CUNY management broke New York State labor law when it refused to negotiate with the PSC over intellectual property (IP), according to a July ruling from NY’s Public Employment Relations Board. CUNY was ordered to bargain over issues of compensation and how disputes would be resolved. While the decision may still be appealed, it is a significant victory for faculty and staff control over their lives at work.

**NOTICE TO ALL EMPLOYEES**

**PURSUANT TO**

**THE DECISION AND ORDER OF THE**

**NEW YORK STATE**

**PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS BOARD**

and in order to effectuate the policies of the

**NEW YORK STATE**

**PUBLIC EMPLOYEES’ FAIR EMPLOYMENT ACT**

we hereby notify all employees of the City University of New York in the bargaining unit represented by the Professional Staff Congress-City University of New York, that the City University of New York will:

Bargain with the Professional Staff Congress-City University of New York concerning the aspects of the intellectual property policy relating to compensation and the dispute resolution procedure.

**ON INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY**

**A WIN FOR PSC**

CUNY management broke New York State labor law when it refused to negotiate with the PSC over intellectual property (IP), according to a July ruling from NY’s Public Employment Relations Board. CUNY was ordered to bargain over issues of compensation and how disputes would be resolved. While the decision may still be appealed, it is a significant victory for faculty and staff control over their lives at work.

**TRUSTEES VOTE**

**School of Professional Studies is launched**

CUNY’s Board of Trustees approved the creation of a new School of Professional Studies. The PSC and faculty governance leaders raised concerns over labor and governance issues.

**CITY BUDGET**

**$5.3 million in new funds for CUNY**

Persistent PSC pressure helped secure new money for City University in this year’s New York City budget, including financial aid funds for community college students facing a tuition increase.

**DENTAL PLAN**

**The members and the Welfare Fund**

PSC President Barbara Bowen tackles the changes in the Welfare Fund, key issues in our next contract and the national debate over health care and prescription drugs.
Discussion of dental dilemma

Steve London, Welfare Fund Executive Officer for Planning and Member Relations, responds: If the Welfare Fund (WF) had the money to directly subsidize orthodontia and other big-ticket benefits for all members, we would. But the Fund’s costs have increased at rates in excess of 11% in the past 14 years.

In the last contract, we won new management Welfare Fund contributions of $4.3 million a year, plus a $4.37 million lump sum, and retired a $28.8 million debt. That is more money than in either of the last two contracts. But costs continue to rise and the Fund faced a stark choice: Restructure benefits or go broke.

In Fall 2002 we asked members which benefits were most important to protect. They overwhelmingly said that the top priority benefit was prescription drug coverage, and that we should maintain the same benefits for both actives and retirees. Since drug coverage (especially for retirees) is very expensive, following members’ wishes meant cutting $15.5 million from dental benefits.

We had five dental plans (including SIIDS) submit proposals on how to best spend the $2.5 million available. Guardian provided the best mix of access, price, and quality. It is not true that “it is a simple matter to provide the same benefit for in or out of plan dentists.” Guardian dentists agree to a substantial discount without any Fund contribution – and there are over 6500 in the metro area. While the Fund subsidy is the same, in or out of the network, going to a Guardian dentist will save members money.

Remember that the status quo was not an option. If we had stayed with SIIDS and the Fund had structured the dental plan to emphasize big-ticket items, the reimbursement rate would have been so low that few SIIDS participating dentists would have remained. And out-of-network benefits would have been inferior to the current Guardian discount with the Fund’s subsidy. The WF Trustees felt this could not be justified.

As the Fund regains financial health, we will continue our dialogue with Fund members to determine which benefits to enhance.

Vietnam war remembered

The current controversy over the war in Iraq reminds me of the action taken by the United Federation of College Teachers (UFCT), one of the predecessor organizations of the PSC.

As president of the UFCT, I was authorized by the local to have a delegation journey to Washington to confront the Nixon administration over the war in Vietnam. We met with Charles Colson, Nixon’s White House counsel (who later spent seven months in prison for obstructing justice in the Daniel Ellsberg case).

We did not consider the Viet Cong or Ho Chi Minh to be democratic opposition. We knew about Ho’s oppression of the free trade union movement and the gulag concentration camps for Viet Cong oppositionists. But we urged the immediate withdrawal of US troops because this war would accomplish nothing.

After the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, the war led by Lyndon Johnson was to become a quagmire. Years later, his Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, expressed his disenchantment and regretted his support for the war.

There is a commemorative wall in Washington listing those who died in the Vietnam war. This memorial is not in support of the war or the “Commanders-in-Chief,” Presidents Johnson and Nixon.

Israel Kugler
PSC deputy president emeritus

Caring for parents

“Caring for My Mother,” by Stanley Aronowitz (May/June Clarion) raises important issues of health care and housing concerning all of us in an aging society. (I don’t know anyone getting younger!) On reading the author’s description of his personal experience as caregiver to his mother, I recalled my own experience with ailing parents in Toronto (Canada) while I and my family lived and worked in Brooklyn. Many people no longer live near aging parents, so the kind of caring assistance that Aronowitz describes is not feasible. Others do not have children or other family members who can help. In this period of privatization, expensive health care and housing are not suitable alternatives.

“Caring for My Mother” raises the question of the role of unions. The PSC, its parent and affiliate unions (NYSUT, APL-CIO, AAUP, APT, NYC Central Labor Council) might work together to benefit their members and extend the cooperative housing described at Penn South and elsewhere to include assisted living with health care features at subsidized rates.

The Legislature should be pressed to address these housing and medical needs for the broader aging population. Unions can act as social workers with social interest concerns.

They had better hurry, because I, like everyone else, am getting older.

Shirley Raucher
BMCC and EC

Union options

I was very moved by Stanley Aronowitz’s article, “Caring for My Mother” (May/June Clarion) and by the editorial illustration showing a parent with a walker holding a giant adult child – now parenting his parent. This is becoming my life.

I appreciate Stanley’s opening up this discussion in a union context and suggesting union initiatives, including cooperative housing with assisted living services for senior citizens.

Regarding the rules for Medicare and Medicaid, they are Byzantine, and I am still not certain, in fact, about the requirements needed to qualify for Medicaid home care and how much is available under what circumstances. As caregivers of the elderly, we all need much more help and more information.

Norah Chase
Kingsborough CC

Editor’s Note: See article on page 8.

Unpaid labor

While I understand Stanley Aronowitz’s suffering and think his proposal for union-sponsored assisted living housing co-ops merits consideration (May/June Clarion), I am dismayed that a professor and union leader perpetuates clichés about women and helping them when they are elderly.

One is the old notion that mothers’ unpaid labor at home is not work. He describes his mother’s work only as that for which she was paid. Another is the assumption that women should take paid work only if driven to it by financial need, clearly implied in his description of women who do it otherwise as “extremists,” the “Berecy Independent.” And that cliché about assisting a parent making the son (or daughter) the parent! Parents who need help are not children. The grown-up who helps accepts an adult responsibility for an adult. Instead of dismissing the firing of therapists as “denial” of need, as Aronowitz does, the therapists’ methods and manners should be investigated. These are sometimes counterproductive.

Beatrice Kachuck
Grad Center and Brooklyn (emerita)

Censorship in Brooklyn

A teacher at one of the city’s elite public high schools, Brooklyn Technical High School, was disciplined recently for assigning a book that the PSC called “pornographic.” As a veteran, an English teacher, Todd Fried- man, was summoned to the principal’s office and a letter warning that he could lose his job was delivered by the principal’s mother. Fried- man’s suspension followed an order by the New York State Education Department that the book, Stanley Aronowitz’s “Caring for My Mother,” be removed from the school’s reading list. The students were referred to the school’s sex education program as a substitute.

Stanley Aronowitz responds: I am gratified that my article prompted the article critical as well as sympathetic replies. According to a recent study reported by NPR, “free caregiving” mostly to older family members has grown to $237 billion or about 20% of our nation’s health care costs. I am sorry that Beatrice Kachuck has misunderstood the metaphor of this care amounting to “becoming our parent’s parent.” It is by no means only my perception, and is not a condescending expression. Our parents need the kind of help they gave us when they were our caregivers.

Of course I did not intend to de- mean her unpaid labor – or mine. It is precisely the fact that we children of aging parents are obliged to do- nate such large quantities of unpaid working time for services that might be covered by a decent national uni- versal health program, that prompt- ed my article. Given the situation, our responsibilities constitute an- other type of double-shift. The afore- mentioned study reports that both men and women are becoming unpaid caregivers and frequently are required to quit their jobs because the family cannot afford a full-time professional. And Medicare and Medicaid only cover many services for the aging if they enter nursing homes. With our older population growing faster than any other demo- graphic sector, the situation is rapidly taking on crisis proportions.

Joan Nixon, a field representative for the Social Security Administration, speaking at the PSC Pre-retirement Conference on June 10

Letters must be less than 200 words and are subject to editing.
CUNY found to violate labor law

Intellectual property win

By PETER HOGNESS

CUNY management violated New York labor law when it refused to bargain with the PSC over the University’s policy on intellectual property, according to a Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) decision issued in July.

The ruling ordered CUNY “to bargain with the PSC on aspects of the intellectual property [IP] policy relating to compensation and the dispute resolution procedure.” These two key elements of IP policy were both found to be mandatory subjects of bargaining.

“This is an important victory,” said PSC First Vice President Steve London. “Intellectual property is at the forefront of the issues confronting academic labor today, since IP policy has become a key part of our terms and conditions of employment.” London said. “This decision means that PSC members collectively will have more to say about what goes on in our professional work lives.”

The union insisted that IP policy “goes to the heart of our wages and hours,” as PSC President Barbara Bowen testified before PERB.

PIRACY

IP lawyer Emily Bass, who argued the successful National Writers’ Union lawsuit against The New York Times, said the PERB ruling broke new ground. “Everyone talks about piracy of intellectual property overseas,” Bass told Clarion. “What about by American universities?” PERB has taken the first step in calling a halt to such piracy.”

Joan Greenbaum, professor of computer information systems and PSC chapter chair at LaGuardia, also welcomed the ruling, saying, “It really puts the words ‘negotiate’ and ‘bargain’ back on the table. Citing the growing use of the Web and other new technologies in the classroom, Greenbaum called IP policy ‘the bread-and-butter issue of the twenty-first century.’

The decision, by an administrative law judge, could be appealed to the Public Employment Relations Board, whose members are appointed by the governor. “As legal processes go, it’s fairly speedy,” London said. “If there is an appeal, PERB should issue its final ruling within a few months.” At that point either side could decide to take its case to state court. CUNY has not said whether it will appeal, and its General Counsel Frederick Schaffer did not respond to a request for comment.

IMPORTANT VICTORY

Former PERB chair Pauline Kinsella said that even though the decision is not final, it marks “an important victory for members of the PSC and all public-sector higher education professionals.” She noted that the ruling orders CUNY to bargain on compensation and the process for resolving disputes, which she called “clearly the most critical aspects of the IP policy.” Kinsella is now executive director of the Field and Legal Services for New York State United Teachers (NY-SUT), and consulted with the PSC on the case. “NY-SUT and AFT attorney David Strom both gave us invaluable help,” London said.

“It’s really a wonderful ruling,” said Manfred Heflin, a professor of chemistry at Lehman who served on CUNY’s own IP policy committee. “I had always said that was what I thought it was properly a subject of labor-management negotiations.” Anthony Picciano of the Hunter School of Education, who testified in the PERB case, noted that prior to the development of CUNY’s policy, “this was something that the PSC and CUNY management had always addressed jointly.”

PSGC General Counsel Arthur Schwartz said that the significance of the decision went far beyond its effect on IP issues: “CUNY management claimed that if a subject was not in the contract, this meant the union had waived the right to negotiate it over forever.” The PERB ruling firmly rejects this argument, and makes clear that the current management rights clause does not limit the PSC’s ability to bargain over topics not addressed in the contract.

The decision did hold, however, that the management rights clause gives CUNY the right to go forward with the intellectual property policy it has been developing. Normally, if an issue is being discussed in contract talks, management cannot unilaterally change its policy on that question. But in this case, the PERB decision said that CUNY is allowed to implement its new IP policy though it must simultaneously discuss it in contract talks. Stefan Baumann, a member of the University Faculty Senate’s Executive Committee, told Clarion, “The judge has in effect made the November 2002 unilateral implementation of CUNY’s policy premature, since almost every aspect of it can be thrown back on the table for collective bargaining.”

CUNY issued a draft of its new IP policy in January 2002, with sweeping changes in the treatment of both patents and copyrights that potentially affected everything from computer code to book publishing to course materials for distance learning. The PSC sought to discuss IP issues in contract talks but CUNY refused. The union gave a two-pronged response, filing charges with PERB but also subjecting CUNY’s proposal to a detailed critique (see www.psc-cuny.org/ipproperty.htm) and helping to organize a strong faculty turnout at public hearings. “The policy was definitely improved through the political engagement of CUNY,” London remarked.

Contract negotiations underway

Demands and ground rules

By TOMIO GERON

Negotiations for a new PSC contract continued with two bargaining sessions in June and one in July.

PSC negotiators told management representatives that the union’s contract demands are aimed at a comprehensive restoration of salaries and working conditions. “An intellectually vibrant university is possible only when faculty and staff at every rank and level are supported in their work,” said a statement from the PSC negotiating team.

PSC DEMANDS

The union’s contract proposals focus on continuing the salary improvements for all titles begun in the twenty-first century.”

Joan Greenbaum, professor of computer information systems at LaGuardia Community College, speaking at last year’s IP hearing.
Research Foundation: Why I quit

Jamal Manassah, professor of electrical engineering at City College, resigned as chair of the Faculty Advisory Council (FAC) of the CUNY Research Foundation (RF) and ex-officio member of the RF Board of Directors on May 19, 2003. Susan O’Malley, chair of the University Faculty Senate (UFS), initially refused to accept Manassah’s resignation from the FAC. “His grit, technical expertise and unswerving pursuit of the truth have been without parallel,” she said, following a unanimous vote of confidence in Manassah by the UFS Executive Committee on May 6.

Clarion spoke with Manassah in July. Part of our conversation appears below.

**Q**

Part of the background to your decision to resign was the dismissal of the RF’s newly created Faculty Review Panel. Why was the panel originally formed?

**A**

The RF collects a management fee of 7.75% from almost all CUNY grants and contracts. Roughly 5% of the grants total has gone towards support of the Foundation’s infrastructure. The rest of these fees have gone to 80th Street for centralized support of research at CUNY. As chair of the RF’s Faculty Advisory Council, I got a lot of complaints that the process for distributing these centrally allocated funds was opaque. Some of it was OK – for instance, the money used for Ph.D. student support follows a good formula, is handled well by the Executive Officers of CUNY’s doctoral programs. But some other parts were less clear.

The faculty directors of this issue to the RF Board in May 2002, and it was suggested there that the FAC and the University Dean of Research work out some transparent process to control the expenditure of this money.

**Q**

So what was the result?

**A**

Dean [Spyro] Alexandratos, himself a distinguished chemist, understood the importance of having a peer review system to anchor a credible funding program. We had some discussions, and the result was a seven-member Faculty Review Panel to vet requests for support on those centrally allocated funds.

After some intensive recruiting efforts, the FAC elected a panel of some very distinguished people – a real “Who’s Who” of research-active faculty. The Chancellor [Matthew Goldstein], as RF Chair, officially appointed the panel’s members.

**Q**

How did the review panel operate?

**A**

The panel members were engaged in some pretty productive work – setting guidelines and considering particular requests. Our consultation with the Dean of Research was working extremely well. Even without formal meetings, the panel got a lot done.

To take one example, the Dean of Research was thinking about making one of the new cluster programs be on the environment. So he sent his summary proposal to panel members for comments.

**Q**

How was the review panel dissolved?

**A**

After Professor Alexandratos left the post of University Dean of Research, the Executive Vice Chancellor [for Adademic Affairs, Louise Mirrer] claimed that she was not initially consulted on the new review structure. On March 20, she wrote to panel members that their services would not be needed. At that time, the Executive Vice Chancellor had no official capacity within RF governance. And the panel members were appointed for the Foundation, not the University. Yet she sent a letter dismissing the panel!

But here’s the sad part of the story: the Chancellor wrote to the Board and condoned the Executive Vice Chancellor’s action. Only after she had dissolved the panel, by the way, did the Chancellor appoint her to the RF Board.

I believe that this affair and its unsatisfactory denouement inflict critical wounds to the RF’s institutional independence and the integrity of its governance.

**Q**

Was this why you resigned?

**A**

This was just one episode. Ultimately, I didn’t feel that I was able to exercise my fiduciary responsibility in a satisfactory manner, for several reasons. First, the inaccessibility of certain information. Second, even when I had access, there were difficulties put in my way. Third, when I did have a finding that concerned me, I would make people in positions of authority aware of it, but would be shrugged off.

With the realization that I could not, from my point of view, properly fulfill, legally and ethically, my fiduciary responsibility as an ex-officio director, my resignation was the only option available.

**Q**

What are some of the fiduciary issues that made you uncomfortable?

**A**

The RF Board’s Finance, Budget and Audit Committee must be able to investigate complaints from whistleblowers, such as a stock and option purchase that may have breached conflict of interest rules. Then there is also the question of financial reserves for employee-accumulated benefits, which in many instances are inadequate.

As for the centrally allocated research funds, their accounting has been inconsistent, to say the least. Faculty had always understood them to be grants. When [Mirrer] wrote her letter dismissing the panel, she stated that “these Central Office allocations are not grants from the RF to the Central Office. Rather, they are line items in the RF budget, approved by the RF Board to support research and recruitment of full-time faculty in the University.”

So I said, OK, then I as an RF director can see how this part of the RF’s formula is being spent. When I asked for the relevant reports, they changed the story and said that these funds were “unrestricted gift” to CUNY. But in this year’s RF financial report, this “unrestricted gift” is still listed as an RF asset. So, who owns this money, and who has responsibility for monitoring its expenditure?

**Q**

It seems that getting information was a constant problem.

**A**

That’s correct. There were always excuses. In one instance, the RF’s Executive Director claimed that answering my request would take staff time – though I knew independently from someone who was privy to that information that it was already on file.

**Q**

Are these problems of the RF’s own making?

**A**

The finance department of the RF is extremely well-run, by very competent people. The mess occurs over which information they are told they can make public. They have the information; they have worked out over the last two years an extremely good system for full financial disclosure. If they were told to make everything transparent it would take ten seconds.

**Q**

College administrations also get overhead money from the RF, right?

**A**

Yes, the balance of all overhead except the 7.75% fee goes back to the Colleges, but at present only a small fraction of this money is being invested in new or ongoing research at the University. Aside from a few bright spots, less than 50% of these “overhead recovery accounts” goes to research. In a few places, barely any of it does.

College governance bodies should obtain information on the use of these funds directly from their campus administration. If it is not provided, faculty senates should not hesitate to seek this information through New York’s Freedom of Information Law.

**Q**

Do you think the RF is carrying out its mandate?

**A**

Hardly so. At present the Foundation is no more than the administrative back office which supports the grants and contracts received by the University. It cuts checks, processes procurement reports, etc. The RF also serves as a “parking space for over-reach.” To facilitate its use outside the constraints – and public accountability – imposed on tax-levy money.

At present, I do not believe that the Foundation is bringing added value to the research enterprise at the University.

**Q**

What should the RF be doing?

**A**

I could see some advantages to having an independent foundation, one which could independently raise money, bring in grants, and so on. But this is not what the RF is doing.

I believe the RF ought to be active in the peer review phase of the grant process. It should play a critical role in directly and indirectly securing additional funding for research and education. And to effectively serve its clients – the research-active faculty of the University – the RF has an obligation to adopt a policy of full financial disclosure and reporting transparency.
80th Street plans mega-lab

By PETER HOGNESS

“We are in the process of creating an exciting ultramodern scientific research facility,” Chancellor Matthew Goldstein told an audience at the Harvard Club on January 30. “This facility will unite under one roof the laboratories of top research scientists from around the University, making possible cutting-edge, collaborative research.”

Most science faculty at CUNY had no opinion on this proposed mega-lab – for the simple reason that most knew nothing about the proposal. “We became aware of this plan in late March or early April,” said Panayiotis Meleties, co-chair of the Chemistry, Biochemistry and Biology Discipline Council. “There was some concern or alarm about not being consulted.”

The concern was strong enough that its April 10 meeting, the discipline council unanimously passed a resolution recommending “that our faculties not participate in the consolidation of research in a Shared University Research Facility [SURF] on one campus.”

“This was not really a position against SURF,” Meleties explained. “It was a stand we took because of the lack of consultation with faculty in these fields.” While understanding that widespread discussion of a proposal in its early stages might not be appropriate, he added, “we thought it proper that department chairs, in particular, should be consulted.”

**DISCUSSION**

If the aim of the resolution was to get CUNY Central Administration’s attention, it worked. Executive Vice Chancellor Louise Mirrer met with the discipline council around the beginning of May to discuss plans for the facility.

“she told us that this plan is essential for the future of the University,” Meleties said. Many faculty were receptive to her arguments, he said, and the idea of boycotting the project was put aside. While Mirrer did not make any specific commitments, Meleties said, she pledged that as the plan goes ahead and money is raised there would be consultation with faculty.

“In terms of strategy, there is a strong case for a facility like this,” Meleties said. “As scientific research becomes more interrelated and cross-disciplinary, especially in relation to biology, having this kind of a state-of-the-art facility will be important.” He said he thought faculty would be willing to support SURF, “under the proper conditions and with the proper consultation.”

Public information about the project has been scant. A two-page working document from 80th Street describes a science center with many provisions for involving the community and public schools, including an interactive science museum, teacher training and after-school programs for K-12 students. But it includes just one sentence on research, which says that the center would “foster...multidisciplinary interaction and would house state-of-the-art instrumentation.”

“Some of the specifics are not there yet,” said CUNY spokesperson Michael Arena. “This is an early-stage proposal, which hasn’t been funded yet beyond some seed money.” The New York Post reported in April that CUNY had won a $1.8 million grant from NASA for planning the project, but Arena said that using the grant does not lock CUNY in to going ahead with it.

 Arena told Clarion that the proposed research center is included in the University’s new five-year capital budget request as a successor to CCNY’s Marshak Building, with a projected cost of $887.8 million. While the capital request discusses this only as a CCNY facility, Arena indicated that it is the same multi-campus center referred to in Goldstein’s January speech.

80th Street views this as a Land of Rockefeller University for CUNY,” said Manfred Philipp, professor of chemistry at Lehman. “If SURF is to come, it will change how science is done in CUNY.” Philipp thinks there will be a push to have CUNY’s undergraduate colleges become more like classical liberal arts schools such as Amherst or Williams, “where you have science faculty doing research with undergrads in the absence of graduate students.”

With the recent tuition increase for doctoral students, Philipp argued, “science doctoral programs on the campuses will be reduced in size.” He predicted that “grad students who participate in SURF will be the ones who will get assistance.”

“I would say that this is an ongoing process,” responded Arena. “Mechanisms are in place for discussion with faculty on these concerns.”

New School of Professional Studies Ok’d

By TOMIO GERON

A new CUNY School of Professional Studies (SPS) was established by the Board of Trustees on June 23. The school will provide “flexible educational services relevant to the requests of government, not-for-profit entities, businesses and unions,” according to the BoT resolution.

The SPS was created despite sharp criticism from the PSC and faculty governance. A resolution threatening to oppose the new school, the University Faculty Senate (UFS) opted to take no position, while the FSC opposed creation of the SPS in its current form.

As defined by Chancellor Matthew Goldstein in a speech in January, the SPS will “generate further revenue to be used in support of our core business of teaching and learning.” Goldstein then said that the new school was being designed by the CUNY Economic Development Corporation, which he described as “the new entrepreneurial wing of the University.”

**PROFITS**

Continuing education programs have become popular as profit centers for universities across the country. The programs usually offer specialized courses for professionals, employing lower-paid adjunct faculty and charging higher prices.

“The establishment of a school comprised entirely of part-time faculty threatens the job security of full-time faculty and continues the over-reliance on grossly underpaid part-timers,” said PSC President Barbara Bowen in a statement. “Without the protection of tenure, SPS endangers academic freedom.”

The UFS and the PSC both expressed concern about the weak faculty role in the SPS decision-making. The school will have a 12-member governing board: three high-ranking CUNY administrators, six faculty named by CUNY administration and three faculty members appointed by the UFS.

The “SPS bypasses the University’s central academic structure, the academic department,” said Bowen, voicing concern about the school’s lack of “the support for academic integrity that a department provides.” With no tenured faculty members to serve on a Personnel and Budget Committee, the PSC noted, the SPS is not structured to fulfill requirements of the union contract.

In the months prior to the Trustees’ vote, 80th Street had only described the SPS’s potential course offerings in terms of certificate programs. But on June 3, the proposal to be voted on by the Trustees was revised to add a reference to the SPS granting degrees – a change made without notice to the UFS. “I was completely taken aback,” wrote UFS Chair Susan O’Malley in a strongly-worded letter to Goldstein. If the proposed SPS governance structure was also given responsibility for awarding degrees, O’Malley wrote, “we would recommend that CUNY faculty withdraw from participating in the new school.”

Some faculty denounced the last minute shift as an act of bad faith. “Surely the Central Administration must have known in mid-May that it was planning to add this little ‘editorial change’ at the June Board committee meetings,” said former UFS chair Sandi Cooper. “Their silence amounted to deception.” University spokesperson Michael Arena disagreed, saying, “This was a deliberate process that was vetted and discussed.”

Goldstein responded by amending the proposal, promising that any SPS degree program would be overseen by a separate curriculum committee made up of faculty with relevant expertise, with one-third of its members nominated by the UFS. The amendment also promised that if SPS degree programs were established, joint appointments would be considered for some of its faculty. “It still makes me very nervous,” O’Malley told Clarion.

While the UFS in the end took no position on the SPS, some faculty supported the proposal due to the changes that O’Malley negotiated. “It seems to me that these are excellent changes,” said Manfred Philipp, professor of chemistry at Lehman College. “[I] hope that this venture will succeed.”

**TUITION REMISSION**

The Trustees’ resolution states that “[t]uition remission is possible for SURF, ‘under the proper conditions’.”

The revenue generated from the SPS will go towards tuition remission for CUNY graduate students.

The just-created SPS is already offering courses. It began operations this summer with a certificate program for members of the United Federation of Teachers, starting with a 12-credit course on teaching literacy.

“CUNY is exactly the right place for a course to look for ‘teacher education’ said Bowen, “and we strongly support collaboration with the UFT – but the SPS in its present form is not the way to do it.”

Brian McLaughlin, president of the NYC Central Labor Council, wrote a July 1 letter to Goldstein questioning the exclusive use of part-time faculty at the SPS and lack of faculty oversight. McLaughlin’s letter is significant because unions are not allowed to bargain at the SPS. “It would be uncomfortable if not impossible for other unions to embrace the new school if it is in violation of the collective bargaining agreement,” McLaughlin wrote.
State budgetary shortfalls not seen in 50 years are posing a serious threat to public higher education throughout the US. A decade’s worth of tax cuts has collided with an economic slowdown to produce deficits at least twice as deep as those in the recession of the 1990s.

Severe budget gaps have spurred most states to increase public college tuition by double digits, with some institutions raising their rates by over 100%, according to the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education. In 2001-02 and 2002-03, public college tuition went up in every state – including New Mexico and Wyoming, which this year were the only two states with budget surpluses.

“Indications for the year to come are much worse,” says Will Doyle, senior policy analyst at the National Center. “Rising tuition reflects a national trend of declining state spending for higher education and double-digit tuition increases extending over several years.”

In Washington state, Democratic Governor Gary Locke has moved to impose deep cuts on the University of Washington system, which have generally been approved by both the Republican-controlled Senate and Democrat-controlled Assembly. “Funding for public higher education institutions has declined by at least 20% over the last six to eight years,” says Sandra Schroeder, president of the Washington Federation of Teachers. “They keep off-setting state revenue with increases in tuition. At four-year colleges, the state [now] finances only about 30% of total revenue.”

Student tuition has increased progressively. In Washington’s 2001-02 budgetary cycle, tuition was raised by 20%. Schroeder sees no political will for tax increases. In a state that does not have an income tax, a progressive coalition is emerging that would impose an income tax on millionaires. But most elected officials appear cool to the idea. “Our feeling is that politicians don’t care,” says Schroeder. “Republicans definitely don’t care and Democrats in swing districts cannot think – all that comes out of their mouth is blather.”

Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich, a Democrat elected in 2002 with the support of unions, is keeping his promise not to raise income taxes. Facing a $3 billion deficit, Blagojevich and the legislature closed the hole by one-time revenue measures, such as borrowing from the underfunded state employee retirement system. Meanwhile Blagojevich reduced appropriations for public higher education by $84.6 million for fiscal year 2004, a drop of 3% from FY2003. To bridge the gap this academic year, Illinois public colleges and universities raised tuition by amounts of 9% to 17%.

**POLITICAL WILL**

“We need long-term structural reform in the state system,” says Sue Kaufman, president of University Professionals of Illinois Local 4100. “But the political will has not been there.”

The state tax cuts of the last decade were often driven by conservative Republicans with an ideological commitment to eviscerate government financing of higher education and other public services. Union leaders argue that appropriations cuts and tuition increases are part of a sweeping attack on US public colleges, where 86% of students are enrolled. “Everyone has to understand that something we value as essential to our democracy is under attack,” says Kaufman.

With a $38.5 billion deficit, California has been a key battleground. The California state budget was delayed for six months because all Democratic proposals for raising revenue were staunchly opposed by Republicans. The GOP minority was in a strong bargaining position, because in California budgets and tax increases require two-thirds majorities in each legislative branch. “Polls showed that people would like to see the return of a tax on upper income brackets that was allowed to sunset,” said Fred Glass, communications director of the California Federation of Teachers. But Republican

cans held to a hard line against any income tax increases.

The University of California system plans to raise tuition and fees in four-year colleges by one-third, though this will not make up for all the cuts. Tuition at California’s community colleges will more than double, rising from $31 to $34 per credit.

In New Mexico, a state with a Democratic governor and one of two states with a budget in the black, public higher education tuition has also increased. The state legislature there raised tuition by four percent this year. Although the state has the money they lack the will to fund higher education properly,” says Val Anzalone, executive vice president of the United Staff of the University of New Mexico.

**IN NEW JERSEY**

Nicholas Yovnello, President of the Council of New Jersey State College Locals, notes that in New Jersey state support has been on the decline for years, under both Republican and Democratic administrations. “The public institutions at one time were receiving two-thirds of their funding from the state, but now receive less than half, and some as little as 35%,” says Yovnello. “In the budget that was just adopted, 86% of the cuts proposed by Governor Jim McGreevey were restored. But the restorations are conditioned on public institutions agreeing to hold tuition increases to 10%.” A 9.9% increase is expected to be followed by fee increases.

The union has actively opposed the tuition and fee increases. As a member of the New Jersey Fair Tax Alliance, it is working to reduce cuts to essential programs through raising the income tax. “We have conducted polls and found people are supportive of higher taxes but politicians are skittish,” says Yovnello. Democrats hope to win control of the State Senate this November and are unwilling to propose tax increases that may “upset the applecart.” Thus, with a budget deficit of $3 billion in 2003 projected to balloon to $5 billion in 2004, the crisis will only escalate.

Indications are that without the political will to increase some taxes, states will be even more hard-pressed to fund higher education in the years to come. What is different today compared to a decade ago is that in New Mexico, Democratic Party officials cannot be counted on to advocate for education. Even in states where Democrats control government and state legislatures, efforts to tax the wealthy are resisted by Republicans, who have been significantly more resolute and organized in achieving their political goals.

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By NANNY NESS

Brooklyn College

Higher education funding is on the skids

Vermont: higher education spending rises

Vermont has been an exception to the national trend of cuts in funding for public colleges and universities. With a strong faculty and staff union fighting hard for public higher education, Vermont is gradually increasing its historically woeful commitment to university and college students.

“In the last decade, state support for college operating budgets increased from 11% to close to 20% of our operating expenditures,” says Roy Vestrich, president of United Academics of Vermont. “Because of that, when the state fiscal crisis hit, the impact on the college and university system was not as dramatic.”

Even with a budget deficit of $30 million this year, higher education funding was not cut. “We have kept the pressure on and made it an issue,” says Vestrich. “We made higher education a high agenda item in Vermont by putting it on the radar screen in the last two campaign cycles.” Vestrich notes that two years ago, polls showed that higher education was the most important issue in the state.

**OUTREACH & POLITICS**

How did they do it? “We’ve done a lot of lobbying,” said Vestrich. “And outreach, mobilizing [both] students and their parents.” Political action through the labor movement played a role as well, with United Academics playing a leading role in the formation of a Vermont state labor council, separate from the AFL-CIO body for New England.

Democrats run Vermont’s State Senate, while Republicans control the lower house. A third party, the Progressive Party, has just a handful of seats in the legislature but exerts influence beyond its numbers, according to Michael Krasner, an associate professor of political science at Queens College. “The Progressives create a left position, which pulls the whole debate in their direction,” Krasner explained, and strong support for public higher ed is part of the Progressive agenda.

Even though Vermont has elected a conservative Republican as governor, higher education was boosted by 2% this year. “Despite our disagreement on so many issues,” said Vestrich, “Governor Jim Douglas said he would hold higher education harmless in cutbacks.”

But while state support for higher education is on the rise in Vermont, it still has quite a ways to go. This year, tuition at the state’s four-year schools was set at $5,374.
NYC budget deal reached

By TOMIO GERON

$5.3 million in new City money for CUNY

Chair Charles Barron, in celebrating the new CC financial aid package, for which he had worked particularly hard. Barron is himself a City Tech and Hunter College graduate.

PSC officers and activists had proposed the “safety net” idea to Council members while they lobbied the mayor and City Council to get the CUNY funds restored. “These funds will go to those who need them most,” said PSC First Vice President Steve London, noting that the State’s Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) excludes most part-time students and many others with low incomes.

“Many in the Council were outraged that the BoT raised tuition for the CCs along with the senior colleges,” said PSC Secretary Cecilia McCall. “We must change the dialog and begin to discuss lower tuition, even free tuition.”

The City budget deal was reached after Bloomberg agreed to drop $15 million in cuts, including the proposed closings of the Brooklyn and Queens zoos, 11 child health care clinics and programs that provide week-ends meals for the elderly. Altogether $20 million of Bloomberg’s budget cuts were rescinded, as the mayor had promised to drop $90 million of his proposed reductions.

LAYOUTS

While services were not cut as deeply as some had feared, many City workers are being laid off. About 3,600 Department of Education workers were fired in June, bringing the number of City workers who have lost their jobs this year to well over 5,000. They include school aides, drug counselors, clerical workers and others, with more pink slips still on the way. While Bloomberg had demanded $60 million in union concessions, the mayor refused to discuss the unions’ cost-saving proposals and announced that some layoffs would be inevitable in any case. A nearly $2 billion deficit is projected for next year, and the mayor is insisting that City workers will get no raises without concessions. With municipal unions seeking to protect benefits and win real wage increases, the mayor and unions are expected to clash again soon.

Tuition increase for CUNY

By TOMIO GERON

On June 23 the CUNY Board of Trustees voted to raise tuition, despite vocal objections from a crowd of more than 250 students, faculty and staff.

Chants and shouting filled the room as Board Chair Benno Schmidt banged his gavel and unsuccessfully demanded silence. “Education is a right, not just for the rich and white!” protesters yelled, along with “Let us vote!” and “Shame, shame, shame!”

The raucous crowd grew quiet only when student Trustee Shamsul Haque delivered a brief statement. “On behalf of my fellow students, I refuse to accept the tuition hike,” said the recent Baruch graduate, calling it “a huge burden on low-income families, working-class people and single parents.”

When the protestors refused to stop chanting, a frustrated and visibly angry Schmidt called for a single vote on all twelve proposals on the agenda. After the omnibus measure passed by a vote of 13-1, the crowd erupted in further chanting. Smik bombs – vials of ammonium sulfide – were thrown at the stage, releasing a strong rotten egg smell that sent Trustees hurrying from the room. The $800 increase at senior colleges and $300 increase at community colleges is the first CUNY tuition increase since 1995, though various fees have increased since then. Last year CUNY also ended its last semester-free tuition policy for gradu- ating seniors.

“My academic future is uncertain and that scares me,” said Charlene Piper, a senior at Brooklyn College. “With only six classes left, I don’t know if I can afford to finish my degree.” After the last CUNY tuition increase – a $950 hike in 1995 – the University ended up with 8,000 fewer students.

PRIVATE SCHOOL

“With this increase, 42% of [CUNY’s] operating revenue will come from tuition,” said Jay Apple- man, PSC Chapter Chair at Queensborough CC. “The tuition increase effectively privatises what was once a public institution.” As a percentage of income, CUNY community college tuition was already the highest in the country.

The Trustees’ vote also raises tuition by $1,000 for resident master’s students, $1,430 for those in law school and $520 for in-state first-year doctoral students. Increases for out-of-state students, including interna- tional students, are even steeper – for example, over $2,000 for senior college students and $850 for first-year doctoral students taking a nine-credit load. CUNY estimates 10% of those enrolled are interna- tional students.

The tuition hike at the senior colleges was pre-cipitated by New York State’s $12.5 million cut in its support for CUNY, most of which goes to the senior colleges. The Leg- islature authorized a tu- ition hike of up to $950, but CUNY decided on an increase of $800, or 25%, at its four-year schools.

The PSC opposed any increase in tuition as a way of bal- ancing the budget. Once the state budget was passed, the union fo- cused on opposing any increase in community college tuition.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Many faculty and staff were par- ticularly angry about the CC tuition hike, since the CCs did not suffer a budget cut.

“This Board of Trustees has failed the people of the City,” said PSC Sec- retary Cecilia McCall, the union’s legislative director. McCall warned of a possible drop in minority enroll- ment, and noted that CUNY officials have conceded this is a concern.

City Council Higher Education Committee Chair Charles Barron joined the audience protest at the Trustees’ meeting. “I’m outraged,” he told Clarion. “Every time we have a tuition hike we have an enrollment drop.” Barron scolded the Board for not dis- cussing the tuition in- crease with the City Council. The Council had successfully fought to restore community college funding, he said, and if additional monies were needed, the Coun- cil would have worked to find the funds. “But we didn’t get that opportunity,” Barron said. “I don’t think it’s fair to the City Coun- cil, which has been very supportive of CUNY.”

The PSC also argued that CUNY had not explored all options before imposing the CC tuition increase. “The fiscally responsible approach is to use every ounce of energy, cre- ativity and muscle to identify the necessary public funds,” said PSC President Barbara Bowen. She not- ed that although CUNY tuition had gone up in the 1990s, the University ended the decade with less total revenue.

A statement from CUNY central administration the day before the vote tried to justify the increase by comparing it to the overall rate of in- flation in higher education. Chan- cellor Matthew Goldstein argued that CUNY had sought to limit the extent of the tuition increase, and that it was needed to protect what 89th Street called “the academic core of the University.”

NEW FACULTY

As for the CC tuition hike, Gold- stein argued that it was necessary to provide new resources for the CCs, in particular to hire more full-time faculty. He said that 300 new full-time CC faculty would be hired with the new tuition revenue.

The Chancellor also argued that if tuition was not raised at the CCs, the gap in costs would be so large that it would provoke an exodus of students from the CCs. PSC officers and other critics of the deci- sion noted that the difference in tuition would be hefty enough anyway – $1290 versus $1500.

“Very, we desperately need more full-time faculty,” said Anne Fried- man, City Council vice president for com- munity colleges. “But this cannot be on the backs of our students. There comes a point when we must say ‘NO’ to turning public colleges into private institutions.”
What are you reading this summer?

Clarion’s Roving Reporter asks PSC members

MURRAY A. RUBINSTEIN
Professor of History and Chair of Asian/Asian Am. Studies
Baruch College

Breach of Faith by Theodore White. It’s the best book about Nixon and the fall of Nixon – a classic. It neatly fits with my class, and it’s fun to go back and read it. My field is the history of China and Taiwan, so I’m reviewing Denny Roy’s Taiwan: A Political History. It’s a very useful book, and through the press, the author and I have had some interesting exchanges. Let’s see, what else? The Noonday Demon, by New Yorker writer Andrew Solomon. A very powerful, very disturbing, very important book about depression. And my Father’s Day gift – Tiger Woods on How I Play the Game. I’m an avid golfer and a huge fan – in fact, I saw him play last week.

BOB FITCH
Adjunct Assistant Professor of Social Science
LaGuardia Community College

Right now, I’m reading avidly in two fields. First, a lot of stuff that I should have read twenty years ago – classics of political theory like John Rawls and Michael Sandel. I’m also finishing writing a book about trade unions so I’m reading a lot about organized crime. One of the books I just got into is Black Mass: The True Story of an Unholy Alliance between the FBI and the Irish Mob. It’s an incredible story about the Winter Hill Gang in Boston – it turns out they ran the Teamsters. I wish I had made it a chapter myself.

VIRGINIA TOMLINSON
Counselor
New York City Tech

I’m reading for school – it seems all I do is read for my classes! I’m a student at Adelphi in School Leadership and Administration, and I’m reading Tom Cottell’s Inside the Magic Kingdom: Seven Keys to Disney’s Success. It’s quite good, and it definitely gives me guidance into how to structure an institution so it works well. And it’s helpful in counseling students on how they can be more successful. Everyone thinks they’re a separate piece, but success is about everyone working together. It’s all connected. In fact, we read this book in my church, and I brought it to class when the teacher asked us to look for books on leadership. And I use it in my counseling.

LOUISE STRACKE
Continuing Education Teacher
Kingsborough Comm. College and Queensborough Comm. College

In class this summer, we read Brighton Beach Memoirs by Neil Simon. I love this book, and students love it too. They can really relate – to the sort of universal problems of big dreams and obstacles to them, and also to the experience of families who’ve immigrated here. We act the story out in class and have a great time. For myself, I’m reading Straight Man by Richard Russo. I read his last book, Empire Falls, and didn’t like it as much as this one. He’s a college English professor and writes from that point of view, about small towns that aren’t doing so well, and people’s conflicts about whether to stay or to go. It’s really very funny – I may even read it with my students this summer.

WALIED SAMARRAI
Assistant Professor of Biology
New York City Tech

I’m a member of a faculty discussion group, and we just read Anika Nikolai’s collection, Free: And Other Stories. The stories are great, and we invited the author to speak to the group. She discussed the reasons she wrote the book and the process of writing fiction. I’m also reading Emotional Intelligence by Daniel Goleman. Intelligence is not only about how you do on exams, so the book helps me to understand ways to bring out the best in students through criteria other than tests.

By KRISTIN LAWLER

Resources for caregiving

Help with aging parents and spouses

By SUSANNE PAUL

Need a caregiver for an aged parent or spouse? If so, you’ll confront a confusing jumble of local, state and national programs, both private and public. You’ll also have the options of family, volunteer and corporate approaches to helping someone who needs care. Assessing what level of care to secure can be daunting – from a friendly visitor to intensive medical supervision. Most often, economic considerations shape the kind and quality of care that can – and cannot – be found.

Unlike some other advanced countries, the United States lacks universal coverage to care for older persons’ physical needs. Currently, the Bush Administration wants to privatize income support and access to health care in old age. The labor union movement, along with many aging advocacy and religious organizations, urges universal coverage and extending public responsibility for older persons’ welfare. Unfortunately, that has not happened yet. Given the current situation, here are some useful resources.

YOUR BENEFITS

AFL-CIO www.aflcio.org

In its Elder Care section, this large union site features major sections on financial resources for the caregiver, links to care-giving organizations and helpful statistical background.

Area Agency on Aging www.eldercare.gov

A first stop for information for both caregivers and care recipients, including both public and private resources. The information is organized on a geographical basis. In New York City, the NY Department for Aging is the Area Agency on Aging.

Consumer Reports www.consumerreports.org/health

Caregivers searching for a quality nursing home can find a full report as well as State listings of a “Watch List” for deficient nursing homes on this site. Publications include a comprehensive listing of health services for seniors.

Friends & Relatives of the Institutionalized Aged www.fria.org

Focused on New York, the site has information for families and professionals. It also has a hotline and a book, ElderCare In New York – providing advice on home care, choosing a nursing home, paying for eldercare, and more – which is updated regularly.

U.S. Administration on Aging www.aao.gov

Contains a caregivers’ site with resources on care-giving, care recipients and links to local, state and national organizations. Also has an “On-line Elder Locator.” By entering a zip code, users can locate local information and referral organizations that can help find appropriate services. The Elder Locator can be reached at 0800 677-1116.

National Council on Aging www.benefitcheckup.org

Lists more than 1,000 federal and state assistance programs for older adults. An on-line questionnaire helps the user identify what programs he or she may be entitled to and how to apply.

Family Caregiver Alliance Resource Center www.caregiver.org

Provides clear information on care-giving resources, fact sheets (some in Chinese and Spanish), on-line support groups and care-planning consultation and policy alerts.

Medicare www.medicare.gov

This user-friendly site includes a directory of participating physicians, comparison of supplemental insurance plans (Medigap), and data from Nursing Home Compare. Also visit www.cms.gov for the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services.

First Gov for Seniors www.seniors.gov

The US Social Security Administration prepares this site that covers many aging issues as well as federal and state services. The useful new (June 2003) care-giving section, however, now contains advertising.

Wellspouse www.wellspouse.org

Provides spouses of frail elderly with a virtual support community, including message boards and live chats with other spouse caregivers. Highlights disease-specific websites.

Kaiser Family Foundation (www.kff.org), The Commonwealth Fund (www.cmwf.org), and Global Action on Aging (www.globalaging.org) publish research, public policy studies and news articles on care-giving.

See letters, p. 2, for more discussion.

Susanne Paul, President of Global Action on Aging, directed Queens College’s Labor Education and Advancement Program from 1990 to 2000.
CUNY and the work of architecture

An interview with Rafael Viñoly

Architect Rafael Viñoly has designed projects around the world, including the new home of Jazz at Lincoln Center and the Tokyo International Forum. He was also part of the THINK Group that designed the runner-up proposal for the World Trade Center site.

Viñoly's work at CUNY includes the gut renovation of a building that became John Jay's current home on 10th Avenue in 1988. He also designed Lehman's Physical Education Facility and the renovation of a building that will house the CUNY School of Architecture (scheduled to open in 2006).

Professor Lance Jay Brown, FAIA, Chair of the CUNY School of Architecture (CCNY), and Clarín's Tomio Geron spoke with him in June.

What were expectations for the John Jay project and what were reactions after it was completed?

I brought the idea to the University; we had to explain the project to CCNY and the work of architecture.

John Jay: it's clearly the fact of programming is mutually divorced from execution, then you shouldn't be composing a piano sonata.

Is there difficulty with having a political practice?

Politics is about the manifestation of difficulty.

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What do you expect? This is politics. Politics is about the manifestation of difficulty. It's nothing other than a pure mechanism of convenience.

In terms of handling the issues between program and form, would you cite as an example of that from a previous generation?

FDR, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was not a person who had no convictions. And yet he was a person completely open to conditions that were not really known – or at least, no one had a precooked answer to.

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At the same time, what I find fascinating is that clients don't really know what they want or what they need. Certainly you don't know what they need, either, but to assume that they are in complete control and precisely know all their requirements and how you can actually satisfy them – well, that is a little bit pretentious.

So to me, one of the most interesting aspects of working is if you bring no preconceptions to the first connection with the client, to this movement in which the client comes and has this uneasiness or total firmness about telling you what she really thinks they need. It's really more of a dialogue, one which starts with design rather than concludes in it.

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Under attack for 150 years

By H. BRUCE FRANKLIN

Controversy over who has access to education is not new in the United States. Protests against steep tuition hikes at CUNY and other colleges are the latest chapter in a story that began long before any of us were born.

In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, throughout New England and the Middle Atlantic states, there were (as Dorothy Canfield Fisher wrote in 1927) “horrified outrages over the revolutionary, poisonous idea of teaching all children to read and write, even the children of parents who had no money to pay tuition fees.” In an 1830 article titled “Argument against Public Schools,” a Philadelphia newspaper explained why education should be reserved for the wealthy: “Literature cannot be acquired without leisure, and wealth gives leisure... The ‘peasant’ must labor during those hours of the day which his wealthy neighbor can give to the abstract culture of his mind; otherwise, the earth would not yield enough for the subsistence of all. The mechanic cannot abandon the operations of his trade for general studies; if he could... langour, decay, poverty [and] discontent would soon be visible among all classes.

In the 1830s, as the industrial revolution was transforming plantation agriculture, most of the slave states outlawed literacy classes for African Americans. A Virginia law of 1831, for instance, decreed “that all meetings of free negroes or mulattoes, at any school-house, church, meeting-house or other place for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an unlawful assembly.”

The Morrill Act established the land-grant colleges that provided higher education for working-class young men – and, later, women. But it passed Congress in 1862 only because of the wartime absence of representatives from the slaveholding states. In 1857, President James Buchanan had vetoed the bill, declaring that it violated states’ rights and set a dangerous precedent of federal aid to education.

Subversives

At the beginning of the twentieth century, those who were struggling to open more doors of higher education to women were branded dangerous radicals and subversives. After all, according to one university president in 1904, “It is now well established that higher education in this country reduces the rate of both marriage and offspring... I think it established that mental strain in early womanhood is a cause of imperfect mammary function which is the first stage of the slow evolution of sterility.” A 1905 magazine article titled “Higher Education of Women” explained further: “Not only does wilfulness and motherhood not require an extraordinary development of the brain, but the latter is a decided barrier against the proper performance of these duties.”

US public schools long operated under an apartheid system, which was legally maintained in the South but was almost as rigidly determined in the North. It took a 1954 Supreme Court decision to de jure apartheid, while its de facto form still prevails throughout most of the nation. Many struggles would erupt in the next two decades over whether racism would continue to deny students an equal education.

Open admissions

In April 1969, students sat in at City College of the City University of New York (CUNY), denouncing the university’s discrimination against people of color and the poor in its admissions policy. In response, the Board of Higher Education initiated a program of open admissions whereby every graduate of a New York City high school could enroll in the city’s famous university.

At the time, CUNY was the nation’s third largest system of public higher education, behind the University of California and the State University of New York. Never, since opening the doors to college too far: “Our colleges are under pressure to collapse their educational standards, in the misguided belief that this would promote ‘opportunity.’” Vice President Agnew (not yet indicted for his own crimes) was even more explicit. In early 1970, Agnew argued that there was too high a percentage of Black students in college and condemned “the violence emanating from Black student militancy.” Declaring that “College, at one time considered a privilege, is considered to be a right today,” he singled out open admissions as one of the main ways “by which unqualified students are being swept into college on the wave of the new socialism.”

Later that year, Roger Freeman – a key educational advisor to Nixon then working for the reelection of California Governor Ronald Reagan – defined the target of the conservative counterattack: “We are in danger of producing an educated proletariat. That’s dynasty! We have to be selective on who we admit!”

By 1975, President Ford announced that he would withhold federal aid from New York University, thus wiping out the last U.S. stronghold of free public higher education. The university then hired hundreds of young faculty members who had been hired to educate the greater number of students resulting from open admissions.

In the decades since then, with free tuition looking like a relic of some ancient past or a dream of some utopian future, tuition and other fees have kept rising at public colleges and universities across the nation. Com- pounded by reduced budgets for scholarships, these escalating costs have made it ever more difficult for poor and working-class students to obtain a college education, a trend accelerated in the late 1990s by attacks on affirmative action. In 1998 and 1999, CUNY and the poor of New York City again became targets as the administrations of Mayor Giuliani and Governor George Pataki moved to eliminate remedial education at the city’s four-year colleges.

Meanwhile, just as the state and federal governments were taking away the funds needed to open up university admissions, they were beginning to spend enormous sums on alternative institutions for the poor – institutions with exceptionally easy entrance requirements and lengthy enrollments for people of color. From 1976, the year when free higher education was eradicated, until the end of the century, on average a new prison was constructed in America every week. The prison population ballooned from under 200,000 in 1971 to two million in 2000 as the United States became the prison capital of the world.

Between 1988 and 1998, prisons in New York saw their operating budgets grow by $701 million, while the state cut its operating support for CUNY and SUNY by $615 million. By the late 1990s, California and many other states were spending more money for prisons than for public higher education, and across the country far more young black men were in prison than in college.

“A budget,” wrote the sociologist Rohold Goldsheider, “is the skeleton of the State, stripped of all misleading ideologies.” If so, the budget shift from colleges to prisons reveals the structure of today’s America.

The White House worked to end free tuition and open admissions.

H. Bruce Franklin is John Cotton Dana Professor of English and American Studies at Rutgers University, Newark. This article is adapted from his book, Vietnam and Other American Fantasies.
The body in pain

By BARBARA BOWEN
PSC President

Over the past few months, I have received more letters and calls about changes to the Welfare Fund than I have had since I took office. Almost all are about the changes in the Welfare Fund, and very few are positive. Nothing—not the contract battle, the campaign to restore public funding for higher education, the union’s legislative victories on access to CUNY—has elicited such a response. I think I know why, and it’s not simply because costs for many members have gone up. More than that, the issue has to do with closeness to the body and involvement of the union in a country as intimate as our health.

Rather than suggesting that you not be angry if your costs have increased, I want to argue that we as members are right to be emotionally upset, publicly angry, and not at the Welfare Fund. Health care may well be this century of American labor what the eight-hour day was for the last, and how we respond to the issue at hand is going to have lasting consequences.

Large Response

Between us, Steve London and I have received over 200 letters, e-mails and calls about the changes; the Welfare Fund is fielding 4,000 member calls a month, and Medico, our new prescription drug manager, averaging 18,000 PSC calls per month. Many of the calls are simply seeking information or assistance. In other cases, members have misunderstood the changes because they have missed important information in the material we’ve sent. This is understandable, given the volume of information in the plan description, but can lead to underestimating the value of the new benefits. For instance, the numbers in the fee schedule for the Guardian Dental Plan are on top of substantial discounts offered by participating dentists. (With the discounted price, treatment by a Guardian dentist often costs less than out-of-pocket treatment under the old plan—and the choice of dentists is vastly expanded.)

But there are still far too many members—one too many—who have in fact experienced a significant increase in their health care costs. If you were receiving all your dental care from a SIDS dentist your costs would have gone up steeply, and if you had been using the drug rider from Aetna or HIP you may have seen a dramatic increase in your copayments.

That’s terrible and I am deeply sorry. It’s wrong for any of us to have to pay more for what should be universal and free. But believe me, the Welfare Fund Trustees have done everything we could to be fair and compassionate in the changes we had to make. We spent a year researching alternate proposals, working with the leading benefits consultant in the city, holding meetings on every campus, systematically assessing the options. No union leadership likes to cut benefits, and that’s partly why the Welfare Fund had meandered along for so many years in deficit.

As new union leadership we found it bitter to make changes we knew would be unpopular, but the alternative was standing by and watching the Fund slide into insolvency—as some union welfare funds have already done.

To every member who is feeling, irritated, outraged or betrayed by the changes, I would say two things: first, take another look at the material we’ve sent and the question-and-answer about the Welfare Fund on the PSC website (www.psc-cuny.org). Make sure you’re not missing something about the structure of the new benefits. Second, if you are sure, then let your outrage grow. It is outrageous that the fundamental human right to health care should be threatened because of the insatiable appetite for profit of the health care industry. It is outrageous that people who have dedicated their lives to public service in the University should be forced to cut into their salary increases to cover the cost of dental care and prescription drugs.

Outrage

Be outraged, I would suggest, but be smart. Recognize the history of employer withdrawal from health care costs over the last decade. (Twenty-five years ago, more than 80% of all medium-to-large companies offered medical benefits to retirees; now fewer than 40% do.) Understand the consequences of the watershed 1997 federal law that allowed pharmaceutical companies to advertise directly to patients—spending on pharmaceutical advertising has gone up by 40% each year, and is one of the biggest factors in the Welfare Fund’s increased costs. Calculate the effect of millions of dollars spent every year by the pharmaceutical industry to block health care reform. Consider that New York City and State have consistently underfunded our benefits, and that CUNY as our employer failed to resist this practice.

If your anger stops at the door of the union office you will be seeing only a fragment of the picture. The reason for the shortfall in our Welfare Fund is not that the Trustees have made bad investments (the Fund’s money is very safely invested, with nothing in the stock market), not that the union has used money from the Fund for political projects (the money is never commingled—that’s absolutely illegal), and not that the union leadership failed to negotiate for an infusion of money into the Welfare Fund (the most recent contract added $4.3 million annually to the Fund with a further $4.27 million lump sum, and retired a $2.8 million debt—more money than in any other contract).

The reason for the shortfall in the Welfare Fund is the simple arithmetic of a national crisis: costs have been rising sharply for nearly a decade and the amount of money paid into the Fund by the city and state hasn’t kept up with the cost of health care.

As thinking people, we need to see the issue for what it is: an attempt to shift the cost of health care from the employer to the employee. If that’s the problem, then the response must be to demand a restructuring of benefit funding—and real national health care reform. I would suggest that fully funded Welfare Fund benefits should become a rock-bottom issue in this round of contract negotiations; we have to make the point that CUNY cannot expect its employees to work with insufficient support for their health. How can a university, supposedly an embodiment of enlightened thinking, countenance anything but optimal funding for employee benefits? At some point theunderfunding of our benefits will begin to affect recruitment of new faculty and staff, savvy job candidates increasingly understand that benefits are now at the heart of their compensation. And how can the University explain the fact that for thousands of its employees—most adjuncts and Continuing Education teachers—it offers no health insurance at all?

Contract Fight

Support for the Welfare Fund must become one of our primary contract fights; I look to you, especially those who have been angriest about the changes, to become activists in this round of negotiations. I don’t say this to suggest that the union leadership will not go on answering your questions directly; of course that remains our first responsibility. I say this to make it clear that a salary increase largely eaten up by increased health care costs is not a salary increase. And perhaps because what’s at stake is our own bodies and the health of our families, we’ll fight for this contract with special intensity. Some of the most stunning political activism of recent decades has been around health care.

Critical as our contract fight is, the national problem that lies behind it won’t be solved at the bargaining table. The PSC is part of state-wide and national coalitions on health care reform, and we’ve recently decided to follow the lead of the Representatives’ Committee and form our own committee to press for change. Many of us feel that it’s time for organized labor to move from a defensive posture in contract negotiations to a leadership role in the national effort to win health care for all. So let’s not stop the writing and calling; I’d like to ask you to call more—but this time to let me know if you agree that benefit funding should be a central concern of the contract negotiations. I’d like to join the PSC’s health care action committee. Doing so may not reduce your immediate frustration with the Welfare Fund changes, but it’s the best way to arrive at a real solution.
Threat to health benefits is turned back

By PETER HOGNESS

Imagine working somewhere for 18 years. Imagine that you are suddenly told that you will lose your health insurance. Now imagine that you are also a cancer patient.

“I was diagnosed in December,” said Suzanne Doob, who teaches in The English Language Center (TELC) at LaGuardia. “I’ve had surgery since then, and the cancer had not yet spread. But I have to go for a lot of follow-up.” Doob has appointments every three months, and must take the expensive drug tamoxifen for the next five years.

A May 30 letter from LaGuardia management told TELC faculty that, as of August 31, the college would no longer cover their health insurance. “I’ve been very scared and nervous about this whole situation,” Doob told Clarion in July. “Losing my insurance would be a disaster.”

Others at TELC had the same reaction. About half of the 110 faculty members currently use the adjunct health insurance. For those with other coverage, it’s important to know that if they lose it, they can still be insured through TELC.

Now the threat to these benefits has been averted. An energetic organizing campaign by TELC faculty and aggressive pursuit of a union grievance have led LaGuardia to pull back on the change.

Historically, LaGuardia had classified TELC faculty as adjuncts, but in the May letter the college told faculty that they were really continuing education timers (CETs). As a result, virtually all of them were ineligible for health insurance. (One of the requirements for adjunct faculty to qualify for health insurance is teaching at least 6 contact hours— but for CETs, the number is 20.) CETs may also be paid far less per hour.

TELC faculty were stunned. “Personally, it’s a slap in the face,” faculty member Linda Kunz said in early July. “I’ve been an adjunct assistant professor at TELC for 22 years. I have a doctorate in applied linguistics from Columbia University. All our faculty have at least a master’s degree in ESL, and I think we’re wholly worth what an entering public school teacher gets. This is an insult.”

“This unilateral attempt at retitling is a dramatic instance of the precarious situation that all part-timers face because of our lack of job security and due process,” said Marcia Newfield, PSC vice president for part-time personnel.

“The union’s position is that TELC faculty have been and continue to be adjuncts and are entitled to adjunct benefits guaranteed by the contract,” said Steve London, PSC first vice president. “LaGuardia administration wanted to deprive many TELC faculty of health insurance and the union would not allow that to happen.”

LaGuardia management had tried to mollify TELC faculty by promising that even after they were reclassified as CETs, the college would continue to pay them at the old rate. “Forget it!” said Kunz. “Of course, we know that our salaries would go next. It’s just the typical thing of doing it in little stages, hoping that people will not react as much.”

“How could they let anyone be without these benefits?” asked Sylvia Gonzalez, one of five TELC faculty elected to a union grievance committee. “Especially here, in the richest country in the world?” Gonzalez told Clarion that when she heard the news, “I said to myself, ‘No way! Not even one of us is going to be left without health insurance!’”

“We held meetings, we organized by e-mail,” said grievance committee member Cynthia Wiseman, a former president of NY State Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). “We got letters of support, signed by 70 people from across the country,” both TESOL members and adjunct activists.

“TELC faculty felt they were fighting not only for themselves, but for the survival of a program they are proud to work in—one that serves 7,000 students a year. ‘It’s a wonderful place to teach, the best program I’ve ever seen in action,’ said Kunz. ‘But I’m 63 and I need my health insurance. Without that, I’d have to quit.’”

“I asked for a TELC faculty seat at the negotiating table. ‘Let the TELC faculty struggle with management,’ she said to me. ‘It’s their struggle, and it’s their win.’”

“TELC only works because we’ve had continuity, we’ve had experienced people keeping coming back,” said Peter Hoffmann, who’s been there 11 years. “A loss of benefits would change that, and it would destroy the program.”

“When they told us, ‘You’re an error, you’re a mistake’— it was clear they don’t understand the value of our labor,” said faculty member Michelle Piso. “I grew up in a housing project, so I’m used to being treated as invisible. If you’re used to being marginalized, you can take a lot. But this was just too much.”

GRIEVANCE

On July 14, a week after the PSC threatened to seek a state court injunction to maintain health benefits, a Step One decision by the college’s labor designee sustained the union’s grievance: the faculty working at TELC would continue to be adjuncts.

“No way, not even one of us is going to be left without health insurance,” Kunz told Clarion.

NEW TITLE NEEDED

“The language institutes are an integral part of the educational process at CUNY,” said Newfield. “They are the portals of educational opportunity. Their teachers’ contributions should be recognized, not devalued.”

“What’s needed is a new full-time title,” said London. “There’s a mismatch between the qualifications their work requires and CUNY’s rules for continuing education. These should be full-time jobs, adequately compensated, with full-time benefits at least equivalent to the lecturer title.”

When the struggle at TELC began, said Gonzalez, “we found that people didn’t really know what we do— in management or even in the union.” But now, the TELC faculty’s struggle has made them very visible indeed. Piso told Clarion, “We’re coming out of this a lot stronger than we were before.”

Sylvia Gonzalez, a TELC faculty member at LaGuardia who was elected to the TELC grievance committee, is shown here teaching an ESL class in July.