations and charges of discrimination.

CCNY student wins release

After being detained for nearly three months by the INS, Reem Khalil, a biochemistry senior at City College, was released in mid-May. She is now free while hearings in her case continue.

Reem and her family were arrested on February 27 by the FBI and held for several days. Agents stormed the family's house early in the morning, shackling the family members' hands and feet before arresting them. But FBI interrogators

Thomas Murphy, DASNY Executive Director resigned in April, insisting that his departure was unrelated to DASNY's scandals.

The PSC has filed a Freedom of Information Act request asking DASNY to provide a list of all jobs supervised by O'Connor. "We want to be assured that they're no longer working at CUNY," said Greenbaum. DASNY promised to respond by April 16, but as of mid-May had provided no information.

Greenbaum said that DASNY manages its projects and selects contractors with little accountability to CUNY. At campuses named in the indictment, *Clarion* found that DASNY has been reluctant — even prior to this scandal — to provide health and safety information to CUNY officials. "You'd think this is the CIA," said Fred Einerman, Environmental Health & Safety Officer at Kingsborough.

concluded that they had no links to terrorism; in fact, authorities told Reem there is no evidence of wrongdoing by her or any other family member. "That is something that never happens," says Khalil. But since the family is undocumented, the FBI turned them over to the INS, which held them pending deportation actions. After they came to the US from Syria years ago, the Khalils unsuccessfully requested political asylum. — Hank Williams

Rallies at City Hall amid budget endgame

TAP may be restored

By CLARION STAFF

As the endgame began in state budget negotiations, Governor George Pataki was giving ground on his plan for cuts to the Tuition Assistance Program (TAP). But as *Clarion* went to press, it was unclear whether he would back off from his proposal for yet another year of flat funding for CUNY, in what would be a continuation of last year's "bare bones" budget.

While the state budget is late for the 18th year in a row, Pataki and the legislature are likely to finalize it much earlier this year than in recent years, due to the pressures of the fall election.

Early this year, Pataki called for deferring one-third of each student's TAP award until he or she graduates. The governor defended the idea as a "performance" incentive,

and said students would have to bridge the gap through federal loans. But Pataki has backed down from his proposal. All TAP funds are now slated to be restored, according to legislative sources.

PLAYING GAMES

PSC Secretary Cecelia McCall applauded the likely restoration of the TAP cuts, which would affect 71,000 CUNY students annually, 72% of whom are racial or ethnic minorities. But she says she is still incensed that faculty and students had to fight to restore it. "It's time for the Governor to stop playing games with TAP," said McCall. "That's no way to treat students."

In April and earlier this month, the PSC pressed state legislators to reverse the decline in State support for CUNY, as well as to reject the cuts to TAP. The union mobilized



Yuvie Figueroa, Mohammed Islam and Charles Barron march from BMCC to City Hall on April 5.

members to call their legislators and circulate petitions in support of in-

creased funding for new full-time faculty positions and base aid for

community colleges.

Meanwhile, students, faculty and politicians took to the streets in support of CUNY. On April 5, about one hundred people marched from BMCC to City Hall for a press conference against the CUNY cuts.

When PSC President Barbara Bowen spoke, she called Pataki's scheme for TAP "a reverse student loan," in which needy students would be required to give money to the government.

CUNY FOR ALL

Charles Barron, City Council Higher Education Committee Chair and CUNY graduate, helped lead the BMCC march. "CUNY has been a path to the American dream," he said. "If the Governor takes away tuition assistance, then he is no friend of any New Yorker."

In another protest, on April 30, hundreds of high school and college students were joined by CUNY faculty and staff in a march from Union Square to City Hall, to protest cuts to CUNY and the Board of Ed.

"I'm out here fighting for students' rights to go to school," said Missy Turner, a Brooklyn College student. "Some students just don't financially have as much as others. TAP and SEEK help out students who are underprivileged."

Organized by the CUNY for All Coalition, the march was capped off by a rally at City Hall where speakers, including PSC Treasurer John Hyland, rallied the crowd. Protesters' chants included, "Cuts to CUNY, no way! Tax the rich, make them pay!"

The protesters also demanded that Albany pass legislation that would allow undocumented immigrant students to pay CUNY's in-state tuition rate. Last fall CUNY announced that it would charge undocumented students the higher out-of-state rate, no matter how long they have lived in New York. In late April, Pataki announced his support for the bill.

Class size at CUNY: how many is too many?

By KRISTIN LAWLER

What would you guess is the largest class at CUNY taught by one person? You might be surprised. Eighty students? One hundred? Try 275, in an introductory anthropology class taught by a single adjunct at Hunter.

Another contender is an intro astronomy class with an enrollment of 553, taught by one adjunct with only a few undergraduate proctors.

While these cases are relatively unusual, they are not unique. A preliminary investigation by *Clarion* also found a class of 305 at Baruch, and several classes enrolling 275. And there were repeated examples of one teacher responsible for a class of 150-200 students.

In Hunter's Anthropology 101, one adjunct teaches a class of 275 students, without a grader, without discussion sections – and without any additional compensation. The official policy at Hunter, according to Acting Provost Ann Cohen, is to credit faculty for teaching two courses in a class where enrollment rises above 90 students – but only if the faculty are full-time. Hunter's guidelines provide no extra compensation for adjuncts who teach these "jumbo" classes, even though in Anthropology they teach half of them.

The policy regarding jumbos varies widely from campus to campus, division to division, and often among departments as well. At Hunter, the largest introductory psychology course registers 275 stu-

Policy on "jumbo" classes varies widely

dents, but the department provides one grader to assist the adjunct who teaches it. Adjunct Thane Doss successfully lobbied Hunter's Astronomy Department to pay him for two classes when he taught a jumbo class, plus provide \$960 to pay for undergraduate assistants.

But Doss got the extra pay only after his Intro to Astronomy course enrolled the jaw-dropping figure of

553 students – and in the end he still felt ripped off. "The money went purely towards assistance in proctoring the exams," Doss said. "Pay for two courses is not enough when you're talking about these num-

bers of students." Like many harried faculty teaching enormous sections, Doss relied on computer-generated and -graded tests, but also gave – and graded – five written quizzes. "I know I must be nuts," he said. "But some things students need to know can't be asked by a computer."

8 OR 9 CLASSES IN ONE

Full-time faculty often teach huge intro courses as well. At Brooklyn College, the "vast majority" of jumbos have full-timers at the helm, says Associate Provost Eric Steinberg. There, full-timers are credited with 1 extra hour for classes with more than 70 students, 2 hours for a class of more than 105 students and 3 extra hours for 140 students or more. At Baruch, one full-time sociology professor teaches 305 students

in a section, has one grader – and gets credit for just two courses.

"If a 'typical' CUNY class has 30 students, these large sections are essentially 8 or 9 classes in one," commented Eric Marshall, PSC Vice President for Part-time Affairs. No matter how you look at it, said Marshall, "compensation for even two courses is not nearly enough."

Like policies on compensation, the prevalence of jumbos also varies from one campus to another. They appear to be more unusual at community colleges. For example, officials at BMCC said they had no classes of this size. And at some senior colleges, there is often an effort to avoid them. William Divale of York College dropped enrollment caps from 110 to 55 in the Social Science department when he was the chair. "Anything over 55 is just not educationally sound," he said. But with no CUNY-wide policy on maximum class size, constant budget pressures create an equally constant incentive for the creation of jumbos. "Keeping class size down limits total enrollments," points out Queens College Sociology department chair Dean Savage. "And enrollment is a major factor in getting full-time lines."

Currently, 80th Street does not set any upper limit on how many students can be squeezed into a class. When asked how registration limits are determined for different sections, most campus officials cited the size of the classroom as the major factor. At Baruch, section size for

101-level survey courses is up this year. Why? The new facility has more large lecture halls, which can accommodate bigger sections.

So are faculty and students at the mercy of shrinking budgets and expanding classrooms? Not exactly, say activists in the PSC. The union chapter at City Tech has filed a grievance over increases in class size. This grievance does not concern jumbos: it focuses on classes with dozens, not hundreds, of students. But it does suggest that the union contract can be useful in this area. Departments at City Tech have started to specify maximum class sizes, and the union is demanding that those limits be respected.

GRIEVANCES

Grievance Counselor Howard Prince points to Article 15.1(b) of the current contract, which states that teaching employees "shall not be required to... assume an excessive student load." Although this language is general, it's not without some teeth. In the 70's, the PSC won when faculty at Bronx CC grieved a 20% increase in class sizes: an arbitrator agreed that this was excessive, relative to past practice.

There are a variety of arguments that can be used to show that a given class size is "excessive": comparison with past practice is one, unequal treatment in compensation policies would be another. In many cases, Prince says, the grievance procedure could help force a change. "We should grieve excessive loads for part-timers, and for full-timers, too," Prince said. "We know how many is too many."

Professional Staff Congress Budget 2001 - 2002

	Budget 9/01-8/02	Budget 9/00-8/01	Actual 12 Months 9/00-8/01
INCOME:			
Dues and Fees:			
1. Retirees and Associates	156,602	151,637	149,577
2. Sr. & Comm. Coll. Dues, Fees	6,560,000	5,493,634	5,778,975
3. EOC's & Research Foundation	50,000	93,454	92,638
Total Dues and Fees	6,766,602	5,738,725	6,021,190
NYSUT Reimbursement:			
4. Metro Funding	615,697	630,147	630,279
5. NYC Admin. P/R Fees	1,500	1,307	1,307
6. AAUP & CBC Conf. & DA Mtgs.	8,000	7,775	7,775
7. Legislative Representation	10,000	12,980	12,980
8. Health & Safety Costs	10,000	10,301	10,301
9. Teachers Retirement Council	12,000	11,820	11,820
10. Grievance Training	25,000	22,636	22,636
11. Arbitration Filing Fees	1,000	713	713
12. Organizing	94,061	0	0
13. Consultants - PR	30,000	0	0
14. AAUP Dues	43,013	41,000	41,000
Total NYSUT Reimbursements	850,271	738,679	738,811
Other Income:			
15. AFT-Reimb. on AAUP dues	43,013	41,000	41,000
16. Interest Income	238,000	230,000	250,183
17. Rental Income	125,000	132,500	137,131
18. Credit Union	73,000	62,339	59,973
19. Voter Reg. '01	2,950	19,500	19,700
Total Other Income	481,963	485,339	507,987
TOTAL INCOME	\$8,098,836	\$6,962,743	\$7,267,988
EXPENDITURES:			
Dues to Affiliates:			
20. NYSUT	\$2,223,410	\$1,804,056	\$1,894,206
21. AFT	1,387,987	1,014,782	1,065,491
22. AAUP & CBC	146,790	126,000	141,158
23. NYS Public Higher Educ.	2,500	0	0
24. MLC	13,000	12,000	12,221
Total Dues to Affiliates	3,773,687	2,956,838	3,113,076
Union Operations:			
25. Rent & Electricity	580,000	537,413	544,114
26. Postage & Delivery	100,000	85,000	108,626
27. Computer Equipment & Services	130,000	80,000	67,638
28. Office Supplies & Printing	75,000	60,000	69,624
29. Telephone	65,000	60,000	58,656
30. Machine Rental/Leasing	21,180	30,000	19,478
31. Machine Maintenance	16,278	12,000	12,966
32. Accounting & Auditing	20,000	20,000	18,300
33. Dues, Fees Refunds	15,000	17,500	12,892
34. Office, Furniture & Equipment	10,000	10,000	3,990
35. Library Acquisition	10,000	10,000	7,330
36. Insurance & Bonds	13,000	12,500	11,634
37. Elections	15,000	20,000	4,948
Total Union Operations	1,070,458	954,413	940,195
Personnel & Related:			
38. Salaries - Professional Staff	902,579	746,062	662,911
39. Salaries - Support Staff	426,474	549,342	469,296
40. Fringe Benefits	335,183	302,982	258,516
41. Personnel Cost Reserve	72,000	72,000	72,000
42. Payroll Taxes	108,472	103,071	100,743
43. Reassigned Time & Stipends	382,000	385,101	364,304
44. Temps	10,000	15,000	11,026
Total Personnel & Related	2,236,708	2,173,558	1,938,796
Mobilization & Outreach:			
45. Public Relations - tkts, ads	25,000	25,000	23,362
46. Clarion	120,972	74,500	67,499
47. Chapter Budgets	95,000	0	0
48. Conferences, Meetings, Legislation	150,000	207,775	188,858
49. Belle Zeller Scholarship Fund	20,000	30,000	33,325
50. Belle Zeller Professorship	10,000	0	0
51. Organizing	84,061	0	0
52. Cultural Activities	10,000	20,000	4,856
53. Consultants - Lobbying & PR	180,000	60,000	135,991
54. Contract Campaign	50,000	100,000	28,501
55. CUNY Budget Campaign	50,000	60,000	34,385
56. Voter Reg. '01	2,950	19,500	16,750
57. Committees	20,000	10,000	329
58. Solidarity Activities	20,000	20,000	15,687
59. Health & Safety Activities	15,000	0	0
60. HEO Chapter Organizing	15,000	0	0
Total Mobilization & Outreach	867,983	626,775	549,543
Contract Enforcement & Related Costs:			
61. Grievance, Arbitration & Legal Services	30,000	55,713	14,968
62. Legal Consultants	100,000	75,000	95,057
Total Contract Enforcement & Related Costs	130,000	130,713	110,025
Other:			
63. Contingencies	20,000	20,000	4,384
64. Addition to Reserves	0	100,446	611,970
Total Other	20,000	120,446	616,353
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$8,098,836	\$6,962,743	\$7,267,988

UNION VIEWS

PSC finances and union power

By JOHN HYLAND
PSC Treasurer

An organization's budget is both a financial and a political document. The formation of a budget involves calculations of income and expenses and decisions about the allocation of resources in relation to the goals of the organization.

The PSC aims to be a democratic and powerful defender of and advocate for the economic, political, and cultural interests of its members. In the vision of the elected leadership, democracy and power are integrally related. The PSC, like any labor union, will be as strong as the leaders and members together make it by their collective action.

Our financial resources are instruments for making the union strong. The base of our financial resource is the members' dues. Since the union contract benefits everyone in the bargaining unit, whether or not they have signed up as union members, New York State law allows an "agency fee" to be collected from non-members (an amount equal to dues), to cover the costs of representation.

TRANSPARENCY

Under the PSC Constitution, responsibility for supervising the financial resources is assigned to the Treasurer and the Finance Committee of the Executive Council (EC). The members of the Finance Committee are: Robert Cermele (NYCTC), James Cohen (JJ), Frank Deale (CUNY Law), Joel Greenstein (NYCTC), John Hyland (Treasurer, Chair), Steven London (1st VP), John Mineka (Lehman), Marilyn Neimark (Baruch), Linda Perry (York), Vasilios Petratos (CSI), Robert Putz (KCC) Robbie Weaver (Grad. Center) and Robert

Wurman (QC). Staff are Deborah Bell, Faye Alladin and Diana Rosato. The dues structure and the annual budget must be approved by the EC and the Delegate Assembly (DA).

Since the EC was elected in April 2000, we have worked to make control of the union's financial resources more democratic, to use them to build the union's political power, and to improve the technical aspects of our financial management. One goal has been to increase the transparency of our financial operations: PSC members need to have an understanding of the income and expenses of the union. Every month at both the Executive Council meeting and the Delegate Assembly, there is a financial report on paper, a presentation by the Treasurer, with an opportunity for questions and comments. This presentation in *Clarion* is one more part of that project; the information will also be made available on the PSC Web site.

CLARITY

To build the power of the union we have launched a campaign to bring the more than 6,000 part-time faculty and staff deeply into the union and to represent them more effectively. As part of this effort, the Delegate Assembly voted to implement the agency fee for part-timers, and in the interest of equity, changed the dues/fees formula from a flat rate to a percentage (1% of gross income). To be consistent and to be fair to full-time members earning below the average salary, the Delegate Assembly also voted to change the dues/fees rate for full-timers to a percentage rate (1.05% of gross income). The PSC Constitution gives the DA ultimate authority over the dues structure.

We have changed the format of the financial report so that members can better see how the

union's money is being used. Instead of only using general categories such as "contingencies," which do little to indicate the purpose of an expense, we aim to use categories that correspond more directly to what the union is actually doing: the contract campaign, health and safety work, and so on.

MORE EFFECTIVE

On the technical side, the Finance Committee sponsored a performance review of union operations by an outside accounting firm and is gradually implementing its recommendations. We have studied the returns on the investment of the union's reserve funds and are now consolidating our operations for efficiency, clarity, and improved, secure returns. On the agenda for the near future are a review of the performance of the members' supplementary retirement programs and a longer-range analysis of our space needs as we approach the expiration of our current lease in 2006. We have a responsible, knowledgeable Finance Committee that meets monthly, and we are interested in talking with members who would like to join us in these and other projects.

Elsewhere on these pages you can read about the many new initiatives we have launched or strengthened this year. But all these different efforts have one big thing in common: all are aimed at developing the union's power and the membership's control. We invite your questions, comments, and especially your participation.

We have made progress in making the PSC's finances more open, more democratic, more efficient and more effective. Next year we plan to do even more. If you would like to help make this happen, or if you have questions about the PSC's budget, please call me at 212-354-1252.

NOTES:

A. Income

1. The PSC's 2,100 retired members pay \$71 annually. Associate members are people who want to be affiliated with the PSC but either no longer work for CUNY or were union members but are now in exempt titles. They pay \$81 annually (full-time) or \$20 per semester (part-time) to sustain NYSUT insurance programs (e.g., auto, homeowners, legal services). There are currently 68 associate members; they do not vote in elections.

2. Senior and Community College Dues and Fees: Full-timers pay 1.05% of gross annual income; part-timers pay 1% of gross annual income.

3. EOC: Educational Opportunity Centers in Brooklyn, Manhattan, Bronx, and Queens are funded by the State but are on a different payroll from the senior colleges. Research Foundation workers/

members have their fees/dues paid on a quarterly basis.

4 - 14. NYSUT Reimbursements: We have broken these out in detail in this budget to provide a clearer picture of our relationship with NYSUT. In the past, with the exception of the Metropolitan Plan, they were not listed as income but were subtracted from various expense items. The Metropolitan Plan is a formula established by NYSUT to reimburse the PSC, the UFT, and Yonkers, Rochester and Syracuse teachers unions for activities that we carry out for ourselves. This contrasts with smaller NYSUT locals, who have most of their staff work carried out by NYSUT field staff (e.g. contract negotiations, grievances). Other NYSUT reimbursements are items that have evolved over the years.

15. AFT Reimbursement: AFT pays 1/3 of our AAUP dues. (NYSUT pays 1/3, and we pay 1/3.)

16. Interest Income: A portion of our income is in a money market/checking account with the Bank of New York. We anticipate less income this year because interest rates are down. We also have a Business Management Account with Salomon Smith Barney which manages our Certificate of Deposit "ladder" (CDs which mature and are reinvested at intervals over several years) and allows us to do electronic banking with Citibank.

17. Rental Income: The PSC rents the fifth floor of 25 West 43rd Street and some additional space on the sixth floor (printing/mailroom). The Welfare Fund pays for their share of the space. We anticipate rental income being less this year because we no longer rent space to HRC, a company that has offered financial management services.

18. Credit Union: The Credit Union reimburses us for rent of their space, for a portion of the salaries of our staff who al-

What's in the PSC budget

By PETER HOGNESS

New format shows where the money goes

In an effort to make the PSC's finances more open and transparent, this year the union's Finance Committee has organized the PSC budget in a new way. After extensive review and discussion, the Executive Council and Delegate Assembly gave final approval to the FY 2002 budget at the start of the Spring semester.

PSC income and expenses have both increased from last year, reflecting increased membership and new activity in the union.

SIMPLIFIED

Reorganizing the line items of the budget into clearer categories is part of an effort to make PSC finances more democratic, said Finance Committee member Marilyn Neimark, a professor of accounting at Baruch. "Our goal is to make the budget more transparent and understandable," said Neimark. "The first step is to start to organize it in a way that reflects the union's programmatic activities – what the PSC actually does."

Some examples of this approach include new line items that cover health and safety work, or local

chapter activity. Reimbursements of dues paid to the PSC's statewide affiliate, New York State United Teachers (NYSUT), are now broken out separately to provide a clearer picture of this relationship. But this is a work in progress, said Neimark, and next year's budget will have further changes.

The budget reflects the PSC's movement "towards a more activist and participatory union," Treasurer John Hyland told the DA. Some of the main new or changed items include:

- Increased resources for legislative and lobbying activity, to advance the PSC's presence in Albany and City Hall.

- Chapter budgets, to encourage chapters to plan and carry out more locally based education and action.

- Improved communication with members through *Clarion*, including an award-winning re-design that has made the paper more attractive and reader-friendly.

- Continued resources for orga-

nizing new members.

- Committee budgets, to support member activity on issues such as diversity, women's concerns, and solidarity with other unions at home and abroad.

- Continued support for legal advice and action, including recent actions before the Public Employment Relations Board.

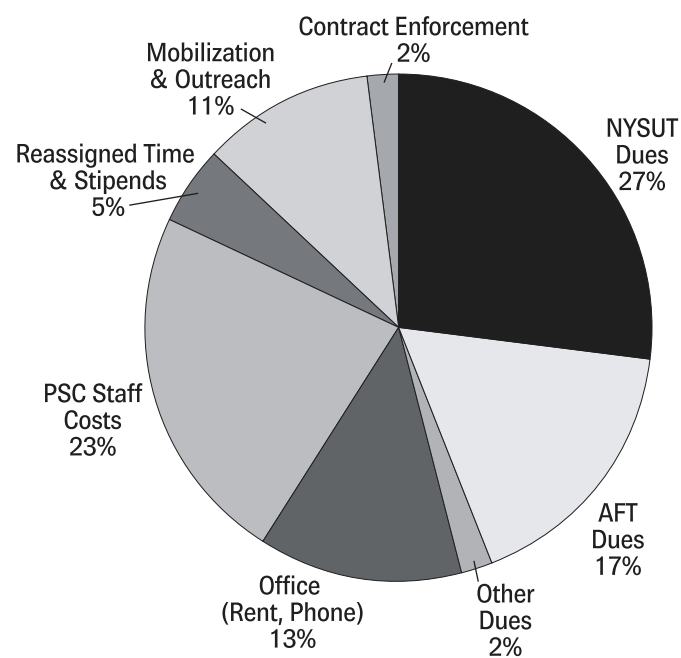
- Increased resources for public relations work, to build public understanding and support for PSC and CUNY issues.

- Continued support for cultural programs – such as the successful film series "Labor Goes to the Movies" – to build a union culture within our own membership, and strengthen relationships with other unions and community allies.

At DA meetings in December and January, delegates asked questions about the proposed union budget, discussed the points that were raised, and then voted to approve it. Several of the questions involved

New or changed items include lobbying, chapter budgets, organizing new members, cultural programs, public relations, legal work and *Clarion*.

PSC Budget 2002 Expenditures



the costs and benefits of the dues paid to the PSC's affiliates – NYSUT, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP).

DUES NEGOTIATIONS

Hyland responded that the PSC is in ongoing negotiations with NYSUT and the AFT over dues and re-

imbursements, and said the PSC's 2002 budget was based on relatively conservative assumptions about the results. PSC President Barbara Bowen noted that the PSC works actively within those affiliates, helping to shape their policies. She also reminded delegates of the important backing of AFT and NYSUT provide to the PSC, especially in legislative and organizing work.

so serve its operations, and for a portion of telephone system costs. Our projections are up because we expect to receive back money from the Credit Union for telephone costs.

19. The Voter Registration line indicates a small remainder of a grant.

B. Expenditures

20. NYSUT dues are \$218 annually for members earning above \$28,000 a year. NYSUT also has four other dues categories pitched to lower income levels: three-quarters, one-half, one-quarter, and one-eighth.

21. AFT dues are \$131 annually for members with over \$28,000 in income. They have two other categories: one-half and one-quarter. They are considering adding a one-eighth category, partly in response to our concerns about the consequences of organizing low-paid part-timers.

22. CBC means Collective Bargaining Conference, the AAUP unit of colleges with collective bargaining agreements.

23. NYS Public Higher Education Conference is a new organization that promotes public higher education. It includes PSC, UUP, NEA campuses, Friends of CUNY, UFS, and other college senate and community college representatives from throughout the state.

24. MLC is the Municipal Labor Committee, an organization made up of the unions of NYC public employees. It bargains for health and welfare benefits for all city employees.

25. Rent and electricity: This is based on a lease which continues through 2006; this amount is higher because of an increase in the lease terms.

27. Computer Equipment and Services: We are in the process of networking our computers. This item includes outlays that will eventually save us money, with cheaper Internet access, etc.

26 & 28. Postage and Delivery and Office Supplies and Printing are projected to increase because of increased membership, plus organizing and legislative activity.

30 – 31. Machine Rental/Leasing & Maintenance refer to copiers and printing equipment. This category formerly included the leasing of two automobiles, which we have stopped, at a savings of \$7,200 a year.

32. Accounting and Auditing: We use one accountant for the monthly financial report and another firm for the annual audit.

35. Library Acquisition: We plan to economize in this area and use the money elsewhere on higher priorities.

36. Insurance and Bonds: Payments for workers' compensation and unemployment insurance, plus bonding for officers and staff responsible for union finances.

37. Elections: This amount is projected to be lower, based on what was spent last year on chapter elections.

38. Salaries – Professional Staff: This category is higher because we have key staff for the full year (as compared to last year), and due to promotions and contractual increases.

39. Salaries – Support Staff: This category is lower because of the restructuring of some positions and because of some unfilled vacancies.

41. Personnel Cost Reserve: This is money set aside for payment to staff who leave and are owed money for accumulated sick leave and vacation time.

43. Reassigned Time and Stipends: This covers the cost of reassigned time and stipends for chapter chairs, grievance counselors, principal officers and special projects (e.g. Website, Health & Safety). CUNY continues to pay the President, First Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer their regular university salaries according to each person's respective faculty rank. The PSC pays these officers the standard university compensation for faculty who do administrative work during annual leave: this is a stipend worth 2/9 of the Associate Professor's top salary for work done during at least two months of the summer. Since they work as a team, each of these four officers receives the same summer stipend. (In addition, NYSUT pays stipends to the officers and other PSC activists to support their work on NYSUT committees.)

44. Temps: Occasional hiring of temporary staff to meet emergencies.

45. Public Relations: We buy tickets and newspaper/journal ads for events run by other unions and organizations that can be helpful to our campaigns. It is one way we become visible as a participant in New York labor and politics.

46. *Clarion*: This item is higher because of the costs of implementing the new design, increased printing due to membership growth, and consistent production of a 12-page issue.

47. Chapter Budgets: These have now been allocated to each chapter, according to a formula that takes into account basic needs for all and size of chapter membership. This is a key element in building the base of the union and increasing member participation on a local level.

48. Conferences, Meetings, Legislation: This category includes the costs of sending delegates to the NYSUT Representa-

tive Assembly and the AFT Convention, for Albany lobbying activities, and for refreshments for various union meetings. It is down because expenses that previously were included here are broken out elsewhere, e.g. chapter budgets.

49. Belle Zeller Scholarship Fund: The PSC contributes up to \$20,000 to defray 1/2 the cost of the reception for the recipients of the Belle Zeller Scholarships.

50. Belle Zeller Professorship: Establishes a possible supplement for the Belle Zeller professorship at Brooklyn College.

51. Organizing: Refers to expenses involved in our organizing campaign for adjuncts, e.g. materials, leaflets, refreshments for events (everything but payroll and fringe).

52. Cultural Activities: Events that help connect our members with each other and with other unions and community organizations (e.g., Labor Goes to the Movies).

53. Consultants: Lobbying and Public Relations: As part of our campaigns for improved State and City support for CUNY and for an improved contract, the Executive Council has hired Bolton-St. John's, a prominent lobbying firm, to assist us in Albany and at City Hall (cost: \$5,000 per month). We also have a one-year retainer with the PR firm Sunshine Associates, to boost our media visibility and advance public consciousness of CUNY and PSC issues (cost: \$7,500 per month).

54. Contract Campaign: Costs incurred in organizing events, such as "Teach CUNY," in support of contract negotiations.

55. CUNY Budget Campaign: Costs of activities in Albany and at City Hall to increase State and City funding.

56. Voter Registration 2001: The amount left to spend from last year's grant.

57. Committees: As the PSC has become more activist, committees have multiplied. There is now one fund that they can tap into, by proposing specific activities with a budget.

58. Solidarity Activities: Costs of activities that promote our ties to other unions, community organizations, and students (e.g., Labor Day Parade, coalition work, meetings with student organizations).

59. Health and Safety Activities: New activities on campuses, plus intern for campus visits, outside environmental testing, and equipment.

60. HEO Organizing Activities: Costs of a mobilizing campaign among HEOs, our largest active chapter, who are spread out over the entire university.

61. Grievance, Arbitration and Legal Services: Costs of cases that are taken to arbitration, including filing fees and arbitrators' fees.

62. Legal Consultants: We have a retainer agreement with Kennedy, Schwartz & Cure, who assist in contract negotiations, cases that we take to the Public Employment Relations Board, or cases that we take to court (cost: \$5,500 per month). We also use Meyer, Suozzi, English & Klein as counsel in our case with the Research Foundation, which aims to establish our right to organize several thousand RF employees on the campuses. He is paid by the hour.

63. Contingencies: Refers to an amount set aside for unexpected or miscellaneous expenses.

64. Addition to Reserves: At this point we project ZERO addition. This may change as the year unfolds.

PSC chapter elections held

By TOMIO GERON

In April, PSC members at fourteen chapters elected their local leadership for the next three years. Seven now have new chairs, but only one race was contested.

In that election, at Bronx Community College, a New Caucus slate narrowly defeated candidates running on the Independent slate.

For most chapters, ballots were counted on April 23 by staff at the PSC central office. In the BCC contest, the votes were counted by the American Arbitration Association.

At Bronx Community College, Marianne Pita of the New Caucus edged out Kathleen Williams of the Independent slate for chapter chair by a vote of 93-80. James Ryan, who had won many past BCC elections as head of the Unity Caucus slate, is retiring from CUNY this year.

STRONG CHAPTER

"We want to promote the widest possible participation of members," said Pita. "There's a lot of work to be done. People are enthusiastic about building a stronger chapter, with solidarity between faculty in different departments, between full-time and part-time, between faculty and staff."

"The New Caucus mounted a very effective campaign, and we also did our best," Williams told *Clarion* just before the vote.

The victors "are going to have to work at getting in touch with their constituency and striking an appropriate relationship with the administration," said Ryan, who backed the Independent slate. "We have had a very good relationship with the administration."

At York College, Peter Ranis, a member of both the PSC executive

Only one contested race

council and the York chapter executive committee, ran uncontested for chapter chair on a New Caucus slate. "In September, we're going to have a new science high school on campus," said Ranis (see page 3). "Our priorities are that we have a say in how it develops, and that faculty involved in the speeded-up planning get summer stipends. And York should get compensated for extra demands on our facilities."

BOISTEROUS

At City College, Larry Hanley ran without opposition for chapter chair. "I want to expand the core of involved faculty, improve faculty work conditions, and strengthen relations between the PSC and other unions, workers and students on campus," Hanley said. "I'd also like to see a more active and boisterous chapter and see it become an intellectual venue for faculty to debate and promote their vision of the College."

Gary Benenson, who had been chair at City for the last six years, cited some of the chapter's past accomplishments. "Under [former CCNY President] Yolanda Moses, they wanted to arm security guards," said Benenson. "We played a major role, I think, in persuading the President that that was a bad move." Benenson also proudly pointed to the active involvement of HEOs and CLTs in the CCNY chapter.

At the Graduate Center, Julia Wrigley, previously chapter secretary, ran uncontested for chapter chair on the Democracy slate. Since the election, Wrigley has helped lead a boycott of the GC cafeteria in solidarity with its workers (see page 2). The graduate tuition remission

provisions in the new contract will make a big difference to many PSC members at the GC, Wrigley said: "It's a big step in improving conditions at CUNY."

At Hostos Community College, Norma Peña de Llórenz ran unopposed for chapter chair on the Solidaridad slate. "We want to reestablish the chapter," said Peña de Llórenz. "We have members feeling disassociated from the chapter. We want to bring them back into the fold."

At John Jay, Jim Cohen ran unopposed for chapter chair on a New Caucus slate. "Our goal is to run a very democratic, inclusive chapter where we get as many faculty and staff involved in our activities as possible," Cohen said. "First order of business: improve working conditions in one of our old and sometimes unsafe buildings, North Hall."



From left: Paul Sheridan, Brooklyn; an American Arbitration Association official; Jay Appleman, Queensborough; Bill Friedheim, BMCC; and Mitch Wenzel, BCC

The previous chapter chair at John Jay, Haig Bohigian, stepped down after holding the post for 29 years. "Whatever success I may have had has been due in large measure to the support, confidence and cooperation of our college community," he said.

INFORMED AND INVOLVED

In a special election at the Bronx EOC, the new chapter chair, Jacques-

line Corcoran ran unopposed. She said that her priority is to keep her members informed and involved in the current negotiations over EOC contract issues (see page 12). "I'm going to get members the information they need and encourage them to be as active as possible," Corcoran said.

Overall, New Caucus slates were elected in two-thirds of the chapters voting this year.

Chapter election results

Baruch College: Chairperson, Howard Ross; Vice Chairperson, Sultan Catto; Secretary, Eric Neubacher; Officers At Large, Marilyn Neimark, Randolph Trumbach, Abdullah Tansel, Joseph Onochie; Delegates to DA, Howard Ross, Jacqueline DiSalvo, Sylvia Rackow, George Hill; Alternate Delegates, Joseph Onochie, Olga Casanova-Burgess, Gayle Delong, Eric Neubacher; Welfare Advisory, George Hill, Randolph Trumbach.

Bronx Comm. College: Chairperson, Marianne Pita; Vice Chairperson, Madelaine Bates; Secretary, James Hill; Officers At Large, Akil Lal, Marilyn Russell, Virginia Mishkin, Nelson Reynoso; Delegates to DA, Marianne Pita, Ben Carney, Andrew McInerney; Alternate Delegates, Thomas Brennan, Nancy Gear, Jacob Adekola; Welfare Advisory, Jason Finkelstein, Ray Hubener.

Bronx Educational Opportunity Center: Chairperson, Jacqueline Corcoran.

Brooklyn College: Chairperson, Tibbi Duboys; Vice Chairperson, Nancy Romer; Secretary, William Gargan; Officers At Large, Joseph Wilson, Carey Harrison, Cuthbert Thomas, Scott Dexter; Delegates to DA, Tibbi Duboys, Stuart Schaar, Immanuel Ness, Antonio Nadal, Leo Zanderer, Jean Grassman; Alternate Delegates, Alex Vitale, Carolann Daniel, Nanette Funk, Ernest Green; Welfare Advisory, Paula Whitlock, Mary Strong.

Central Office: Chairperson, Leo Deuster; Secretary, Milagros Reyes; Officers At Large, Theresa O'Neill, Michelle Bent, Bernadette Thomas; Delegates to DA, Leo Deuster, Gregory Dunkel; Alternate Delegate, Bernadette Thomas.

City College: Chairperson, Lawrence Hanley; Vice Chairperson; Seth Rosenberg; Secretary; Carol Smith;

Officers At Large, Elizabeth Starcevic, Phil Leonhard, Mike Green, Jean Plaiser; Delegates to DA, Lawrence Hanley, William Crain, Herman Cline, Gary Benenson, Susan DiRaimo; Alternate Delegates, George Brandon, David Tillyer, Rene Garay, Gerardo Renique; Welfare Advisory, Laurent Mars, Yvonne Francis.

College Laboratory Technicians: Chairperson, Sheldon Mendlinger; Vice Chairperson, Ellen Steinberg, Secretary, Randolph Smith; Officers At Large, Louis Rivera, Keith Rowan, Thomas Shemanski, Robert Suhoke; Delegates to DA, Joy Johnson, Randolph Smith, Bob Wurman; Alternate Delegates, Maria Chen, Camille McIntyre, Ellen Steinberg, Marion Saccardi.

Graduate Center: Chairperson, Julia Wrigley; Vice Chairperson, Frances Fox Piven; Secretary, Michelle Fine, Officers At Large, William Kornblum, David Nasaw, Jane Schneider, Shirley Lindenbaum; Delegate to DA, Julia Wrigley, Leith Mullings; Alternate Delegate, Neil Smith.

Hostos Comm. College: Chairperson, Norma Peña De Llórenz; Vice Chairperson, Leslie Ault; Secretary, Loreto Porte de Perez; Officers At Large, Lucinda Hughey-Wiley, Juan Preciado, Henry Lesnick, Lizette Colon; Delegate to DA, Norma Peña de Llórenz, Peter Roman; Alternate Delegate, Sue Dicker, Alfredo Villanueva; Welfare Advisory, Felix Ruiz.

Hunter College: Chairperson, David Winn; Vice Chairperson, David Kotelchuck; Secretary, Carmen Ortiz-Hendricks; Officers At Large, Tami Gold, Robert Carter, Jennifer Rich; Delegates to DA, David Winn, David Kotelchuck, Tami Gold, Robert Carter, Jennifer Rich, Carmen Ortiz-Hendricks; Alternate Delegates, Sandra Clarkson, Roz Petch-

esky, Nick Freudenberg, Steve Burghardt; Welfare Advisory, Mary Lefkarites.

John Jay College: Chairperson, James Cohen; Vice Chairperson, Carmen Solis; Secretary, Gerald Markowitz; Officers At Large, Karen Kaplowitz, James Malone, Harold Sullivan, Margaret Tabb; Delegates to DA, James Cohen, Carmen Solis, John Pittman, Francis Sheehan; Alternate Delegates, Michael Blitz, Avram Bornstein, Maki Haberfeld, Rick Richardson; Welfare Advisory, Daniel Pinello, Ellen Rodriguez.

LaGuardia Comm. College: Chairperson, Joan Greenbaum, Vice Chairperson, Samuel Farrell III; Secretary, Francine Egger-Sider; Officers At Large, Janet Michello, Michael Horwitz, Michael Frank, Joan Heitner; Delegates to DA, Joan Greenbaum, Daniel Lynch, Lorraine Cohen, Xiaping Yen; Alternate Delegates, Sally Mettler, Terence Julien, Joyce Moorman, Michael Frank; Welfare Fund, Steve Brauch, Janice Kydd.

Queens College: Chairperson, Jonathan Buchsbaum; Vice Chairperson, Hester Eisenstein; Secretary, Charles Molesworth; Officers At Large, Michael Krasner, Steven Kruger, Richard Maxwell, Ed Strug; Delegates to DA, Jonathan Buchsbaum, Ann Davison, David Kazanjian, Anthony O'Brien, Michael Roberts, Cicely Rodway, Jack Zevin; Alternate Delegates, Tom Bird, Josh Freeman, Arthur Salz, Bette Weidman; Welfare Fund, Arthur Ben Chitty, Miriam Thompson.

York College: Chairperson, Peter Ranis; Vice Chairperson, Janice Cline; Secretary, Aegina Berg; Officers At Large, Charles Coleman, Laurel Cooley, John Drobnicki, Jack Schlein; Delegate to DA, Peter Ranis, Mary Jo Kranacher; Alternate Delegates, Janice Cline, Lorraine Stern; Welfare Fund, Sherrian Grant-Fordham, Randy Punter.

PSC NEWS IN BRIEF

NYSUT conference

PSC delegates were active at the annual Representative Assembly of the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT), the PSC's statewide affiliate, held in April in NYC.

Iris DeLutro, vice-chair of the PSC's HEO chapter, and PSC First Vice President Steve London were elected as new members of NYSUT's Board of Directors, while PSC President Barbara Bowen was re-elected to NYSUT's B.O.D. Three PSC resolutions – on improved pension rights for adjuncts and equity for ORP members – were approved, but not selected as top priorities, by a pension issues committee composed mainly of K-12 teachers. Resolutions supporting academic freedom, immigrant tuition, equity for part-time faculty (including worker's comp coverage), supplemental TAP and a resolution against appointing City or

State employees to the BoT were all approved by the higher ed committee, where PSC delegates collaborated with those from the UUP and other AFT higher ed locals. Family leave, academic freedom, equity for part-time faculty and supplemental TAP were approved as top priorities. However, a PSC resolution opposing high stakes testing was soundly defeated in committee.

NYCOSH honors PSC

The PSC was honored at the New York Committee for Occupational Safety and Health annual awards celebration on April 17. NYCOSH selected the PSC for its Union Recognition Award, citing its vigilance and response on issues such as unsafe repairs to occupied buildings, hazardous construction and dangerous dust and noise. NYCOSH applauded the PSC's efforts on these issues, which have included trainings for members, public meetings, site visits to problem areas and collaborations with DC 37, which represents many CUNY workers.

UNION VIEWS

Saving Welfare Fund benefits for the future

By STEVE LONDON

For six years running, the PSC/CUNY Welfare Fund has spent more money on benefits than it received in revenues. To make up this yearly deficit, the Fund has had to tap its reserve funds – which are quickly dissipating. Current projections indicate that the Fund will spend down its reserves to nothing sometime late in 2004. Unless corrective action is taken soon, Fund benefits (prescription drug, optical, dental and hearing aid plans, life and disability insurance, additions to basic health insurance [“major medical”], and HIP riders) will have to be radically altered to keep the Fund solvent.

The Fund Trustees will not allow such a crisis to develop. They are now bringing to a close a strategic planning process to en-

sure the Fund’s solvency and save the members’ benefits for the future. A six-month review and planning process has involved the Trustees, volunteers from the Welfare Fund Advisory Board, experts from among the membership, the Fund’s administrative staff, and consultants (see *Clarion*, February 2002). The Trustees are now considering alternative ways to restructure the Fund to ensure that benefits are not interrupted, and plan a report by summer’s end on what decisions are needed.

PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

How did the Fund get into this shape and what are the Trustees planning to do about it?

Many union welfare funds are reeling from the same political and economic conditions: rising health care costs, shifts in health care practices to out-patient care and drug maintenance, and sky-rocket-

ing prescription drug costs.

The PSC/CUNY Welfare Fund has not yet adjusted to these circumstances, while restructuring has been taking place in many other benefit funds over the last several years.

The result is that our benefit structure is significantly more comprehensive than other municipal union plans and, given the available resources, cannot be sustained in its present form. This delay in corrective action has meant that the reserve funds are quickly being spent down, making the necessary restructuring more extensive than if it had been done earlier.

The major drain on the fund comes from the prescription drug benefit, and retirees make the most use of prescription drugs. Drug costs (and drug company profits) are increasing at a rate of 20% per year (see *Clarion*, Decem-

ber 2001). The adjunct health insurance plan also runs at a deficit, but a much smaller one. Active members’ benefits have run at a surplus until now and have partially subsidized retirees’ and adjuncts’ benefits, but as of next year, active members benefits are projected to go into deficit as well.

The impression among some of our membership that the source of the Fund’s financial problems stem mainly from adjunct health insurance is wrong. The primary source of the problem comes from runaway prescription drug costs, lack

We will all have to work together to save our benefits.

of Medicare coverage for prescription drugs, and no sane national health care policy, in combination with the utilization patterns of our membership.

In the absence of a shift in national policies, the union leadership and Fund Trustees will have to take actions to increase revenues to the Fund, make delivery of benefits more efficient, and restructure benefits to influence patterns of use. We will all have to work together to save our benefits.

The PSC/CUNY Welfare Fund receives its funding through the collective bargaining agreement. The PSC bargains with the City of New York – along with other mu-

nicipal unions – to provide adequate funding. The PSC made this a high priority in the latest negotiations, and the new contract includes some important funding gains: \$350 in cash per member, an increase of \$200 in the rate paid annually to the Fund for each member, a shift of some drug costs from the Fund to City health insurance plans (the “PICA” drugs), and more resources for adjunct health insurance. But these gains do not solve our problem. Even with comparable funding in the next round of contract negotiations, the deficits will continue to mount.

RESTRUCTURING

The Fund has run an operating deficit for eleven out of the past 14 years. Increasing contributions to the reserve through collective bargaining has been the method chosen in the past for dealing with the Fund’s deficit, but with this approach we would have to pour an increasing amount of our contractual settlements into maintaining the current benefit structure if the Fund is to remain solvent. The union leadership and the Trustees have come to the conclusion that concentrating only on the funding side is insufficient and the time has come to evaluate and restructure our benefit package and the methods of delivering it.

The Fund Trustees are considering a range of changes guided by the following principles: 1) maintain substantial equality of benefits between active and retiree members, although out-of-pocket costs may differ; and 2) make the impact on our sickest members the least burdensome. Among the options being considered are increased co-pays and deductibles for prescription drugs and other benefits, measures to influence utilization patterns, and alternative providers for delivering drug, dental, and life insurance benefits.

DECISIONS

Basic health insurance for full-timers will not be affected by the Trustees’ decisions, as it is provided directly through New York City’s health insurance program. Part-timer health insurance is currently provided by the Fund; the new contract establishes an enhanced funding stream for part-timer health insurance with the goal that it will be administered by the City in the same way as for full-timers.

The restructuring process will include some benefit enhancements, as well as provide current benefits to members at a reduced out-of-pocket expense while saving money for the Fund. The Fund Trustees will report on the necessary decisions and have a period for membership comment before the conclusion of this process.

Steve London is PSC First Vice President, a Welfare Fund Trustee and Executive Officer For Member Relations.

Organizing for universal health care

Retirees Chapter, PSC back new group

By TOMIO GERON

Eight years after the collapse of the Clinton plan for health care reform, the prospect of universal health care in the US may seem as likely as a cure for the common cold.

But a new local group is working to rebuild a grassroots movement for universal health care in the US. The group, “Rekindling Reform,” started with public forums on health care systems in other countries – France, the UK, Germany and Canada – and is now planning a campaign of political lobbying.

Rekindling Reform already has 40 sponsoring organizations, including the PSC. The PSC Retirees Chapter endorsed the effort in February, and the PSC Executive Council followed suit in April.

A nationally financed and administered health care system would help rein in costs, according to Francine Brewer of the PSC Retirees Chapter, who is also the union’s representative to Rekindling Reform. “Universal health care gives the possibility of having more control over costs and reducing the costs of administration,” said Brewer. Also, health care is a fundamental right, she said: “It’s a social justice issue.”

USA IS ALONE

A national system, Brewer said, will directly affect “health care costs at CUNY so we don’t have to reduce benefits. If you look at rising drug costs and the problems with the [PSC-CUNY] Welfare Fund, there’s no end in sight. The money that we

have will go further if we have universal health care.”

Rekindling Reform’s speaker series featured experts who spoke about the pros and cons of each country’s health care system, said Aaron Beckerman, a cofounder of the group. But all of these countries have one thing in common: everyone is covered. In contrast, the US is the only developed nation in the world without comprehensive care. It has over 40 million people who are uninsured – including some of the PSC’s adjunct members and many CUNY students.

“There is a debate going on now on health care in the US,” said Beckerman. “We want to get into that debate in an informed manner. One of the ways is to find out about universal health in other countries.” He

said that the presentations brought together teachers, nurses, doctors, social service providers and academics, to consider alternatives to the crisis-ridden organization of health care in the US.

The story in New York is worse than the US average, with 25% of the people uninsured in NYC compared to 17% nationwide. Meanwhile, overall health care costs keep rising. So Beckerman and Lou Levet, retired Yeshiva University professors, along with Dr. Victor Sidel of Montefiore, launched Rekindling Reform last year.

LOBBYING

Now Rekindling Reform is shifting its emphasis from analysis to action. “We will be working with community groups to get them involved,” said Beckerman.

Rekindling Reform plans to lobby for selected state- and federal-level legislation which moves toward universal health care. Beckerman cited HR 99, a non-binding resolution currently in the House of Representatives, which pledges universal health care by 2004, as one possible candidate for support.

“It’s very important for the labor movement to be a part of this group,” said Irwin Yellowitz, chair of the PSC Retirees Chapter. The Council of Municipal Retirees Organizations (COMRO) also just endorsed the Rekindling group. Yellowitz hopes that the larger municipal unions will soon follow with endorsements, just as the PSC has. “I hope other unions will come along.”

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A union discussion

At its meeting on March 21, the PSC Delegate Assembly passed a resolution calling for a two-month education and discussion process within the union on US military engagement and nuclear policy, "in preparation for formulating union policy." That process has included many chapter-level discussions, a set of readings prepared by an ad hoc DA committee, and this exchange in the pages of Clarion. The readings (which include the AFT resolution referred to below) can be found on the Web at www.psc-cuny.org/warandpeace.htm. Clarion invites members to write to us with their own opinions and responses.

TAKING A STAND?

No: it would divide us

By IRWIN YELLOWITZ

A labor union depends on the unity of its members for its strength. Unity is never easy to achieve since even the employment interests of members are not necessarily identical. Union leaders must harmonize differences and maximize identity and unity.

Members will largely agree on many public policies that benefit American workers. Unions can rally behind these political positions, and the politicians who support labor's views, without endangering the basic unity of their members.

But once we move into policy areas distant from our identification as the faculty and staff of City University, we meet all the differences that exist in society as a whole. Union leaders must avoid weakening our unity by taking stands on these issues. The policy of the United States on terrorism is just such a splitter.

Our members have their views about the war on terrorism, which cover a wide range of opinions. No matter how crafted, a stand by the PSC will offend many members and weaken our unity. In addition, those who hold seats in the PSC's Delegate Assembly were elected to pursue the well-defined interests of the membership. To offer policy statements on issues such as the war on terrorism, on which the views of the membership are undefined and diverse, would go beyond their mandate.

If our union's stand opposes government policy, it will distance us from the general public and give our opponents the ammunition to attack CUNY again by attacking the PSC's position on the war on terrorism. We would clearly weaken our ability to serve our members by indulging in a stand on such an issue.

The PSC needs the support of other unions in our struggles. A resolution concerning the war on terrorism may well alienate us from most of the labor movement, again weakening our ability to defend CUNY and the interests of our members.

Because they want to change society, union activists face the constant lure of using the union to advance their wider political goals. Restraint is always difficult, but restraint is exactly what we need. To preserve unity among our members and with our allies, the PSC should not take a stand on the war on terrorism.

Irwin Yellowitz is professor emeritus of history at CCNY, a member of the PSC Delegate Assembly and chair of the Retirees Chapter.

TAKING A STAND?

Yes: these issues affect us

By STEPHEN LEBERSTEIN

The US labor movement has long taken stands on national political issues – and often on matters of war and peace. To argue that organized labor should stay out of international affairs ignores our history – and ignores how workers are affected by such political decisions.

Last October, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers, our parent union, passed a resolution pledging unconditional support for President Bush's open-ended "war on terrorism." That same resolution noted the AFT's "long and proud tradition of support for international engagement" – which in the AFT's case included support for the Cold War and the war in Vietnam. It is legitimate, even imperative, to ask if this "engagement" will strengthen our interests as workers in the academy.

Bush's ballooning military budget and attacks on civil liberties suggest that it will not. The Bush administration's unre-

strained militarism is in conflict with support for public higher education and support for academic freedom. These connections mean that foreign policy is very much the union's concern.

Political issues affecting workers are often controversial. In the past, such controversy hasn't stopped labor leaders from taking sides. In 1916, Samuel Gompers, then president of the American Federation of Labor, rejected the anti-militarism of much of the labor movement and supported "preparedness" for US entry into World War I. But his support for the war didn't stop government attacks on labor in the years that followed.

In the 1930s, rank and file trade unionists, including some of our former colleagues, volunteered to defend the Republic in the Spanish Civil War. Today, most would agree that it was in labor's interest to try to stop fascist aggression before it spread. But American unionists who fought in Spain were dubbed "premature anti-fascists" and hounded by the US Attorney General after 1939.

AFL-CIO President George Meany's constant support for US foreign policy, and especially his hawkish pronouncements on the war in Vietnam, are not such a distant memory. Under Meany, the AFL-CIO's overseas operations collaborated closely with the CIA. AFT President Albert Shanker also supported the Vietnam War, and Shanker never shied away from making foreign policy the union's policy.

It is true that our members don't speak with one voice on urgent national policies, both domestic and foreign. On Bush's war policies, whatever position we take as a union must be the result of a vigorous, far-reaching discussion. Our national union has already taken a stand. If we agree with the national AFT position, then perhaps we can be content to let it speak for us. But if we do not, it is our responsibility to speak out.

Stephen Leberstein is Executive Director of the CCNY Center for Worker Education and a member of the PSC Delegate Assembly.

WAR & PEACE

War and the values of education

By HUGH ENGLISH

Do not pretend to convenient beliefs even when they are righteous you will never be able to defend your city while shouting
– Audre Lorde, "For Each of You"

The terror of 9/11 touched us all very much "at home." But the closeness of this violence offers all the more reason for a thoughtful, educated response that understands that true security will come from global justice and peace, and not from war.

As a species and the residents of a planet, we are desperately in need of models of behavior that build negotiation across differences, that reflect the values of rational discourse and open-minded intellectual inquiry. These values are almost completely symmetrical with what I hope for as an educator – the possibility of humans moving from positions of unexamined certainty to open risky query, to a life lived in the mind as well as in the passions, to critical thinking, historical understanding, cultural empathy and exchange.

After 9/11 we got none of this. Instead, we were offered rage, sentimentality, revenge and rhetorical platitudes that presented all U.S. foreign policy as a struggle against "evil."

So I was stunned by the words of Colin Powell on his arrival in Israel in April. Arguing that the Israeli Army's military offensive would not end terror, Powell asserted: "The violence and anger and frustration which feeds [terror] will still be there unless we find a negotiating process" (NYT, April 12). Here was one of those fascinating moments of recognition when the obvious becomes suddenly and newly legible. Powell's thinking, as articulated here,

was precisely what could not be spoken after the terrible attacks of last September.

Rage is understandable as an emotion, but it cannot take the place of a hard and clear look at history, geopolitics, and the possibility of proceeding politically through what Powell names as "a negotiating process." Unexamined feelings and uninformed allegiances – are these not exactly the responses that, as educators, we work to replace with rational speech, informed conclusions, and socially negotiated, rather than received, truths?

Many argue that one cannot negotiate with, say, the Taliban. But when the Taliban offered to negotiate over handing Osama bin Laden over to an international court, the Bush Administration spurned the offer as propaganda – despite reports of political splits and struggles within the Afghan regime. It is not that the US government tried to negotiate and was rebuffed: rather, it was afraid of the very idea. Negotiations would undermine its claim that it has the right to unilateral use of deadly force without accountability to anyone. The same logic – or lack of it – has now led the Bush Administration to withdraw from the treaty to establish an international criminal court, a court whose purpose is to deal with crimes against humanity. This is an odd way to oppose terrorism.

Now, as the U.S. government moves to intervene militarily in countries as different and far-flung as Iraq, the Philippines, Uzbekistan, Colombia, etc., the isolated sanity of Powell's comments seems haunting. With this expanding horizon of war, fueled by a rhetoric that defines its enemy and its strategies so vaguely that it could be limitless, we are asked simply to rally around the flag and ask no questions.

Nevertheless, as trade unionists and as educational workers, we must always ask questions. On our troubled and complicat-

ed planet, whose interests are being served by war? What does the administration's rhetoric of "good" and "evil" obscure? In a climate in which any opposition runs the risk of becoming criminal or at least of making one the object of witch hunts, it is all the more important not to "pretend to convenient beliefs," as Audre Lorde puts it.

The shock of 9/11 was not only in the human toll, though that is still hard to comprehend. It also stemmed from the naive assumption that our city and country were inviolable, no matter what degree of violence and suffering occurs globally – often at the hands of governments and armies supported by U.S. foreign policy. But we live in the world, and must understand how we are connected to it.

Certainly academics and universities have served the interests of the powerful more often than not, but here we find an opportunity to understand our role as one of teaching peace, of examining the roots of global conflicts, of helping to imagine and to articulate solutions. Again, as Lorde suggests, "you will never be able to defend your city/while shouting." Let's stand for the talking, listening and thinking which we profess in our work as the only effective defenses in a world where "shouting" threatens to obscure all other voices.

Means and ends, while not entirely symmetrical, are nonetheless always mutually constitutive. We will never make another world of peace and justice possible through war, especially through the vague, indeterminate war that we are now asked to join. Only insistent and tireless talk of peace and justice points toward another possible world of hope. Both as unionists and as educators, let's teach peace.

Hugh English is an assistant professor of English at Queens College, where he is Coordinator of College Writing Programs.

WAR & PEACE

The use of military force

By MICHAEL BARNHART

Across union ranks, one finds a wide variety of opinions regarding the proper US response to both the September 11 attacks and any future attacks as well. No issue seems to divide us more than the question regarding the role of military force. Especially for those of us who witnessed the disasters of the Vietnam War, it is a very real question whether it is ever legitimate to bomb or attack other countries in the pursuit of national objectives, even if those objectives seem as commendable as protecting ourselves and others from “terrorist” attack.

However, the sheer horror and inhumanity of events all over the world – the genocide in Rwanda, “ethnic cleansing” in Bosnia, the killings in Kosovo and more – should force all of us to carefully evaluate our moral judgments regarding military force. The provision of basic security, the protection of the basic right to life, is such an overwhelmingly important human need that we can never entirely eschew the use of force in its pursuit. To do so would be to turn our backs on the moral obligation to protect the innocent – and that is not an option.

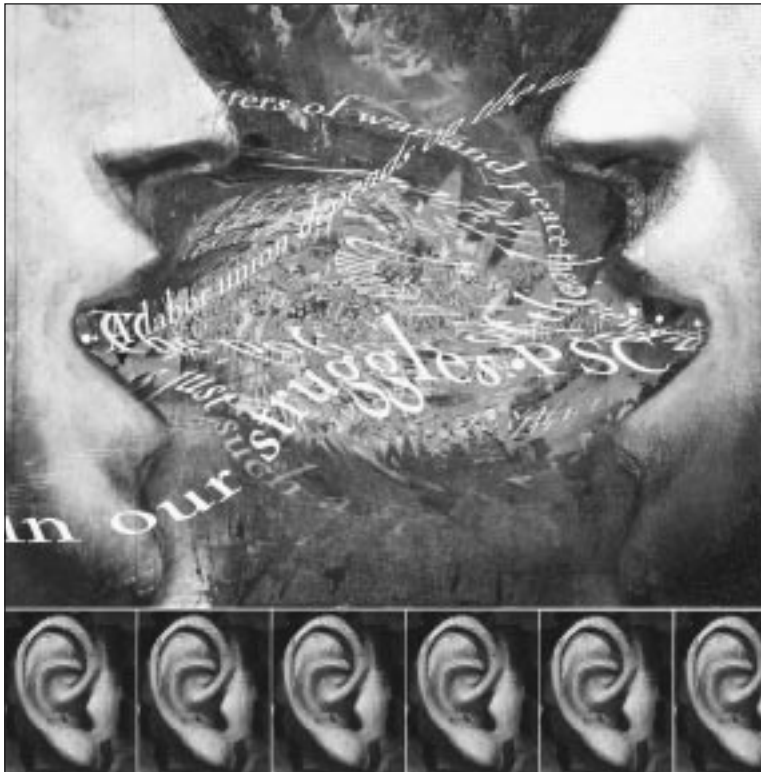
That said, the question becomes whether the current situation involves such an obligation, to what extent, and whether in such a way that deadly force is called for. In regard to the first of these questions, the fact that we are dealing with an act of terrorism is important. The Bush administration’s rhetoric aside, I agree with those who claim that “terrorism” is a particularly slippery term. However, no one besides the perpetrators has

claimed it does not accurately describe the Trade Center and Pentagon attacks. These were attacks directed at civilians, who were not parties to any standing international dispute, with the sole purpose of terrorizing them in the hope of demoralizing a country of which the attackers disapprove due to its values and influence. If this does not qualify as terrorism, I don’t know what does.

Every country not only has a right to self-defense; it also has a solemn obligation to protect its citizens from attack, by whatever means are effective and proportionate. Given that the US is responding to terrorism, military force could certainly be justified.

If the use of military force is morally permissible, we still face the question whether it is called for in this case. Would other means obtain the sort of basic security and protection to which the American people are entitled? Given the manner in which Taliban authorities responded to diplomatic efforts to obtain the arrest of Osama bin Laden or shut down the operations of Al-Qaeda, the answer has to be, “Certainly not.” Now that we know how dependent the Taliban was on the military forces of Al-Qaeda, it is clear how impossible such an outcome would have been. Furthermore, even if bin Laden had been turned over, his network would have

remained – and its dismantling was and is imperative. Of course, this does not mean that every military action the U.S. military might undertake in pursuit of bin Laden and his network is automatically defensible. But overall, the case in favor of vigorous military action, limited to dealing with the threat posed by Al-Qaeda, is very strong.



Greg Spalenka

Let me be clear: I am not arguing that US military force is always or even usually justified. At most, it can only be supported on a case-by-case basis. Thus, nothing that commends action towards the Taliban automatically justifies the same toward Saddam Hus-

sein and Iraq. While Hussein is a ruthless and destructive leader that the world would be better without, the conditions that justify action in Afghanistan – a demonstrated and imminent threat against Americans and a complete absence of realistic policy alternatives – do not straightforwardly apply in the case of Iraq. Add to this the lack of strong international support, and an incursion into Iraq resembles nothing so much as foolhardy adventurism.

Nor am I arguing that military force alone is sufficient to meet the security obligations we face. The current sort of anti-American feeling that both fuels and comforts the attackers of September 11 has deep and complex socio-political roots. Systemic and widespread poverty in developing nations, repressive and undemocratic regimes that often enjoy American support, loss of cultural roots in a fast-changing global economy that undermines traditional values – all of these conspire to make the world a more dangerous place for everyone, no matter how innocent they may individually be.

True security and protection require we deal with all of these issues no matter how intractable they may appear.

That, too, is a fundamental moral obligation.

Michael Barnhart is an associate professor of philosophy at Kingsborough Community College and a member of the PSC Delegate Assembly.

WAR & PEACE

Blowback and security

By PENNY LEWIS

Since September 11, we have become more familiar with a concept that espionage circles have dubbed “blowback.” Cold-war alliances and policies intended to maintain US hegemony “blow back”: at one extreme, former allies turn their weapons against the state that supported – even created – them.

In a broader sense, militarism brings with it another form of blowback. The wars we wage abroad are also waged at home. These are austerity wars, where military investment drains resources from domestic spending, and wars against our own freedoms, as civil liberties come under attack. “Blowback,” in all its variations, is one important reason why the PSC should oppose the current phase of war and militarism through which the US is moving.

In today’s dollars, Bush’s proposed military budget of \$396.1 billion is 15 percent higher than the average during the Cold War years. It is greater than the combined expenditure of the next 25 military powers, and over six times that of its closest rival, Russia.

Eisenhower’s “guns or butter” antimony has been decisively decided in favor of guns. If “butter” means affordable health care and housing, modern transport systems and competitive schools, US international rank-

ings indicate the limits of the sword: the US is the overwhelming leader in arms, and well behind other developed countries in all the rest. Bush’s proposed \$46 billion increase in military spending represents more than total federal spending on either health care (\$41 billion) or primary, secondary and vocational education combined (\$45 billion). These upside-down priorities are not short-term emergency measures: we are promised that this “war on terrorism” will last for a long, long time.

Those who question the blank check for war risk being branded as unpatriotic, even “seditious” (in the words of one CUNY trustee). Recent legislation and executive orders have given the government new tools with which to suppress dissent. The rights to free speech and assembly, the right to privacy, the right to a prompt and public trial – all are under assault. It is possible in this country today to be jailed without charge and in secret, held indefinitely, have no knowledge of the evidence used against you and be denied the attorney-client privilege necessary to defend yourself. Police have been given expanded powers to carry out search and seizure, wiretaps and cyber-surveillance, and inspection of medical and academic records. These efforts to downsize the Bill of Rights pose a particular danger to academic freedom.

Domestic blowback could be sufficient reason to oppose militarism and war. Yet many object to the repression and budgetary priorities described above accepting this war as “necessary,” or even “just.” But condemning the one and embracing the other is a tenuous position at best.

War in the name of “homeland security” trumps dissent over the domestic details. If we accept that this is a war to defend our lives, it is difficult to strenuously object to the measures taken on its behalf. Pro-war resolutions by national associations to which we at CUNY belong, from the American Association of State Colleges and Universities to the AFL-CIO, create a political logic that makes their criticisms of domestic blowback muted and anemic. For labor, the nascent promise of international solidarity is being eroded by its support for this open-ended war, waged in developing countries, whose casualties are overwhelmingly civilian, fellow workers.

The Orwellian overtones of the current moment – war makes us safer, repression protects freedom – should be directly challenged by the PSC. However, the real question for us is, will Bush’s expanding war in fact make us any more secure? The whiplash of blowback, in all its forms, should give us pause.

Starving domestic budgets for education, health and housing will make life less secure for millions here at home. And what of US actions abroad? They are not shaping the world in the idealized image of an American republic that embraces life, liberty, and the

pursuit of happiness. US intervention has time and again been an obstacle to the establishment of free and democratic societies. The Nicaraguan *contras*, the Afghan *mujahedin* and UNITA in Angola are just some of the openly terrorist “freedom fighters” who’ve won US backing. US support for state terror in Chile, Indonesia, Greece, Congo, Iraq, Iran, El Salvador and Vietnam illustrates the *real politik* of “support for democracy.”

We need to question the invidious logic of our government’s support for repressive regimes and question whose interests are being represented. We should question the consistent support that the US shows for economic policies that contribute to regional impoverishment and the polarization of wealth.

The terrorism on which the US has declared war is not the product of a free and fair society, but rather of those, fundamentalist or desperate or both, who use this “weapon of the weak” to destabilize or wrest concessions from the strong. Yet US policies till the soil for the very forces that US leaders aim to “weed out” from “evil” places around the world.

Far from being the protector of security and freedom, this war makes them casualties – at home and abroad.

Penny Lewis is a Writing Fellow at BMCC and a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the Graduate Center, where she is working on a dissertation about the US labor movement’s response to war.

Organizing at RF heats up

Talks stall, management seeks 24-hour-a-day schedule

By TOMIO GERON

While CUNY faculty and staff have a tentative agreement in place to be ratified by members, staff at the CUNY Research Foundation (RF) are now in their 20th month without a contract.

Though there has been some progress in the RF negotiations, major sticking points remain. Management recently increased its salary offer to 3, 3.5 and 4.5 percent raises in the 3rd, 4th and 5th years of the contract and dropped its refusal to give retroactive pay, but declined to move from 2.5 percent, below the rate of inflation, in each of the first two years.

PSC members at the RF say their work has increased, while their pay has not. "RF members are real disappointed that the RF has decided that the way to cut expenses is to deny employees a fair salary increase," said Tony Dixon, the RF's

PSC chapter chair. "Members are really upset. At this point we're willing to fight as long as we have to fight."

RF staff attribute the progress in talks to recent increased organizing activity. On April 16, over 100 people, including both CUNY faculty and 95% of RF workers, attended an informational picket in front of the RF's offices on West 57th Street. Wearing matching red RF T-shirts, protesters marched, blew whistles and chanted. It was the largest picket at the RF so far in this campaign.

24/7 SCHEDULES

CUNY faculty have also mobilized to support RF workers. In April, the PSC Delegate Assembly sent postcards to RF Executive Director Richard Rothbard, and more than 70 John Jay faculty signed a petition to Rothbard supporting the workers. The PSC Executive Council also wrote to the RF Faculty Ad-



Research Foundation staff at an April 16 picket in front of the RF offices.

visory Council, asking the group to help move the negotiations.

CUNY professors Charles Molesworth and Jim Perlstein attended

CUNY-wide contract vote in progress

By PETER HOGNESS

Ballots were mailed out on May 6 for the ratification vote on the proposed contract between the PSC and CUNY, with a deadline of May 24 for their return to the American Arbitration Association (AAA). *Clarion* went to press before the end of the voting period; we will cover results in our next issue.

A total of fifteen hundred members attended a series of special chapter meetings on the contract held in April. A May 13 meeting, for members from any CUNY work site, drew about 70 people to the Graduate Center, despite heavy rain.

Questions and comments reflected both broad support for the pro-

Talks begin for members at EOCs

posed agreement and a determination to win more in the next round of bargaining. "For HEOs, the fact that we put equity raises in this contract was very important," said Higher Education Officer Miriam Thompson of Queens. For the next contract, she said, "making the title a promotional series is the most important HEO issue." Librarians raised the need for annual leave;

adjuncts stressed such issues as salary parity and job security.

To make progress in the next round of bargaining, said First Vice President Steve London, "All of us have to get behind each one of us."

In that vein, members from other work sites were invited to join a picket line on May 21 outside a meeting of the Board of Directors of the CUNY Research Foundation (see article above), and given a report on negotiations for PSC members at CUNY's Educational Opportunity Centers (EOCs). "We can't let any part of the University get just a 1% or 2% increase," Bowen told the meeting. "It's unfair to them, and it would lower the floor for us all."

PSC members at the four EOCs – in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan and Queens – negotiate their salaries in a separate agreement attached to the overall CUNY contract. Since EOC funding comes

from SUNY, both SUNY and CUNY management are on the other side of the bargaining table. At the first two sessions, on April 20 and May 6, management demanded steep concessions from the PSC.

"Their demands, especially for incoming faculty, would mean a serious erosion of salaries, job security and professionalism," said Brooklyn EOC Chapter Chair Amy Nicholas, who is a member of the PSC's EOC bargaining team. "We said at the table that we would not agree to anything that downgraded the quality of the EOCs," said Bowen.

This is the first time that members from the EOCs have been directly involved in the negotiations: Nicholas and Gene Plunkett, chair of the Manhattan EOC chapter, are both members of the PSC bargaining team. "People were just astounded at management's demands," said Nicholas. "I really believe they are going to get involved."

negotiating sessions in early May to challenge management's allegation that faculty don't support the RF staff getting a raise. "Part of their allegation was that staff do not deserve more salary because they haven't been doing that good a job," said Molesworth, who was "perfectly happy" with RF staffers who worked on his grant. "We are contesting the claim that all faculty are unhappy [with RF staff]." When Molesworth asked management to provide data from a "focus group," which they had cited as proof of faculty discontent, management said they no longer had it, and that it was done over two years ago.

A major point of disagreement at the bargaining table is management's demand to make the RF a 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week operation.

"This 24-hour work day is something members are not going to accept," said Dixon. "This opens the door for management to abuse them. The RF refuses to give us any idea of *how* they want to incorporate the 24/7 work week, why they need shifts, how they will put it into action, or who it will affect."

When the World Trade Center disaster made the RF's former office unusable, the RF moved uptown. Management has cited the lack of space in its new location as a reason for going to a 24/7 operation, as well as the desire to increase its client base in the private sector.

INCREASED WORKLOAD

RF staff say their work has increased steadily in recent years. "They eliminated two departments and divvied up that work among everyone else," said Cecilia Patxot at the rally. "Now I'm doing work from both departments, plus the five other things they added to my job."

In April, the PSC learned that RF management implemented a new third tier pension plan. The RF thus unilaterally imposed one of their bargaining demands, in violation of the existing contract, which remains in effect until a new one is signed. After the PSC filed a Step Two grievance, the RF placed those workers in the right plan. Negotiators last met on May 15, but no significant progress was made.

Professional Staff Congress/CUNY

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15-MINUTE ACTIVIST

Working day and night

With the major PSC contract signed, now is the time for us to add our muscle to the contract struggles of one of the other groups we represent. The 70 employees of the Research Foundation are being stonewalled by management, which has offered them "increases" below the level of inflation. This is intolerable — for all of us. If CUNY workers anywhere can be forced to accept such a contract, the door is opened for similar contracts for the rest of the PSC

in the future. Management also wants to compel the RF to work around-the-clock, including midnight shifts! We can't let any PSC members work under these conditions.

Call Richard Rothbard at (212) 417-8500 or email him at richard_rothbard@rfcuny.org and tell him that you, as a CUNY colleague, will not stand for such a demeaning contract being offered to any CUNY worker. An injury to one is an injury to all.