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Union democracy and the PSC

Chapter elections this spring

By STEVE LONDON
PSC First Vice President

PSC chapter elections will be coming up this spring on 11 campuses, the CUNY Central Office, and in the College Lab Technicians’ chapter. Here is what you need to know to participate in those elections and other democratic processes of the PSC.

To be eligible to vote, you must have been a union member for four months prior to the election. That means union membership cards have to be filed by December 1, 2004 to vote in the chapter elections that will be held in April 2005. Four months of membership are also required to be eligible to vote on ratification of a new contract. A paycheck deduction for union expenses does not make you a union member if you have not signed a union card. Call the union’s membership department (at 212-354-1252) if you have questions about your membership status.

HOW TO RUN

To run for office, you must have been a member in good standing for a year prior to the close of nominations, which is March 1, 2004. Your participation in, and knowledge of, the democratic life of the union is important, because the power of the union depends on union democracy. A union can be strong only if its demands are backed up by members’ actions—and members will take action when union positions reflect their views.

The PSC constitution provides for the union’s democratic structure. The chapter is the most basic unit of the PSC, and every member is encouraged to attend meetings of their chapter and take part in its decisions. All full-time and part-time faculty are organized together into campus-based chapters. Chapters for PSC members employed in the Higher Education Officer and College Lab Technician titles are formed on a cross-campus, CUNY-wide basis. This includes a Retirees Chapter, plus workplace-based chapters at the Educational Opportunities Centers, the CUNY Central Officer, and for PSC members employed at the CUNY Research Foundation (RF) Central Office. Soon there will be a chapter for RF employees at LaGuardia, who are negotiating their first contract.

Each chapter’s leadership is directly elected by the members every three years. When members vote for chapter leadership, they also choose the chapter’s representatives to the PSC Delegate Assembly (DAA) which is the union’s highest policy making body. The Delegate Assembly holds open meetings monthly during the academic year. It debates resolutions from members, approves the union’s budget, decides whether to recommend a proposed contract settlement to the members for ratification, makes political endorsements, and discusses union political and contract strategy.

PSC elections happen on a three-year cycle: half the chapter elections occur one year, the other half the next, and elections for union-wide offices are held in the third. Union-wide posts include the positions on PSC’s Executive Council (EC), as well as delegates who represent the PSC at conventions of our state and national affiliates, New York State United Teachers and the American Federation of Teachers.

ELECT THE EXECs

The Executive Council, the PSC’s union-wide leadership and executive body, is directly elected by the members. The EC has twenty-five members, including the union’s president and the three principal officers, five university-wide officers, plus vice presidents and three officers for each of the following for the other categories: senior colleges, community colleges, cross-campus groups, and part-timers. All EC members are part of the union’s Delegate Assembly. The EC appoints the union’s bargaining committee, decides the union’s budget and recommends resolutions to the DA, including initiatives on legislative and political issues.

(For a full list of EC members, see the Clarion masthead on page 11, or look at “Who’s Who” on the PSC Web site, www.psc-cuny.com.)

The PSC also has a well-developed committee structure at the chapter and CUNY wide levels. Some of these committees are constitutionally mandated, others are established by the EC or DA, and some are initiated directly by members.

There are union committees on legislation, contract enforcement, safety and health, international, solidarity, academic freedom, women’s issues, international questions, part-time concerns, and more. They provide a host of opportunities for direct member involvement in union activity. (For a full list, click on “Committees” at www.psc-cuny.org.)

Finally, the PSC is affiliated with the larger labor movement. Members directly elect representatives to the conventions of NY State United Teachers and the American Federation of Teachers, as well as to the NYC Central Labor Council, the local affiliate of the AFL-CIO.

In the words of a famous song, “The union makes us strong.” At the same time, the union’s strength comes from its members. The PSC provides the opportunity for members to participate in union democracy and make us a strong union.

More about Morris

I was gratified to see two references in the March 2004 Clarion to Morris Schappes, with whom I worked for 30 years on Jewish Currents. I am correspondingly saddened to tell you of his death on June 3 of this year at the age of 97.

I would like to make two comments on the references in Clarion to Schappes. In a letter to the editor, Israel Kugler wrote, “The Stalin-Hitler Pact and the murder of Soviet Yiddish writers later caused Schappes to end his attachment to the Communist Party.” This is half right. The Stalin-Hitler Pact of August 1939 had a lot to do with Schappes’ commitment to the Communist Party. It wasn’t until the revelation of the Stalin’s crimes against the Soviet Yiddish writers and others, in early 1936, that the break occurred.

An article on page 7 states that Morris was fired from City College last year “after his department chair, appoint- ed by management, observed him teaching an essay by Shelley and making a joke that in his view, the content of the essay was actually resulted from the NYS Legislature’s Rags Coulter Commission’s investigation of Communists on the City College faculty. After Morris avowed his own party membership but refused to become an informer, he was purged along with 40 others. The CUNY administration formally apologized to these former employ- ees in 1981.”

Carol Jochnowitz

Editor’s note: Our abbreviated reference to the Shelley incident (described in more detail on page 31 of this issue) did not make clear that this took place the first time Schappes was fired, in 1936. After a public outcry, the CCNY administration was forced to reverse itself and restore Schappes to his job. Schappes was fired again in 1940, as Jochnowitz describes, and this time the defenders of academic freedom lost the fight.

Whose CUNY?

Student clubs and community groups have complained that CUNY imposes arbitrary and excessive insurance requirements and charges for the use of its facilities. Now professors are restricted in their use of events that they run or for extracurricular activities, for no legitimate reason, it is time to ask questions. We must insist on a university-wide policy to check such abuses of authority, and re-setup the facilities to their legitimate users.

Jamil Marassah

Let’s call a spade a spade.

I just want to thank you for publishing Tomio Geron’s article profiling the difficulties of becoming a parent and working at CUNY. As a continuing ed. teacher (K-6) working 28 hours a week at Hunter’s International English Language Institute, I am not eligible for any kind of paid time off. If I have also two other adjunct jobs. Luckily, I have full medical coverage under my husband’s plan.

Four weeks after my e-section at the end of July, I was teaching one four hour class a week. Starting this week, I’m teaching another three classes.

It’s really shameful how we are treated, considering that technical- ly we work for the City. The City doesn’t seem to have any qualms about spending our taxes on other things and not on the quality of higher education. How many million dollars of our local tax dollars went to securing the Republicans in their convention? How much more will go to settling all the lawsuits brought against NYC and the NYPD? It kills me to think how the CUNY Board of Trustees, and ultimately the mayor, don’t consider us worthy enough to have a contract, a decent salary, and paid time off for new mothers.

Debbie Coutavos

Hunter

Needed: a contract with paid parental leave

BY STEVE LONDON
PSC First Vice President

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Last Spring I requested the use of CCNY’s engineering lecture hall for a course that I am teaching this Fall. The room has blackboard and projec- tion facilities that are ideal for a quantitative course with a lot of graphics. But then-the-dean of engi- neering wrote on the back of the re- quest, “Denied.” At first, I thought another class with larger enrollment must be scheduled at the same time, but to my horror nothing of the kind was the case. The reason given was that the dean wanted to keep the room clear of students’ clutter, so that it would be ready in apto-span condition for outside professional events th. This is another administration favorites sponsor.

When CUNY’s students are denied the use of facilities paid for by the taxpayers and intended for student use, whether in a classroom setting or for extracurricular activities, for no legitimate reason, it is time to ask questions. We must insist on a university-wide policy to check such abuses of authority, and re-setup the facilities to their legitimate users.

Jamil Marassah

CCNY
More than a year of contract bargaining had produced no economic offer from CUNY management — until October 26, when management told PSC negotiators that it would make an offer “within the next couple of [bargaining] sessions.” The announcement came one day after a lively PSC picket line held outside the monthly meeting of the Board of Trustees.

“Contract now!” union members chanted, as they leafleted students and passed by. “CUNY salaries and benefits, once outstanding among universities, have fallen behind competitor institutions,” said the leaflet, an open letter to the Trustees. “We urge you to take action today, and secure a financial offer that supports us in the work we do.”

On October 26, the union bargaining team had made its own proposal for a financial package. In an effort to move negotiations forward, PSC representatives said the union would be willing to take the contract settlement for the SUNY union, United University Professors, as a starting point. The PSC proposed using the UUP agreement as a framework for salary increases, with the addition of sufficient funding to stabilize the PSC/CUNY Welfare Fund (WF) and restore WF benefits.

starting point

The UUP settlement boosts pay in each year of the agreement, including an $800 cash bonus the first year that becomes part of base salary at the end of the contract, with increases for seniority and the higher cost of living for those living in upstate New York.

Close to 100 members joined the picket line outside the Trustees’ meeting, demanding equity in a new contract.

by patti hogan

More than 60 people joined the picket line, and the consulate closed its doors for the duration. The PSC’s New York City presence was about 17% over the life of the four-year contract.

“We made clear that a critical difference between the PSC and UUP was that our Welfare Fund covers prescription drugs and faces acute needs this year,” said Barbara Bowen, the PSC’s president and chief negotiator. “These needs cannot be addressed, as in the past, simply by allocating a fraction of a percentage point in salary to the Welfare Fund — nor can we ever reduce our raises to maintain our benefits.”

In addition to member protests and pressure at the bargaining table, as well as signs of progress in New York City’s contract talks with the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) may have influenced the timing of management’s response. UFT President Randi Weingarten de- murred from a New York Times report that a contract agreement was near, but said that the talks were making “slow but steady” progress. The City and State must both approve any agreement between the PSC and CUNY.

Since the start of the semester, the PSC and CUNY bargaining teams have met almost every week, trying to reach agreement in areas where both have made proposals. Recent sessions have focused on job security for Higher Education Offi- cers, issues of annual leave, and re- assigned time for union work. “Man- agement’s proposals often move in exactly the opposite direction from ours,” Bowen explained. “But I am confident we can make progress, especially if management responds to our proposal with a reasonable fi- nancial offer.”

contract now

The October 25 picket line at the Trustees’ meeting included a special focus on equity issues, with signs such as “Equal Pay for Equal Work,” “Promote IBOs and CTs,” and “Part Timers: CUNY’s invisible Faculty?”

“We need a contract!” said Naomi Machado, who teaches in the College Language Immersion Program (CLIP) at BMCC. “Even though we teach 25 hours a week, CLIP teach- ers are still considered ‘part-time.’ We don’t have the same benefits as full-timers, and starting wages are just $30 per classroom hour. It’s appalling. We need to have full-time status.”

Library and counseling faculty protested their second-class treat- ment in annual leave. “We don’t get the same leave as a classroom faculty, but we have to meet the same crite- ria for promotion and tenure,” said Bonnie Nelson, of the library faculty at John Jay.

Ingrid Hughes, an adjunct in Eng- lish at City Tech and BMCC, called it “outrageous” that part-time faculty earn so little and have no job securi- ty. “It’s such an anxious thing every semester, to be unsure whether or not you’ll get your job back.”

taking action

“I hope to help tell the Board of Trustees that it’s time to get a con- tract for full-time faculty and ad- juncts alike,” said Bill Crain, profes- sor of psychology at City College. “The administration awarded them- selves enormous raises, while most faculty, especially part-time faculty, are underpaid.”

Union members across CUNY are writing to Chancellor Matthew Goldstein to urge a prompt and substantive contract settlement. To send a letter of your own, go to the “Act Now!” page at the PSC’s Web site, www.psc-cuny.org.

Solidarity with Colombian teachers strike

By Dania R. Jendend

On Tuesday, October 12, PSC mem- bers and others picketed the Colombian consulate in midtown Manhattan in solidarity with striking teachers in Colombia. Marchers denounced the Uribe government’s complicity in the murder of teach- ers and other union members.

The Federation Colombiana de la Educación (FECODE), the Colombian teachers’ union, reports that 300 teachers have been killed since 1998, with 83 killed last year alone. Thousands more have been forced to flee their jobs and homes because of death threats.

“When the Colombian teachers informed us of their nationwide strike, the Delegate Assembly decided to offer our support and solidarity,” said Segundo Pantiero, director of the BMCC Center for Ethnic Stud- ies. “An attack on one teacher is an attack on all of us.”

By Peter Horgan

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The PSC and the battle for Pennsylvania

By PETER HOGNESS

There’s no way around it—for those who hoped to see a change in the White House, the outcome of this election hurt. But the desire for change was not enough to energize a unprecedented wave of activism, and that’s something to build on for the future.

The PSC was part of this grassroots upsurge. Three busloads of volunteers got up at dawn to ride to Pennsylvania and spend a Saturday knocking on doors and talking to union voters. With support from the AFL, some members spent a week or more organizing in states as far away as Ohio and Michigan. The PSC office hosted phone banks on local races, which helped produce some good news for New York State (see above). The NYC Central Labor Council organized phone banks to call 250,000 union voters in Florida, and dozens of PSC members helped make it happen.

Clarion interviewed several PSC members who got on the bus to Pennsylvania. Here is some of what they had to say:

Nick Freudenberg, Hunter: I’ve been a political activist for 30 years, but I had never done electoral work before. I was impressed by the level of organization where we were in the Lehigh Valley. There were environmental groups, a Hispanic group, the labor group—there was a level of commitment that I have not seen before—and in the case of Pennsylvania, those coalitions were successful in winning the state for Kerry.

Steve Burghardt, Hunter School of Social Work: We were canvassing in a solidly working-class neighbor- hood. There were a lot of yard sales—people were selling clothing, chil- dren’s toys, furniture.

I spoke with this one guy who’d fought in the Korean War. He was an older guy, with an American flag in the front yard, a yellow ribbon “Support Our Troops” bumper sticker on his car. He was 100% against Bush because of the war in Iraq. “I know what war is like,” he said, “and Bush clearly doesn’t.”

Peter Hogness, Clarion editor: I spoke with one guy—very short grey hair, wearing a camouflage t-shirt—who really didn’t like Bush. He’d seen jobs from his plant get transferred to Mexico. He said the CIA helped put Saddam Hussein in power in the first place, and we shouldn’t even be in Iraq.

Nick Freudenberg: As one of union lead- ers told us that the Bethlehem Steel plant is the largest brownfield site in the US. In this particular county, 10,000 people had lost their jobs just since 2000. It’s striking that there would even be a discussion about who to vote for, given those circumstances.

Union activists were trou- bled by the fact that even a lot of people who had lost jobs due to Bush’s economic policies would still be like- ly to vote for him, for two main rea- sons: guns and abortion. It gave you some idea of how salient those issues are, especially outside of New York.

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Peter Jonas: In Allentown, the AFL- CIO had 600 people coming in to can- vass on that day alone. And the range of people on the PSC bus was really something—retirees, active members, family members of all different ages and backgrounds. It’s hell of a community, our union. And I think we did some good.
City Tech gets grant for ‘adjunct academy’

To strengthen part-timers’ role in academic life

Elaine Maldonado, director of City Tech’s College Learning Center

The PIFSE grant provides funds for adjuncts to attend conferences and participate in other professional development opportunities. Those attending conferences not only have their costs covered, but are paid a wage for their time at the meeting. “I want them to be compensated the same way anyone else would be, to make it a real professional offer,” Maldonado said. Part-time faculty are also attending some department meetings, particularly so they can stay informed about curriculum decisions. When they do, they are paid for their time.

“City Tech’s adjunct academy is a real breakthrough,” said Marcia Newfield, PSC vice president for part-time personnel. “This is a very creative prototype for part-timers’ professional development, and we hope that other CUNY campuses pick up on it.”

Maldonado notes that the marginalization of adjunct faculty is not unique to CUNY: “The reason that PIFSE gave me the money is because it’s not just a CUNY problem; it’s a national problem.” While more full-time positions are certainly needed, Maldonado said, higher education’s heavy reliance on adjunct faculty means that their situation needs to be improved today.

A BREAKTHROUGH

Marcella Massara, an adjunct faculty member in English, was part of a pilot program for the “adjunct academy,” which increased the pass rate in freshman comp by 13%. “The academy will give adjuncts the chance to take part in faculty meetings, socialize with our colleagues, get renamed for attending professional workshops or conferences,” Massara said. “We’ll feel more integrated as a part of the faculty instead of being marginalized.”

Maldonado made a presentation on the project last month at the City Tech PSC chapter meeting: “It’s just terrific,” said City Tech Chapter Chair Bob Cermele. “This is the kind of idea that, once it’s published, everyone says, Why didn’t I think of that?”

The nuts and bolts of solidarity

What it means to be an ally

What’s good for students is good for adjuncts

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Welfare Fund stories

Teeth, drugs and members’ lives

By PETER HOGNESS

Stephen Barrera needs dental work – and it’s going to hurt. “If I go forward with this, it’s going to cost me $13,000,” he told Clarion. “I’ve got to figure out where I’m going to come up with this money.”

The work Barrera needs is extensive. “Basically they have to create a bridge for the entire roof of my mouth,” he explained, “and I need another bridge on the bottom.” The projected cost will be about $8,000 for the top and $4,000 for the bottom. “I looked at implants, but they’re also expensive,” he said. “There’s no good way to do it.”

The prospect of a bill this large has put Barrera in a real bind. “My wife just started a new job, and we’re backed up on a lot of bills,” he said. “So now we’re trying to determine what’s most important – keeping the creditors at bay, or going away with some dental work.”

Barrera, an assistant to HRO at York College, is one of many PSC members who have been hurt by recent changes in the Welfare Fund (WF). The WF is financed by employer contributions from CUNY, and these payments have not kept up with rapidly rising health care costs. To keep the Fund afloat, the WF Trustees adopted a range of cost-saving and benefit changes – and changes in the dental plan have hit some members especially hard.

HUGE BILLS

“I understand why we’re at where we’re at,” Barrera told Clarion. “But when members in the campus meetings said they could sacrifice some of the dental coverage to help save the prescription plan, I don’t think they realized how much this could cost.” While rates charged by Guardian Plan dentists include a significant discount, major dental work can still leave members facing an enormous bill.

Cutting prescription coverage to improve the dental plan would be no solution, Barrera said. Instead, CUNY has to provide enough funds to meet members’ needs. “We’re not unrealistic,” he explained. “We’re not expecting anything for free. But benefits need to mean something.” To strengthen benefits for the future, Barrera said, “we have to fight for a better infusion of money.”

“Management needs to understand that with a good contract, we can work together to make this a better university.” Barrera continued. “And what better way to do that than to provide good health benefits? Then we can come in every day to do our jobs, and not fear that we’ll have to sacrifice one thing to pay for another.”

Norah Chase has spent $1800 for a bridge and a couple of thousand more for two root canals and other treatment. “It’s been the season of the teeth” she said ruefully.

Chase, who retired this year as professor of English at Kingsborough Community College, says the changes in dental coverage have hit her in the pocketbook. “When it was needed to be $100 for a crown, that was fabulous,” she said. “Now it’s about $500 for a crown, with the Guardian discount.” Without the discount, the charge would be about $1200, so Chase still values her coverage – but it now costs $400 more than before. “To have the kind of plan we did before, the Welfare Fund needs more money,” said Chase, currently an adjunct at the CUNY Center for Worker Education. “That means the CUNY administration should be working with the union to increase funding – it’s desperately needed.”

“Benefits are important not only to individual employees, but also to the future of the University. ‘CUNY needs good benefits to attract and retain good faculty and staff,’” she said. “If somewhere else offers the same salary and a better benefit package, we’re going to lose those folks.”

Improving dental benefits is not Chase’s only concern: maintaining the prescription plan and benefits for retirees are also high priorities.

Prescription drugs account for two-thirds of the WF’s expenses, and their cost is increasing by 15-20% per year.

“I was shocked when I learned how much the medications that I’m taking cost,” Chase said. “I had no idea. And I would have to pay for them even if they were not covered – it would not be a choice.”

Many union plans do not provide the same level of prescription drug coverage for retirees and actives – but Chase, like members at last year’s open meetings, said that’s vital that this be maintained at CUNY. “You often need medicines most when you are older,” she said. “Hopefully everybody is going to live long enough to be a retiree, so everyone is going to need retiree benefits.”

STARK CHOICES

Harry Cason is an adjunct in political science at the College of Staten Island. His dental insurance costs have not gone up – because he never had any insurance to start with.

“We part-timers don’t have any dental coverage,” he noted, and low pay and no insurance can leave you with stark choices. “I just pulled my own tooth,” Cason said.

“That chosen not to spend $300 to get it capped,” he explained. “I just didn’t have the money. I decided I could live without the tooth better than I could live without the $300.”

The damaged tooth became loose, and remained so for quite a while. “I just continued to play with it and eventually decided to force it out,” Cason said. “It was a little painful.”

“The complete lack of dental insurance is a major problem,” said Denise Ingram, an adjunct at Hunter for the last two years and a graduate student in sociology. “I have been getting root canal and a crown on one tooth – that’s cost $300 so far with a few hundred more to go. That’s more than I make for teaching a three-credit class!”

In last year’s campus meetings, members said that maintaining the WF’s prescription drug coverage is a top priority. For some who are on long-term medication, access to prescription drugs is literally a matter of life and death. “For example, there are breast cancer survivors who must take tamoxifen to prevent a recurrence,” said Marty Kaplan, a retired professor of biology at Queens College.

Kaplan and his wife take regular medication to fight a range of conditions, including osteoporosis, high blood pressure, high cholesterol, arthritis and more. Without prescription drug coverage, the cost could well be more than $1000.

LIFESAVING

“All I can tell you is that if we had to go pay for all this by ourselves, we’d be in trouble – and we are probably on the low end of prescription expenses, among retirees,” said Kaplan. “Often you don’t know how significant prescription coverage is until you need it. With the price of everything going up, it’s lifesaving.”

“With prescription drug costs going up every year, if the Fund just stands still it loses ground,” noted Mike Fabricant, professor at the Hunter Social Work and a member of the PSC’s bargaining team. “Even the increased funding we won through the Municipal Labor Committee is not enough. To maintain the [WF’s] drug benefit, the University has got to infuse more money into the Fund.”

“Welfare Fund members have done their part,” said Larry Morgan, the Fund’s new executive director. “Their participation in the mail-order program and use of generic drugs is way beyond what other providers have seen. More than half are now using Guardian dentists. I thought we would probably have to mount great campaigns to accomplish this, but people have already done it. Members should be congratulated for trying to work with the program.”

CUNY MUST PAY

The union says that now it’s CUNY’s turn to contribute more. “Recent benefits are not only some- thing management owes to CUNY employees,” said Fabricant. “They make it possible for us to do the work of the University. If the people who do the work are not cared for in some very basic ways, CUNY will suffer.”

“Management needs to step up to the plate with additional funds, and it needs to do so in this contract,” Fabricant concluded. “That’s why this is a centerpiece of our fight.”

Denise Ingram, adjunct lecturer at Hunter College, rallies for dental care in the new contract at the PSC picket outside the Board of Trustees meeting on October 25.
**Underfunding of benefits continues Welfare Fund crisis**

By STEVE LONDON
PSC First Vice President and Welfare Fund Executive Officer

When I think of what we have just been through with the Welfare Fund’s financial situation, I return to an image from my youth of an airplane pattered in a World War II era gun mounting toward the ground with the pilot struggling to pull up before crashing. Luckily, the pilot succeeds at the last minute and avoids disaster.

Three years ago we were starting at projected operating deficits for the Welfare Fund (WF) of $6 million in fiscal year 2001 and $10 million in FY 2004 — and the WF reserves were not sufficient to cover these deficits. If undiscovered, these deficits would have capped the worst.

We did this with a combination of added resources from the last contract, $2.7 million settlement with the WF and painful benefit reductions and restructuring. The result was that in FY 2003, the operating deficit was brought down from the project- ed $6 million to $1.5 million; in the just completed 2004 fiscal year, it was further reduced from a projected $10 million to $2 million. Our reserves, though small, were able to cover these reduced operating deficits (see the accompanying table).

**DEFICITS LOOM**

I wish I could say the worst is over and the Fund is no longer facing financial difficulties. Unfortunately, the cost of prescription drugs and health insurance is projected by Fund consultants to increase at the rate of 17% to 18% per year. As the graph above shows, if there is no change in the current employer contribution per member, utilization patterns, and benefits, then health care inflation alone will cause the operating deficit of the Fund to grow precipitously over the next two years, reaching a projected $31 million in FY 2006.

Thus, that nightmare image of the impending crash has not gone away. The Fund’s financial reserves are almost gone and at some point in the next six to eight months we will simply run out of money if nothing else is done. Fund trustees, exercising their fiduciary obligations, would have to act to protect the Fund’s financial stability and benefits. Unless there is an infusion of new resources, this could only mean increased member cost-sharing and/or further reductions in coverage.

**CUNY MUST PAY**

The union leadership considers both of these options absolutely unacceptable. Shifting more of the costs of prescription drugs or dental care to Fund members will greatly erode the value of Fund benefits. Members already pay, on average, 25% of prescription drug costs and the Fund’s reimbursement schedule for dental procedures does little to defray expensive out-of-pocket costs for dental care. Eligible adj- uncts, as a group, already contribute 15% toward the cost of health insurance coverage that is similar to full-time coverage.

CUNY has made an his- toric commitment to provide a comprehensive benefit package to active and retired instructional staff. It also took a leading role in providing health and prescription drug benefits to adjuncts. CUNY’s proud history should be honored through the maintenance of those commitments.

It should be obvious that, current- ly, CUNY understands our benefits. Our next contract must rectify this situation. We need a settlement with enough money to cover projected operating deficits, rebuild the reserves, and provide additional funding to enhance dental benefits. But new money in the contract to fund benefits should not come from our contractual salary package: To divert salary increases into Welfare Fund supplemental funding would be another way of shifting the increasing costs of bene- fits onto the backs of mem- bers — who have already shouldered an increase.

To try to fund benefits out of salary increases would be a losing proposi- tion. Given the staggering inflation in healthcare costs, salary increases would be progressively eaten up by the growing cost of bene- fits. Simply put, we cannot afford to take the money that is necessary for the Welfare Fund out of our salary settlement.

Thus it is important to fight for a contract that combines real raises with restorations for the Welfare Fund, maintaining the prin- ciple that funding of benefits must be in addition to salary increases. And that’s why it is important for members to join the PSC contract campaign. Only by making our- selves heard — with our colleagues, with the college presidents, with the Chancellor — will we have a chance to preserve our benefits.

You can join the contract cam- paign on the PSC Web site, at www.psc-cuny.org. After clicking on “Contract Now!” you can send a let- ter to the Chancellor and sign a pledge card for future actions. If you’d rather sign up by phone, call the PSC office at 212-534-1522.

**New funding in contract is solution**

Income & Expense Summary

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Sources: The Segal Company; PSC-CUNY Welfare Fund FY 2003 financial statement (presented by Berdon, LLP). See also note on graph.
Congress has been debating a new version of the Higher Education Act, the main source of federal aid to colleges and universities, for the last two years. It’s now clear that a reauthorization vote won’t happen before 2005. But some clear battle lines have been drawn, and students and institutions can expect a tough fight to win fair funding, especially with increased Republican majorities in Congress.

“We are in a very tough budget environment, and a very pro-private, privatization climate,” said Gabriella Gomez of the Department of Legislation of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). “Our challenge is to find ways to work differently and smarter, to build new coalitions. We need to keep the focus on how to provide access to college — which is the purpose of the Higher Education Act.”

**PIECEMEAL APPROACH**

First passed in 1965, the HEA established loans and grants to enable students to pay for college, as well as work-study programs and a range of institutional aid. Congress is supposed to reauthorize the Act every six years; it was last approved in 1998. In this session, the House has taken up the HEA piece by piece, considering a series of separate bills on different aspects of the Act.

A key example of the Republicans’ punitive approach is their proposal to tie federal aid to colleges’ graduation rates. Those schools whose students take the longest to attain their degree would face cuts in federal funding. This would be sure to hurt public institutions, since graduation rates are lowest among the students that serve those who are low-income, older, working, students of color, and the first in their families to go to college.

In 2002, the Department of Education rewarded colleges with high graduation rates by giving them special grants. The Chronicle of Higher Education reported that of the 80 winners, not a single school was public. The Chronicle cited LaGuardia Community College as one of several public institutions with successful programs helping students to graduate, but only some students graduate, “by creating programs to provide them with greater academic and social support.”

The AFT wants to expand such efforts to create programs that prepare under-represented students for college. Similar proposals are in Sen. Hillary Clinton’s Non-traditional Student Success Act, which would increase funding for campus child care, improve remedial education, and change Pell Grant rules to make them fairer for working students. But funding for such initiatives isn’t in the Republicans’ legislative proposals.

Many students do not graduate because of financial problems: for a growing number, college is simply unaffordable. But on this question, Republican proposals emphasize punishing institutions, not addressing root causes.

Rep. Howard “Buck” McKeon (R-Calif.) has accused universities of gouging parents and students, and suggested financial penalties for institutions that raise tuition too steeply. McKeon proposed legislation last year that would require higher education institutions to submit data for a “college affordability index.” Those that raised tuition too much would ultimately lose federal funding.

The bill infuriated educators across the country. Critics noted that 90% of US college students attend public institutions, where steep tuition hikes have largely been the result of drastic cuts in public funding. In the current fiscal environment, McKeon’s proposal would tend to penalize those institutions that have suffered the deepest cuts in public aid.

**DISTRACTION**

As for private universities, a recent study by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) found that schools’ growing expenses for financial aid were one of the main roots of escalating costs. Lack of adequate federal financial aid is thus fueling increases in tuition. Other factors were increased costs for information technology, benefits and infrastructure for scientific research, faculty salaries rose more than overall college costs.

The outcry against McKeon’s bill led him to withdraw it in March. But the idea of a “college affordability index” persisted in other legislation. Educators, unions and Congressional Democrats propose a different route to move college more affordable: increase the resources available to students. “Much of the noise [on tuition] is a diversion from the real issues,” said Mark Smith, director of government relations for the AAUP. “State funding is down, and the purchasing power of the Pell Grant is down a lot.”

In 1998, a Pell Grant covered 77% of average costs for a public, four-year college education, including tuition, fees, and room-and-board. But by 2001, a Pell Grant paid less than 43% of the costs at a four-year public college. Last academic year, the maximum Pell Grant was officially capped at $5,800 — but Congress has only appropriated enough funds for grants of up to $4,000.

**FRAUD**

In an effort to stop the hemor- rhaging of state funds from public colleges, Sen. Edward Kennedy’s proposed QUAID Act would penalize states that cut support for higher education by more than 10%, and would also increase Pell Grant funds. House Democrats introduced the Part-Time Student Aid Act, to expand part-time students’ access to federal aid.

Republican majorities mean lean times for higher ed

In 1980, a Pell Grant covered 77% of average costs for a public, four-year college education. But the purchasing power of the Pell Grant is down a lot.

In his second term, Bush can be expected to support some of the worst initiatives of Congressional Republicans. Sign post to a carrot-and-stick approach: carrots for for-profit institutions, and sticks for public education and others in need of support.

Because Congress and the Presi- dent, there is a third factor that will shape the reauthorization of the HEA: public opinion. Voters are concerned about college access, and see it as critical to their children’s future. With politicians on both sides and public-interest groups all appealing for public sup- port, 2005 is likely to see a hard-fought battle over federal aid to higher education.

By DAVIA RAJENDRA

**Taking aim at public colleges**

By CAROL S. PELLEGRINO

In an effort to stop the hemorrhaging of state funds from public colleges, Sen. Edward Kennedy’s proposed QUAID Act would penalize states that cut support for higher education by more than 10%, and would also increase Pell Grant funds. House Democrats introduced the Part-Time Student Aid Act, to expand part-time students’ access to federal aid. In the Republican-dominated Congress, these ideas failed to develop any traction.

Republican proposals emphasize loans over grants in student aid — despite the growing debt burden of American college students. The most generous GOP bill, HR 4291, would raise the current level of Pell Grants slightly but then freeze it for the next six years, while raising loan limits and converting loans from fixed to variable interest. More loans mean more business for the financial industry, which clearly counts McKeon and House Educa- tion and Workforce Committee Chair John Boehner (R-Ohio) among its friends. The two Congressmen received nearly $370,000 last year in contributions from loan consolidation companies and the student loan industry.

McKeon and Boehner also re- ceived $238,000 in contributions from for-profit colleges — and are seeking to loosen restrictions on federal aid to for-profit institutions. House Republi- can leaders want to lift the so-called “90/10 rule,” which requires that for-profit colleges get at least 10% of their revenues from some source other than federal student aid. The AFT is adamantly opposed to rolling back the 90/10 rule, noting that “draastically reduced” fraud and abuse by for-profit schools.

Representatives from both par- ties on the higher education com- mittee have supported repeal of the 90/10 rule, which states that schools offering more than 50% of their courses on-line or through the mail cannot qualify for federal aid. This measure was intro- duced in the early 1990s, when mail-or- der diploma mills were bil-
In a major victory for PSC mem-
bers, an arbitrator has ruled that all
full-time employees appointed after
July 1, 1976 are entitled to
Travia leave once they reach the
age of 55. CUNY had argued that
employees were appointed after
this date who are in TIAA-CREF or
other parts of the Optional Retire-
ment Program (ORP) are not
entitled to Travia leave, because of
statewide early retirement incentives. Any
CUNY employee who qualified for
these incentives also qualified for
Travia.

The August 31 ruling, by Arbitra-
or David Stein, came in a grievance
filed on behalf of Rose Starr, associ-
ate professor at the Hunter School of
Social Work, who is a member of
TIAA-CREF. Starr applied for
Travia leave in Fall 2001, when she
was 59 years old and no early retire-
ment incentive was in effect. CUNY
rejected her application on the basis
of her age, leading the PSC to file
a grievance on her behalf.

The union then discovered that
Eugene Moretta of Brooklyn College
and Raleen Moran of Queens College
had also been denied Travia be-
cause they were not yet 62. They
were added to the complaint.

PHASE ONE: Establishing the benefit
1.11.01 The Municipal Labor Com-
munity, which represents all City
unions, reaches an agreement with
New York City on employee benefits.
The PSC works with other CUNY
unions to make sure the agreement
specifically includes CUNY workers
as eligible for the transit benefit.

However, the law that originally
created the transit benefit excluded
CUNY workers. The original legisla-
tion had been written for workers at
City agencies – and this does not in-
clude CUNY, which receives both
City and State funding.

The PSC asks sympathetic law-
makers in Albany to investigate
whether this could be remedied ad-
ministratively, without requiring
the State Legislature to pass a new
bill, but the eventual answer is no –
the law must be changed.

PHASE TWO: Changing the law
The PSC includes the issue in its
lobbying agenda for the 2001-02 leg-
sislative session. The union drafts
new legislation, finds sponsors in
the Assembly and in the Senate, and
convinces CUNY management to support the measure. PSC members push for passage of the bill when
they go on lobbying trips to Albany;
the issue is also raised when visiting
legislators in their home districts.

Despite winning support in both
the State Senate and Assembly, an
unrelated dispute between lawmak-
ers keeps the bill stuck in committee
during the legislative session.

In the 2001-02 session, after re-
newed advocacy by the PSC and its
state affiliate, NYNUT, the bill pass-
es in both houses. Governor Pataki
signs it into law in July 2001.

PHASE THREE: Ensuring fair implemen-
tation of the transit benefit
In Fall 2003, the PSC invites other
unions with members at CUNY to
toggle with CUNY management, in
order to secure the best possible
version of the transit benefit
for CUNY workers.

The State, which manages the pay
roll for CUNY senior college employ-
es, has no experience integrating
this type of benefit into their payroll
system. The PSC presses for the nec-
essary computer programming changes
to be done on a priority basis.

The PSC negotiates with CUNY
management to make sure that the
transit benefit is structured to meet the
needs of its members. For example, in or-
er of the most important: for full-time
faculty, CUNY’s transit benefit
takes account of changing summer
and academic calendars. For part-
timers, the benefit is available to
employees regardless of how many
hours they work per week – there is
no minimum threshold.

City workers have been this time se-
curred an improved version of the
transit benefit; their benefit can now
be used to pay for express buses
within NYC, and there is now more
flexibility in the amount of the pre-
tax deduction. The PSC and other
CUNY unions work with CUNY
management to make sure that their
members are given this newer,
more flexible version of the benefit.

Even with the TransitBenefit cards
now becoming available, the fight
is not yet over. Those working in
CUNY’s Educational Opportunity
Centers are still not covered.
The PSC wants them included, and
wants the TransitBenefit expanded to
cover commuter rail, such as LIRR
and MetroNorth.

“This benefit came out of a sim-
ilar situation for a different area collec-
tive bargaining, legislation and im-
plementation. Persistent pressure
was the key.”

Victories in NYC higher ed
Last month, the New School fin-
ally agreed to bargain with Acade-
mics Come Together UAW, the
union that represents 1,600 New
School part-time faculty. Ac-TUE
also includes adjuncts at NYU.

A similar agreement was signed at
Cooper Union, the clerical and
technical staff voted five to one to
join NYSUT/AFT on November 5.

San Francisco hotel owners
continue lockout
In September, members of the
newly merged UNITE HERE,
struck hotels in San Francisco. In
response, hotel owners locked out the
 strikers and their colleagues
and hired scabs. At press time,
workers remain locked out as ho-	el owners resist the union’s strat-
egies, which include winning final
contract dates across the country.

Meanwhile, in Atlantic City,
Hilton and Trump Hotels and Casino
workers ended their month-long strike.
They won raises, pension contri-
butions, and fully funded health care,
but lost their bid to line up their
contract expiration dates with other
locals in the industry.

Arbitrator agrees with PSC
After Rose Starr decided to retire, she was unjustly denied Travia leave.

THE ENDEAVOR
How the transit benefit was won
By Dania Rajendra

"Winning a transit benefit for
CUNY faculty and staff has been a
byzantine process," says PSC Presi-
dent Barbara Bowen. "You learn that
it took years to put into effect a
benefit we negotiated in 2001. But
that it took years to put into effect a
"Winning a transit benefit for
CUNY workers.

"The union puts its thumb on the
scale to even up an otherwise un-
fair advantage with your university
and University administration.”
Don’t mourn, analyze!

By BARBARA BOWEN
PSC President

O
n the morning after the Bush election, the members of the PSC’s negotiating team gathered for a collective bargaining session at 80th Street. Shattered and sleep-deprived, we chided ourselves for failing to anticipate that this might be a bad day for a morning negotiation session. But as it turned out, it was a good thing to be at the bargaining table and in the company of union activists on the morning of November third.

As we listened to CUNY management making proposals that would impose limits on who could receive reassigned time for union work and on job security protections for Higher Education Officers, it was hard not to think about what a second Bush term could mean for CUNY. Pressure on the PSC has moved Chancellor Goldstein to say publicly that he intends to secure the best possible contract for the faculty — and we applauded him for that — but the fact remains that many of management’s proposals would reduce job security, increase managerial control and weaken the union.

The corporate CUNY of these proposals, a university increasingly stratified and privatized, would be completely at home in the Bush landscape — whatever management’s intentions. Part of the “political capital” Bush claims to have accumulated during his campaign is permission to remake higher education through more privatization, less access and assaults on academic freedom. (Let’s not forget that the claim of a “mandate” on privatization, less access and assaults on academic freedom is just right-wing spin: there is no mandate to remake higher education through capital.”)

Bush claims to have used his relationship with the PSC President to stop a dangerous reshaping of the political management’s proposals, a university increasingly stratified and privatized, would be completely at home in the Bush landscape — whatever management’s intentions. Part of the “political capital” Bush claims to have accumulated during his campaign is permission to remake higher education through more privatization, less access and assaults on academic freedom. (Let’s not forget that the claim of a “mandate” on privatization, less access and assaults on academic freedom is just right-wing spin: there is no mandate to remake higher education through capital.”)

Thus, it is more critical than ever to analyze how to understand and organize to stop a dangerous reshaping of public higher education. Other issues, too, bear close examination. I think we can expect a fierce attack on the labor movement, perhaps especially on public employee unions like ours. In the recent decision precluding graduate employees from unionizing, we saw that it matters who sits on the National Labor Relations Board — what are Bush’s plans for that Board and for labor law? And what about healthcare, which is fast becoming the central labor issue of our time? Even the mild healthcare reform proposed by Kerry would have offered some relief in prescription drug costs for welfare funds like ours, now the fight to stabilize our Welfare Fund in this context is even more critical. The list of issues with immediate impact on us goes on: science policy, Social Security, affirmative action, civil liberties, workplace health and safety, funding for research and the arts, “permanent” tax cuts for the wealthy and a critical issue, the starva
tion of state budgets and consequent defunding of public higher education.

DECEMBER FORUM

As a first step toward analysis, the PSC will hold a forum in December at which colleagues from within and outside CUNY will examine what the Bush agenda may mean on those issues and others — and how we can develop resistance. You’ll receive a mailing with the time, place and program, and I would welcome your suggestions as we move quickly to organize the event.

“We are lucky to have the union,” a member of the PSC bargaining team, Mike Fabrinciat, said to me that morning after the election. A union, especially of academic workers, gives us a space independent of our employer in which to reflect and organize, a union also gives us a structure through which to act politically once that analysis is done.

THINKING TOGETHER

Perhaps the most important question for analysis is how to understand and nurture the extraordinary upsurge in progressive political mobilization over the last year. In the PSC, we saw an unprecedented level of activism. That hundreds of our members, and hundreds of thousands of people across the country, felt they could not abstain from political action at this historical moment may well be the most important news of the election. I look forward to working together as union to analyze how to develop an agenda of resistance that is more than just defensive, both in our immediate battle for a good contract and in the many other battles ahead.

How does four more years affect CUNY?

The ELECTION

Do not mourn, analyze!

By BARBARA BOWEN
PSC President

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How does four more years affect CUNY?

PoEMS

Two by Saadi Youssef

Tower

Our cities shared their poisons with us, then suddenly banished us to a cloud. We didn’t despair when once again we became fugitives. But we’re no longer fight as lightning to live in a cloud again, in any passing cloud.

In the morning we haul our crates to ports on to baggage belts in airport basements.

Where did you come from?
Where are you going?
How did you carry your heavy crates?

Did you know that the station was moved and that the last train left twenty years ago?

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Still, I will drag my boxes and in the evening carry them, to a room.
I will climb my tower and enter any room, any passing cloud.

Belgrade, 2/10/1988

A hot night

In the air that staggers between seashells, the remains of a dead bird and fish that belong to sailors who will not return.

In the air there are these smells: an Indian woman combed her hair under the washline, and the charred smell of grilled crabs, and this soaked shirt.

Ahwa, 7/9/1984

Saadi Youssef is one of the leading poets of the Arab world. Born in 1934 in Basra, Iraq, he wrote progressive political free verse poetry in the 50s, 60s and 70s. In the late 70s, he left Iraq and has since lived all over Europe and the Arab world. These poems are reprinted from Without an Alphabet, Without a Face with the permission of Giragaol Press.

Translator Khadij Mattawa, from Libya and Louisiana, authored two books and translated three volumes of contemporary Arabic poetry. He teaches at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.
I n March 1936, a 29-year-old English in- structor named Morris Schappes was teaching a section of “English 4” at City College, as he had for the past eight years.

He had invited his students to read Shel- ley’s “The Mask of Anarchy,” a poem that expressed Shelley’s belief in the immortality of the martyr. Massacre of 1832. Hundreds of men, women and children peaceably demonstrat- ing for parliamentary reform and a living wage were brutally dispersed by the local militia, with a number of demonstrators killed. Shelley quoted his ode with these expectant stanzas:

And these words shall then become Like oppression’s thundered doom Ringing through each heart and brain, Bursting forever, as a dream.

Rise like lions after slumber

Heard again – again – again –

Ringing through each heart and brain,

Like oppression’s thundered doom.

Into his classroom, for the first time in Morris’s eight years at City College, walked Prof. Charles Francis Horne, chair of the English department. Horne was invited by a scholarly achievement was a history of the American Legion; he had been appointed as department chair by the college administration. He stayed no more than 15 minutes.

SINGLED OUT

That afternoon, Morris passed the English Department office, Shelley’s essays in hand, when Horne spotted him and called him in- side. “What do you mean by calling Karl Marx?” Horne demanded. Morris tried to show him the text of “A Philosophical View of Reform,” which Horne had apparently heard him read to the class. “He turned his back on me and walked over to the window (when the entrance standard was a 60 high school average). He didn’t understand the vulnerabilities. Yet he didn’t understand the activities like Morris and rendering them vulnerable. Yet he didn’t understand the source of his weakness at the time when he most needed him. The attack gathered force in 1940 and 1941, as the NY State Legislature’s Rapp-Coudert Commit- tee undertook an investigation of “subver- sion” in the schools.

UNINFLUABLE GIFTS

Significantly, the investigation began by subpoenaing the membership list and records of the New York Teachers Union and the College Teachers Union. Morris was one of more than 30 CCNY employees who were fired, for refusing to “name names” to the committee.

Winning tenure in the thirties.

February 4 to March 4, 2005.

There is much more to tell about Morris Schappes’s life, as a scholar and an organizer, but there is no room here to tell it. He was active in the successor to the ISA, the New York College Teachers Union, AFT Local 507 – at the time the largest academic labor union in the US. One of Local 507’s most important achievements was pressing the administration to hire CC- NY’s first black faculty member, Max Yer- gan, in 1958.

The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 changed the political climate, isolating activists like Morris and rendering them vulnerable. Yet he didn’t understand the source of his weakness at the time when he most needed him. The attack gathered force in 1940 and 1941, as the NY State Legislature’s Rapp-Coudert Commit- tee undertook an investigation of “subver- sion” in the schools.

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Winning tenure in the thirties.
Continuing Education

Don’t forget the faculty

By Ellen Balleisen

A full and continuing education programs, once a sideline to CUNY’s main mission, now account for about half of CUNY’s student enrollment, with a total of 238,379 continuing education students in the 2002-2003 academic year. These students are not just taking classes for hobbies like water aerobics or amateur photography; continuing education courses now include custom-designed training for specific businesses, intensive ESL and basic skills instruction, and career training in fields such as computer programming and accounting.

According to CUNY on the Job, a report released last spring by the Center for an Urban Future, CUNY’s continuing education programs have “the potential to be an under-valued public resource for employers and workers at all levels.” This report repeatedly mentions the need to integrate continuing education with the rest of the University. It cites the views of Gail Mellow, president of LaGuardia: “The non-credit [courses] are seen as the shadow college. We need to bring that population into the sunshine and think of every person who walks through the door as a student.” Mellow’s views are echoed by Michael Paull, Lehman’s dean of adult education, who says, “We are intentionally blurring the lines between credit, non-credit, certificate and degree programs...continuing education has to be re-conceptualized.”

In the shadows

As a continuing education teacher, I know CUNY has some terrific programs now and great potential to expand its offerings. But the report doesn’t address some key questions: Who’s teaching all these students? What’s their actual teaching load? And if they teach far more hours than their counterparts in the regular University, why don’t they get more pay?

Our students want good jobs – so do we.

So I applaud the desire of CUNY executives to break down the walls between continuing education and the rest of the University – but only if these plans include breaking down walls for teachers as well, by changing outdated employment structures.

CETs also teach 60-minute hours, compared to the 55-minute hour used in the rest of the University. For teachers in my program, who spend 25 hours per week in the classroom, the extra 10 minutes per hour add up to 150 extra hours per year – with zero extra pay.

Many CETs have full-time jobs elsewhere. But others do not and are de facto full-time faculty. Perhaps the most bizarre inequity is that CETs face to that more than 60 of them teach 25 hours per week – up to 960 sixty-minute hours per year – yet are still classified as “part-time.” By contrast, the maximum required for full-time CUNY faculty is 450 fifty-minute hours per year, the load for all community college faculty and for senior college lecturers.

Granted, full-timers have additional obligations, including research and departmental responsibilities. But it’s still a puzzle: how someone can have more than twice as many contact hours as a full-time faculty member and still be considered “part-time”?

The answer lies with a section of the CUNY Board of Trustees bylaws that defines “full-time” CETs as part-time employees, regardless of their actual teaching loads. This definition is a hangover from the days when CETs were viewed as college lecturers. Perhaps the most bizarre inequity is that they can have more than twice as many contact hours as a full-time faculty member and still be considered “part-time.”

YEARS WITHOUT A RAISE

Barriers also need to come down for CETs paid through the Research Foundation. CETs who teach 20 or more hours per week have a six-month appointment, but there is no salary, no health coverage. CETs also teach 60-minute hours, compared to the 55-minute hour used by the rest of the University. For CETs who teach 20 or more hours per week with six-month appointments.

Tell CUNY: Contract now!

This Halloween marked the second year without a contract for PSC members. That’s two years without a raise, without a commitment from CUNY to maintain our benefits, without the respect that faculty and staff deserve.

Tell management that PSC members want to see a decent financial offer, to go to the PSC Web site (www.psc-cuny.org) and click on “Contract Now” to fax a letter to Chancellor Matthew Goldstein. Log on and send a message: we need a new contract, with real raises and fair CUNY contributions to the welfare Fund. If you have more than 15 minutes, you can join the contract protest on Monday, November 29 (see Calendar, page 7).

Our students want good jobs – so do we.

By Ellen Balleisen

Continuing education programs, once a sideline to CUNY’s main mission, now account for about half of CUNY’s student enrollment, with a total of 238,379 continuing education students in the 2002-2003 academic year. These students are not just taking classes for hobbies like water aerobics or amateur photography; continuing education courses now include custom-designed training for specific businesses, intensive ESL and basic skills instruction, and career training in fields such as computer programming and accounting.

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