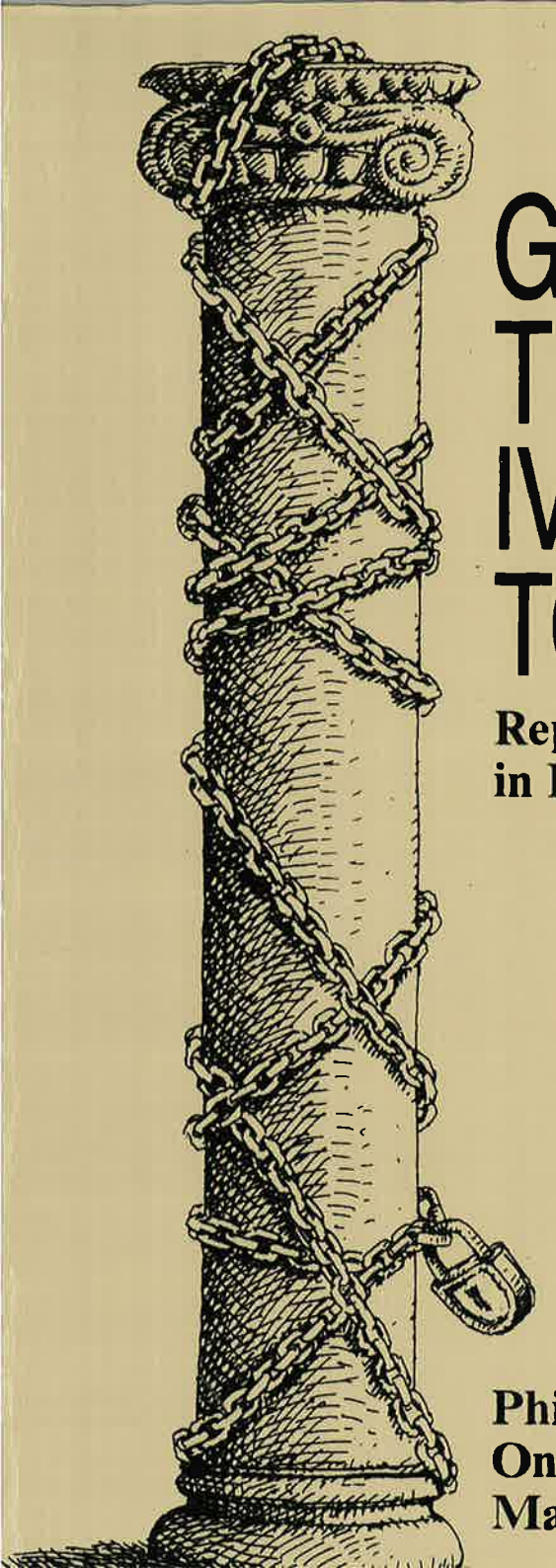


GUARDING THE IVORY TOWER

Repression and Rebellion in Higher Education

Philip J. Meranto
Oneida J. Meranto
Matthew R. Lippman

J R Bennett

GUARDING THE IVORY TOWER

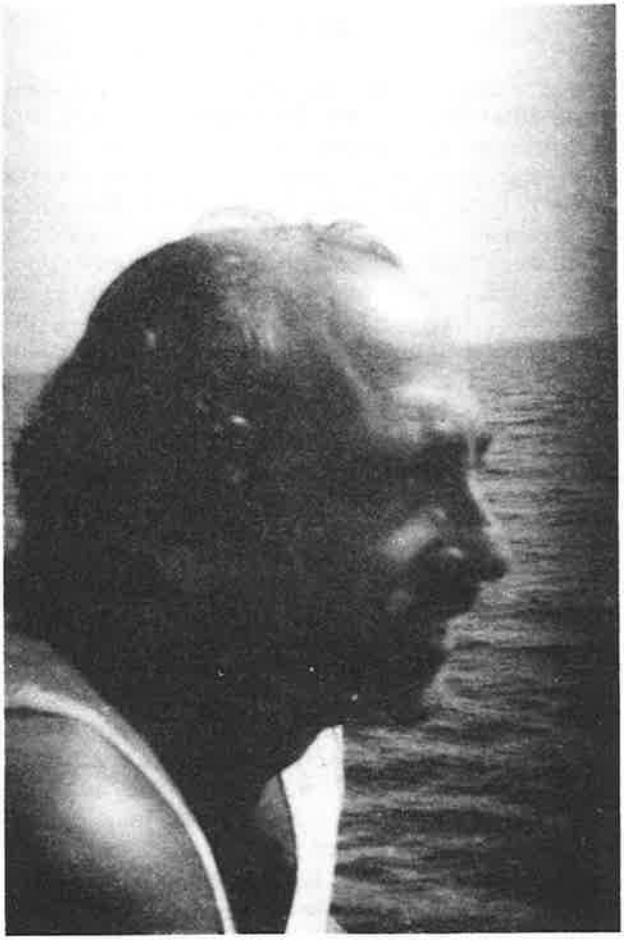
Repression and Rebellion in Higher Education

Philip J. Meranto
Oneida J. Meranto
Matthew R. Lippman

LUCHA PUBLICATIONS
DENVER, COLORADO

P.O. Box 12671
Denver, Colorado
80212

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control over the means of mental production.... Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The German Ideology, ed. C.J. Arthur (New York: International Publishers, 1970), p. 64.



"Even small victories are important stepping stones in the effort to turn the tide of the reactionary trend and to move toward larger efforts for fundamental social change."

Philip J. Meranto

PREFACE

On the evening of May 29, 1985, my inspirational husband read to me the final draft of the introduction to this book. After working fervently on this project for two years he at last felt satisfied with the final manuscript. Just two days earlier a decision by the original publisher not to publish the book failed to waver his enthusiasm. We would just have to publish it ourselves he said. I have been against that wall before he added.

And so he had. Numerous times throughout his career and personal life he had come face to face with similar disappointments. But rather than become pessimistic or downhearted as most of us would and choose an easier path, he used these obstacles as stimuli to continue in an even more dedicated manner.

In the time we were together, I witnessed the ripening of a unique individual. As colleague Michael Parenti wrote, "Unlike so many people, Phil was devoid of pretensions, personal ambitions, and competitiveness (except, of course, on the handball court). He lived his politics in his everyday life, sharing his energy, his concern and time, and even his money. He was what every person should be, strong, generous and gentle."

All who knew Phil would agree with Parenti. The modest lifestyle we lived and the direction of his work was an indication of those beliefs. In a paper written by Phil in 1981, he stated "human existence flourishes when people share their goals with one another, when individuals consciously give away more than they take. To have more than what one needs is an embarrassment, not a sign of success."

Phil vigorously worked to eradicate inequality, sexism, racism and oppression. This book is a collection of all he yearned to "tell" about higher education in respect to those injustices. He was an educator in the truest sense for he did not limit his education to the classroom, but demonstrated through his lifestyle and his love for humanity and nature that the truth he fought hard to reveal, and was often ill-rewarded for, would someday reap a better way of life.

No one can harm my love now. On May 30, just 14 hours after reading his introduction to me, he rose to an even higher level of consciousness. He left this earth ... but his beliefs and determination for social change remain.

The community of Phil Meranto will do its best to adhere to those beliefs and carry forth his dreams of a better society. His physical absence is difficult to bear, but his spiritual presence and the knowledge he shared will keep these dreams alive!

Venceremos (We Shall Overcome)

Oneida Meranto
June 7, 1985

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

After encountering difficulties with our original publisher, we decided to produce and distribute this volume ourselves. We have called our publishing house Lucha Publications (struggle publications) to symbolize our solidarity with and commitment to movements for social justice throughout the world, particularly in Latin America.

The book is priced at $7.95 to ensure that most people are able to purchase it. Unlike capitalist publishers, we would rather disseminate knowledge than make a profit. In fact, we lose money on every book sold.

The relationship among the three of us is deep and loving. Phil and Oneida Meranto as passionate lovers, close friends and husband and wife. Matthew Lippman as a close member of their community of friends. This book stands as a tribute to the bond which links the three of us and symbolizes our commitment to combating social injustice.

We especially would like to thank Lawrence Mosqueda of the University of Colorado--Denver, Dennis R. Judd of the University of Missouri--St. Louis, William Nelson Jr. of Ohio State University and Michael Parenti of the Institute for Policy Studies for inspiring this book. Sharon Savinski of Washington, D.C. developed our initial cover. John Cuneo of Denver, Colorado conceptualized and creatively executed the cover of the book. Susan Skorupa of Denver, Colorado, was a thorough and insightful copy editor, and Brandi Chambers was a dedicated and efficient typist.

We have not mentioned, but also would like to thank, the countless friends and family members who assisted in this book. Most of all, we would like to thank our readers. We encourage you to write to us concerning your experiences in higher education so we might collectively undertake a second volume on American Universities.

Philip J. Meranto
Oneida J. Meranto
Matthew R. Lippman

Denver, Colorado
May 30, 1985

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

"Wave of '60s - Style Protests Hits Campuses: Hundreds of Students Arrested"

"CIA Recruiter Chased Off Campus"

"430 Arrested at Protest in Support of Yale Strikers"

"Students Vow to Continue 'Sanctuary Movement'"

"Protest of South Africa Apartheid Spreads Across College Campuses"

"95 Northwestern Students Arrested in Apartheid Sit-In"

"Labor Lends a Hand to Student Protestors"

"Investment Protest Disrupts Columbia Graduation"

So read newspaper headlines from across the United States during the spring of 1985. As the new wave of student activism spread across the country, social commentators scurried to interpret the meaning of renewed campus rebellion. Interpretations ranged from the explanation that it was "silly spring fever" to the suggestion that a new generation of students, who were the children of parents involved in the 1960s revolts, were now reaching college age.[1] Mark Lewis, a Columbia University senior, provided some evidence for this latter interpretation. When he was served with a contempt-of-court summons for his role in a campus protest against Columbia's ties with the apartheid government of South Africa, he saw himself as carrying on a family tradition. He noted that his 82-year-old grandmother had been arrested the month before outside the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. "My grandmother tells me that she pushed me around in a baby carriage at Martin Luther King's march in Washington in 1963. Of course, I was too young to remember that, but I know that my family was active in the civil-rights movement, and it's something I'm proud of."[2]

Whitney Tyman, president of the Black Student Organization at Columbia, offered another interpretation for her involvement. "There is nothing all that different about us ...

We're a diverse group, but we're basically just ordinary students who feel a moral obligation to act", she said.[3]

Regardless of the interpretation of events, the spring of 1985 produced the largest and most wide-spread campus demonstrations since the end of the Vietnam era a decade earlier. This resurgence of student rebellion was particularly unexpected because it occurred within a political period in which the media and liberal critics had declared students a conservative force who were no longer concerned with social problems and who had their sights focused on high paying, prestigious jobs. Just as no one had predicted the student uprisings of the 1960s, the renewed campus revolts in the 1980s caught virtually everyone by surprise and shattered the stereotype of students as "unconcerned."

1985 protests

Those of us who were involved in the social movements of the '60s and who have continued to work for fundamental social change during the 1970s and '80s, however, are not completely baffled by the upsurge in campus activism. We recognize that small groups of concerned students and radical faculty continued to struggle for progressive change on campuses during the political lull of the post-Vietnam period. We have been hoping for a resurgence that would make college campuses politically alive again and that hope is now beginning to blossom. The core group of students and faculty that have persisted in progressive political activity are now being joined by more students, faculty, community people, and, in contrast to the '60s, by workers in labor unions. The emergence of this coalition is the most significant development to date. Such a coalition was central to winning a key strike by female workers at Yale University and has been critical to advances made in the divestiture campaign against apartheid.

The current stage of student activism is once again calling attention to the contradictory character of universities. Universities' well-cultivated image of neutral ivory towers has been challenged by student protestors who have exposed the deep linkages between universities and the economic, political, and military institutions which engage in activities that are humanly destructive. The university has been revealed as a partisan ideological instrument beholden to a larger social order rooted in human exploitation.

University students have the time and intellectual resources to analyze and to comprehend the role played by universities in society. Thus, it is understandable that student

rebellions against society and universities occur. Indeed, given the social conditions in the United States, it can be argued that a university that does not produce student revolt is an educational failure.

Universities, of course, portray themselves as free and open educational institutions in which all views are encouraged and protected. This volume argues, however, that universities have historically been and currently are predominantly centers of intellectual repression rather than freedom. Dissenting scholars have been attracted to university life, but more often than not, they have been driven out of the halls of the academy.[4]

It is our hope that the new, progressive coalition of students, faculty, workers and community people will remain united and will continue to struggle to transform universities into democratic centers of humanistic social change committed to combating and to eradicating racism, sexism, imperialism and social injustice.

Introduction
End Notes

[1]Philip G. Altback, "The New Wave of Student Activism: Why Now?" The Chronicle of Higher Education, (May 15, 1985), p. 88.

[2]Quoted in Larry Rohter, "Asserting 'a Moral Obligation to Act,' Protectors at Columbia Are Steadfast," New York Times, April 19, 1985, p. 4.

[3]Ibid.

[4]See, for example, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Marvin J. Berlowitz and Frank E. Champman, Jr. (eds.), The United States Educational System: Marxist Approaches (Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1980); and Martin Carnoy, Marxism Approaches To Education (Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, Stanford University, 1980).

CHAPTER 1

ACADEMIC FREEDOM OR REPRESSION?

THE HISTORIC REALITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

On June 2, 1984, President Ronald Reagan accepted an honorary academic degree from University College in Ireland. Three of Ireland's leading academics handed back their honorary degrees from the University to protest giving Reagan a similar honor. Nancy Reagan's second cousin, Marian Robinson, was one of those renouncing a degree.

Robinson, a visiting scholar from San Jose University in California said, "As an American, I feel shame because Reagan represents my country ... (he) is a very frightening man."[1]

More than 300 other University faculty members demonstrated in opposition to the award. One, Dr. Richard Gault, said an honorary doctorate degree "means one who is able to teach. We don't feel that we can learn anything from Ronald Reagan." An additional 3,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of Galway, Ireland, chanting anti-Reagan slogans and protesting United States policies on nuclear arms and Central America.

This event stimulates some interesting questions. Is there any American University campus today which has more than 300 faculty members who would demonstrate against the President and his policies? If not, why not? What has happened on campuses since the 1964 Free Speech Movement at Berkeley which touched off student rebellions all across the nation? Have American universities shifted over the past 20 years from centers of revolt to ivory towers of relative political tranquility? Have students really forsaken the social issues of the day for political passivity? Have students really forsaken social activism for political conservatism and career enhancement? If so, why? What happened to the generation of young faculty who were radicalized during the rebellion era of the 1960s and early 1970s? Did the rebellions achieve any lasting changes which challenge traditional ideological orthodoxy in universities? What role have boards of trustees, administrators and senior faculty members played in resisting the transformation of American universities? What are the prospects for renewed campus revolt and another round of intensive struggle?

This book probes these questions and related issues. Our analysis includes a brief historic overview of the struggle between academic freedom and repression in universities. This history provides a context for understanding the student uprisings that erupted in the 1960s, the impact of these rebellions and the subsequent counter-reaction against radical students and unorthodox faculty. It demonstrates that repression of the unorthodox has a long and consistent history in academia.

Despite this history of repression, universities cultivate (and to some extent enjoy) a public image as neutral centers of knowledge in pursuit of truth. In this cultivated popular image institutions of higher education are viewed as ivory towers or intellectual sanctuaries set apart from and above the mundane world. Within these academic centers supposedly exists a community of scholars seeking knowledge and truth in a dispassionate manner. This process is rooted in scientific objectivity, political non-partisanship and social neutrality. Knowledge is sought and disseminated for the common good of the society, not for any narrow self-interested group. Academic freedom, creativity, excellence of inquiry, and to some extent, tolerance of "unpopular ideas" are part of this popular image. The resulting intellectual climate at universities supposedly is preserved by protecting it from external forces that would use the academy for their own purposes.

This image's popular acceptance is suggested by the fact that college professors are highly ranked in social status (although not as highly as their European counterparts) and American colleges and universities are ranked higher in polls on public "trust" and "confidence" than any other institutions in American society--including the Supreme Court and churches.[2]

Is this public image accurate? Are universities actually committed to seeking knowledge for the common good or are they servants of special interests? Does academic freedom or academic repression more accurately characterize the historic reality of higher education in the United States?

The Colonial University and Academic Orthodoxy

The nine original colonial colleges--Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Rutgers, Brown, Columbia, Pennsylvania (College of Philadelphia), and William and Mary--were founded by Congregationalist sects which viewed these universities as vehicles through which to propagate their religious views, train

ministers and educate their brethren. Until 1800, a substantial majority of their graduates pursued careers in the ministry.[3]

These early universities legally were controlled by boards of non-academic trustees who dominated all aspects of university education and life. Approximately one-third of the trustees were clerics and the remainder were drawn from colonial commercial and agricultural elites. A study of the trustees of the College of Philadelphia in the early eighteenth century reveals that 14 of the 24 trustees were family related; three-quarters of the trustees were Anglicans; 14 were wealthy landowners or commercial traders; 21 held or would hold public office at some point in their lives; and 10 were clerics. The role of the colonial trustees was to insure that the colleges served the "traditional and aristrocratic need of this upper crust." Hofstadter observes this model of lay control over academics "has been one of the most decisive factors in the problem of academic freedom in America."[4]

Trustees expected the faculty to inculcate students, who were small in number and from the colonial elite class, with accepted dogmas. Teachers had no recognized right to independent thought or expression. Most faculty members were young tutors who would teach for two years and then pursue careers in the ministry. Harvard, for example, had been established for 85 years before it hired its first professor, and tutors outnumbered full-time staff until the late eighteenth century. Tutors considered themselves temporary employees rather than professional educators, and had no freedom of expression or right to participate in university affairs.

This absence of professional university educators inhibited the development of a tradition of academic freedom. In fact, it would be almost 300 years before the first organized effort to guarantee academic freedom was initiated.

Religious dominance over universities is illustrated by the resignation of Harvard President Henry Dunster in 1654. Dunster, who had served for 14 years as Harvard's second president, was forced to resign when he denied the scriptural validity of infant baptism and refused to present his fourth child for baptism. Dunster's sacrilegious view was associated with the dissident anabaptists. The Harvard trustees, who presided over what was purported to be the most enlightened of the colonial colleges, announced that Harvard could not employ teachers or administrators "that have manifested themselves unsound in the

faith, or scandalous in their lives, and not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."[5]

In the mid-eighteenth century, Yale President Thomas Clap initiated a campaign to eliminate any such reformist tendencies. Students who attended "separationist" church services were expelled, faculty were examined on their religious beliefs and any student using profane language or who characterized a college officer as being "carnal" or "unconverted" was required to make a public confession or face expulsion. One of the most prominent victims of Clap's crackdown on religious dissidents was David Brainerd. Destined to be a leading figure of New England Protestantism, Brainerd was expelled by Clap after referring to a tutor as having "no more grace than the chair I am leaning upon."[6]

Summarizing the situation with colonial colleges, William Livingston, a Presbyterian education reformer, wrote in 1753 that the "students not only receive the dogmata of their teachers with an implicit faith, but are also constantly studying how to support them against every objection. The system of the College is generally taken for true, and the sole business is to defend it."[7] Although the influence of the Enlightenment and of the American Revolution resulted in a growing secularism in colonial colleges in the late eighteenth century, the faculty still were limited in their freedom of expression. Provost Smith of the College of Philadelphia allegedly introduced "irreligious" and "un-Pennsylvanian" elements into his lectures on ethics, government and commerce. The trustees examined the lecture notes of Smith's students and exonerated the Provost. However, in their report, the trustees emphasized the limited freedom of expression to be accorded to university teachers in the classroom:

> No single master can ... carry on any separate or party-Scheme, or teach any principles injurious to piety, Virtue and good Government, without an evident failure of Duty in the whole Body of Trustees and Masters; the general Scheme of Education being fixed, a part of it assigned to every Master ... the Provost, ... (shall) examine into and report to the Trustees at their Stated Meetings whatever shall appear wrong in any of the Professors, Masters or Scholars.[8]

Smith's controversial career was not over. He later became involved in a conflict with the Quaker faction in the Pennsylvania Assembly and was jailed for criticizing the Assembly. Smith continued to meet with his classes in his jail cell.

Thus, most of the early colonial colleges were founded by Congregationalists whose appointed trustees designed and dominated all aspects of college life. University teachers were young tutors who were expected to inculcate students with prevailing dogmas. Even academics' expression of opinion on secular ideas was restricted and examined to insure that the academics refrained from advocating controversial points of view. In this encrusted atmosphere, academic freedom virtually was unthinkable, let alone practiced.

The function of universities was to prepare the male children of wealthy merchants, landowners and clergy for the ministry or for positions of power in the mercantile economy. The curriculum was classical and designed to perpetuate a small educated elite.

Excluding Unorthodox Ideas in the "Old-Time" College: 1800-1890

While the original colonial colleges gradually were being secularized, an explosion in the number of church-sponsored institutions of higher education gave religious sects an even firmer grip on American higher education.

On the eve of the Civil War, there were approximately 182 colleges in the United States. Of those nineteenth century institutions 49 were Presbyterian, 34 Methodist, 25 Baptist, 21 Congregationalist, 14 Roman Catholic, 11 Episcopalian, 6 Lutheran, 20 sponsored by miscellaneous sects, and 27 partially sponsored by state or municipal governments. Additional colleges opened and closed with regularity--Tewksbury surveyed 16 states in the period before the Civil War and found at least 516 colleges had been established--only 19 percent of which survived until 1928. Some sense of the incredible increase in the number of colleges is conveyed by the fact that in 1824 there were 39 colleges within a 50 mile radius of Nashville, Tennessee, a rural area of one million inhabitants.[9] Typical of the religious philosophy of these new American colleges was Marietta College in Ohio, a Congregationalist institution where "the essential doctrines and duties of the Christian religion will be assiduously

inculcated, but no sectarian peculiarities of belief will be taught."[10]

These small colleges (typical was Kenyon College with 55 students) offered an arid classical curriculum based on the Renaissance model of education to which was added a sprinkling of science and politics. Trustees argued, as they are apt to do today, that students were too immature and impressionable to permit the faculty to discuss controversial ideas in class. Prohibitions on the facultys' freedom to present divergent ideas in the classroom permitted the trustees' religious and political views to dominate the college environment. Faculty members were required to live close to campus to supervise the students' personal conduct and to serve as socially conventional role models for the students. Few talented people entered or remained in the college teaching profession: salaries averaged $1,000 per year and faculty members could be fired arbitrarily by the trustees. Research was neither required nor encouraged and, in any event, most faculty members lacked the library facilities required to pursue scholarly work. Only 18 colleges had over 10,000 volumes in their libraries, and libraries of 1,000 volumes were common. As late as 1857, the trustees of Columbia blamed the sorry state of the institution on the fact that three professors "wrote books." Given these conditions, Hofstadter concludes the "least enterprising and self-assertive, often the least able, members of an inferior faculty were the most likely to remain docile in their jobs under intolerable pressures."[11]

Trustees' attempts to insure faculty adherence to approved religious views persisted throughout the nineteenth century. For example, although Columbia's charter prohibited religious tests for hiring and admission, the College's Episcopalian trustees rejected the well-known scientist Wilcott Gibbs for a professorial appointment due to Gibbs' Unitarian beliefs. Timothy Dwight, one of the leading medical practitioners of his day, was refused a position at Yale because he doubted the doctrine of divine revelation.

In this middle period, state universities also developed, many created through the Morrill Act of 1862. Most of the state colleges established under this Act were practically-based institutions designed to promote and improve agriculture, mining, oil exploration, forestry and other economic activities. As a result, these colleges made few contributions to the intellectual life of the United States. Even the more academically-oriented state institutions, such as the universities of Virginia, Georgia,

and North Carolina, continued to strictly limit the academic freedom of their faculties.

The two most important issues provoking academic conflict during the nineteenth century in both religious and in secular colleges were the slavery and the Darwinian controversies. Until the Civil War, trustees of Northern colleges discouraged faculty from discussing slavery. In contrast, all of the South's intellectual energy was directed toward justifying slavery. Abolitionist teachers were fired, Northern textbooks, critical of slavery, were banned and the doctrine of white supremacy was taught as a component of virtually every subject in the university curriculum. One of the victims of academic repression in the South was Professor Benjamin Hedrick, a professor of chemistry at the University of North Carolina, who was dismissed in 1856 when he was rumored to support the anti-slavery National Republican presidential ticket, a party not even on the ballot in North Carolina. Although Hedrick denied he intended to expose his students to abolitionist ideas, he was burned in effigy and dismissed by the trustees.

In the North during the 1870s and 1880s, Darwinism provoked the same intolerant reaction that abolitionism earlier had sparked in the South. A questionnaire addressed to the presidents of nine eastern colleges in 1880 revealed that none of the presidents would permit evolutionary theory to be taught in their institutions. The president of Lafayette assured the college's supporters that "we are keenly alive to the danger from what is manifestly the infidel trend of the views generally held by evolutionists." In 1879, Yale President Noah Porter demanded that William Graham Sumner refrain from assigning Herbert Spencer's Study of Sociology, a prominent Social Darwinist text. Porter wrote Sumner that "the freedom and unfairness with which it (Spencer's book) attacks every Theistic philosophy ... seem to me to condemn the book as a text. ..." Sumner vigorously objected to Porter's letter, but withdrew the text.[12]

In summary, during this middle period, religious denominations tightened their grip on the higher education system. At secular institutions, as illustrated by the slavery and Darwinian controversies, expression of deviant ideas remained tightly controlled and limited.

During this period the beginnings of a major transformation of higher education emerged. The transition of American society from a mercantile economy to an industrial economy helped create the need for an expanded and differently

educated elite class. Demands for an education system that met the practical needs of industry surfaced as Northern industrial capitalism became the major force in the country's economic life. Curti and Nash describe the transitional process:

> The pressure for change toward the practical that philanthropy applied to higher education during the nineteenth century depended also on the emergence of a new elite in American society ... Increasingly, the men of means were businessmen who built railroads, extended commercial networks, and directed the operation of factories ... Instead of patronizing the classical colleges run by and for the old elite, many nineteenth-century entrepreneurs sought to transform existing institutions or to found new ones that would be more responsive to current demands as they defined them.[13]

Birth of the Corporate University and the Deepening of Ideological Control

During the early twentieth century, the captains of industry solidified the transformation of higher education. Industrial entrepreneurs founded and funded universities all across the land. The Rockefeller and Carnegie families established educational foundations to provide leadership and direction for the new trend. Universities now became major instruments for training the future employees of capitalist firms and for socializing students into an ideology which supported the world view of American industrial capitalism. For the first time, business, law, engineering, science and other professional studies became key components of the university curriculum.

Before the Civil War, the largest single corporate donation to a university was Abbott Lawrence's $50,000 gift to Harvard. In the late nineteenth century, the development of corporate capitalism caused a substantial increase in the size of business donations to universities: Johns Hopkins University received over $3.5 million from Baltimore businessmen; the estate of railroad baron Leland Stanford donated $24 million to Stanford University; the University of Chicago received $34 million from the founder of the Stanford Oil Company; and well-endowed educational foundations were established by the Rockefeller, Carnegie and Harkness families. These corporate donations usually were

designed to influence university curricula and to standardize the character of higher education. For instance, the expressed goal of the Carnegie Foundation was to create a comprehensive, standardized system of higher education in the United States. To maximize their influence, business entrepreneurs such as Gilman Clark, Leland Stanford and Benjamin N. Duke founded universities which still carry their names.

Another indication of the enhanced business involvement in universities was the increased dominance of boards of trustees by business executives. Historians Mary and Charles Beard reported that at the beginning of the twentieth century the boards of trustees of major universities "read like a corporate directory." Thorstein Veblen made a similar observation as he noted the transition from clergy control of boards to control by businessmen:

> For a generation past, there has gone a wide-reaching substitution of laymen in the place of clergymen on the governing boards ... The substitution is a substitution of business and politicians; which amounts to saying that it is a substitution of businessmen. So that discretionary control in matters of university policy now rests firmly in the hands of businessmen.[14]

In 1865, Cornell, originally an agricultural college, numbered among its trustees clergymen, mechanics, farmers, a single manufacturer, one merchant and one lawyer. However, by 1918, Cornell's board included Henry W. Sage, owner of the largest lumber business in the world, Charles W. Schwab, president of Bethlehem Steel, H.H. Westinghouse, chairperson of Westinghouse Corporation, Andrew Carnegie and five bankers.

Not surprisingly, American colleges began developing professional and business programs. By 1900, 39.4 percent of all business executives held a college degree. By 1950, 75.6 percent had earned a college degree and 20 percent had some graduate training. Business oriented curricula narrowly defined the range of acceptable ideas. When requested to institute a course on trade unionism, the dean of one midwestern business school reportedly replied, "we don't want our students to pay any attention to anything that might raise questions about management or business policy in their minds."[15]

The new corporate trustees viewed themselves as more than mere figureheads who passively looked to the university administration to establish university policies. One study of trustees at nine major universities revealed that the trustees, in the words of one corporate trustee at Northwestern, believed their authority extended to "what should be taught in political science and social science, (and) they (the professors) should promptly and gracefully submit to the determination of the Trustees ... ."[16]

Ironically, the rise of Social Darwinism and the excesses of industrial capitalism stimulated a new social consciousness in many academics. However, the captains of industry did not hesitate to expel their critics from university faculties. This, of course, was inevitable, for as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has observed, the fear of ideas and anti-intellectualism "has long been the anti-Semitism of the businessman."[17] In 1901, Thomas Elmer Will of Kansas State listed some of the early casualties of the skirmishes between corporate trustees and their academic employees.

> Dr. George M. Steele, President of Lawrence College, for leaning "toward free trade and greenbacks" (1882); the dismissal of President H.E. Stockbridge of North Dakota Agricultural College for "political" reasons (1893); the trial of Richard T. Ely, professor of economics at Wisconsin, for heretical social and economic writings (1894); the dismissal of Docent I. A. Hourwish of the University of Chicago, for participating in a Populist Convention (1984); the dismissal of Edward W. Bemis, economist, from the University of Chicago, for championing antimonopoly views (1895); the dismissal of James Allen Smith, political scientist from Marietta College, for "antimonopoly teaching" (1897); the attack upon President E. Benjamin Andrews of Brown University for having promulgated views favorable to free silver, and his eventual resignation (1897); the dismissal of John R. Commons, economist, from Indiana University because of his economic views (1896), and the withdrawal of support from his chair at Syracuse University for the same reason (1899); the removal of Frank Parsons and Bemis from Kansas State Agricultural College because of their "positions on

economic questions" (1899); the forced resignation of President Henry Wade Rogers from Northwestern University for his opposition to imperialism (1900); the dismissal of Edward A. Ross from Stanford University for his opinions on silver and coolie immigration.[18]

Typical of such cases was an investigation of Richard T. Ely, director of the University of Wisconsin's School of Economics, Politics and History. Ely was tried by a committee of the university's regents and was charged with believing in "strikes and boycotts, justifying and encouraging the one while practicing the other." His books allegedly provided a "moral justification of attack upon life and property" and were deemed "utopian," "impractical," and "pernicious." At the same time, one of Ely's former students, Edward W. Bemis, was dismissed from the University of Chicago after giving a speech critical of the behavior of the railroad companies during the Pullman strike. President Harper of Chicago complained that Bemis's speech "has caused me a great deal of annoyance. It is hardly safe for me to venture into any of the Chicago clubs. I am pounced upon from all sides."[19]

Stanford

The treatment of academics is illustrated by the behavior of Stanford University's chief benefactor, Mrs. Leland Stanford, who convinced President David Starr Jordan to dismiss faculty members who displeased her. Mrs. Stanford successfully demanded that Professor H.H. Powers be dismissed after he gave a speech which she found shocking in "its heretical sophistication." Mrs. Stanford's next victim was economist Edward A. Ross, an ardent defender of socialist labor leader Eugene V. Debs. Mrs. Stanford complained that Ross "associated himself with demagogues," "plays into the hands of the lowest and vilest elements of socialism" and "brings tears to my eyes." Although Ross was an accomplished scholar, Mrs. Stanford stated, "a man cannot entertain rabid ideas without calculating them in the minds of students under his charge ... Stanford University is lending itself to partisanship and even to dangerous socialism ... Professor Ross cannot be trusted, and he must go." Ross was forced to leave Stanford causing seven professors to reign in protest, one of whom complained that Ross's dismissal was an example of "the sinister spirit of social bigotry and commercial intolerance which is just now the deadliest foe of American democracy."[20] This tradition at Stanford continued in the 1950s

when Paul Baran, the only tenured Marxist economist in the country, was fired.

Another well-known case of academic repression was Scott Nearing's dismissal from the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania. According to the May, 1916, issue of the Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, Nearing's dismissal culminated a three-year attack against him by influential alumni. The Alumni Register, the official alumni publication of the Wharton School, characterized Nearing's progressive economic and political views as "unsound," "bizarre," "radical" and as arousing "class prejudice." In response to this pressure, the board of trustees dismissed Nearing for the "good of the University as a whole."

Despite Nearing's socialist views, the head of the Economics Department commented, "In losing Dr. Nearing the University loses one of the most effective men, a man of extraordinary ability, of superlative popularity, and a man who, to my mind, exerted the greatest moral force for good in the University. He has the largest class in the University, and no one could have done his work better."

The firing of unorthodox academics escalated during World War I. Allegations of anti-Americanism often were lodged selectively against academics whose ideas and conduct were considered unacceptable. In 1918, for example, the University of Nebraska dismissed three professors who allegedly opposed the sale of liberty bonds, had criticized their more patriotic colleagues and who believed in internationalism. The chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, William A. Shaper, was fired after stating he did not desire to "see the Hohenzollerns ... wiped out root and branch" (in 1938, Minnesota's Trustees expunged the record of their decision and granted William A. Shaper the title of Professor Emeritus). Leon R. Whipple, director of the School of Journalism at the University of Virginia, was dismissed after declaring, "we can win the war only by freeing the spirit of democracy in the Germans by good-will." At Columbia University, the trustees launched an investigation into the loyalty of all faculty members, and the president of Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler, suspended the academic freedom of faculty members to criticize the war. "What had been tolerated before becomes intolerable now. What had been wrongheadedness was now sedition. What had been folly was now treason,"[21] he stated.

One of the most prominent professors at Columbia, Charles A. Beard, resigned in protest to this violation of faculty rights. In his resignation statement he said:

> Having observed closely the inner life at Columbia for many years, I have been driven to the conclusion that the University is really under the control of a small and active group of Trustees who have no standing in the world of education, who are reactionary and visionless in politics, narrow and medieval in religion.

In 1916, Beard was summoned before the Committee on Education of the Board of Trustees where he was "grilled" about his views and teachings. "When the inquisitors satisfied themselves, the Chairman of the Committee ordered me to warn all other men in my Department against teachings 'likely to inculcate disrespect for American institutions'", Beard stated.

When Beard learned that another inquisition was scheduled for October, 1917, he resigned and concluded:

> It was the evident purpose of a small group of the Trustees (unhindered, if not aided, by Mr. Butler) to take advantage of the state of war to drive out or humiliate or terrorize every man who held progressive, liberal, or unconventional views on political matters in no way connected with the war.[22]

SUM

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the interests of the business community, rather than of religious sects, began to dominate American universities. But the results were the same: faculty who deviated from acceptable ideological views in the classroom or in their research were harassed or dismissed. Intellectual conformity rather than intellectual achievement was the norm.

In summary, the struggle between academic freedom and repression was dominated by business interests which controlled the governing bodies of universities. These interests were more concerned with repressing ideas which challenged the needs of American capitalism than in creating universities in which competing ideologies were discussed by faculty and students.

Thus, although the guardians of higher education and what was guarded changed during this period, the relative relationship between academic freedom and repression of the unorthodox remained the same. The elites of the larger society, in this latter case, the economic elite, utilized the university to perpetrate their economic/political/social outlook and to weed out those academics who wandered from the path.

It is significant to note that this process occurred despite a national organization founded by faculty to protect their rights--the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). The call for the first organizational meeting of the AAUP was issued in 1915 by 18 full professors at Johns Hopkins University who addressed their professorial colleagues at nine institutions. Professors from seven schools responded--Clark, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, Wisconsin and Yale. The self-described "assemblage of academic notables" extended invitations to "persons of full professorial rank whose name appeared on lists of distinguished specialists" who had taught in Universities "for at least ten years." Thus, the AAUP initially was conceived not as "one big union for all," but as a union of the aristocrats of academic labor.[23]

In light of its origins, it is not surprising that the AAUP primarily has served the interests of tenured faculty and has been willing to sacrifice the academic freedom of their outspoken, largely untenured, colleagues. It is important to realize that the development of the AAUP coincided with the growth of graduate education in the United States. Consequently, senior academics believed that their jobs would be threatened by the newly-trained PhDs who were seeking faculty positions. As a result, the AAUP developed tenure as a device to guarantee job security for senior academics and to insulate senior academics from the competition of their younger colleagues. Job security of tenured professors rather than academic freedom was the AAUP's principal interest.

Thus, although the AAUP's "Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure" contends untenured faculty are to enjoy full freedom of expression, the AAUP statement also provides that untenured staff can be required to serve a probationary period of up to seven years, during which they can be dismissed without cause and without a due process hearing--rights which are guaranteed to tenured faculty.[24] Not surprisingly, Hofstadter's study finds that 63 of the 95 cases of wrongful dismissal of academics documented in the AAUP Bulletin between 1915 and 1953 involved untenured staff.[25] The

AAUP consistently has taken the position that untenured staff, regardless of their qualifications, are to be the first and only staff members dismissed in times of financial or national emergency.[26] Clearly, a double standard has been enunciated on all matters involving university faculty. The right to academic freedom is part of the double standard.

In return for agreements by university trustees to protections for tenured faculty--due process guarantees and dismissal only for cause--the AAUP has limited the rights of academic freedom which, of course, primarily affect and restrict expression by the relatively few outspoken academics. For instance, the AAUP has adopted strict limitations on the classroom and extramural utterances of all faculty.[27] During World War I, the AAUP endorsed university administrations' dismissal of academics who were convicted of disobedience to any statute or executive order relating to the war effort; were engaged in actions or statements designed or intending to encourage individuals to evade or to resist military service; were involved in acts designed to dissuade individuals from rendering voluntary assistance to the war efforts of the government; and in the case of professors of Teutonic extraction and sympathy, were violating the obligation "to refrain from public discussion of the war; and in their private intercourse with neighbors, colleagues and students, to avoid all hostile or offensive expressions concerning the United States or its government."[28]

Thus, the major professional organization that was created to protect the rights of academics decided that these were "peace time rights" and did not apply when the ruling elites of the society sent the country to war. Those who questioned or opposed such action were open targets for repression.

Today, only 10 percent of university faculty belong to the AAUP and it is losing membership at a rate of 10 percent per year.

Depression, Cold War and McCarthyism

During the First World War and its aftermath, academic freedom and civil liberties in general were severely attacked. The "Red Scare" of the early 1920s, led by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, resulted in 4,000 persons across the country being rounded up, held in seclusion, brought into secret hearings and ordered deported. In this atmosphere, such radical

organizations as the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World were decimated by the government.

During the depression years of the 1930s, the alleged necessity of dismissing faculty to save money often was used to justify the dismissing of radical faculty. In 1935, for example, Granville Hicks was fired from his position as an assistant professor of English at Rensselear Polytechnic Institute. Hicks' scholarship concentrated on "proletarian literature" and he was sympathetic to the Communist Party. Even Hicks' critics, however, admitted that he kept his economic and political views out of the classroom.

Rensselear Vice President Edwin S. Jarrett was candid that the reason for Hicks' termination was his "controversial" views. Jarrett stated his position quite plainly: "We were founded by a capitalist of the old days. We have developed and prospered under the capitalist regime ... If we are condemned as the last refuge of conservatism, let us glory in it."[29]

Following World War II, a similar climate of intolerance was created by conservative political forces. Historian Howard Zinn writes, "When, right after the War, the American public, war-weary, seemed to favor demobilization and disarmament, the Truman administration (Roosevelt had died in April 1945) worked to create an atmosphere of crisis and cold war ... In a series of moves abroad and at home, it established a climate of fear--a hysteria about communism--which would steeply escalate the military budget and stimulate the economy with war-related orders. This combination of policies would permit more aggressive actions abroad, more repressive actions at home."[30]

Robert MacIver, writing about the impact of this climate on academic freedom, observed:

> With the coming of the "Cold War" and its accentuation since the Korean War, a new wave of intolerance has arisen. This new wave has taken on formidable proportions and has some quite distinctive features ... There has been a vast increase of suppressive controls, unofficial and official, over books, public addresses, and generally over all forms of the expression of opinion.[31]

Within this repressive atmosphere, MacIver points out that any doctrine that deviated slightly to the left of orthodoxy was labeled subversive. "There is the frequent assumption that any

kind of liberalism or nonconformity is a step on the road to communism, and that any attack on the proponents of such ideas is a blow against communism."

Some of the basic characteristics of this era were captured in 1955 by Paul F. Lasersfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., in their book, The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis. Lasersfeld and Thielens collected questionnaires from 2,451 academics at 165 colleges and found a pervasive fear among American academics that they might be labeled "subversive" or "un-American." Sixty-three percent of the respondents felt, "there was a greater threat to intellectual activity in America than there was a generation ago." About 80 percent of the respondents reported a widespread growth of concern among the general public regarding the political opinions of college teachers. Over half felt this greater concern had "caused harmful effects on the climate of freedom in the country."

The authors provide numerous specific examples of this harmful effect. The following gives us a flavor of the times:

> In one case at an Eastern privately endowed University, a Professor had joined and then renounced the (communist) Party while still a college student, and publicly declared these facts intermittently ever since. Called to Washington in the early 1950s to testify before a Senate committee, he invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked to name former associates. Although he was considered one of the best teachers in the school, had taken a formal oath before University officials that he was not now communist, and had been granted tenure, he was discharged for 'intellectual arrogance before a Congressional committee'.[32]

In their study, Lasersfeld and Thielens found, "that communism acquired a new over-all meaning ... Almost any kind of criticism of the past or dissatisfaction with the present American order of things could bring a charge of communism. "Some teachers were taken to task for being too critical of society in their classes, and one teacher was attacked for assigning the Lynds' book, Middletown, (which was an analysis of class relations in a middle-size city) to his students.

About 25 incidents dealing with race and segregation were discussed. One professor, for example, was informed bluntly by

his superior that he would be fired if he attended a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and another Black teacher was threatened constantly for trying to get Blacks to vote.

In another incident, two professors made statements to the press concerning radioactive fallout, and the state governor argued they should be arrested for scaring the public. Teachers who refused to sign loyalty oaths were dismissed and administrative officials took measures to screen guest speakers invited onto campuses. Professors feared there were student informers in their classes; thus, reading material, the content of class lectures and public statements were self-policed to avoid accusations that the material was subversive. Several teachers were convinced the F.B.I. had agents in their classes. One teacher stated, "In my outline for a class in American Intellectual History, I put a lecture on Marxism in the 1930s in the United States. It was arranged in advance. Two older people were present that I had never seen before ..."[33]

The impact of this climate on education was evidently in marked contrast to the situation of the 1930s and early 1940s. The authors note, "that students today are much less interested in public affairs than they were prior to World War II ... During the Depression, unemployment called for improvements in social legislation. Solutions were not difficult to discover, and small groups of students could work toward them with some hope of making an impact."[34] They comment that during the Depression, students were more radical than their professors. However, by the 1950s, the "Depression generation have become teachers, and they complain that the post-war student lacks social fervor." Several of their respondents commented on the disappearance of outspoken Marxist students from their classes. One stated: "You no longer get the Marxist view brought up in class. In 1946 to 1949, they made this place hum. I don't know whether they believe differently today or if they are unwilling--they may have changed position."

Perhaps students, like their professors, saw the handwriting on the wall and decided to play it safe, to not risk being considered controversial. This would not be too surprising in a context in which a "Professor of geography reported a rumor widely circulated that a graduate could not get a job if he had taken a course in Soviet geography."[35]

Thus, professors feared for their jobs, were uncertain of support from their colleagues if they exercised academic

freedom, in some cases feared their own students. In addition, students removed themselves from critical study to insure future employment.

The significant instruments used to create this wave of intellectual fear were federal and state un-American activities committees. Although Senator Joseph McCarthy became the most famous personality directing such investigations, state committees also played an important role. The Rapp-Coudert Committee in New York, for example, forced the City College of New York to dismiss 40 professors with alleged communist affiliations. In the State of Washington the Cantwell Committee (Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities) named 10 members of the faculty at the University of Washington as present or past members of the Communist Party and called for an investigation. Consequently, an investigation was launched by the Freedom Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom after the dean of Arts and Sciences filed complaints against six faculty members for their alleged communist affiliations.

The faculty committee held 33 sessions and decided there were no grounds for discharge for three out of six. The three faculty members who were exonerated testified they had resigned their membership in the Communist Party. The committee voted to recommend discharge of one of the faculty members on grounds, "that his responses to questions of communist affiliations were evasive and that his relations with the University administration were uncooperative and unsatisfactory."[36] The committee disagreed over the remaining two professors who freely admitted membership in the Communist Party, but argued such membership did not influence their professional work in English and Philosophy. A majority of the committee voted against their discharge and forwarded their recommendations to University President Raymond B. Allen.

Allen said, "A member of the Communist Party should not be permitted to teach in an American College because he is not a free man."[37] Consequently, Allen recommended to the board of regents that the two party members be fired and that one of the former Party members be dismissed. The board complied and fired all three.

Confronted with their recommendations being ignored, the faculty protested, but to no avail. One faculty member resigned and 100 others issued this statement:

> We believe, finally, that the action taken has already done serious damage to the University and the cause of education. The reputation of the University as a center of free inquiry has declined; the espirit de corps that gives confidence and character to any institution has deteriorated; and the University of Washington has invited education to join in a retreat from freedom which, if it continues, will weaken the morale which is democracy's best defense against totalitarian communism.[38]

So even the defense against the anti-communist witch hunt was couched in anti-Communist terms.

The State Senate Un-American Committee in California met with administrative representatives from 10 Southern California institutions in 1952, and it was agreed that each university appoint a "contact man" to watch out for subversive tendencies and to report to the Committee. The chief counsel for the State Committee explained how the system would work, "If we have information about a communist front organization moving to campus we'll contact the contact man. Or, if a notorious front joiner is seeking a position on the campus, we'll inform the college on that account." He later testified that "hundreds" of such persons were thus prevented from obtaining teaching jobs in the California system."[39]

One of the most widespread purges of faculty was directed at so-called "Fifth Amendment Communists" -- men and women who exercised their Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. They refused to tell congressional or state committees whether they or their friends were or had ever been members of the Communist Party. Many of these people invoked their Fifth Amendment right because they objected to the Government's attempts to force them to publicly disclose the details of their friends' personal lives.

Faculty who exercised their Fifth Amendment right were fired at the City College of New York, Rutgers, Michigan and Reed. Historian Ellen Schrecker notes that: "State-supported schools were the most repressive. With only one or two exceptions, they fired every uncooperative witness on their faculties."[40] These people were "black-listed" from higher education and others who were suspected of potentially exercising

their Fifth Amendment right also were barred from positions in universities.

Thus, during the 1950s, the historic repression of unorthodox intellectuals continued and, in fact, was accentuated. This repression in universities was part of a societal-wide campaign to eliminate any ideology or behavior which challenged the established order. Rather than stand up to this assault on academic freedom, university trustees, administrators, and tenured faculty generally cooperated in the attack. There were, however, historic forces gathering in the wings which would fundamentally confront the opponents of academic freedom and place them on the defensive.

ENDNOTES
Chapter 1

[1]Rocky Mountain News (June 3, 1984), p. 3.

[2]"Looking at Credibility as Seen by the Media," The Denver Post (July 5, 1982), p. 4B.

[3]We have primarily relied on Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955). See also, Will W. Brickman and Stanley Lehrer (eds.), A Century of Higher Education (New York, Society for the Advancement of Education, 1962); Colin Burke, American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View (New York: New York University Press, 1982); Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith (eds.), American Higher Education: A Democracy History (two volumes) (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1961); Fredrick Rudolph, The American College and University (New York: Random House, 1962); Donald G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War, (New York, Archon Press, 1965); Elbert Vaughan Wills, The Growth of American Higher Education (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1936).

[4]Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 89.

[5]Ibid., p. 168.

[6]Ibid., p. 188.

[7]Ibid., pp. 262-263.

[8]Tewksbury, op.cit., p. 28, 90.

[9]Hofstadter, op.cit., p. 295.

[10]Ibid., pp. 231, 232.

[11]Ibid., p. 241.

[12]Ibid., pp. 334, 336.

[13]Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965), p. 60.

[14]Thorstein Veblen, "The Higher Learning in America" in The Portable Veblen (New York: Viking Press, 1972), p. 508.

[15]Richard Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life (New York: Vintage, 1963) p. 263.

[16]Ibid., pp. 415, 459.

[17]Arthur Schlesinger, "The Highbrow in Politics", p. 20, The Partisan Review, p. 162, (March-April, 1953).

[18]Hofstadter, op.cit., pp. 420, 421.

[19]Ibid., pp.426-431.

[20]Ibid., pp. 437-442.

[21]Ibid., pp. 497-499.

[22]Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, American Higher Education, Vol. II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 883-892.

[23]Hofstadter, op.cit., pp. 476, 477.

[24]"1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure" 33 in Louis Joughin (ed.), Academic Freedom and Tenure, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

[25]Hofstadter, op.cit., pp. 492, 493.

[26]"Tenure and National Emergency" 118 in Joughin op.cit., p. 31.

[27]See, "The A.A.U.P.'s General Declaration of Principles" (1915) 860 in Hofstadter and Smith op.cit.

[28]Committee on Academic Freedom in Wartime, "Report" 4 AAUP Bulletin 30 (February-March, 1918).

[29]"Academic Freedom and Tenure, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 22 AAUP Bulletin 15 (January, 1936).

[30]A People's History of the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 416-417.

[31]Academic Freedom In Our Time (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 34-35.

[32]Lasersfeld and Thielens, The Academic Mind (New York: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 52-53.

[33]Ibid., pp. 207-208.

[34]Ibid., p. 215.

[35]Ibid., pp. 215-216.

[36]Mac Iver, op.cit., p. 180.

[37]Quoted in Ibid., p. 158.

[38]Ibid., p. 182.

[39]Ibid., pp. 184-185.

[40]Ellen Schrecker, "Academic Freedom: The Historical View" in Craig Kaplan and Ellen Schrecker (eds.) Regulating the Intellectuals (New York: Praeger, 1983) p. 38.

CHAPTER 2

STUDENT REBELLION AND THE

UNMASKING OF THE UNIVERSITY

The wide-scale political repression practiced on American campuses and throughout the larger society met much resistance. Numerous courageous individuals and some organizations stood up to the forces of repression and refused to be intimidated.

In May 1960, for example, the U.S. House Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in the San Francisco City Hall to uncover "communist influence" within the Bay Area civil rights movement. About 800 demonstrators, including students from the University of California at Berkeley, attempted to protest the hearings and were fire-hosed by the city police. At the same time, several thousand miles away in Greensboro, North Carolina, Black students were attacking racist practices by staging sit-ins at lunch counters.

Before long, these resistance movements began to merge. By the spring of 1964, several hundred young people, including many from the Berkeley campus, were arrested in sit-in actions directed against the San Francisco hotel industry because of their racially discriminating hiring practices. In the summer of 1964, Berkeley students and students from other Northern campuses participated in Black voter registration drives in Mississippi as part of the effort to break down the apartheid system of the South. That same summer, students were among the demonstrators at the Republican convention in San Francisco. The party's presidential nominee, right-winger Barry Goldwater, was attacked for his anti-communist stand, and demands were made for a Republican commitment to civil rights legislation.[1]

Within this atmosphere of growing political resistance, the administration at Berkeley announced on September 14, 1964, that their rules against on-campus political activity would be enforced strictly on a 26-foot strip of land at the entrance to the campus. Most students and faculty thought that the land belonged to the City of Berkeley, not the university. It was the place used historically by students to distribute literature and to conduct political activities without interference from university officials.[2]

Berkeley

In response to this move, Arthur Goldberg, a student activist, announced that lawyers representing student groups would consider taking legal action. He stated:

> As students become more and more aware of America's social problems, and come to take an active part in their solution, the University moves proportionately the other way to prevent all exposure of political action being taken.
>
> The most important thing is to make the campus a marketplace for ideas. But, the University is trying to prevent the exposure of any new creative political solutions to the problems that every American realizes are facing this society in the mid-Sixties.[3]

A coalition of student groups, which would become known as the "Free Speech Movement (FSM)," and the Berkeley administration negotiated the rules of the situation. Students insisted that information provided in the classroom concerning social problems was insufficient to solve problems; action was required. The administration assumed the opposite posture, and restricted university facilities from being used to promote social action.

The fundamental disagreement took a qualitative leap in early October, when the university police arrested a former student who was soliciting funds at a table set up on campus by the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE). When he was put into a police car, about 180 students surrounded the car. Within an hour, several thousand students were crowded around the car and held a continuous demonstration for the next 32 hours. Writer Kevin Kelley has suggested that the demonstrators "didn't realize it then, but they were delivering a death blow to the McCarthy period and at the same time ushering in an era of student protest."[4]

By December, the administration threatened to expel several FSM leaders for their role in the police car event. The students responded with a massive sit-in at the administration building, and 814 protesters were dragged from the building and arrested. The arrests triggered a student strike which effectively paralyzed the campus. In an attempt to undermine the strike,

University President Clark Kerr called for a convocation that about 20,000 persons attended.

Mario Savio, the FSM's principal spokesman, requested permission to address the crowd but was denied. He also was refused permission to announce a FSM rally. Kerr made a "conciliatory sounding" speech which seemed to take the wind out of the student position and the strike. However, according to eye-witness Bettina Aptheker, what followed exposed Kerr and his conciliatory posture:

> . . . after the meeting had been officially adjourned, Savio strode across the stage to the microphone. Everyone remained seated and waited for him to speak. Campus police suddenly leaped onto the stage. Before Savio could say a word he was dragged (by the throat) from the microphone, while other FSM leaders were wrestled to the floor of the stage by the police. The crowd was stunned; then there was pandemonium.
>
> At that moment, the President's speech had been stripped of its real non-conciliatory core, and the vital center in the campus' political spectrum had collapsed . . . That episode more than any other single event revolutionized the thinking of many thousands of students.[5]

In the aftermath of that event progressive students swept to a landslide victory in student government elections, replacing the pro-administration student government. Additionally, the Berkeley faculty passed a resolution by an 8 to 1 margin that demanded amnesty for all arrested students and urged the administration to permit all forms of peaceful political activity on the university campus.[6]

The Free Speech Movement stimulated a wide variety of campus political activities and politicized thousands of students who began to gain a deeper understanding of the not-so-neutral functioning of the university. In the spring of 1965, students planned and participated in a two-day Vietnam Teach-In which attracted 10,000 to 15,000 people. That same week, the U.S. invaded the Dominican Republic to overthrow a popular government, adding another lesson to the political education process. Students also discovered that U.C. Chemistry Professor

Melvin Calvin was on the board of directors of Dow Chemical Company, which had a contract with the U.S. government to manufacture napalm for use in Vietnam. The regents had no comment on Calvin's off-campus activities, but were strongly opposed to student involvement in off-campus activities. The double-standard was clear.[7]

While Berkeley students were attacking the foundations of political orthodoxy, Black students intensified their assault on the racist structure of the South. The example of the four Black students who first sat-in at Greensboro spread like wildfire. By the end of 1961, over 50,000 people had participated in some kind of civil rights action, and several hundred lunch counters had been desegregated in scores of cities across the South and in the border states.

Many students joined the civil rights struggle through the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Although SNCC worked side-by-side with the more established civil rights organizations, it became "more and more the nucleus around which the younger activists gravitated and the gathering place for those who were attempting to try out, by direct involvement, a militancy to the left of the other integrationist organizations."[8]

This more militant and radical posture became obvious during August 1963, when John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, raised fundamental questions ignored by moderate civil rights leaders, like Martin Luther King, Jr. Before over 200,000 marchers in Washington, D.C., Lewis asked:

> Which side is the government on? We cannot support the administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little, and too late ... We are now involved in a serious revolution. This nation is still a place of cheap political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromise and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation ... The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland ... We all recognize the fact that if any radical, vocal, political and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses, must bring them about.[9]

By 1966, SNCC evolved its perspective even further to the left. Headed by the new president, Stokely Carmichael, SNCC changed its political priorities from "Civil Rights" to "Black

Power," with an emphasis on self-determination of Black communities and Black institutions. As a result, many white liberals withdrew support from SNCC, but this did not weaken its perspectives of resolve. That same year, SNCC officially opposed U.S. presence in the Vietnam War and the role the government played internationally. "Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that the United States government had never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens ... (It) had been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and the United States, itself."[10]

At Columbia University in spring, 1968, the main threads of the student movement merged into the most explosive mixture to date. Columbia students had become involved in both the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement in the early 1960s. The local CORE Chapter and the Independent Committee on Vietnam (ICV) involved students in numerous off-campus political activities. In the early months of 1965, the U.S., directed by the "peace" candidate Lyndon Johnson, began to expand the war by bombing North Vietnam. At that time, "the University itself served largely as a kind of neutral territory for meetings, discussions and teach-ins."[11] However, events soon altered students' perceptions and understandings of the university.

In the spring of 1965, 100 students demonstrated against Columbia's Naval Reserve Officer's Training Corps (ROTC) program. About a year later, several hundred students protested CIA recruiting on campus. In response to student protests, University President Kirk responded, "It is not desirable, it is not feasible, it is not possible for the University to attempt to make a value judgement about any division of the Federal government."[12] The students, however, began to understand that there were many value judgements behind this supposed moral/political neutrality. In this context, Columbia Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was founded with one of its goals being "to expose and attack the political nature of the University."

Fuel was added to the fire as CIA and Marine recruiters continued to show up on the campus. In the winter of 1967, 800 left-wing students and 200 right-wing students confronted each other on the issues across barricades.

Columbia U

Radical students gained additional momentum in their struggle to expose the true political nature of the university when they discovered that Columbia was a member of the Institute of Defense Analysis (IDA). Initiated by the Secretary of Defense, IDA was set up in 1955 as a clearing house for university warfare research to determine what research needed to be done, who could do it, and which university was best equipped for each project. Columbia's membership in IDA was concealed from faculty and students. When questioned on the issue, Dean of the Graduate Faculties Ralph Halford, answered, "Columbia University has no institutional connection with the Institute for Defense Analysis." However, a week later, the student newspaper, the Columbian Spectator, revealed that Columbia had been a member since 1960. Dean Halford responded, "These things are not in the purview of faculty or students."[13]

This discovery led to a series of others, including the fact that in 1966, about 50 percent of Columbia's budget was from government contracts, one-quarter of which were classified defense contracts. It became clearer and clearer to students that the university, rather than a neutral center of knowledge, was, in fact, a vital cog in the U.S. war machine.

Greater understanding of the university's role in perpetuating racism followed this insight. Student research uncovered a Columbia-owned slum in neighboring Harlem. The university-owned apartment buildings were allowed to deteriorate to substandard levels so they could be condemned and demolished to make room for expansion. This process removed low-income Black people from the borders of Columbia and reduced low-income housing available to Harlem residents. As part of this expansion program, Columbia announced it would construct a new gym in an adjacent city park used by Harlem residents. As a concession to the community 15 percent of the gym space was to be available to community residents, who were required to enter through a back door. Community pressure, of course, mounted against the land grab and gym construction. When construction began, students joined community residents in a series of demonstrations resulting in 26 arrests. Columbia CORE and other community residents protested that the university's growth strategy was essentially racist, since its objective was to rid the area around Columbia of Black residents. According to a statement issued by the "Black Students in Hamilton Hall," Jacques Barzun, the provost of the University had called harlem, "sinister, dangerous, uninviting ... enemy territory." Thus,

political lessons for the students of Columbia accumulated rapidly. Not only was the university deeply implicated in an imperialist war, its basic physical existence and expansion was based on racist policies.

As the Vietnam war expanded, so did the need for additional manpower, and some college students were draft material. On March 19, 1968, Colonel Askt of the Selective Service System addressed several hundred students on "The Student and the Draft":

> In the middle of his talk, six "guerrillas" entered the auditorium, dressed in mock army uniforms and carrying a U.S. flag, toy guns and other toy weapons. Everyone turned ... while all eyes faced the rear, a young man in the front row stood up and tossed a lemon meringue pie in the Colonel's face. As all gaped in total wonder, the guerrillas escaped through side exits.[14]

As students uncovered more of the inner workings of the university and mounted expanded struggles, the university administration responded with a prohibition on all indoor demonstrations, a stone-walling of student demands and reprisals against student activists. Confronted with this posture, students upped the ante and seized a building, captured a dean, and issued a list of demands calling for a halt to military and racist policies. The example spread and students "liberated" several other buildings which they held successfully for six days. When it became clear that Harlem residents would not become involved, the administration sent in the police, and in a situation similar to other campus confrontations, the police rioted. They beat and dragged out unresisting demonstrators, beat reporters and other bystanders, ripped up rooms, broke furniture, threw books around and broke chairs. In the end, 720 people were arrested and hundreds were injured by the police.

The shock of this lesson turned into fury; students called for a strike. During the strike, debates of all the issues continued for countless hours and many students felt they learned more with the university closed down than when they were attending classes. For the remainder of the 1968 school year, the students proved who constituted the real core of Columbia University and kept the school closed.

President Kirk resigned that summer and the trustees appointed as Acting President, Andrew Cordier, Head of the School of International Relations. Cordier had a reputation among students of involvement with CIA grants and the overthrow of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo. "Everything that SDS had been saying about the links between imperialism, racism and Columbia University, was neatly summed up by Cordier's appointment."[15]

The explosion at Columbia was only one of many that sent an earth-shattering quake through scores of universities across the nation. Wisconsin, Harvard, San Francisco State, Michigan, the University of Buffalo, Howard, Northwestern, CCNY, the University of Chicago and Stanford among others, had major uprising over the issues of the war, racism, student rights and fundamental changes in university operations.[16]

These struggles reached a historic stage in May 1970, when the U.S. invaded Cambodia and students at Kent State and Jackson State were killed by police forces. These events touched off the most wide-spread student demonstrations in U.S. history, and the only nation-wide student strike.

During the spring of 1970, President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger directed a secret bombardment of Cambodia. On the night of April 30, 1970, Nixon announced that U.S. troops in Vietnam would be involved in an invasion of Cambodia. This was in direct opposition to Nixon's campaign pledge in 1968 that he would get the U.S. out of the Vietnam War. As a result of the invasion, demonstrations and full-scale rebellions broke loose on numerous campuses; it was the straw that broke the camel's back. During that same week Vice President Spiro Agnew recommended that student protesters be treated as Nazis, and Nixon labeled them "bums."

Even relatively conservative campuses such as Kent State University in Ohio experienced major student demonstrations. The demonstration at Kent State on May 1, 1970, was "quiet, dignified, and peaceful."[17] About 500 students from a population of 20,000 gathered at noon around the Victory Bell on the Commons, the traditional site for rallies, and buried a copy of the Constitution. Three hours later the Black United Students also held a rally attended by about 400 students. Black students from Ohio State University talked about the recent rebellions on their campus and their experiences with the Ohio National Guard. Both demonstrations ended without any disorder.

Kent State

That evening, however, several disturbances occurred in downtown Kent and a window was broken in the ROTC building on campus. Consequently, the mayor declared a state of civil emergency and arbitrarily ordered all bars closed, which angered many "non-involved" people. Mayor Satrom called the governor's office and provided a greatly exaggerated report that, "SDS students had taken over a portion of Kent."[18] The next day the Ohio National Guard advanced onto the campus and the ROTC building was burned to the ground. By Sunday, May 3, "the scene on the campus was one of military occupation."[19] Governor Jim Rhodes who was two days away from a primary test that could end his political career, made a highly inflammatory speech at a news conference to demonstrate his toughness with student rebels:

> They're worse than the brown shirts and the Communist element and also the night riders and vigilantes. They're the worst type of people that we harbor in America ... It's over with in Ohio ... I think that we're up against the strongest, well-trained, militant revolutionary group that has been assembled in America ... We are going to eradicate the problem, we're not going to treat the symptoms.[20]

In this charged-up atmosphere, a dramatic tragedy unfolded on May 4. A noon rally was held on the Common again. This time a sizeable crowd (2,000 to 3,000 people) was present, including many former non-activist students who wanted to protest the presence of the National Guard on campus. The gathering was legal and peaceful, but the students were ordered by General Canterbury of the Guard to: "Disperse immediately. This is an order. Leave this area immediately."[21] The order was greeted by jeers and catcalls. Some rocks were thrown, but did not hit the jeep containing General Canterbury and three other Guardsmen. "These students are going to have to find out what law and order is all about," Canterbury responded as he ordered his men to advance on the students, gas and disperse them. The students reacted with obscenities and stones, but no Guardsmen were seriously hurt.

Suddenly, and without warning, the Guardsmen in Troop G were ordered to kneel and aim their weapons at the students. The Guardsmen then fired at the students for 13 seconds, killing one

outright, fatally wounding three others, paralyzing one for life and wounding eight others. Jeffrey G. Miller, the student killed instantly, was 265 feet away from the riflemen, and Allison B. Krause, William K. Schroeder and Sandra L. Scheuer were 340 feet away from the Guardsmen. Thus, none of the unarmed students killed posed any immediate danger to the Guardsmen who committed the shootings.

Ten days later at Jackson State College in Mississippi, two more students were shot and killed while 12 more were wounded. The shootings were preceded by disturbances that culminated in the burning of a dump truck. The President's Commission on Campus Disorder confirmed that a policeman issued a radio order, "Call that security guard out there at Jackson State and see if they can't scatter them niggers." Mississippi highway patrolmen and campus police subsequently fired 400 shots at the west wing of Alexander Hall where unarmed students were congregated, using "buckshot, rifle slugs, a submachine gun, carbines with military ammunition and two 30.06 rifles loaded with armor-piercing bullets."[22] South Carolina highway patrolmen had acted in a similar manner two years earlier when they killed three unarmed Black students on the campus of South Carolina State College at Orangeburg.[23]

The President's Commission concluded that the Kent State affair, with "indiscriminate firing of rifles into a crowd of students and the deaths that followed, were unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable." It concluded that the shooting at Jackson State was, "completely unwarranted and unjustified." Guardsmen and police were tried for the Kent State, Jackson State and South Carolina State killings. However, no one was convicted although, in all three cases, the students killed were not an immediate personal threat to the officers involved. (It is worth noting that in 1985 the Ohio State National Guard attempted to destroy the weapons used at Kent State. A state judge, however, ordered that several weapons be preserved as part of the historic record of the Kent State incident.)

The Cambodian invasion, and the Kent State and Jackson State killings touched off a nation-wide student strike. The events detailed by Michael Parenti in Chapter 3 were duplicated with local variations at scores of universities. The National Students Association issued a basic set of demands concerning racism, political repression, political prisoners, the war in Southeast Asia and university complicity in the war:

We demand:

1. That the United States government end its systematic oppression of political dissidents, and release all political prisoners, such as Bobby Seale and other members of the Black Panther Party.

2. That the United States government cease its escalation of the Vietnam War into Cambodia and Laos, that it unilaterally and immediately withdraw all forces from Southeast Asia.

3. That the Universities end their complicity with the United States war machine by an immediate end to defense research, ROTC, counterinsurgency research, and all other such programs.[24]

During this national strike and earlier local strikes, students uncovered a profound insight. They discovered they were key to the university, if they did not participate, there was no university. The students had significant power, they could shut the university down and then re-open it with "liberation classes." Unsupportive professors and administrators soon realized that without students they were talking to empty classrooms and were powerless to control student behavior. In one gigantic wave the student uprising destroyed the hierarchical power structure of the university and created, if only temporarily, in its place a meaningful, exciting and refreshingly relevant educational process. Thus, the most repressive actions of the state and university elites stimulated a counter-reaction that reached revolutionary dimensions. Confronted with this level of mobilization, the guardians of the ivory tower were forced to grant concessions to maintain control over their institutions. Many of the concessions included the creation of new programs that would meet the educational needs of rebelling students.

Black, Chicano, Asian, and Native American students, for example, struck the Berkeley campus in 1969 and demanded the creation of a College of Ethnic Studies and a Black studies department. Such new programs would increase the number of Third World students at the university, and would develop academic experiences relevant to students and their respective

communities. After much pressure and confrontation, the regents finally allocated $265,000 for the new project.[25] Similar demands were raised at colleges across the United States, thus a host of Black, Chicano, Asian, Native American, ethnic, and women's studies programs were created. The basic objective of these efforts was to develop an educational program that would overcome the cultural biases of white male upper middle class education that dominated university curricula. This vision included the important aspect of an educational program that would prepare students from oppressed communities to develop skills which would be instrumental in servicing the liberation of their home communities. This was the fundamental meaning of "relevant education."[26] The control and content of this alternative education would become a point of the struggle. Who would have power to hire, retain and promote faculty? Who would have control of the budget? Could the traditional university be altered to accommodate individuals and an educational perspective that would meet the needs of the oppressed Third World peoples?

THE ANGELA DAVIS CASE

Hints of how the established education hierarchy would respond to this development were provided in the well-publicized case of a young militant Black woman, Angela Davis.

Davis was raised in Birmingham, Alabama, and was deeply involved in the Southern civil rights movement. She knew the four Black children who were killed in the Ku Klux Klan bombing of a church in 1963. She lived on what was known as "Dynamite Hill," where Black families lived in constant fear of racist reprisals.[27] When she was 15, she received a Quaker scholarship to a New York City high school where she won a scholarship to Brandeis University. In her junior year she studied in France where she met Algerian students who explained their country's struggle for liberation against French Colonialism, and she watched the French police constantly stop, search and harass the Algerian students.

After studying philosophy under Professor Herbert Marcuse in her senior year at Brandeis she decided to major in philosophy for her graduate studies. She continued her education on a German State Scholarship at Goethe University in Frankfurt, West Germany, where she became active in a socialist student group which organized demonstrations against the Vietnam War.

After two years in Germany, she enrolled at the University of California at San Diego to complete a doctorate under Professor Marcuse.

> While at UCSD, Angela became intensely involved in the Southern California Black community, organizing around community issues, unemployment, police brutality, and, on her own campus, fighting for a Third World People's College--Lumumba Zapata College.[28]

During these struggles, Davis joined the Communist Party and became an active member of the Lumumba Club, which was an all-Black collective of the Party in Los Angeles. She also worked closely with the Black Panther Party.

In spring, 1969, Angela was offered a teaching position in the philosophy department of UCLA, which she accepted. Her appointment began on July 1, 1969, and included summer employment. However, the student newspaper at UCLA and the San Francisco Examiner identified her as a member of the Communist Party and as a "known Maoist, active in SDS and the Black Panthers."[29] Consequently, the Board of Regents (which included their Governor, Ronald Reagan), referred to a 1949 rule which prohibited Communist Party members from employment, and held up her summer position. The vice president of the university was instructed to contact her and determine if she was indeed a member of the Party. Angela responded, under protest, with the following words:

> (My) answer is that I am now a member of the Communist Party. While I think this membership requires no justification here, I want you to know that as a Black woman I feel an urgent need to find radical solutions to the problems of racial and national minorities in white capitalist United States ... it goes without saying, of course, that the advocacy of the Communist Party during my period of membership in it has, to my knowledge, fallen well within the guarantees of the First Amendment. Nor does my membership in the Communist Party involve me in any commitment to principle or position governing either my scholarship or responsibilities as a teacher.[30]

The board of regents then fired Davis under the 1949 resolution. The UCLA faculty protested this action and filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the regent's regulations forbidding employment of Communists. The California State Court ruled the resolutions unconstitutional and UCLA was forced to reinstate Davis as a professor.

The regents, however, were not satisfied with this outcome and attacked Davis for three public speeches she made in support of the Soledad brothers. In these speeches she detailed conditions in the Black communities of America, the role of white racism, the brutal police attacks on Black militants, and the fascist treatment of Black political prisoners. Several of the regents argued that these words constituted grounds for her dismissal and ordered an investigation of Davis' conduct. Consequently, the UCLA chancellor appointed a secret committee to monitor Davis' on-campus and off-campus activities.

In spring 1970, the philosophy department, the ad hoc Monitoring Committee, the academic dean and the university chancellor all recommended that Professor Davis be reappointed for 1970-71. When the chancellor informed the regents that he would recommend her continuance on the faculty, the regents simply stripped him of his authority in the matter and assumed direct supervision of the issue. The regents then voted a second time to fire Angela Davis from UCLA. Her example as a Black militant woman educator, deeply involved in the liberation of her community, was too dangerous for the regents to tolerate.

Two years later the AAUP censured the board of regents and declared its decision a violation of Davis' academic freedom. The censure, however, carried no real power, thus UCLA students were denied the teachings of Angela Davis, and she was denied her university position for speaking the truth, as she saw it.

Who were the individuals that feared the words of Angela Davis so much that they were willing to over-rule the entire academic structure at UCLA and violate the rights of Davis and the rest of the academic community? The board was composed of 23 whites and one Black member, Wilson Riles, who was an ex-officio member as the elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He was the first non-white member in the board's history. Board members are appointed by the governor of California for a 16 year term, and the governor as of 1970 had never appointed a Black, Chicano, Latino, Native American, Filipino, Japanese or Chinese to the board.[31] "Each of the two

women on the board is known by her husband's name and one of them, Mrs. Edward Heller, was appointed to replace her husband upon his death."[32] Edward Heller was a corporate executive and on the Board of Directors of the Wells Fargo Bank. The other woman was Catherine Hearst, the wife of Randolph A. Hearst who heads a vast media empire. The Hearst Corporation owns nine newspapers, four radio and television stations, Avon Books, Good Housekeeping, Popular Mechanics and 36 other corporations.

The chairman of the board was William French Smith, the personal lawyer of Governor Ronald Reagan who appointed Smith. Reagan himself was also an ex-officio member of the board.

The remainder of the board consisted of large corporate owners and lawyers, at least 10 of whom were millionaires and all the others were extremely well off financially. Twenty of the regents sat on a total of 60 corporate boards, including Western Bancorporation, Crocker-Citizen's National Bank, United California Bank, American Telephone and Telegraph, Western Airlines, Del Monte, Inc., Lockheed Aircraft, Northern Pacific Railroad and Pacific Mutual Life Insurance.[33]

According to David N. Smith, who studied the board, "politically, the Regents are highly conservative. Norton Simon, one of the few 'liberals' on the Board, is a Republican. Most of the other Regents are generally in political sympathy with ex-officio Regent Ronald Reagan."[34] It was Reagan, it will be recalled, who stated in reference to the student rebellion, "if there is to be a bloodbath, let it be now."[35]

Given this lineup it is not surprising that Davis was fired for her political perspective--a perspective which was in contradiction to the ideology and status of the board members. This conflict between those elites who govern higher education and critical thinkers who are attracted to teaching in higher education is a fundamental theme that is woven throughout the history of universities and is key to understanding the operations of the academy.

The civil rights and student movements created a mass demand for an educational process exemplified by Angela Davis. In fact, the struggle forced UCLA to set aside money in its budget specifically for minority instructors. This concession was an important victory, but the power play by the regents demonstrated that those who controlled the university would not relinquish control easily, even in the face of mass revolt. Indeed, the mass revolt exposed the willingness of university authorities

to use naked force to protect their grip on higher education. Behind the image of ivory towers, quiet libraries, a staid faculty and the quest for truth and justice stood a corporate controlled, racist cog in the U.S. war machine protected by a policeman with a billy-club and a gun. The university was unmasked.

Michael Parenti elaborates this insight in the following chapter. Parenti provides a detailed account of how faculty and students were politically repressed at the University of Illinois and elsewhere. This repression ocurred not only at the height of the rebellion, but also in its aftermath as authorities moved to eliminate the forces of change that had been set in motion by the largest campus revolts in American history.

ENDNOTES
Chapter 2

[1]Kevin J. Kelley, "Berkeley Battle Still Reverberates 20 Years Later," Guardian, (Sept. 26, 1984), pp. 10-11.

[2]Seymour Martin Lipset and Sheldon S. Wolin, The Berkeley Student Revolt (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1965), p xi.

[3]Ibid., p. 102.

[4]Kelley, op.cit., p. 10

[5]Bettina Aptheker, The Academic Rebellion in the United States: A Marxist Appraisal (Secacus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1972), p. 22.

[6]Kelly, op.cit., p. 11.

[7]Apthker, op.cit., p. 41

[8]Howard Zinn, SNCC, The New Abolitionists (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1965), pp 16-17.

[9]Massimo Teodori, (ed.), The New Left: A Documentary History (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), p. 14.

[10]Ibid., p. 15.

[11]Ibid., p. 251.

[12]Barbara and John Ehrenreich, Long March, Short Spring: The Student Uprising at Home and Abroad (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969) p. 122.

[13]Ibid., p. 123.

[14]Ibid., p. 124.

[15]Ibid., p. 128.

[16]See, for example, the student demands from various universities listed in: I. Wallerstein and P. Starr, The University Crisis Reader, Vol. II (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 483-494.

[17]Peter Davies, The Truth About Kent State (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1973), p. 13.

[18]Ibid., p. 14.

[19]Ibid., p. 20.

[20]Ibid., p. 22.

[21]Quoted in Ibid., p.33.

[22]Ibid., p. 140.

[23]See: Jack Nelson and Jack Bass, The Orangeburg Massacre (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1970).

[24]University Crisis Reader, Vol. II. op.cit., p. 494.

[25]Aptheker, op.cit., p. 42.

[26]See, for example, Troy Duster, "The Third World College and the Colonial Analogy" in The University Crisis Reader, op.cit., pp. 340-343.

[27]Angela Davis, If They Come in the Morning (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1971), p. 183.

[28]Ibid., p. 184.

[29]Quoted in AAUP Bulletin (Autumn, 1971).

[30]Ibid., p. 386.

[31]Aptheker, op.cit., p. 37.

[32]David N. Smith, Who Rules the University? (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 29.

[33]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[34]Ibid., p. 35.

[35]Quoted in R.W.R. (St. Louis Park: Chain-Pinkham Books, 1980), p. 35.

CHAPTER 3

STRUGGLES IN THE TEMPLE OF KNOWLEDGE

by

Michael Parenti*

Within American universities there are people who research such matters as "Stability and Rebellion in Guatemala" and who do "risk analysis" to help banks and corporations make safer investments and bigger profits in the Third World. Others work on consumer responses to marketing techniques, labor "unrest" and union-breaking. Others in the university devote themselves to the massive Pentagon-financed computers that create world weather maps for strategic aerial bombings and new methods for detecting and controlling unrest at home and abroad. Still other university researchers develop new weaponry and technologies needed for everything from counterinsurgency jungle warfare to space wars.

Whether it is a matter of finding ways of keeping Asian villagers or inner-city residents or factory workers in line, or of creating new doomsday weaponry or new kinds of phosphorous and fragmentation bombs to use in Central America, our "free and independent" scholars and scientists, mostly university-based, have been there with bright, and often, brutal ideas about how to make the world safe for those who own and control it.

For handsome fees and contracts, faculty members also provide a variety of research and consultation services to business, industry, law, engineering and agricultural corporations. The more prominent of these firms use college campuses periodically to hold business conventions and to recruit students who are trained at public expense in the skills and

*Michael Parenti is a frequent contributor to progressive publications and the author of a number of books about American political life, including Democracy for the Few and Power and the Powerless. He recently has completed a critical study of the mass media entitled Inventing Reality (St. Martin's Press). A political scientist by training, he has taught on college campuses for many years and now devotes himself to writing and lecturing. He lives in Washington, D.C.

dedications of private enterprise. On these same campuses one can find ROTC programs of a content difficult to justify by normal academic standards, along with career recruiters from the CIA and the armed forces. In short, the average American university performs a wide range of services--from advanced research to specialized personnel training and recruitment--which are essential to military, government and corporate interests. The university also usually has a direct investment link to the corporate structure in the form of a substantial stock portfolio.

On these same campuses there can be found professors and administrators, including many engaged in the activities mentioned above, who argue with all apparent seriousness that a university is a place apart from the immediate partisan interests of this world. They criticize those students and faculty who have protested the university's involvement in governmental, military and corporate activities at home and abroad for using the campus to inject "partisan" and "ideological" issues into a supposedly dispassionate, independent, neutral community of scholars. The protesters frequently have found themselves in the curious position of being accused of the very thing they have often protested: involvement with special interests.

In their worldly complicity and other-worldly pretensions, American institutions of higher learning differ little from such other social institutions as the media, the arts, the church, the schools and the professions, all of which claim independence from any dominant class interest, even while firmly in sympathy with big moneyed interests through both purchase and persuasion.

In the late 1960s, during the Vietnam War era, many of us in academia were becoming aware that the university was something more (and less) than a community of scholars joined in the dispassionate pursuit of truth. At first, serving with its rallies and teach-ins as a base for antiwar activity, the university itself soon became one of the targets of protest because of its active complicity with the "military-industrial complex" (as we called the ruling class in those days). Our changing perspective of the university coincided with our growing realization that the Vietnam War was not a "mistake," but part of a long-standing pattern of U.S. interventionism designed to make the world safe for multinational corporate exploitation. We also came to realize that protest was not just a matter of creating a dialogue with, and persuading leaders who might be ill-informed, rather it entailed increasingly difficult confrontations with the repressive, recalcitrant powers of the state and its auxiliary institutions, the

universities included, and with leaders who were not misguided or confused, but who knew perfectly well what they were doing and whose interests they were serving.

Repression in Illinois

This particular story begins in the spring of 1970 when I was a visiting associate professor at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. Save for the standard peace marchers, there had been little antiwar activity at the University of Illinois until one day in early March 1970 when about 200 people demonstrated against a General Electric recruitment team that had set up office on campus. Several of the protesters were beaten and arrested by the police while attempting to force their way into the building. A few hours later it was announced that the board of trustees had voted in an emergency session to bar William Kunstler, one of the defense attorneys at the Chicago 7 Conspiracy Trial, from speaking on the campus. In the eyes of many students, the university was revealing the true nature of its commitments. A corporation like G.E. with its extensive involvement in the military-industrial war machine was being granted privileged access to the campus for recruitment purposes, while Kunstler and his audience were denied their rights to an open forum. Enraged by the actions of the police and the trustees, a crowd of more than 1,000 took to the streets that evening, blocking traffic, stoning the windows of several of the more over-priced and unpopular campus stores, as well as the windows of the administration building and the armory buildings where the ROTC was housed.

During those occurrences, I was out of town lecturing at another university, ironically enough on "Power and Protest." I returned to witness two more nights of demonstrations, rallies, minor trashing and the imposition of a curfew enforced with numerous arrests and much unnecessary brutality. Most commonly, students caught in the streets after curfew were chased and clubbed by police in what looked at times like a primitive rabbit hunt. From the window of a campus building, I witnessed a young woman pursued, beaten over the head and then dragged, apparently unconscious, to a police car. In the days to follow, it was a cause of dismay to some of us that UI Chancellor Jack Peltason, a former political scientist, issued statements of undiluted praise for the police, while offering them not a word of criticism or restraint.

For the next two months, the administration weeded out the activist students, many of whom had not been arrested in the March disturbances, but who were known to be of radical persuasion. In violation of the university's own procedure, the chancellor bypassed the faculty-student committee that had been newly established to deal with discipline cases, and invited a prominent Illinois lawyer (whose firm was on retainer with the university) to preside as an ostensibly disinterested investigator over suspension hearings involving some 40 students.

Other measures were taken in the name of security. The campus police, notoriously inept at protecting students from the numerous robberies, assaults and rapes that plagued the campus community, devoted their main efforts, like any good counterinsurgency force, not to safeguarding individual life and limb but to protecting the UI administration from its own populace. Elaborate and detailed dossiers were kept on hundreds of students and scores of faculty members. Newspaper clippings in which one's name appeared in association with a controversial issue, statements one made at public or organizational meetings as reported by police agents, photographs documenting one's presence at a rally, teach-in, or demonstration--such were the kinds of things to be found in one's security file. The campus police knew the names and faces of the "troublemakers" and of many others who would have been surprised to discover themselves deserving such attention. For weeks after the March events, university police were busy taking snapshots of people on campus, issuing suspension warrants and filing complaints in criminal court. Scores of students were arrested, held for bail and then released. In most cases, charges were dropped months later for lack of evidence, indicating the purpose of the arrest was intimidation, not prosecution. After being released, some students were re-arrested a second and a third time in their homes or dormitories on charges which were sometimes hard to determine.

Not long after this reign of repression seemed to have run its course, President Nixon invaded Cambodia, guardsmen killed four Kent State students and a local Champaign policeman killed a Black man named Edgar Hoults. From all evidence, Hoults, a bookstore employee, was innocent of any crime except driving without a license, but he made the mistake of taking flight when police approached, and he was shot in the back without warning. The culpable officer was indicted for voluntary manslaughter, later reduced to involuntary manslaughter, released on $5,000

bond and eventually found "not guilty" of all charges by an all-white middle American jury.

On the evening after the murder of Hoults and the Kent State killings, a crowd of more than 3,000 attended a rally called by student leaders. Several students and faculty members, including this writer, spoke in support of an immediate strike to protest Cambodia, Kent State, the Hoults murder, police brutality and the presence of ROTC and the Illiac IV Pentagon computer on campus. The next day, May 6, 1970, the strike gathered momentum; pickets appeared in front of the major buildings; thousands of students boycotted classes.

That afternoon, I joined a group of students and faculty standing in a service driveway. The group was arguing with university police to determine why a garbage truck had been backed into a crowd of striking students with no effort made to clear the driveway, at a substantial risk to the people present. The exchange ended when approximately 50 club-swinging troopers charged the crowd without warning. Several students were knocked down; others were pushed into the shrubbery; one had his front teeth bashed out by a police club. I was clubbed full force over my left eye and on the back of my head. After being knocked to the ground, I was clubbed on the legs, kicked and beaten on the back, chest and neck. Another political scientist, Philip Meranto, raced into the knot of policemen surrounding me, shouting at them to leave me alone. Professor Meranto threw himself on me in a courageous attempt to absorb some of the punishment, only to be dragged off, kicked and held face down in the driveway. While the crowd was held back by a force of troopers and university police, Meranto and I were handcuffed and driven to the university police station along with several students arrested in the same incident.

I was held without medical care for approximately an hour, my face, head and neck soaked with my own blood. Outside the station, a crowd of about 1,000 angry students faced a ring of police armed with shotguns. In the adjacent hallway, I heard an officer, whom I could not identify, say, "If I had gotten a clean first lick on him, he would be a dead man now." Soon after, three men in plainclothes, standing more directly in my view, began a conversation in low but audible tones. I heard one remark in an excited whisper: "That's Parenti, the one who made the speech last night. Now the chancellor will want us to throw the book at him." During this time, a man entered the room to examine my wounds, and began questioning me while making a great show of

friendly concern. His inquiries invited inquiries of my own, and he eventually admitted that he was not a doctor but an FBI agent. In response to my refusal to provide him with any details, he made a point of saying, "That's okay, we know all about you, Michael John" (the use of my middle name probably intended to impress me with the intimacy of his knowledge).

Eventually, I was taken to the hospital where I received 12 stitches on my face and head, and X-rays for internal injuries. I was then transported to a state jail where I was booked, fingerprinted and held in a cell for some 30 sleepless hours, my head burning and my body shivering, without knowledge of the charges against me, and having been denied repeated requests to see my doctor or my lawyer. I was released the next day on a $10,000 bond--by the same judge who had a $5,000 bond on the policeman who had killed Edgar Hoults--and charged with five counts including, much to my astonishment, aggravated battery. A state trooper testified during my preliminary hearing that I had chipped his tooth with my "hand." (Earlier he had reported to university officials that I had struck him with a "hard object." On a later occasion he said he was hit by a "fist." Whichever it be, I and other eyewitnesses knew his story to be either a fabrication or a case of mistaken identity). Professor Meranto, who had been arrested with me, was re-arrested the next day while appearing in court for his arraignment. The same state trooper, apparently capable of instant testimony, told the court that Meranto's knee had "brushed against his leg"; a complaint of aggravated battery was filed against Meranto, and he, too, was released under a $10,000 bond by the same judge.

Chancellor Jack Peltason offered no assistance to the two of us who had been mistreated, arrested and falsely charged. He did not call for an investigation of the incident to ascertain whether justice had been done; he made no effort to determine whether his security officers were dangerous fools in ordering the garbage truck to back into the crowd of students. Rather, it was his office that filed the complaints against Professor Meranto and me, and on the day of our release Peltason announced to the press that the status of our positions at the university was under close review. In glowing terms, he also voiced confidence in the particular security officer who had so determinedly protected the rights of a garbage truck. (Students were demanding that the officer be fired.)

The beating and arrests further galvanized the students. As at Columbia, Harvard and elsewhere, great numbers seemed

ready to set aside their political differences and close ranks when their own people were being attacked by police. Some 10,000 rallied the day after my arrest, with the intention of violating that evening's curfew despite the presence of a National Guard contingent, an act of defiance which caused civil authorities to lift the curfew. The strike, now involving the great majority of the students, continued for the next week or so, replete with pickets, demonstrations, "liberated classes" and over 100 more arrests and numerous beatings by the free-swinging, lawless forces of law and order.

During the strike, 15 political scientists formed a "Faculty for Resistance" and promulgated a statement condemning President Nixon, the Cambodian invasion, the Vietnam War, the Kent State killings, the systematic murder of Black militants, and the increasing repression of dissent. They vowed to devote their time to teaching students how to "intellectually arm" and protect themselves from "the encroachments of a criminal regime."

As in March, the return of normalcy in mid-May 1970 brought with it the usual threats and retributions. Some graduate students who had been active in the strike found themselves faced with loss of fellowships and teaching assistantships. At least two teaching assistants were dismissed outright. Philip Meranto, who previously had been assured of tenure and promotion because of his teaching and publications, and whose only crimes were being an outspoken radical critic and trying to protect a colleague from physical harm, was informed by the director of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs that it would be wise to begin searching for a new position. At the same time, young instructors in various departments were informed that "any strike activities" would, in the future, be grounds for cancellation of contract. Chancellor Peltason sent a letter asking all department heads to have their faculty account for their time during the week of the strike.

Peltason personally wrote to inform me that the allegations against me (which he referred to as allegations, but then assumed to be true) were grounds for dismissal, but that, since I was departing anyway, he decided that the matter was to be filed in my "permanent record file," and made available to any university, public agency or prospective employer wanting information on me. He also informed me that for the duration of my stay he would see that I "be reassigned to the extent necessary to eliminate any further interaction with students in (my) teaching or research functions." In response, I informed him

I disliked being judged guilty on a matter pending before the courts, that the threat to make a dossier available to other prospective employers savored of blacklisting and that any attempt to interfere with my interaction with students would further infringe on my civil liberties.

In the weeks after the strike, I found myself undergoing a trial by newspaper and radio. One local talk show kept referring to a "violent Professor Parenti" who "stuffed a brick in a policemen's face" and who "stirred up the students to riot." Professor Meranto and I were informed by a sympathetic and usually reliable newspaper reporter that we were on an "elimination list" compiled by a coterie of local police, and that we had better take precautions. Two students also reported separate conversations they had with campus police who spoke of their intent to "get Parenti." Another student reported that a campus cop had told him that "Parenti was in the pay of Moscow and Peking" and had "a Swiss bank account" containing secret funds from the Russians and Chinese. Another student shamefacedly confessed to me one evening that, facing possible imprisonment because of a marijuana rap, he had accepted the FBI's offer to monitor all my campus speaking engagements in exchange for having the charges against him dropped.

For the first two weeks after the strike, whenever Meranto and I were either driving or walking together, we found ourselves tailed by police. One evening during the strike, a patrol car followed me home and then staked out directly in front of my house for the entire night. I left via a backyard path under the cover of darkness and spent several days at a friend's house. The mother of a friend of mine was visited at her Chicago residence by FBI agents who unsettled her with the information that her daughter was in the company of a "dangerous revolutionary," who was being kept "under constant surveillance." They also questioned the exact nature of her daughter's relationship with me.

The political scientists who signed the "Faculty of Resistance" statement in the spring of 1970 did not fare too well either. A Chicago Tribune editorial, accusing them of being "academic vipers," guilty of "unprofessional and unethical conduct and academic incompetence," called for their dismissal. Soon afterward, a state senator took up the cry and the UI board of trustees demanded that the 15 retract their "Statement of Resistance" or face further action. One board member suggested that their classes be monitored. Two of the original signers wrote

a very conciliatory letter which the trustees accepted as repentance. The remaining 13 sent a clarifying, but uncompromising, response, and the trustees voted unanimously to rebuke them for using "without explanation or justification" such terms in their original statement as "official racism," "present societal madness," the "systematic elimination of Black militants," and "a criminal regime." One trustee called it "anarchist language," but all agreed that the 13 were guilty of inaccurate and unrestrained descriptions of America which did not reflect "the standards of scholarly and professional expression expected by faculty members." Thus did the business executives, realty tycoons, big merchants, corporate lawyers, and successful speculators and investors who composed the UI board of trustees become self-appointed experts and final judges of what the faculty might utter or not utter.

Repressive measures extended beyond the boundaries of the University of Illinois; one of the 13 signers was turned down for a job at Purdue University, being considered too "controversial." One UI political science graduate student, applying for a teaching position at an Indiana state college, was informed by the department chairman that the school's administration already had rejected two applicants because of their "radical propensities" and that no interviews could be arranged with any "radical or SDS types." Another political science graduate student provided me with a written account of his job-hunting experience. I quote from his letter:

> . . . From first to last the item of highest priority was student issues, the complaints they were raising and the trouble they caused. Of much less importance were my qualifications for the position. Since I generally found myself at odds with my questioners about the major topics at hand, and since I wanted the job, I tried to balance diplomacy and honesty, with little success. Feigning ignorance of the facts or little concern about the problem partially accomplished the former; trying to show empathy (as opposed to agreement) with the students partly accomplished the latter. Naturally, the result of all this was an unsettling feeling that I had sold out, but not enough.

Another job seeker reflected on his experiences: "At one place I was asked a continuous barrage of questions about student disorders and Black militants. Perhaps my interviewers never realized they were administering a loyalty test."

A colleague of senior rank comments: "(One school) refused me because they felt my recent involvement with political issues showed a lack of scholarly detachment, even though my past work was quite scholarly . . ." The experiences of people at Illinois, of course, are representative of what was happening to colleagues at Purdue, Simon Fraser, Stanford, SUNY at Buffalo and other places too numerous to mention.

The following October, I returned to Illinois to stand trial for aggravated battery, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest (two other charges were dropped). Given the climate of opinion in Champaign County, my lawyer advised that I waive jury trial and settle for a bench trial. The presiding judge, Birch Morgen, heard the testimony of two state troopers, both of whom gave widely contradictory accounts of what transpired.

The trooper with the chipped tooth testified he was struck by an open hand. On cross-examination he admitted he never saw the blow struck, but was sure I had done it when attempting to stand from a sitting position. The trooper who clubbed me described me as standing upright, toe-to-toe with the "injured" officer, delivering a succession of blows upon him with clenched fists while he stood motionless and helpless with his helmet, face-visor and riot baton. (I am five feet, six inches tall; the trooper with the chipped tooth was six feet, three inches tall.) My lawyer presented six witnesses who described in detail my actions of that day. All of them testified I struck no one, and that I at no time resisted arrest. At the close of the trial, my friends who watched the proceedings were confident and, indeed, jubilant that the state had not established the case.

The following day, Judge Martin delivered a most remarkable opinion. He ignored both conflicts in the testimonies given by the troopers, and the consistencies in the testimonies of defense witnesses. Without evidence, he implied that I must have been the instigator of the entire garbage truck incident. He observed that I had "no business being there in the first place." By focusing on a few minor discrepancies in their testimony (e.g., whether the garbage truck was facing north or south), Morgen concluded that defense witnesses were hopelessly confused. He argued that the most credible testimony was that of the troopers; his final deduction was: "I can't believe a state trooper would hit

anyone for no reason." It seems, then, that my beating was proof of my culpability. The trial was merely to determine the exact nature of my crime.

Having established the infallibility of law enforcement agents, the judge found me "guilty beyond a reasonable doubt" on all three counts. In the opinion of many of my supporters, I was tried and convicted because of my highly visible political activities. Interestingly enough, this is also the opinion of certain unsympathetic people who, having indicated, in so many words, that "it serves you right."

Sentencing was delayed until June 1971, when I was given two years probation, fined $250 and ordered to pay court costs of $430. In the interim, Meranto was tried, found guilty of disorderly conduct and sentenced to one year probation and court costs. Both cases were refused appeal.

In September 1970, I arrived at the University of Vermont to begin a new teaching job only to discover that the events in Illinois were already being widely publicized in sensationalist fashion by the right-wing newspaper in town, the Burlington Free Press, which regularly branded me a "violent agitator," and ran letters from readers who called me "un-American" and a "Red propagandist" who had no right to a position on the UVM faculty. When it came time to renew my contract in early 1972, my department voted unanimously for renewal as did the Faculty Senate committee, the Council of Deans, the vice-president and the president of the university. As I predicted, however, the UVM board of trustees, composed of conservative, rich businesspeople--as are almost all university and college boards--and a few conservative state legislators, voted overwhelmingly against me, citing my continued antiwar activities (including the Illinois conviction and the fact I had been seen carrying a "Vietcong" flag at a peace march in Burlington) as evidence of "unprofessional conduct." In the face of numerous faculty resolutions, expressions of support and large student demonstrations on my behalf, the trustees refused to renew my contract.

Lawless Guardians

Regarding the events described above, several observations are in order:

1. While the established authorities expect others to treat regulations and procedures as inviolate, they themselves are not

above playing fast with the rules when it serves their interests. Witness Peltason's bypassing of the student-faculty discipline committee at UI in favor of a hand-picked hearing officer, or the treatment meted out to Meranto who, according to the rules, qualified for promotion because of his exceptional capabilities as scholar and teacher, or the suspension of teaching assistant contracts and the bypassing of qualified, but politically bothersome, graduate students, or the many other politically motivated hiring and firing practices encountered throughout the profession.

Or consider the following: Not long after the radical students at UI won control of the student government in an election against two competing slates and on an openly professed radical platform, student government found certain of its supplies and funds cut off. When students attempted to establish a nondisruptive dialogue with workers by leafletting in front of the Magnovox factory in Urbana--and received a surprisingly sympathetic response from employees passing through the gate--they were run off the street by police under threat of arrest for "disorderly conduct" and "disrupting traffic." Students who stopped delivery trucks approaching the UI campus and persuaded the first two incoming truck drivers--in the best tradition of trade unionism--to honor the picket line were forcibly dispersed, clubbed and arrested by police who followed their own traditions in such matters. At no time did the striking students seek to block any other student from going to class. Pickets, teach-ins, liberation classes and spontaneous discussions were used by the dissenters with their fellow students--and with much success. Most of the actual coercion came from the other side, from police who constantly resorted to excessive and unnecessary force, with the approval of university officials, from unsympathetic faculty who deliberately scheduled examinations during the strike and threatened absent students with failure, and from administrators who threatened and carried out suspensions and expulsions against strike leaders.

Dialogue, persuasion and appealing to the minds of others, then, are all very well until such tactics begin to generate real support for the dissenters. Then the rules are suspended. The real question is: how do we get the guardians to abide by the law and order which they profess to uphold?

Abe Fortas, in a book which won the kudos of the liberal establishment, wrote in one neglected passage that the police "too, are subject to the rule of law, and if they exceed the

authorized bounds of firmness and self-protection and needlessly assaulted the people whom they encountered, they should be disciplined, tried, and convicted. It is a deplorable truth that because they are officers of the state they frequently escape the penalty for their lawlessness." They escape the penalty, I would add, because those who rely on them sanction their force and violence, however unlawful it might be. In most campus crises, college administrators and trustees have proved themselves not only uncritical of police abuse, but seemingly supportive of it. Indeed, far from being critical, they are congratulatory.

2. Those who are quiescent and conformist in their political views and actions, and who yet fear they might have their liberties taken away by a "backlash" repression have a mistaken notion of how repression works. They will almost always be left unhampered by enunciating ideologically safe opinions and theories and remaining inconspicuously inactive. Contrary to Orwell's 1984, a book that seems to have achieved a curious authority on this question, the state has no interest in hounding obedient, compliant citizens. If compliance to injustice and war is the freedom some people seek, they will always be free.

This was the freedom that politically conformist people enjoyed during the McCarthy era of 1950-54. They suffered no repression because they repressed themselves, refusing to sign protest statements or join controversial organizations. They never dreamed of marching in a picket line or demonstration, or engaging in a sit-in or burning their draft cards, or refusing to pay taxes. And they worried about which of their opinions might get them into difficulties with future employers or public authorities.

Not surprisingly from the Vietnam era to the present, those academics who have been fearfully preoccupied with the backlash of tomorrow tended to give less than adequate attention to the repression of today. They counsel that the best way to preserve our freedom of movement is to lie still. In fact, the freedoms of speech, protest and opposition are best secured when they are most vigorously utilized by masses of people. This is not to deny there are risks. But the freedom of quietude, quiescence and conformity is no freedom at all. Yet, in all periods of political struggle there are those who urge that self-policing is the best way to "remain free." It is certainly a good way to remain in one's profession.

The Closed University

In the years after Illinois and Vermont, I was unable to procure a regular teaching position (except for a two-year stint at SUNY, Albany). Despite the fact that I had by then published four books and some 50 articles, including ones in the leading political science and sociology journals, and had a PhD from Yale, glowing recommendations from two former presidents of the American Political Science Association and from other leading members of the profession, and top evaluations as a classroom teacher, I repeatedly was passed over for less qualified, but politically safer and politically inactive candidates at scores of colleges and universities to which I applied. Time and again I heard from sympathetic political scientists who were privy to recruitment procedures in their departments that I was rejected because of my leftist views and political activism. In several instances, when a particular department manifested interest in making an offer, my candidacy was squelched by administrators. A notable instance occurred at Virginia Commonwealth University, where the political science department unanimously supported me to be chair, only to be overruled by a newly appointed dean who informed them "It might be all right to have a radical as an instructor or assistant professor, but we can't have one as chairman." She did not explain to her stunned colleagues why that was so.

The experiences I describe are hardly personal to me, but have been part of a larger pattern of purges and political repression conducted in academia throughout the '60s, '70s, and '80s, and, indeed, for generations before. The year after I was dismissed from UVM, four radicals in the UVM philosophy department were denied contracts. At Dartmouth College, within a three-year period in the early '70s, all but one of a dozen radical faculty members were let go. At Berkeley, the entire school of criminology was abolished because most of its faculty were developing a Marxist critique and class analysis of crime and criminal enforcement. (Positions were readily found in other departments for those criminology faculty of acceptable centrist political persuasion.)

More frequent and less visible than the firings are the nonhirings. I was told by a friendly faculty member at Boston University not to even bother to apply for an opening there because there was "no possibility of hiring anyone who is known to be politically to the left." A faculty member at the University of

Colorado at Boulder reported a similar discouragement. Highly qualified political scientists, who were also known socialists, applied for positions at institutions in California, Texas, Illinois, New York and other places too numerous to mention, only to be turned down in favor of candidates who--as measured by their training, publications and teaching experience--appeared far less qualified. The pattern became so pronounced at the University of Texas at Austin that students staged a protest and charged the university with discriminatory hiring practices. One could go on with examples involving not only political scientists, but economists, historians, sociologists, psychologists and even chemists, musicologists and mathematicians who express leftist views.

Not only departments, but whole colleges have been divested of, or prevented from hiring, radical faculty. In 1980, when visiting Reed College in Oregon to be interviewed for a one-year visiting appointment, I observed some students circulating a statement complaining about the lack of faculty and courses which offered a Marxist or other leftist perspective. One student said to me: "If we want to read any left critiques with an alternative position, we have to do it on our own in addition to all the regular course work we get. And we seldom get the chance to discuss it in class." When I asked Reed faculty members about this, they admittedly could not recall any among their colleagues who were leftist--except one ("who's not as left as he used to be")--nor did they seem too concerned about Reed's ideological orthodoxy, certainly not concerned enough to hire me or some other leftist for the visiting professor slot.

Scholars of a radical bent also are regularly discriminated against in the distribution of research grants and scholarships, in appointments to official positions within their professional associations, in appointments to the editorial boards of the more influential professional journals, and even in lecture invitations and lecture fees. In recent years, despite their protestations about budgetary austerity, universities have paid $10,000 to $20,000 for one-night appearances of guest lecturers like conservative ideologues William Buckley and George Will, war criminals Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig, and Watergate criminal G. Gordon Liddy. Needless to say, eminent writers, advocates and spokespersons of an explicitly radical viewpoint have had to settle for fewer invitations at a lot less money.

In recent years, the ideological guardians of orthodoxy in the academy have learned to operate in a more covert fashion.

Increasingly less likely to say, "We don't want any Marxists," they will claim the candidate has not had quite enough articles published, or if enough, they are not in the right (politically conventional) journals, or if the publications appear respectable enough, the articles are still wanting in quality and originality, or they fail to say anything new, or they show too narrow or too diffuse a development. If students find the radical teacher exciting, informative and thought provoking, the faculty centrists and conservatives will see him or her as flashy and proselytizing. Seemingly objective criteria can be applied in endlessly subjective ways.

Lately, the guardians of orthodoxy have developed what I call "the search for the supreme candidate." When confronted with a highly qualified person, they will inquire whether he or she is "the very best in the field." If not, then why not try to get the very best? Thus an outspokenly radical chemist, John Lombardi, was denied tenure in 1972 by his conservative chairman at the University of Illinois. While widely recognized for his outstanding research in spectroscopy, he could not claim to be the "very best" spectroscopist in America--nor did he know who could claim that title.

Something of the same argument was used against Bertell Ollman by an administrator at the University of Maryland who, unable to fault Ollman's credentials, asserted that, nevertheless, the university could find someone "still better."

The guardians of political orthodoxy maintain that ideology is something that infects select portions of the population to the left and right of them while they, remaining peculiarly free of such contaminations, are the purveyors of true, objective politically disinterested scholarship. In refusing the hire leftists, then, they are only protecting scholarly standards. Such was an argument used to deny Samuel Bowles tenure at Harvard: Marxist economics is not really scholarly economics; hence, Bowles is not really a scholar. At no time does the centrist ideologue seem aware that this view might be a self-serving one, a manifestation of his own subjective and unexamined political interests.

The same holds true not only for the legitimacy of scholarship but for the legitimacy of outside political activity. Thus, at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, an instructor of political science, Ted Hayes, was denied renewal of his contract, among other reasons, because he was judged to have "outside radical political commitments" that made it impossible for him to be an objective, balanced teacher. Two of the senior members

who voted against him were themselves state committeemen of the Republican Party in Wisconsin. There was no question as to whether their political commitments interfered with their objectivity as teachers, or with the judgments they made regarding colleagues.

How neutral in their writings and teachings were such scholars as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan? Blatant academic proponents of American industrial-military policies at home and abroad, they, nevertheless, enjoyed meteoric academic careers and subsequently were selected to serve as prominent acolytes to the powers that be. Obviously, an outspoken political commitment and advocacy does not disqualify one--it might even help one's career, depending on whether one supports the existing capitalist-militarist order at home and abroad or wants to see it changed in fundamental ways.

Those who control the institutions of higher learning in the United States should want the same good things for Americans (students included) that they so passionately advocate for the denizens of "totalitarian" countries, namely the opportunity to hear, study, express and support iconoclastic, anti-establishment views in their media and educational institutions without fear of reprisal. Instead, in their hiring and firing, and promotion of tenure policies the universities and colleges engage in persistent repression of political dissenters, especially those who take anti-capitalistic and anti-imperialist stances. The repression may not work with total effect (a few leftists slip by the screening and recruitment process from time to time), but it is successful enough in weeding out many who are unacceptable to the interests that rule our economic, political and educational institutions.

The attacks in academia against political dissidents have been even more pronounced than the bigotry manifested against women and minority members--and more pernicious since radicals are not likely to be made the focus of any kind of affirmative action. Indeed, along with the usual hurdles that women and minorities face, radical women and minorities have had to endure the additional burdens of political bigotry. The consequence of all this oppression is that there are only a handful of colleges with more than two or three Marxists--if that--on their faculties, and it is a rare leftist scholar who has not encountered serious difficulties when seeking employment or tenure, regardless of his or her qualifications. So the demand for radical analysis and

radical critiques of domestic and foreign policies, social problems, social structure, history, race relations and whatever, is far in excess of the supply that is allowed to reach the campuses by the monopoly manipulators of the establishment ideology.

Still, it is difficult to hold back history, and just when the hand of orthodoxy seems to have gained a death grip on the minds and hearts of our people, the quietude and ideational stagnation of the academy is again shattered by urgent cries for justice and truth; the ideational monopolists are shaken by competing views; the campus bureaucrats are discomforted by protesters; the plutocracy is challenged by democracy--and life once more struggles to renew itself.

CHAPTER 4

LIBERAL IMAGE-REACTIONARY CORE:

THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE

by

Philip J. Meranto*

The events described in the previous two chapters had a radicalizing impact on me and numerous others I knew and read about. The ideological repression executed during the McCarthy period virtually eliminated any left of center political analysis available to students during the 1950s and early '60s. My high school education was similar to the education of millions of other young Americans--movies showing the dark hands of the Soviet Union taking over the world, and the U.S. protecting "democracy" from this take-over. During four years of undergraduate study and five years of graduate work at Syracuse University I encountered no professor who presented a systematic radical or Marxist interpretation of the U.S. social system. Liberal professors, of course, presented critical attacks on the abuse of the social system, but problems inevitably were presented as aberrations of the "best" system in an imperfect world, and reform solutions aimed at improving capitalism, not overthrowing it.

C. Wright Mills was the only social scientist I recall who presented an alternative analysis. He was treated as a maverick who should not be taken too seriously, and Marx was considered historically interesting, but irrelevant to conditions in the contemporary U.S. Challenges to this general intellectual climate occurred during rambling late night discussions among graduate students who suspected there was something more to understand. What was missing was unclear, but as the civil rights movement began to unfold and a student who had spent time in

*Philip J. Meranto is co-author of this volume and the author of The Politics of Federal Aid to Education and School Politics in the Metropolis. His is also co-author (with William Nelson Jr.) of Electing Black Mayors: Political Action in the Black Community. He taught in higher education for over 20 years.

India educated us about the reality of Vietnam, the mystery became increasingly solvable. This radicalizing education process however, was occurring outside the classroom and formal graduate training of Syracuse University.

By the time I arrived at the University of Illinois in 1968, this informal education was supplemented by research and involvement in the Black community of East St. Louis, Illinois, the rebellious eruption of Black Ghettos all over the U.S., and the growing anti-imperialist interpretation of the Vietnam War. To teach these topics intelligently in my American Politics classes, I found I needed concepts beyond the liberal education in urban studies I had received at Syracuse. Thus, the content of my intellectual work, these explosive political events, the influence of colleagues such as Louis Gold, Michael Parenti, John Lombardi, Richard Wasson, Beldon Fields and at least a dozen other UI faculty members plus the radical SDS students and members of the Chicago Black Panther Party (who spoke regularly on the UI campus) all merged to push my liberal political understandings to a radical analysis.

At base, this analysis held that radical oppression in the U.S., the persistence of poverty, the war against the Vietnamese people and university complicity in these processes were rooted in the capitalist-imperialist political economy. These were not just problems, they were the essence of a system based on profits and human exploitation. Rebellions and revolutions were appropriate movements against this system, and required active support by people committed to fundamental social change.

This latter point was critical. In the charged political atmosphere of the late 1960s, a faculty member could present a radical interpretation of events with few immediate reprisals. They would generally come later at promotion time. However, if the faculty person applied the analysis outside the classroom and became actively involved, that behavior was termed "unprofessional" and reprisals came rapidly and forcefully as noted by Parenti. In my own case the arrest during the garbage truck incident and a later illegal arrest in protest of Marine recruiters on campus, spelled my doom at the University of Illinois.

Predictably, the same supervisor who recently had assured me of tenure now provided some friendly, fatherly advice -- "You better start looking for another job because you're not going to make it here." Job performance and academic qualifications notwithstanding (I had published two books as an assistant professor

and had excellent teaching ratings), political activism meant I was on my way out of UI. A state senator introduced a bill in the legislature to delete my salary from the budget and subpoened me to appear before his poor imitation of a McCarthy hearing. Thus, by 1970 as Parenti headed toward the northeastern corner of the U.S. for a teaching job at the University of Vermont, I went to the northwestern corner for a position at the University of Washington. Not surprisingly, we both encountered very similar political reactions.

While being expelled from UI, I had the good fortune of meeting Kenneth Dolbeare at a political science convention. He later contacted me about a faculty position at the University of Washington, Seattle. The position attracted me because UW and Seattle had a liberal, more progressive image than the "cornfield" school in rural midwestern Illinois. But, I was being set up by this image for another round in my political education.

Dolbeare recently had been selected to chair and upgrade the political science department at the University of Washington. In addition to being a highly respected political scientist, Dolbeare had a law degree and the distinction of being the only Republican in the political science faculty at Hofstra University (Long Island) where he taught in the early 1960s. However, by the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s, Dolbeare also had undergone a transformation of his political perspective and had become an important member of the Caucus for a New Political Science.

The Caucus emerged during the campus revolt period and was dedicated to shifting political science from a discipline that operated as an apologist for the established order to one that intellectually challenged the traditional establishment in the discipline and the larger society.

Dolbeare's chairmanship represented, in some respects, an opportunity to put into practice some of the educational philosophy of the Caucus. In part, Dolbeare's conception of the direction in which the political science department at the University of Washington should head was one which would reflect the rich reality of American political culture. In order to understand, scientifically investigate, and teach the complexities of American politics, the department should include qualified people from a wide variety of experiences and political perspectives. Since the department was traditional in its make-up, that is, composed almost exclusively of white, middle class males, Dolbeare made an impressive effort to enrich it by

recruiting women, minorities and white radicals at both the faculty and graduate student level. Thus, in his first two years as chair, Dolbeare successfully recruited a Black scholar, a Native American/Chicano woman on a half-time basis, two white women, two male radicals, and two white male liberals who were somewhat critical of the American political system. He also provided leadership in recruiting an unusually large number of women and minority graduate students. The combination of these new faculty members, a progressive chair, and highly varied graduate students created a stimulating intellectual climate. It was Dolbeare's vision that the mixture of the more established members of the department and these additional intellectual elements would create a department unique in the nation. It was thought the interaction of these elements would provide a more relevant experience for faculty and students. Additionally, it was hoped that such a department would make an unusual contribution to the analysis and possible solution of the many social and political problems that characterized American society during this period.

When Dolbeare described his concept to me and the progress he had already made, it was easy to accept a faculty position and become a part of this promising effort. It became even easier when he told me I would be an associate professor with tenure. Consequently, to the great relief of my superiors at the University of Illinois, I resigned my position and accepted the University of Washington offer. Joining that department and helping to build an alternative education center was a dream come true.

Unfortunately, the dream was rudely interrupted. Soon after I resigned and signed a new contract, Dolbeare contacted me and said that, over his objections, the University of Washington administration was attempting to cancel my contract. He explained that a local newspaper editor, from Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, had contacted UW personnel and told them I was a "political troublemaker" and should not be hired. Subsequently, the university administration took the position that although I had informed them of a previous arrest in an anti-war demonstration, I had not told them of a second similar arrest. Thus, the UW president told me in a letter that my contract was being rescinded.

After discussing the matter with Dolbeare (who continued to support my appointment) I decided to fight the case and hired a well-known Seattle lawyer. My defense was simple and

straightforward. I had a legal contract. The university had hired me on the basis of my professional qualifications which had not changed. The fact that I, along with numerous other people, were arrested in a peaceful anti-war demonstration did not alter my professional abilities. Additionally, I was innocent of the charges (which were later dropped) and should not be denied employment. I also threatened to file a substantial law suit if the university canceled my contract.

The university retracted its proposed contract cancellation, but not before Ken Dolbeare was forced to resign as chairman of the department. The conflict surrounding my appointment, plus increased administrative resistance to Dolbeare's proposals worked to force him out of his leadership role. The dean of arts and sciences made it clear to Dolbeare that the program he envisioned would not become a reality since the dean was "dead-set against it." The political pressure of a nation-wide conservative faculty organization, founded by two University of Washington faculty members (one of which was in political science) and a faculty member of Queens College (New York City) also operated against Dolbeare. The organization wanted to stamp out any non-traditional educational efforts that emerged as a result of campus rebellions. One of their first targets was Donald Bell, associate dean of undergraduate education, who supported innovative undergraduate education. When Dolbeare defended Bell, he was added to the target list and a letter viciously attacking Dolbeare was circulated.

Dolbeare's forced resignation was a serious political blow to the progressive forces he had brought to the University of Washington, and was a pivotol factor preventing his vision from becoming a reality. He continued to serve as temporary chair for a year after his resignation, but the senior faculty and administration sensed their comeback potential and began a reactionary campaign to return the department to its historic conservative status.

An example of this new trend emerged in the year following Dolbeare's resignation (1972). One goal that was not achieved before his resignation was the attempt to hire a full-time Chicano faculty member to teach American politics and ethnic politics. This appointment was viewed as particularly important because of the large number of Chicanos on the West Coast and in the Southwest, and because of the increasingly significant Chicano political movement. It was reasoned that a first-rate political science department should have a specialist

who could analyze and teach this critical and growing dimension of the discipline.

Since this item was still on the agenda, the department conducted a search in 1972 to hire a faculty member in the area of American/urban politics with a speciality in Chicano and ethnic politics. The leading candidate for the position was Dr. Carlos Munoz of the University of California at Irvine. At that time, there were fewer than a dozen Chicano PhDs in political science in the entire country, and Dr. Munoz was considered among the best qualified and promising as a young scholar. During his interview, Dr. Munoz presented an excellent paper and was received enthusiastically by all concerned except the senior faculty and the new chairman, Richard Flathman. The Political Science Graduate Student Association, the Undergraduate Student Association and a coalition of concerned community organizations endorsed Dr. Munoz unanimously.

In a departmental meeting to vote on the position, faculty discussed Munoz qualifications for two and a half hours, finally voting 35 to 6 to offer him a tenured position (most senior faculty did not participate). Following that vote, however, Chair Flathman called for a secret ballot vote of the tenured faculty who voted 12 to 4 against offering Munoz the position. The senior faculty immediately left the room, soundly booed by the students, junior faculty and community residents.

News of the secret vote result touched off demonstrations on the University of Washington campus in the following week. By mid-week, Chicano and Native American students, and community residents joined by other students and a handful of faculty members, occupied the office of the dean of liberal arts and sciences. During the occupation we found a confidential letter from Chair Flathman in the dean's files. In the letter, Flathman threatened to resign as chair if Munoz was hired. He pictured Munoz as a radical who would foment rebellion among minority students and the larger minority community. Flathman did not dispute that Munoz was a well-qualified scholar; he objected to Munoz's political perspective.

With this letter in hand we demanded a negotiating session with the dean. During this session, the dean promised to initiate a nationwide search to hire a qualified Chicano faculty member. Twelve years later the search has yet to be conducted and the political science department at the University of Washington has yet to hire a full-time Chicano faculty member. Several white males, however, have been hired over the past decade. It took

over seven years, but an investigation by the U.S. Office of Civil Rights found the department guilty of discrimination against Munoz and another Chicano candidate, Armando Gutierrez, who also failed to get the job in question. Although found guilty, no sanctions have ever been leveled against the department by the federal government despite the fact that the University of Washington is one of the largest recipients of federal contracts in higher education.

It is interesting to note some of the arguments that were made against Munoz in the faculty meeting because these same points would be used in a tenure hearing for the one Black faculty member in the department. These arguments included the notions that (1) ethnic and Chicano politics were not really important aspects of political science; (2) such topics could be taught by almost anyone on the faculty--there was no need for an expert; (3) writings and research in these areas tended to be "impressionistic," not scientific because of the emotional involvement of the writers; (4) faculty working in this area would be unable to do work of sufficiently high caliber to result in their being awarded tenure; (5) these subject areas tended to attract faculty who would become community activists and thus give the university a "bad image"; (6) minority students and community people were unequipped to judge whether a faculty member was a promising teacher and scholar; (7) a Chicano instructor might have trouble being objective about racial conflict in the society and in his treatment of white students.

Munoz was denied the position, but Richard Flathman, who was viewed by many as the leader of the repressive forces opposed to Munoz, also was denied any peace and quiet. A successful guerrilla harassment campaign was launched to drive Flatham from the chair. A coalition of white and minority graduate students, undergraduates, community activists and some faculty embroiled Flathman in continuous controversy; he resigned about a year later and left the University of Washington for a position at Johns Hopkins University.

The Flathman resignation was a victory, but the battle to retain the progressive direction initiated in the Dolbeare period was eventually lost to the reactionary forces in the political science department. The senior faculty voted not to renew the contracts of Allen Polawski, one of the white radicals, and Judy Lamare, a woman faculty member. The Black faculty member was renewed for three years, but with a warning that unless he conformed to virtually impossible publication standards he would

not receive tenure. Seeing the handwriting on the wall, the Chicano/Native American woman eventually resigned her half-time appointment. Dolbeare and one of the white liberals took positions at the University of Massachusetts. Graduate students found it extremely difficult to put together faculty committees to supervise their work in a supportive manner. Many dropped out of graduate school and others transferred to other universities. Some key graduate students remained, however, and became among the first Black and Chicano students in the history of the University of Washington to earn PhDs. This was an important accomplishment which would have far reaching effects that are discussed in later chapters.

The Black faculty member, Trevor Chandler, eventually came up for tenure, but was voted down by the conservative faction within the tenured faculty. He was barred from the meeting in which this decision was made, but, since I was tenured, I attended to report the process to him. The arguments used to fire Chandler were virtually a repeat of those used against Munoz, with a few new twists. Chandler, the only full-time minority instructor, was given little credit for the extraordinary time he spent teaching and counseling minority students. In fact, this situation was pointed to by some of the most reactionary faculty as an argument against having minority students in the university at all since they sought unusual assistance. Chandler was attacked for "impressionistic" and "emotionally" involved research on the Black struggle that did not achieve tenure standards. He also was attacked for being a "black militant" and using the classroom to foment racial conflict. This was a strange argument since many students felt he was much too moderate and that being a Caribbean Black he was somewhat isolated from the domestic Black struggle. Although I, and others, argued on his behalf and attempted to prove he would be a valuable resource to the faculty, this message fell on deaf ears. Fundamentally, he was rejected because the senior faculty felt the university should return to the "good old days" when it was not encumbered by the "problem" of minority faculty and students who were operating to "dilute the qualities" of higher education. It was denied that this was an expression of institutional racism, it was merely protecting the traditionally accepted standards of the university. By this time I had learned not to be surprised by the arguments or the outcome.

While this process was unfolding in the political science department, a similar house-cleaning of unorthodox faculty was occurring throughout the University of Washington. Jack Scott, a nationally known figure in the sports world, was denied a position in physical education because he was involved in "radical movements". John Chambliss was fired from the philosophy department although he was the most popular instructor in the department. Barney Glickfeld was fired from the math department although students flocked to his classes because he actually made math understandable. He was given the pink slip because he was attending law classes at the University of Washington Law School, which his chair considered an act of disinterest in math.

One of the most controversial cases involved Assistant Professor of Economics, Jeff Morris. Morris graduated from Berkeley in econometrics, a speciality that interested the economics department at the University of Washington. However, Morris also was involved with the Union of Radical Political Economists and was engaged in a teaching strike in response to the Cambodian invasion and the killings at Kent State. He was not exactly the kind of candidate that would do well in a department which had just fired Marxist economist Judy Shapiro. His credentials, however, were so impressive that the department at Washington hired him for a three-year period.

At first Morris had little difficulty, but in the spring of 1971 he had a class with 400 students. Such a large number of students and the involvement of five different teaching assistants presented Morris with some questions concerning equity in the grading process. After considerable discussion with those involved, a fair grading procedure devised. The 400 students were introduced to main stream economics and a radical analysis of traditional economics. Morris and the students felt satisfied with the experience despite the obstacles of such an impersonal setting.

Douglas North, chair of the department, however, was not satisfied. In fall 1971, when Morris was teaching a class of 700, North called Morris on the carpet because the previous spring class grade average was over 3.5 (B+). North accused Morris of not taking grading seriously and said his grade inflation was sabotaging the university's grading standards. North warned Morris that if he did not change his grading procedures he would be fired.

This attack upset Morris who had put in long hours with his TAs and students to organize his class of 700. A meeting was held to discuss the issue and it was decided that 700 A's would be given for the class. This act was viewed as a political statement on the absurdity of the grading system and an educational system which would give one professor 700 students. Students who were enrolled for the grade, not knowledge, stopped coming to class and Morris went on strike to dramatize the situation. This attracted the media attention, and in an interview, Morris discussed the grading system and other criticisms of the university, for three straight days on local television.

North, of course, called Morris into his office again after receiving calls from the dean and the academic vice president who inquired why such a person was teaching at the university. North informed Morris that he was going to be fired the following fall, one and one-half years before his contract expired. Morris said he would fight the firing and suggested that a reasonable way to reduce class sizes from 700 would be to hire more teachers by firing some highly paid administrators and senior faculty who did not teach introductory classes. North considered the suggestion unreasonable.

Jeff Morris fought and won his case before the Faculty Senate which ruled he had a three-year contract that must be honored. When Chair North and the administration was informed of the decision, they decided Morris would be fired for cause--"insubordination regarding grading instructions." Morris hired a lawyer who forwarded questions to the university concerning their grading regulations. These questions made it clear to all involved that the university did not have a clearly defined set of rules governing grading. The procedure for firing Morris became so cumbersome and drawn out that the university eventually dropped the charges and allowed Morris to complete his three-year contract.

The question of renewal was an open and shut case; in fact, it was not even discussed. No reasons were given for non-renewal; the university simply wanted Jeff Morris to disappear and not raise hard questions about their educational program, particularly on television where the public might be informed.

By this time I was beginning to wonder why I continued to teach at a university which was so intent on getting rid of its most interesting and stimulating teachers. Any rationalizing illusions I continued to harbor were completely shattered by the

events surrounding Joe Brazil, a Black jazz musician who taught in the music department.

During the height of the civil rights movement, the University of Washington was a target of Black students who protested the lack of Black faculty. Joe Brazil was a nationally known jazz musician who worked for the University of Washington as a lab technician in the physics department. In response to student pressure, members of the music faculty contacted Brazil and convinced him to take a faculty position, teaching jazz as a way to relieve student pressure. Soon Joe's classes were among the most popular on campus, usually filling a large auditorium. When nationally and internationally known jazz artists were performing in Seattle night clubs, they would show up at Brazil's class, play for free and lecture on the history of jazz. These sessions were video-taped and Brazil developed one of the most valuable collections of jazz history in existence. This material was made available to students who missed class or did not enroll. I attended many of these classes (as did many others not enrolled) and would rank the teaching, learning, and enjoyment at the top of any educational scale.

The chair and tenured faculty of the music department, however, did not view it this way and fired Joe Brazil rather than give him tenure. The grounds were familiar; he did not have the "qualifications" to be a permanent member of the faculty. No PhD, not enough original published works, jazz was not a "main stream" mode of music, thus no need to have a jazz artist on the faculty, were the reasons utilized to fire Brazil. Of course there is no PhD program for jazz and artists are often appointed to faculty positions even without PhDs.

The Black students working with Brazil as teaching assistants and the Black Student Union struggled to reverse this decision. My class on "Radical Politics in America" took on this case as a class project, and helped formulate a student strike of the Music Building. Daily picket lines surrounded the building, leaflets were passed out explaining the issues and noon rallies were held. Despite long hours of education on the issue, thousands of signatures on petitions, deep involvement of students and letters of support from jazz artists from all across the nation, the music faculty and administration refused to budge. Joe Brazil had served his purpose at the height of the Black rebellion on campus; now it was time for him to go. To illustrate that this was not a "race" issue an offer was made a Black instructor at Michigan State University to fill Joe's spot. That individual was

contacted by the Joe Brazil Support Committee and urged not to take the job. It was pointed out to him that he was being used by the university and would be dismissed when he was no longer needed. He took the job anyway and as this is being written (fall, 1984) he has filed a law suit against the University of Washington for being denied tenure and fired.

The outcome of this case intensified my feelings about teaching at the University of Washington, and I began to reflect on the whole tenure issue. Tenure, in theory, acts as a bulwark of academic freedom. With tenure, faculty members supposedly will be free to investigate and articulate unorthodox ideas without fear of reprisals. Tenure thus would create a freer, more open market of ideas and exchange in higher education.

My experience, however, taught me that exactly the opposite affect emerged from the tenure system. Instead of encouraging a pluralistic climate of intellectual ideas, tenure actually narrowed the atmosphere.

The tenure system operated as an intellectual screening system, allowing only those who conform to traditional ideology through the screen. Thus, time and again I witnessed women, minorities and unorthodox faculty denied tenure by the tenured faculty. Only those individuals who "fit in" were allowed into this exclusive club which was characterized by the most narrow definition of what was intellectually acceptable.

In my own case, I obtained tenure through a slight hole in the screen. Dolbeare had negotiated my new contract on a tenured basis when he still had sufficient power as a chair. The tenured faculty went along without knowing the full dimensions of my political perspectives, which were much broader than appeared on my professional vita.

Being tenured gave me more academic and political flexibility while teaching at the University of Washington. I would have been fired without cause at the end of three years, but with tenure it was extremely difficult to remove me from my position, although I consistently stepped over the line of what was "acceptable" behavior. In my case, then, tenure operated to protect me from direct political reprisals, although I encountered numerous indirect slights (graduate students advised not to take my classes, the least attractive faculty office, verbal harassment from university police, and so forth). This protection, however, did not outweigh the fact that the department I was recruited to with tenure no longer existed by about 1975. It was replaced by a department that was politically reactionary. One which, for

example, defended a faculty member who forbade a graduate student from studying Cuba in a Latin American Seminar because "Cuba was irrelevant to Latin America." A department in which women and minority graduate students were unduly harassed to retake exams, rewrite numerous drafts of dissertations, and warned not to use radical theoretical frameworks if they wanted to graduate.

Given the degeneration of the intellectual climate in the political science department and the university as a whole, I decided to resign my tenured position. I simply asked myself "do I want to teach in this atmosphere for the rest of my academic life?" The answer was no. I resigned and accepted a visiting position for two additional years (1977-1979) to complete my responsibilities to graduate students studying for their doctorate degree.

As I was leaving the university the process described above continued. Dr. Albert Black, Jr., the most popular and dynamic teacher in the sociology department was denied tenure and fired. He subsequently was assigned to the Black Studies Program, which is under attack and may be abolished. The other minority studies programs at the University of Washington are threatened with a similar future.

My experiences in the 1980s have not differed much from what I witnessed above. At the University of Denver I was not renewed from a one-year contract because I supported the Mosqueda-Judd struggle against racism at that university (See Chapter 7).

At Wooster College in Ohio I saw Dr. Jerry Lembcke denied a position in sociology because he involved students too deeply in issues relevant to the American working class. The chair of the urban studies department, Mark Pohlmann, returned from the Soviet Union as a Fullbright Scholar to discover he was not "qualified" for tenure and thus fired.

In 1982 I applied for a position at Old Westbury College (Long Island). This school was created as part of the New York State system in response to the student rebellions of the '60s and '70s. It has a reputation as an alternative education center for women and minority students in the New York City Metropolitan area and has some well-known radical faculty on its staff. A week after my interview, the chair told me I was recommended for the position by the faculty/student search committee, the chair of the department, the faculty committee of the college, and the vice president for academic affairs, who recommended

me to the new president. About a week later I received a phone call from the vice president who informed me I was not going to be made an offer. She said the president had made a phone call to the University of Washington "and I'm not going to say any more about that." After the phone call, he vetoed my recommendation.

In 1983 I applied for the position of director of social science at the University of Colorado at Denver. Of the over 100 candidates, I was the only applicant with a PhD in social science; I also had excellent student evaluations from teaching there part-time, and a book contract. The three finalists for the position were Michael Parenti, Dennis Judd and me. When the dean received this list from the search committee he decided none of us were even qualified for an interview. I agreed with him, we "only" had published 10 books between us, about 80 scholarly articles, had excellent teaching records, and had been on the graduate faculty of leading universities.

By fall 1984, this same university had a new dean. A faculty member who was up for tenure was told by the new dean that if he wanted a fighting chance of gaining tenure he better get letters of support from faculty other than "pinkos and commies." This was sound advice because, as the preceding has shown and what follows indicates, the political repression of critical scholars in universities reached a new height in the 1970s and continued into the 1980s. Indeed, writing in 1971, Lewis and Ryan concluded at the end of a study on academic repression that: "It would appear that the security of academics was greater during the right-wing vigilanteism of the 1950s than today."

Those of us committed to academic freedom, of course, can bemoan the extensive political repression we have experienced and witnessed. However, from a more positive perspective it is important to realize that the deep and wide-spread campus revolt shook the very foundations of the traditional academy. As the guardians of the ivory tower reacted to protect their miniature kingdoms, we gained a more profound understanding of the real university. This exposure was a significant political education for us. We developed a more realistic conception of higher education and what it would take for it to live up to its ideals. Virtually every case of repression was strongly opposed and the process of struggle built unity, a sense of community, and long-term commitments to social change among many of us. Struggle acted as a microscope for us -- it clarified the forces for progressive change, identified those who

gave only lip-service to change, and spotlighted the reactionary forces that were willing to use any methods to protect their privileges.

Additionally, many students of the period stated that the uprisings were the most important dimensions of their academic careers. They learned more outside the classroom than in it as they became involved in fights to retain progressive faculty members. Such out-of-the-classroom activities are not a disruption of the educational process, they constitute an authentic dimension of education.

It is also important to note that victories have been achieved against the repressive tide. Not only have universities been unmasked and thousands more realistically educated, but important footholds have been gained inside the halls of the academy. In the chapters that follow we describe the reactionary counter offense against these footholds and some of the lasting impacts of the rebellion period. Most importantly, we attempt to convey that the struggle between repression and rebellion continues and forms a central dynamic in determining the nature of higher education today and in the future.

Chapter 5

RECAPTURING THE IVORY TOWER:

THE REACTIONARY COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

From the colonial period until the early 1960s, individual critical scholars challenged the orthodoxy of the times and were expelled from the academy, thus exposing the true class bias of universities. During the student rebellion period, however, the guardians of higher education found their authority challenged as never before in history. The campus mass movement (supplemented by community forces in many instances) took on tidal wave proportions, creating a dual power situation in which the rebellious forces either shut down the universities or temporarily controlled them. In this context, traditional authorities had to make concessions to guarantee the continued existence of "their" institutions. This experience sent a shudder through the university power structure which feared permanent loss of their status, privileges and power.

To prevent this permanent loss, the authorities made some reformist concessions and conducted an all out counter-offensive to defeat the challenge and to recapture control of the ivory tower. As we have seen, students were beaten, shot, killed, arrested, expelled from school, and drafted into a war they opposed. Radicalized faculty members also experienced police attacks and many lost their jobs or future employment opportunities. The primary objective of this counter-offensive was to rid the campuses of individuals and organizations that presented serious threats to the traditional ideological and social control functioning of higher education.

This "cleaning-house" movement continued throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s. The events described in the previous two chapters were not isolated incidents, but were part of a nation-wide phenomenon. We have documented numerous cases of repression which illustrate this reactionary trend. To recount the details of all these cases would be repetitious, so we have chosen a few to demonstrate the process during the 1970s. Following these cases, we have included a personal account of academic repression through the 1980s, and an analysis of a successful struggle against racism and of some lasting positive impacts of the student rebellion.

The Marlene Dixon Case 1

While the California Board of Regents was attacking Angela Davis in 1969, the tenured faculty at the University of Chicago was firing Marxist-feminist Marlene Dixon. The decision sparked a student sit-in and allegations that to fire Dixon was "an act of discrimination against women" as well as "an act of political suppression." Before her firing, a police informant reported to university authorities that Dixon, who was an organizer of the dissident Sociology Liberation Movement, was a "dangerously persuasive teacher." To discredit Dixon, the University of Chicago flew in a conservative sociologist to attack Dixon's doctoral thesis. This was an unheard of procedure to evaluate the performance of an instructor only two years out of graduate school. However, it was also an indication of the threat posed to university officials by the ideology and commitment of Dixon.

After being dismissed from the University of Chicago, Dixon took a position at McGill University in Canada. While at McGill, she became involved in the French Liberation struggle in Quebec. She used her class to conduct a university-wide teach-in concerning the Canadian government's imposition of martial law in Quebec.

Although McGill had an independent and mature student movement, Dixon was held responsible for the increasing militancy of sociology students. Students demanded that the department offer a "critical" perspective toward Canadian society and that students be included in departmental decision-making. To halt such growing demands within the university, McGill began to purge progressive teachers, and Dixon became deeply involved in defending those purged. Predictably, she then was placed on the "hit list" of faculty to be fired.

By 1971 she had published six articles, had three more in progress and had been evaluated as an excellent teacher. However, it appeared her contract would not be renewed. The Faculty Renewal Committee found her work on the women's movement, which was among the most-cited in Canada and the United States, added "very little, if anything to knowledge." Her references, however, from 15 outside scholars, were glowing. A letter from Professor Franz Schurman of Berkeley articulated the choice confronting McGill:

> . . . either it takes the risk of retaining people who are deeply involved in social problems, . . . or it takes the easier road with the greater danger that sociology becomes a sterile, academic field . . .

At her renewal hearing, Dixon argued eloquently that scholars were obligated to translate theory into action. She said the vitality of intellectual life only could be maintained if universities became agents of creative change rather than of entrenched power and repression. Dixon also defended her use of the classroom as an arena in which controversial views were debated. She argued students should be given the opportunity to define their values and be given a democratic role in course decision-making.

Dixon was attacked for publishing in popular journals. She countered by maintaining that "its value consists not only in education, but also in the accuracy of my prediction and the success of the strategies I propose . . . this is a harder test of merit than is ever demanded of an article published in the American Sociological Review."

Dixon's case and presentation evoked strong popular support from students and the community. As a result, her contract was renewed in November 1971. However, this victory was short-lived. On October 8, 1974, Dixon resigned from her $25,000 a year position in the department of sociology. In her letter of resignation, Dixon protested the "increasing atmosphere of repression and vindicativeness" at McGill in which standards were being used "to keep mediocre senior faculty in control . . ." and to terminate scholars with controversial views.

Dixon also condemned the prejudice of conservative faculty against progressive students which forced students to select classes and advisors based on a professor's political views rather than the professor's field of study. Dixon also objected to being a "token" radical to mask the repression that was occurring against other faculty and students. She stated, "Many people assume that the department must be progressive and open because I am here. It is insufferable to permit myself to be used in this way, so that these men may boast of their tolerance while, in fact, they violate decency, intellectual integrity and academic freedom . . ."

With that statement Marlene Dixon left McGill University and academia in general. She turned her intellectual skills to

full-time community organizing against the larger social systems of repression in the United States and Canada.

The Firing of Bruce Franklin[2]

In the case of Bruce Franklin, associate professor of English at Stanford University, we find that even tenure is no protection against the reactionary counter-offensive. Franklin, a well known Marxist and Maoist, was nationally recognized as an expert on Herman Melville, had written 11 books, 100 articles, and was uniformly considered an outstanding classroom teacher. Despite being tenured and possessing these credentials, Franklin was suspended without pay in January 1972, and barred from the Stanford campus except to gather evidence for a hearing regarding his anti-war activities.

The hearing before the Stanford Faculty Advising Board focused on charges that Franklin had allegedly led clapping and chanting that interrupted the speech of Henry Cabot Lodge, former United States ambassador to South Vietnam. He also was charged with having advocated a demonstration at the university's Computer Center which resulted in a peaceful student sit-in that lasted a few hours. The Center housed a research organization which was involved in designing amphibious invasion techniques to be used in Vietnam.

The seven person board, after 38 days of hearings involving 111 witnesses, unanimously acquitted Franklin of disrupting Lodge. However, it also unanimously found him guilty of inciting students to demonstrate against the Computer Center and, with inciting students to retaliate against the police who had arrested student demonstrators on the Stanford campus. The faculty board stressed that Franklin might become involved in future anti-war activities and concluded, "We are highly dubious whether rehabilitation is a useful concept in this case." President Richard Lipman praised the trustees' ratification of the faculty board's recommendation to fire Franklin. He pictured Franklin as a threat to the academic community and said his presence on the campus could "bring to a halt the functioning of one of the greatest strongholds of the free expression in the world today -- the American university." In attacking Franklin, however, the president neglected to mention the close ties between Stanford and the U.S. war offensive against the Vietnamese people. That "freedom of expression" was taken for granted and not to be challenged.

After being fired, Franklin searched for another academic position, but soon discovered that, despite his scholarly record, every teaching application was rejected. In December 1973, he finally received an offer from the English department at the University of Colorado. The department voted 26 to five with one abstention to recommend him for a three-year contract. This recommendation was approved by the dean of arts and sciences, the provost, the chancellor, the president, the student government, the state's major daily newspapers and many students and faculty. All agreed that Franklin had an outstanding scholarly record and would make a significant contribution to the university. The board of regents, however, viewed the matter differently and voted eight to one against Franklin's appointment, based on an "anonymous" packet of information that included an article critical of Franklin supplied to the regents by the FBI. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) obtained part of Franklin's FBI file in 1975 which indicated he was the target of a secret campaign to "neutralize" him. The FBI had attempted to discredit Franklin through false rumors, bogus letters, unfavorable newspaper articles written by a cooperative reporter, and anonymous contacts with trustees, alumni and parents of Stanford University students.

With some of this information in hand, the regents moved to bar Franklin from teaching on the CU campus, openly admitting the decision was based on Franklin's radical political beliefs. Typical was Regent Fred Betz who stated he was concerned that Franklin advocated some "way out" answers to certain questions of national policy, and he was bothered by Franklin's advocacy of forceful tactics to stop the Vietnam War. Of course, the regents did not appear to be equally perturbed over conservative faculty members' support for the incredible violence being perpetrated by the United States against the Vietnamese people.

No Marxist Need Apply: The Bertell Ollman Case [3]

In February 1978, a faculty search committee at the University of Maryland reviewed over 100 applications for the position of chair of the political science department. One of the two top candidates was Bertell Ollman, a leading Marxist political philosopher who had written the influential work, Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalistic Society.

The search committee recommended both Ollman and Robert T. Holt, a professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, to Provost Polakoff. On February 14, Polakoff met with the entire search committee and recommended Ollman. His choice was met with enthusiasm. Professor Martin Maquire, committee chair, summarized the view: "Everyone on the committee thought Ollman's scholarship was superb . . . Also his letters of recommendation were superb."

Polakoff then conferred with Chancellor Gluckstern who also concluded Ollman would make a "very good, an excellent chairman." On March 3, 1978, Polakoff phoned Ollman and offered him the position, contingent on the approval of President Elkins.

However, on April 8,1978, three days before Elkins received the recommendation, an article in the campus newspaper, The Diamondback, stated that Bertell Ollman, a Marxist, had been recommended to chair the department of government and politics. The story was picked up by the Baltimore and Washington D.C. papers, evoking a storm of protest from politicians, alumni, faculty, conservative journalists, and members of the board of regents.

Despite the critical reaction, on April 11, the department faculty voted to offer Ollman a full professorship and thus endorse Chancellor Gluckstern's decision to offer Ollman the chair.

In the wake of the growing storm of protest, Gluckstern was contacted by the assistant to the Governor of Maryland, Blair Lee. The governor's assistant requested that Gluckstern send a letter to the governor detailing the rationale behind the Ollman appointment. The next day, Governor Lee phoned Gluckstern expressing his concern over the Ollman appointment. Gluckstern's notes on the phone call read: "Doctors, lawyers, merchants reacting unfavorably . . . Senator Bishop irate."

On May 1, Gluckstern met with President Elkins. His notes state he had never seen Elkins so angry and that Elkins reprimanded him for not "anticipating public reaction." Elkins added that the Ollman appointment had created more controversy than any other event during his tenure as president and that he might be forced to seek the assistance of the board of regents.

Shortly after the meeting with Elkins, Dr. Louis Kaplan, former chair of the board of regents, met with Gluckstern and told him the Ollman appointment was not in the "best interests" of the University of Maryland. Kaplan also reportedly warned

Gluckstern his career might be damaged by the Ollman controversy. He urged Gluckstern to withdraw his recommendation.

Then Dr. Herbert Brown, the chair of the Board of Regents advised Gluckstern to withdraw the Ollman recommendation. Calls and letters followed from state legislators and from Jack Heise, chair of the Maryland Education Foundation and Percy Chaimson, a member of the board of regents.

At this point, Vice President of Academic Affairs Hornbake reviewed Ollman's file and recommended to President Elkins that Ollman's appointment as departmental chair be turned down. Hornbake consulted with Professor Elmer Plischke, an old friend of his who taught in Maryland's department of government and politics. Plischke formerly had been chair of the department and represented the department's "old guard". Almost all of the "old guard" opposed the Ollman appointment. Plischke argued that the Ollman appointment would damage the "good image of the department" and would jeopardize the department's ability to obtain state and federal grants.

Hornbake also called another old friend, Sol Katz, academic vice president at the University of Washington, Seattle. Hornbake asked Katz about the University of Washington's experience with a "Marxist chair," in their political science department. Although Hornbake later admitted that the Dolbeare situation (See Chapter 4 for details) was irrelevant to his evaluation of Ollman's qualifications, he explained that "It would be interesting to learn what happened at the University of Washington." Hornbake took a full page of notes during his phone conversation with Katz.

These conversations apparently reinforced Hornbake's reservations concerning Ollman. Hornbake had been aghast at Ollman's statement that he would not apply for any Defense Department contracts. The University of Maryland held between 800 and 1,000 Defense Department contracts and Hornbake was concerned that Ollman would attempt to discourage other faculty from seeking or working on such grants. Hornbake gave little credence to Ollman's assurances that he would not attempt to dissuade other faculty from pursuing whatever research interested them.

Hornbake also was disturbed by Ollman's desire to shape Maryland's department of politics and government into a leading center for "Marxist" political studies. Hornbake viewed such a

vision as illustrative of Ollman's "bad attitude regarding collegiality."

Finally, Hornbake feared that Ollman would attempt to indoctrinate students into a "Marxist outlook." He believed that Ollman's 1977 article, "On Teaching Marxism," in the journal, Insurgent Sociologist, was characterized by an intolerant attitude toward other points of view. In the article, Ollman denied that he introduced "more 'politics' into my course than do other social science professors" or that he was "any more interested than they are in convincing students of the correctness of my interpretations."

During April and May, Governor Lee addressed the Ollman appointment in three separate press conferences, and twice warned President Elkins of the financial repercussions of appointing Ollman . . . "it may kick up quite a backlash of sorts among citizens, legislators, and everybody else." At his third press conference, Governor Lee shifted slightly and assured Elkins that Maryland politicians had no intention of attempting to influence Elkins' decision in the Ollman matter. However, the governor's earlier statements were not lost on Elkins who, on April 24, was quoted in The Diamondback as stating that some legislators who disapproved of the Ollman appointment would have to be taken into consideration in reaching his decision.

Six of the 15 regents contacted Elkins to express their opposition to the Ollman appointment. This was the first time several of them ever had contacted him concerning an impending appointment. Dr. Herbert Brown, chair of the board of regents, sent copies of a Baltimore Sun article on Ollman to Elkins, circling a paragraph which called Ollman a "Marxist." The Baltimore News interviewed several regents who opposed Ollman because he was a Marxist. Regent Samuel Hoover told Greg Mitchell of Harper's magazine that there was a consensus on the board against appointing Ollman chair. Elkins also reportedly received over 340 letters from the public protesting Ollman's possible appointment.

Elkins quickly moved to reassure those opposed to the appointment of his resolve to protect the university's integrity. He wrote to State Delegate O'Connor that "Marxists should not be at the University of Maryland." Elkins also encouraged State Delegate Moresberger to urge his constituents to write the board of regents expressing their opposition. He even wrote a letter to the right-wing United States Labor Party thanking them for sending him a package of derogatory material on Ollman. He

stated the material would be helpful in his evaluation of Ollman's qualifications. While Elkins met with those political science faculty opposing the Ollman appointment, he refused a request by Department Chair Bobrow to meet with Ollman's faculty supporters.

Elkins predictably concluded that Ollman was unqualified for the position. However, rather than make a formal decision on the matter he requested, on June 16, that the board of regents assume jurisdiction over the matter. The board did not act on his request by the time he retired on June 30, but he did submit a report detailing his objections to the Ollman appointment.

The "dirty work" of rejecting Ollman fell to the new president John Toll. Although Ollman had provided 15 letters of reference supporting his candidacy, Toll solicited additional reviews of Ollman. One of these sources was John Wahlke, former professor of political science at Stony Brook where Toll was previously employed. Wahlke reported to Toll that Ollman's work was "fairly polemical" and his appointment a "mystifying choice." Ironically, Wahlke allegedly based his negative evaluation of Ollman on the Social Science Citation Index and on various reputational surveys of scholars. However, Ollman was cited more often than Wahlke in the Index and was listed in the most recent reputational survey, but Wahlke was not. The Index also cited Ollman twice as often as Holt, the other leading candidate for the position.

Such discrepancies did not deter Toll from rejecting Ollman's appointment at a board of regents meeting on July 20, 1978. He argued his decision was not based on the candidate's "political beliefs" but on the "qualifications for the duties of the position." At a press conference Toll portrayed himself as a defender of academic freedom who had resisted popular pressure to appoint Ollman.

Ollman subsequently sued the University of Maryland. The trial judge, however, ruled that Ollman had failed to meet "his burden of proving that his Marxist beliefs were a substantial or motivating factor in President Toll's decision . . ." The judge did not mention that between 1970 and 1978, 71 faculty members had been recommended to the president for chair or director positions and none of these recommendations had been rejected. Given the public uproar surrounding Ollman's proposed appointment and the extraordinary political pressure exerted on presidents Elkins and Toll, it is hard to believe that Ollman's Marxist political

perspective was not the reason for his rejection. A more reasonable conclusion is -- No Marxists Need Apply.

Creating a "Safe" Political Science Department at the University of Texas [4]

Academic repression has not only been directed at individuals; when necessary entire departments or programs have been attacked if they challenge "acceptable" academic dogma. This point is well illustrated by Professor Herbert Hirsch in his analysis of the University of Texas government department. In a paper presented to the American Political Science Association Convention in 1981, Hirsch details his 13 year experience at Texas.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Hirsch observes, "Politics and government were to be taught as the members of the Texas Legislature and the University Board of Regents decreed. The students must, the thinking went, be protected from the contaminating influence of different ideas and interpretations which took a critical and analytic view of the American political system."

During the spring of 1974, professors teaching American politics recommended that the government department appoint Ronnie Dugger to a visiting, one year position. Although Dugger did not have a PhD he was a well-known Texas journalist, author, and publisher of the Texas Observer, a highly respected liberal newspaper. At a meeting to consider Dugger's appointment, the department chair expressed fear Dugger might write an article "critical of the university, the regents or the legislature." The chair also objected to Dugger's proposal to teach a course on corporate involvement in politics because the economics department might object. In what Hirsch calls a "classic of the genre of academic - bureaucratic language used as a rationalization for ideological repression," the dean refused the appointment. He reasoned Mr. Dugger has no discernible qualifications that would justify his appointment . . . I trust the department is not taking the position that any journalist acquainted with political personalities is thereby qualified to hold a faculty position . . . "

Hirsch points out, however, that people without PhDs had routinely been hired at the University of Texas if they possessed the "correct" ideology. There were, in fact, several "big name" faculty at the university who were full professors, but who did not

have doctorate degrees. The most prominent were the son of John Foster Dulles and Elspeth Rostow, wife of Eugene Rostow, the former adviser to Lyndon Johnson. Thus, qualifications was a code word for the right political perspective.

Hirsch also demonstrates the link between racism and ideological repression by noting the treatment of Armando Gutierrez (the same scholar discriminated against by the University of Washington). Gutierrez received his doctorate in government from the University of Texas in 1974. He was one of only two Hispanics to receive such a degree in the entire history of the university. He then was hired by the department, taught successfully for six years and then was denied tenure and fired. Similar to the cases of Trevor Chandler and Albert Black at the University of Washington, Gutierrez was fired because the senior faculty judged his work in ethnic politics as below professional standards. His writings appeared in journals devoted to ethnic and racial politics and thus were considered second rate. Hirsch points out, of course, that the so-called leading professional journals such as the American Political Science Review rarely discuss the substantive political issues relevant to ethnic communities. Instead, "most of the material . . . is esoteric in the sense that it attempts to . . . reduce the substance of politics to the symbolism of mathematical formulas which can be understood by only the very smallest audience." Hirsch also points out that the criticism of Professor Gutierrez's work "is not only a racist argument, but it is also an argument that implies that ethnic or Chicano politics are less important areas of study than public administration or game theory."

Gutierrez, who had written nine articles and a book, was replaced by a Hispanic faculty member who was neither politically active nor critical of the way Hispanic people were treated by the dominant society. Gutierrez, on the other hand, was very active in the Chicano community and was one of the leading figures in the La Raza Party. Thus, the university "simply followed the old pattern of American politics whereby a non-threatening individual is selected to occupy a position of visibility and then pointed at to illustrate why the institution is not racist."

In another instance of keeping the department "safe," Kathleen Kelleher was relieved of her teaching duties. Her sin was that in the process of teaching her course on the "Politics of American Culture" she invited two homosexuals to speak in her class. The topic was the impact of governmental laws on peoples' private lives. Two students walked out of the class in protest,

and the mother of one wrote a critical letter to the university administration. Several days later, Kelleher's classes for the fall term of 1980 were assigned to another instructor.

Although it was explained that the decision to assign Kelleher's classes to another instructor was due to her "belligerent attitude," it later became clear that the decision was political. The associate dean sent a letter to the vice president for academic affairs and stated that Kelleher had "exceeded her authority as an assistant instructor and violated university policy requiring all faculty to avoid giving undue weight to his/her own political or moral judgments." In other words, to discuss governmental harassment of homosexuals was an unacceptable topic.

A university grievance panel concluded that the department chair had fired Kelleher due to her left-wing views and that the university had violated her First Amendment rights. The dean and president of the university refused to accept the grievance panel's conclusion and did not reinstate Kelleher. Hirsch concludes "Ms. Kelleher's career has been destroyed because she was used as an example to other faculty members that unorthodox ideas were not to be tolerated."

According to Hirsch, these three examples and several others were part of an overall effort by the university administration and senior faculty "to impose an ideological orthodoxy upon the government department." This effort included the appointment of an outside group of orthodox political scientists (including John Walhke) to evaluate the department. This committee's report criticized the department's "anarchic freedom" and the use of courses to "shake up student beliefs" and to "lead them to question their values." Instead, the committee argued that courses should "demonstrate elementary principles of objective, analytical thinking about political and social affairs ..."

As a result of this offensive against the unorthodox members of the department, "people with leftist or critical orientations have all left and they have been replaced with conservatives or by people basically unconcerned about the substance of politics." Thus, the rulers of the University of Texas can rest assured that the department of government is "safe" and that students will not encounter subversive ideas.

The Rise and Fall of the Social Sciences College [5]

The student - faculty revolt reached explosive dimensions in March and May 1970, at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Thousands of students demonstrated, closed down the campus and forced the university administration to support the creation of 13 experimental colleges. These colleges would offer an alternative education to the traditional curriculum and pedagogical practices, and would be semi-autonomous, innovative in teaching methods, open to diverse viewpoints and:

1. be interdisciplinary;
2. deal with contemporary social issues;
3. bring in specialists from outside the university to teach courses; and
4. insure student participation in governance.

According to Paul Krehbiel, an instructor involved in creating this alternative, "These very progressive features were intended to address the isolation and miseducation that existed in some of the regular departments. The alternative colleges marked a new stage in the struggle to free the university from the cold war straight jacket which had significant influence in the university through the 1950s and the early 1960s."

The new colleges offered such programs as community organizing, ecology, art, science, technology and society, women's studies, Puerto Rican studies, radical social movements and political economy. The latter two topics comprised the focus for the Social Sciences College (SSC), formed in 1970 by a core of about 30 graduate and undergraduate students, two professors and a community professional. One positive feature of these colleges was that each could hire its own faculty members, from both inside and outside the university, and each could develop its own courses without approval of the traditional departments.

In the first years of the SSC, the faculty and students utilized a wide range of radical political perspectives. By 1974, however, Marxism became the dominant intellectual framework in SSC and over two-thirds of its 30 instructors considered themselves Marxists. "We had taught courses using Marxist books to over 1,000 students from 1974-76, including workers who were attending night school at the University," explained Krehbiel.

The administration attempted to halt this trend in 1972 and '73 when the college budget was cut. Three key professors

were fired from their regular departments, and University President Robert Ketter charged SSC with "violating academic freedom." Ketter was a former engineering professor who chaired a commission on campus disorder during the 1970 student and faculty strike. That commission collected information on activist students and faculty strike leaders which was later used to expel them from the campus.

These attacks were met by increased efforts to strengthen SSC. Several new faculty members volunteered to join the faculty, enrollment increased, and outside experts, including a former prison inmate who co-taught a class on the criminal justice system were involved in the college. SSC began to exert itself as a force on campus. It helped sponsor a conference on "The Crisis of World Capitalism" which attracted such speakers as Victor Perlo and Paul Sweezy. Hundreds of faculty, students, and community residents participated in the conference. By 1975, enrollment doubled to 300 and the faculty expanded to include nine professors from regular departments and seven from the larger community.

This momentum came under serious administrative attack in spring, 1975, when SCC attempted to hire a Black autoworker who was a union leader in the United Auto Workers, to teach a night course on the labor movement. The university took the familiar position that the auto worker was not "qualified" to teach the course. SSC argued that he was expertly qualified because of his daily work experiences and teaching experience in the union. The SSC pointed out that using such a valuable community resource was exactly why the college was created in the first place. The logic of this argument, however, came up against the fact that Buffalo is a major industrial center and that many workers attend night school. To expose such workers to radical ideas threatened Buffalo's elite. As Krehbiel put it:

> The fight the university administration waged to prevent this auto worker from teaching at SSC was greater than any single issue it fought the college on. Among the members of the Board of Trustees - the university's governing body - are directors and stock holders of big corporations and banks, Republican and Democratic big wigs and people with close ties to the military. They did not want to see unity develop between Buffalo's workers and Marxists, especially at a university they controlled.

In 1976, SSC along with Tolstoy College (an anarchist college) and 25 other college units was attacked by the university president. The proposal to abolish SSC and Tolstoy College, and to cut the budget of the 25 other units, "raised a storm of protest." In the face of this response from the academic community, the administration retreated. Instead of abolishing SSC, the administration selected a committee to evaluate it.

After the spring, 1976 term ended and students and faculty left for the summer, the committee issued its report. The majority report recommended the continuation of the college through 1977, contingent on minor changes that the SSC staff agreed to institute. A minority report, however, signed by three committee members, called for the immediate termination of SSC because of the weak qualifications of the instructors. Although none of the so-called weak instructors were identified, University President Ketter accepted the minority report and abolished the college during the summer of 1976.

SSC staff and students issued a statement in fall, 1976 attacking Ketter's action. They stated that "Questions of qualifications serve only as a cover for the political assault on our college in particular, and for radical views in general." They pointed out that the majority report concluded that the college had "at least theoretically created an ideal learning environment, due to the relevance to current problems and topics covered in courses and a classroom setting where emphasis is on dialogue and student input."

These positive attributes plus demonstrations, petitions, and a letter-writing campaign were insufficient to save SSC. The example of a successful program in Marxist education, particularly as it built growing unity with the Buffalo labor movement, was simply too threatening for the university to tolerate. Had such unity been more developed and mature, the outcome may have been different. But the university administration destroyed SSC before the college was able to solidify a campus-community alliance politically capable of defending the school.

However, it is important to note that while SSC was abolished, many important gains were made. Many of the instructors and students at SSC developed a progressive and even Marxist analysis of what causes and what can be done to correct social problems. Many of the instructors and some of the students had been active in the labor, civil rights, and peace movements before or during their association with SCC. Many

intensified their involvement in these movements after SSC was closed down better equipped to contribute to the movements. Additionally, a number of students developed politically at SSC and became active in mass movements, both inside and outside, of the university for the first time. And several leftist organizations, especially the Communist Party, recruited new members and supporters among those who were involved with SSC.

Additional Cases

The preceding cases are illustrative of the reactionary counter-offensive launched during and after the campus rebellion era. Hundreds of faculty members and thousands of students were victims of this repressive onslaught. In some instances, this repression had a serious physical dimension for faculty members.

For example, at the height of the rebellion period, (1969) Eric Hoffer, a reactionary spokesperson stated, "We need more chancellors who delight in battle . . . who love a fight, who get up in the morning and say: 'who shall I kill today?'" In reference to student protests at Columbia, Hoffer said, "It would have been a wonderful thing if Grayson Kirk got mad and got a gun and killed a few."[6] A week after these statements were published in the New York Times, James Rector of the University of California was shot and killed. A few days later, sociologist Richard Flacks of the University of Chicago was brutally attacked in his campus office. According to Jesse Lemish, a history professor at Chicago, "while the radical lay bleeding and paralyzed with a crushed skull and a nearly severed right hand, a university official told the press of the latter wound, but not the former, and suggested that it was suicide."[7] Six months before the attack on Flacks, historian Herbert Aptheker was the target of an attempted murder by a bomber. "Police experts said that the blast had actually been timed for his (Aptheker's) appearance, but had occurred late because of faulty construction."[8]

Other progressive academics were terminated from their jobs or experienced difficulties in obtaining academic positions. Lemish, for instance, was fired from the University of Chicago because, as his chairperson explained to him, "Your convictions interfered with your scholarship."[9] His colleague, Staughton Lynd, also was denied employment at several Chicago area schools because of his "public activities." Aptheker faced numerous employment difficulties as a radical historian. Indeed,

Lemish's book, On Active Service in War and Peace is an excellent ideological analysis of the entire history profession in the United States. In his analysis, Lemish demonstrates how "mainstream" historians have written history to support ruling class interests and how radical historian voices have been systematically repressed for exposing that fact and for articulating non-ruling class history.

The history profession is, of course, not alone in this behavior. Paul Baran, nationally known radical economist and editor of the Monthly Review, like Aptheker, has a long history of difficulties in securing university employment. And at Harvard University, radical economist Samuel Bowles was denied tenure in 1973 despite the fact that he was supported by three past presidents of the American Economics Association. Professor Stephen Marglin of Harvard maintained that the decision to fire Bowles was "inherently political." He stated, "It's my judgment that no radical could be recommended for a tenured appointment in my department. If Karl Marx were available, if Thorstein Veblen were available, the department would not recommend them for tenure."[10]

At the University of Pittsburgh, sociologist Paul J. Nyden conducted a spirited campaign in 1976-77 to retain his teaching position. His struggle gained significant support from the labor movement, students and other faculty members. Despite widespread support, Nyden eventually was fired. He explained the outcome as follows: "The real reason I lost my job finally was that our chancellor was willing to go entirely against the tide of public opinion in Pittsburgh; a board of trustees unexceeded anywhere in its direct ties to monopoly corporations backed him fully. He spurned the 1976 convention resolution from the American Sociological Association, hundreds of letters, the unanimous decision of his own hearing boards, and very favorable coverage in the mass media . . ."[11]

We could go on and on describing cases of repression directed against faculty members with unorthodox ideas and/or behavior. However, given the limitations of space and time we simply list a sampling of additional cases we have uncovered in our research so readers will comprehend the dimensions of the phenomenon.

Stolberg was terminated for writing a letter protesting the suspension of students at a nearby university and offering the mediation services of the AAUP. Southern Connecticut State College (1973).

Rozeman was terminated for sitting in at an ROTC building, asking the university to make a stronger statement on the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State incident and for helping students negotiate with the university administration. University of Nebraska (1975).

Adamian, a tenured associate professor, was dismissed for protesting the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State incident by shouting at ROTC cadets during Governor's Day Ceremony, making loud noises and joining a demonstration on the stadium field during the ROTC drills. University of Nevada (Reno) (1975).

Duke, a teaching assistant, was terminated from her position for using "profane" language during a talk to freshmen; for bringing a "subculture group" into the university orientation program; and for organizing a meeting held in violation of university rules. North Texas State (1972).

Keddie was terminated for criticizing United States involvement in Vietnam, social policies with respect to poor people, organizing protest activities, being faculty advisor for SDS, and counseling students charged with disciplinary violations. Penn State (1976).

Markwell was fired for protesting that class time was being reduced by 20 percent for chemistry students; 50 percent of students were required to receive a C or better; and the new chair of the chemistry department was not qualified in Markwell's view. San Antonio College (1975).

Mabey was fired for objecting, in a speech to the faculty senate, to the college president's characterization in the Los Angeles Times of young faculty as "punks" and as "jerks." Fresno State (1973).

Lindsey was questioned by the police and then fired for compiling and mailing a questionnaire to faculty concerning various aspects of faculty morale and administrative practices. University of Georgia (1979).

Kaprelian was dismissed for criticizing the existing curriculum as "behind the times" and "inferior." Texas Women's University (1975).

Starsky was fired for protesting the arrest of students at the University of Arizona; canceling a scheduled class to speak at a rally; handing out leaflets on campus; insulting other faculty; and encouraging students to occupy a campus building. Arizona State (1972).

Megill was fired for combining his course with another instructor's; calling the University authoritarian; criticizing a colleague's termination; and for interrupting a panel on student dissent at the Yale Club. University of Florida (1976).

Carr was fired for protesting the coercing of graduate students to participate in religious activities; protesting the prescribed textbooks used in introductory courses; and for presenting Marxist points of view in class. University of Akron (1979).

Hostrop was fired for circulating a proposal among his administrative staff, which was made public, proposing changes in the college's ethnic studies program. He was asked to resign, refused and was fired. Prairie State Junior College (1972).

Bradford was fired for protesting the dismissal of several faculty members to the college president during a faculty meeting. The chair of her department characterized her behavior, in public, as "unprofessional." She threatened to sue and was terminated. Tarrant County Junior College (1974).

Roseman was fired for alleging that the acting chair had suppressed a candidate's application. She expressed these views, at the invitation of the dean, at a faculty meeting. Indiana University of Pennsylvania (1975).

Lyman, a tenured professor, was dismissed for refusing to cooperate with a special university evaluation of his professional and personal conduct. No charges were made of any impropriety. He wrote a public letter of protest and was fired. Idaho State University (1980).

Hillis was ordered by his department chair to give a "B" to a female student whose work he had never evaluated and who never attended class. He was terminated. Stephen F. Austin State University (1980).

Stewart, a faculty member, was fired for refusing to submit to a psychiatric exam, was assigned to work in the library, did so for six weeks, stopped and was fired. San Mateo College (1973).

Hander was terminated for refusing to shave off his beard. San Jacinto Junior College (1975).

Stasny, a tenured professor, was fired for insubordination when he presented a paper in Israel without the permission of the dean. Western Washington State College (1979-1982).

Goss was dismissed for campaigning on behalf of her husband for a seat on the local Junior College Board of Regents. San Jacinto Junior College (1979).

Smith was terminated for supporting a Democratic candidate in a state senatorial election and criticizing, in conjunction with the College Young Democrats, the record of the Republican candidate. Dixie Junior College (1973).

Shaw and Winn, tenured faculty, boycotted graduation and a faculty workshop to protest the college's refusal to recognize a faculty union. They did not submit the required letter of apology implicitly recognizing their misconduct and were terminated. Frederick Community College (1975).

Jackson, a teaching assistant, was fired without a hearing based upon the allegation of the state attorney general that he purchased 27 boxes of ammunition and delivered them to members of the Black community. University of Kansas (1979).

Hetrick was dismissed for emphasizing "student responsibility and freedom" rather than teaching "fundamentals" and following "conventional teaching patterns." Eastern Kentucky University (1973).

Clark was fired for emphasizing sex education in a health class (although students requested this information), counseling an

excessive number of students instead of referring them to a professional counselor and for criticizing other faculty in front of students. Northern Illinois University (1972).

Cooper was fired for his membership in the Progressive Labor Party; stating that he was a Marxist in class; and for distributing a handout on Marx to his class. University of Arkansas (Little Rock) (1979).

Common to many of these victims was their involvement in unmasking the true class basis of American universities and challenging the intellectual orthodoxy that passes for the neutral pursuit of truth. Despite their rhetorical adherence to the creed of academic freedom and political neutrality, universities in reality perpetrate class bias and are directly tied into powerful corporate, political and military forces in American society. In their quest to hide these relationships and protect their public image as ivory towers, universities engage in blatant violations of their own creed. The unorthodox challengers of this masquerade are labeled "unfit" members of the academic community who are attempting to "politicize" the university. Thus the victims of ideological repression are blamed for introducing political criteria into the sacred halls of the academy.

The end result of this process is a narrow composition of university faculty, curricula, and range of ideas that students and faculty encounter. Rather than broaden people's horizons, universities confine horizons within an "acceptable" range. The traditional forces within universities defining this range not only deny faculty members an opportunity to express their critical interpretations of society, but perhaps more importantly, they seriously hamper students from experiencing the necessary intellectual exposure to develop critical thinking. Part of the democratic ideal includes the notion that education is a key resource in developing aware and active citizens. How can students become critical thinkers and aware citizens if they are isolated from scholars who present a challenging analysis of American society? They cannot and the mistake is to believe that universities, as presently constructed, are committed to such goals.

In actuality, such goals are thwarted by those who occupy the top of the higher education hierarchy. These individuals constitute a "closed academic club;" they examine membership applications in light of whether proposed members will "fit in."

Since this closed academic club has the final say in what constitutes "acceptable qualifications," the academic selection process produces an overwhelmingly orthodox intellectual climate. A few critics manage to slip through the screen, but orthodoxy dominates the ivory tower.

What happens when a young faculty member with a radical outlook from a working-class background slips through the screen and enters the academy in the post-student-rebellion period? In the essay that follows, Peter Seybold details his experiences and political lessons teaching at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside.

End Notes
Chapter 5

[1]The material for this case study is drawn from: Marlene Dixon, Things Which Are Done In Secret (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1976).

[2]The material for this case study is drawn from Monte Piliawsky, Exit 13, Oppression and Racism in Academia (Boston: South End Press, 1982). Also see: Rachell Marshall, "The Bruce Franklin Affair," The Progressive, (May, 1972) and Bill Sonn, "H. Bruce Franklin: Another First," The Progressive, (September, 1974).

[3]The material for this case is drawn from: unpublished manuscript entitled: "Prof. Bertell Ollman vs. Pres. Wilson Elkins, Pres. John Toll and the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland -- The Facts."

[4]The material for this case is drawn from: Herbert Hirsch, "Still 'Invaded' Now Protected: Ideological Repression at the University of Texas," unpublished paper presented to Western Political Science Convention, 1981.

[5]The material for this case is drawn from: Paul Klausen, "Social Science College: A Fight for Democracy in Education," Political Affairs, (January, 1979), pp. 22-27.

[6]Quoted in Jesse Lemich, On Active Service in War and Peace (Toronto, New Hogtown Press, 1975), p. 95.

[7]Ibid, p. 101.

[8]"Anti-Red Bomb Plotter in Bronx Gets 2 Years," New York Times (February 6, 1968), p. 20.

[9]Op.Cit., pp. 44-45.

[10]Lawrence S. Lifshultz, "Could Karl Marx Teach Economics in America?" Ramparts, (April, 1974), p. 28.

[11]Paul J. Nyden, "Labor and Academic Freedom," in M.J. Berlowitz and F.E. Chapman, Jr. (eds.), The United States Educational System: Marxist Approaches (Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1980), p. 109.

Chapter 6

Working Class Professor — Middle Class Institution: The Persistence of Academic Repression in the 1980s

by

Peter Seybold*

The hearing to decide my future as a faculty member at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside in Kenosha started early Saturday morning. There to support me were close to 90 students and community members. They came with high hopes that their statements of support would be seriously considered, and that sound arguments would win out. After all, this was precisely what they had been taught to believe a university was all about. By the end of the day their illusions were shattered. The merit system, they soon realized, depended on who was judging and what interests were served. Students' and community members' opinions only mattered at this school when they supported the policies adopted by the administration.

By four o'clock the crowd had dwindled to 20. It had been a long day. Finally, it was time to vote. The division chair announced the result. The motion to renew my contract for one year had been denied.

As the room cleared, a student approached me declaring loudly, "They had their minds made up even before they entered the room." That was my feeling, too, but there were other more compelling reasons to present my case in an open hearing. During the hearing more was revealed about the functions of a university than was revealed in endless routine encounters. The main interests of the university were laid bare, and they had little to do with serving students or the community. When all appeals were exhausted I had part of my lame-duck year to reflect on the six years I had spent at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside. As a political sociologist and a Marxist interested in the nature of

*Peter Seybold is a sociologist whose research analyzes the impact of corporate and foundation funding on higher education. He is currently affiliated with the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee.

power in American society, I had received a practical lesson in the maintenance of social control in education. But, I also knew that students and community members had learned something from the open hearing. They had learned, I hoped, that it was better to struggle and to stand up for what you believe in, than to leave quietly. This was their university supported by their tax money and they had a right to expect it to serve their needs.

The last year of my contract also provided me an opportunity to reflect on when I first went to college, and what now amounted to 16 years in colleges and universities as a student and, later, as a faculty member. It was unclear to me whether I would find another academic position, but inside I knew that I had not let down the students and community members from Racine and Kenosha. Coming from a working class family, I wanted to give back something to the people in these blue collar communities, which were not unlike where I grew up in New Jersey. I was terminated because I had been successful in this project.

I entered college in 1968 with a strong belief that an education could provide a path toward a better life, and a way out of the drudgery and danger of factory work. From the beginning I knew that I wanted to use my college degree to think through some of the things which my family experienced and to assist other people. When I started college I certainly wasn't "political" and looking back would describe myself as a Democrat by birth. I obviously was aware of the social movements of the 1960s, but I also was preoccupied with working and going to school. For a time the various protest movements of this period seemed remote. Only now when I can compare the climate in the '60s with the 1980s do I appreciate the extent to which I was influenced by the political activism of the period. In fact, the financial aid which made college possible for me could be traced directly to the opening up of higher education by political pressure in the 1960s.

Pressed to designate a major, I selected political science because I was interested in politics and I knew I wanted to pursue something in the social sciences. I also wanted to serve people, but I wasn't clear in what capacity. At first, I thought I would combine political science with my course work in Russian, and work for the government. If I had continued on this path I probably would have been a prime candidate for the CIA.

By my second year in college the Vietnam War was weighing more heavily on my mind. I also could recall the riots in

New Jersey several years before and the National Guard tanks patrolling where I was born in Plainfield, New Jersey. The Vietnam War, the civil rights movement and other social movements gave me much to think about. I remember asking questions about these issues in my political science classes. Although my questions were nothing more than liberal queries, they were unsettling to my political science instructors who generally refused to address them.

Since I took my education seriously and was determined to learn as much as I could, the political science department's failure to respond to inquiries upset me. Their view of American society seemed to be considerably different than what my experience had taught me growing up in a working class family. I knew that even during good times people were only an accident or an illness away from economic distress. I had experienced this with my own family after both my parents became ill. Somehow there had to be a more realistic view of American society presented in another field.

During this period I also took a number of sociology classes and by the end of my sophomore year I decided to change my major to sociology. There were things I wanted to understand (inequalities based on class and race, inadequate social services in such a wealthy country, and a war) and political science was simply not helping me put the pieces together.

I was fortunate that the sociologists at the University of Bridgeport were more in touch with what was happening in the country and more critical of the status quo. They understood the civil rights and the anti-war movements and provided intellectual space to consider these issues. They also introduced me to the work of C. Wright Mills.

The spring semester of 1970 ended prematurely with the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the National Guard killings at Kent State and Jackson State. In the aftermath, student strikes closed many campuses around the country, including Bridgeport. I supported the class boycotts and was involved in some local protests. Like other campuses, summer vacation began early as administrators and politicians concluded that the best way to halt student protests was to disperse students. The education we all received via the anti-war movement was much too concrete and eye-opening to be allowed to continue. My intellectual movement away from political science also was completed during this period when one of my political science instructors lowered the grades of any students who boycotted classes. My suspicions about the

conservative nature of political science confirmed, I turned to sociology for some answers.

Still caught up in the events of the spring and eager to understand other things as well, I returned to New Jersey for the summer. During this time I read C. Wright Mills' book The Power Elite. Pleased to find someone who put down on paper most of what I had been mulling over for the last several years, I began to see more clearly the structural roots of social problems. Moreover, the angry tone of Mills' book appealed to me and it was refreshing to read a social scientist who could write accessibly. The Power Elite was therapeutic. Finally, I had found someone who reacted with anger to the things which made me angry and, more importantly, had developed an analysis of the larger social structure. Mills also provided a model of an engaged sociologist trying to speak to the general public rather than to a small group of isolated professionals. It was Mills' books, combined with the social movements of the 1960s, which inspired me to continue my training in sociology, and was responsible for my interest in radical sociology.

By the time I finished my undergraduate education, the social movements of the '60s had peaked. As my understanding of Mills' big picture expanded I also knew there were very few career niches available for people with radical politics. Although I had completed an undergraduate degree, I felt my education was just beginning. Graduate school in sociology seemed the next logical step. I wanted to understand in a systematic way the social movements of the 1960s and the political and economic system which by this time seemed to me inhuman and irrational. I also thought I could do a good job communicating to others what I had discovered, so I decided to pursue a teaching career at the college level.

For the next six years I attended the State University of New York at Stony Brook, completing my PhD in 1978. With a strong background in mainstream sociology and in critical sociology, I completed the graduate program requirements quickly. Having accomplished this, I studied Marx and political economy intensely with other graduate students to fill in the gaps in graduate training. Like other sociology graduate programs, students were immersed in Weber, Durkheim and American sociology, but there was virtual silence on Marx. To avoid the "trained incapacity" which plagued most mainstream sociologists the graduate students in sociology took responsibility for their own education. As a result, we organized a number of our own

courses including several reading groups on Marx. Again, I found student organized seminars to be more rewarding than traditional classes. I also realized I had to go beyond sociology and study political economy to fully understand the dynamics of capitalism. Realizing I needed to understand capitalism rather than the "free enterprise system" or "our democracy" was a significant step in itself.

During this period I started an ambitious dissertation project on the role of private philanthropic foundations in structuring social science research. In part this was an attempt to understand why so much of social sciences was irrelevant and why many sociologists had become servants of the powerful. I was curious why so few people like C. Wright Mills were graduate sociologists.

Confronted with a variety of compelling questions about post war political and economic matters, mainstream political sociologists retreated to safe topics. Voting behavior became the main focus of the field, but it was never put into its larger social and economic context. A host of other larger questions were never raised except by Mills and a few others who were branded as mavericks. My dissertation research probed how liberal capitalism structured social science research.

While researching my dissertation, I began teaching courses at Stony Brook and other campuses on Long Island. I was overjoyed to find I was a good teacher and that the style I slowly was developing was successful in reaching students. Essentially my teaching philosophy was built on examples of "what not to do" in the classroom, based on my own undergraduate and graduate student experiences.

After earning my degree I took a job at the University of Wisconsin - Parkside in the industrial corridor of southeast Wisconsin. Both Kenosha and Racine had strong labor movements and were unique in having weekly labor newspapers. By the late 1970s, approximately 20 labor papers published weekly in the U.S., and I was fascinated that two were published near Kenosha.

Besides the working class nature of the towns from which Parkside drew its students, the university was attractive because it was specifically assigned an industrial mission by the University of Wisconsin system. That is, the university was located to serve the people of the industrial communities of Racine and Kenosha. To me, the stated industrial mission of the campus seemed to provide legitimacy for the work I had planned with labor unions and local community groups.

The prospect of working with students from working class backgrounds, who like myself, were first generation college students, intrigued me. The fit between the students' background and mine seemed ideal. I did not have to struggle to understand where they were coming from, as I had when I taught at upper middle class schools while a graduate student.

Here was my opportunity to give back something to working class people who wanted to escape the factory and pursue the promise of higher education. Teaching at Parkside was a mutual learning experience which blossomed because I respected and understood the students' backgrounds. I knew what it was like to work and go to school and to wonder whether one could afford to come back next semester. I shared their impatience with courses which didn't speak to their concerns and experiences, and their anger with faculty whose sole purpose often seemed to be to ridicule the class backgrounds of students. I recall one faculty member who declared she was having problems with students because "they were from union households and all they knew how to do was resist authority."

I understood exactly how foreign the college experience seemed to first generation college students, how "unreal" it was, and the pressures exerted on working class students to adopt middle class attitudes, styles of dress, modes of expression, and so forth. It was like students had entered a different kind of assembly line with its own rules. The goals of the institution at times seemed to be to transform working class students into middle class "cheerful robots." It took at least four years of shaping the raw material before the finished product came off the line. Learning to think critically, and being able to place things in their larger social context seemed to have little to do with a college education. Instead, the game, as played, was to figure out how to jump the appropriate hurdles.

Of course, this whole process of molding students to meet the requirements of a middle class institution was undermined by the concrete experiences of students as workers and family members in working class communities. Many students "knew" things which faculty could never know, but that store room of experience was rarely useful while in school. A valuable resource thus remained untapped and unappreciated. It was as if students' lives and the experiences of their families were declared invalid by a predominantly middle class institution. A significant part of their beings was effectively suppressed by the prevailing

mobilization of class bias embedded in the university. To many students, their ideas and experiences never really fit in.

If working class white males experienced this sense of alienation, it was much worse for minorities and women. At least white males held prominent roles on the faculty and in the administration. For minorities and women, there were rarely encounters with female or minority faculty. The few Black, female or Hispanic faculty members were products of a long process of professional socialization which distanced them from the concerns of minority and women students. Exceptions existed. These academics, however, were gradually weeded out under a variety of pretenses, or became disillusioned and moved on because they were deemed too Black or too feminist.

The atmosphere at Parkside then, was unfriendly and hostile to the needs and the experiences of working class people, minorities and women. A school specifically chartered to address the needs of people in the industrial corridor could do little more than credentialize those that survived the time it took to get an undergraduate degree. Those fortunate enough to finish a degree program faced the unhappy prospect of overseeing the demise of these decaying rust bowl towns, and the social problems resulting from the strip mining of the social fabric of what were once proud, hard-working communities. Corporate flight had wreaked havoc in this area and all that was left was an industrial shell and the resulting human problems. My response to this situation for the six years I spent at Parkside was to dedicate myself to teaching. This meant working with students rather than invalidating them, conducting research of concern to the communities and becoming active in various grassroots community organizations. I hoped at least to show that the university could serve them and that instructors had an obligation to give something back to the community. I would later learn the harder I worked on these goals and the more I integrated into the community, the greater threat I posed to the senior faculty in my division. To be a valued member of a university that increasingly fashioned itself as little more than a corporate service station, required an entirely different conception of a faculty member's role.

Rather than being attentive to students and developing new courses relevant to students' concerns, senior faculty gave lip service to teaching. Instead of addressing problems of importance to the community and doing research with some theoretical and historical dimension, quantity ruled over quality.

Moreover, the greatest perceived threat was the faculty member who defined community service as something other than working for corporate interests. To work for social change, to volunteer your services to community groups in a forum different from that of a paid expert offering advice to an organization, violated the rules of the game. If some faculty member did something relevant to help powerless people attain some measure of social justice, then the expectations of this segment of the community would be raised. Soon the senior faculty feared they would be expected to give something back to the community and challenge the powers that be.

When it came time to evaluate my record during my hearing for contract renewal, the positive things I had accomplished were quickly turned against me. When the tenured faculty in the division grudgingly admitted that my teaching ratings were first rate, the evaluations were dismissed as a meaningless popularity contest or I was charged with politicizing students. When my community record was evaluated the senior faculty had to admit I was extraordinarily active in the community but "the kinds of things which you have done have little to do with having a PhD in sociology." Somehow, in their view, investigating discrimination in housing or assisting labor unions had nothing to do with sociology. My writing, which included book chapters, was not as good as articles in general, and the places where I published were not mainstream enough. Despite outside letters from scholars at other universities saying I had done pathbreaking work on private foundations and the structuring of social science research, my research record was deemed extremely poor. My record was selectively read and I was accused of "teaching too much." Positive comments from students, community members and even faculty members from other divisions were seen as threats to the wisdom of the divisional faculty. With one exception, the tenured faculty circled their wagons and denied me the possibility of a full tenure hearing the next year.

The job in academia which initially held out so much promise in terms of freedom from the values of the corporate world proved to be restrictive and intolerant. The world of academia increasingly was mirroring the corporate world. The carriers of the corporate values were not arch conservatives, but rather Mills' practical liberals who simply took for granted the larger social structure in which they lived.

From university administrators and liberal faculty members point of view, the main problem with leftist professors is that they are a constant and uncomfortable reminder of another type of university, a university which encourages dissent and critical understanding, and is relatively free from corporate influence. In other words, a university with a social conscience, a university which serves people who are relatively powerless. As a result of popular pressure, some American universities in the 1960s were forced to be responsive to the ideals embodied in various social movements. Ultimately this resulted in the employment of a few "house radicals" in various academic departments. However, this era abruptly ended when the cold war heated up in the late 1970s. Now the "people" to be served by the university are narrowly defined, with Pentagon war lords and top corporate officials heading the list. While universities cement their ties with the corporate world, program after program which serve minorities, women and working class people are cut along with the financial aid so crucial to many students. And, as I learned, this trend has affected smaller colleges and universities in the 1980s.

This is not to say that all left supporters have come under fire in higher education. Universities these days have become rather sophisticated in sorting out faculty members and often have no quarrel with "left professionals" as long as they accept the status quo in academia and focus all their efforts on advancing their careers as academicians. As Ken Geiser said in an article in The Progressive, "There's an important distinction between those who simply practice Marxist scholarship in the confines of the library, and those who attack . . . If you're a good, solid Marxist, write well, and publish in the right journals, and if you don't get very involved in the outside political activity, you're probably all right." In fact, administrators sometimes point to such non-activist leftists as evidence of the openness of the academy, and therefore serve a useful function for the powers that be in maintaining ideological hegemony.

On the other hand, those scholar/activists who persist in teaching and living according to the anti-war, anti-corporate, anti-racist, anti-sexist, and populist principles of the Vietnam War era, increasingly face a hostile political environment. In the last few years many have seen their teaching positions eliminated under the guise of fiscal austerity, retrenchment in their academic departments, or simply because they refused to

compromise their integrity and be silent about the corporate invasion of the university.

Arguing that political repression is on the rise in academia, however, is not to fall back on some grand conspiracy theory. It is to recognize that, while this may not be the early 1950s, many of the same political loyalty tests now apply to faculty members. The main difference seems to be that in the 1980s administrators and senior faculty who are threatened by activist professors have institutionalized repression. As Bertell Ollman argues in his article on academic freedom in Monthly Review, faculty often play a leading role in filtering out radical academics.

> At the faculty level, this "internal policing," in the words of Marxist scholar Milton Fisk, takes the form of making so called objective, value-neutral decisions on what constitutes political science or economics or philosophy, and which journals in each discipline warrant the academic Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval -- so that publishing elsewhere, which usually means in radical journals, doesn't count for promotion, tenure, and the like.

The political nature of renewal and tenure decisions often is shielded from public scrutiny, especially when departmental faculty, using what appear to be professional criteria, weed out activist professors. When faculty fail to act "responsibly" and resist firing activist faculty, administrators or even politicians step in and take measures against radical faculty. In many cases, the hint of political struggle and the knowledge of arbitrary decisions is suppressed at the department level. All seems quiet, and as time passes, the collective memories of department policy decisions are retrospectively interpreted. In-coming instructors receive a revised history of the department which coincides with the views of the predominant faction within the faculty.

Of course, this version varies considerably from what tenured faculty members do and say when activists are part of the department. Radical academics may be told by their superiors that their professions now recognize a number of different career paths, including a leftist career track. Or, as I was told in my first year in a patronizing fashion, "there is a place for you on this faculty, we don't have any political axe to grind."

Yet in the end, if you should be identified as a threat to the "rules of the game," it is evident that to survive you must be unquestionably outstanding in all categories. Or, as several leftist sociology junior faculty members were told by a friendly senior person in another division, "leftists must be head and shoulders above mainstream faculty to be retained." At Wisconsin-Parkside tenure has only been granted to faculty in sociology hired from the outside, and all of the junior faculty in the last 10 years have either left before coming up for tenure or did not receive contract renewals which would have culminated in a tenure hearing.

On another level, the situation at Parkside was but one example of the working out of many of the tendencies in sociology assailed by C. Wright Mills in The Sociological Imagination. By the 1980s, much of what Mills argued concerning the rise of abstracted empiricism and the opportunism of practical liberals had become deeply rooted in sociology departments.

The voice for rationality and critical consciousness which Mills thought was the great promise of sociology has been compromised. Even more disturbing, many sociologists maintain strict barriers between professional concerns and everyday situations they encounter. Unable to integrate what they have learned into their own lives, they do not develop a sociological analysis of teaching, research and administration of their own departments. In short, they take for granted the larger structure of the political economy and its impact on their personal and work lives. Twenty five years after Mills' Sociological Imagination the "trained incapacity" of many sociologists is apparent. Mainstream sociology, despite its potential as a debunking discipline, seems plagued by a failure of nerve. The critical edge of sociology has been lost and its promise unfulfilled.

The difficulties which Peter Seybold experienced was pale in comparison to those encountered by minority scholars. The next chapter discusses how white and minority working class scholars joined forces to combat race and class bias at the University of Denver.

CHAPTER 7

CHALLENGING THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE:

VICTORY OVER RACISM

THE MOSQUEDA-JUDD CASE U of Denver

The reactionary counter-offensive launched against the campus rebellion movement was the dominant political trend of the 1970s and 1980s. Similar to the other repressive assaults throughout American history, however, it was not totally successful in eliminating the aspirations and commitments to change that emerged from mass movements. The university revolt produced a wide range of democratic ideals and individuals who were intent on devoting their lives to achieving social change in the United States. Although some conservative critics of the period assessed it as a passing "infantile disorder," participants know that they and numerous others underwent authentic radical transformations that are not easily reversible. This, of course, is not to say that every campus activist continues to engage in radical political work or that none have joined "establishment" institutions.

But neither has the campus movement died, nor have the participants all "dropped out" or joined the establishment. There were permanent benefits from the rebellion and a renewed student uprising is probable. In the following chapters we present material which shows the campus revolt had important lasting effects on American universities, and that the struggle over the purposes and processes of higher education is far from over. Traditional forces currently retain a dominant edge, but their position may rest on quicksand.

Racism, Affirmative Action and the Struggle for Multi-Cultural Education

One of the most persistent characteristics of higher education is its institutional racism. From the board of trustees, to the administration, to the faculty, down through the student body, most universities in the United States are white-controlled and white-oriented institutions. Universities function within a larger society that has historically been built and continues to operate on the exploitation of non-white labor as a source of

wealth. Many authors have pointed out that the rise of racism was concomitantly and/or casually related to the development of capitalism. For example, Almaguer and Boggs illustrate, in their separate writings, how the systematic oppression of Blacks and Native Americans played an important role in the accumulation of capital and in the economic growth of the United States.[1] To justify this exploitation there was developed, as Almaguer notes, "an elaborate system of racial and, in some cases, religious ideology."[2]

Boggs notes that the need for a justification helped the slave traders (and those who subsequently benefited) to convince themselves that there had never been any African culture, even as the slave trade destroyed that culture. There was even the view that white Europeans had done Africans a favor by bringing them to a new Christian environment.[3] Thus, to strengthen the justification and cultural superiority of the dominant white group, it was necessary to destroy the native culture, values and traditions.[4] The first Bishop of Mexico, Zumarroga, for example, burned the library, artifacts and documents of the native population at Texcoco. Historically, the maintenance of white control over non-whites became not only a matter of destroying old institutions, but of building new and dominant institutions that "maintain the relationship of power and privileges."[5]

Although direct physical force has always played a fundamental role in maintaining this relationship, it is important to recognize that non-forceful socializing mechanisms, such as educational institutions, also have been useful for the dominant group.

As Monte Piliawsky points out in his insightful book, Exit 13, Oppression and Racism in Academia, the Southern education system has been consistently used as a tool to indoctrinate racist propaganda. The Mississippi school system, for example, used pamphlets written by the White Citizens' Council to teach race relations. The following was used in the third and fourth grades:

> God wanted the white people to live alone. And he wanted colored people to live alone. The white man built America for you. It is not easy to build a new country. The white man has always been kind to the negro . . . We must keep things as God made them . . . We do not believe that God wants us to live together . . . Negro people like to live by themselves . . . This is called our Southern Way of

> Life. Do you know that some people want Negroes to live with the white people? These people want to be unhappy. They say we must go to school together. God had made us different. And God knows best. They want to make our country weak. We want to keep it strong and free.[6]

As Piliawsky points out, this ideology is not restricted to elementary schools. It is pervasive in high schools, and at the University of Southern Mississippi. "Racism is rampant and academic oppression is the fate of professors who criticize the status quo."[7]

The South, of course, does not have a monopoly on racism. It is a nation-wide phenomenon reflected in the fact that minorities had to raise militant protests to expand minority enrollment and to create university programs that met the educational needs of minority students. Such protests stimulated a doubling of Black enrollment in seven years -- from 522,000 students in 1970 to 1.1 million in 1977.[8] This change, however, must be viewed in the context that most minorities attended underfunded community colleges rather than the more prestigious and endowed universities. When they do break into the upper circles of academia, they often face racist hostility. For example, "The sign in front of the Afro-American studies building at Harvard was stolen so many times during the 1978-79 academic year that it finally had to be moved indoors."[9] In 1982 a white fraternity at the University of Cincinnati celebrated Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday by throwing a party that mocked Black people. Many minorities have had to drop out of higher education due to the racist environment and/or increasing costs. At the same time costs are sky rocketing, the Reagan Administration has proposed deep cuts in federal aid to education, which will mean additional hardships for many minority students.

Indeed, in most recent years studies indicate "that the presence of students from minority groups in higher education is diminishing."[10] Citing a report by the American Council on Education, the Rev. Timothy S. Healy, president of Georgetown University, has pointed out:

> While the number of Blacks and Hispanics graduating from high school increased from 1975 through 1980, the proportion of those graduates enrolling in college declined over the period. Black

men have lost ground at every level of earned degrees. While the number of Blacks receiving BAs and PhDs has gone up, the increase is attributable almost entirely to Black women.

About 60 percent of the doctoral degrees received by Blacks in 1980-81 were awarded by only 10 percent of the universities that offer such degrees. Of 399 universities that awarded doctorates in that period, 211 gave none to Blacks. Of the same universities, an even larger number, 269, awarded no degrees to Hispanics.

The prospect of a population that may be 35 percent minority by 2020, coupled with the alarming statistics . . . makes it clear that we are headed for a crisis the consequences of which can be devastating to the country's continued prosperity and well-being.[11]

Calling attention to the fact that minority enrollment in graduate schools has declined over the past five years, Rev. Healy concluded: "Unless we can place an appropriate percentage of Black and Hispanic faculty members on all our faculties and in all our departments, we will never make higher education a salable product to minority students."[12]

As we have pointed out, the issue is not simply the securing of minority positions on faculties, but what kind of minorities, with what kind of political outlook? Individuals from Third World backgrounds applying for faculty positions are immediately suspect because of the history of racial rebellion in the United States. Minorities may be hired for faculty positions, but they have a better chance of employment and retention if they accept and articulate the prevailing ideology of the dominant culture. Minorities who challenge traditional political views generally are excluded as illustrated by our discussions of the universities of Washington and Texas on the grounds that they are not "qualified" or that their work is too "journalistic."

Racism At The University Of Denver

We observed this process in operation at the University of Denver. In an effort to hire a radical Chicano faculty member,

we became involved in a struggle against racism and learned some lessons on how to combat it.

Phil Meranto and Matthew Lippman had been recruited to join the political science department at the University of Denver by the chair Dennis Judd. Judd came to the University of Denver in July 1978 to upgrade the department which was considered one of the weakest in the university. He had been a faculty member at Washington University, St. Louis. As a graduate student, he was involved in the struggle for racial justice and against the Vietnam War at the University of Illinois during the rebellion period described by Parenti in Chapter 3.

Like Dolbeare at the University of Washington, Judd desired to move beyond traditional political science and develop a more relevant department. He stated, "I wanted to create a diverse faculty and a curriculum representative of the variety of political views and cultural experiences in American society."[13]

In his first two years as chair, Judd laid a solid foundation for achieving these goals. The political science curriculum was updated to include more relevant topics of study, students were offered a new honors program and an opportunity to evaluate teachers. Several traditional, highly incompetent instructors were encouraged to leave and Judd began to rebuild the department by recruiting research and visiting professors who generated over $100,000 in research overhead. He also began to recruit faculty with unorthodox political perspectives to create a more lively intellectual environment. At the time Judd arrived in Denver, the entire political science faculty (and practically the whole social science faculty) was white and minority and ethnic politics were not included in the curriculum.

To remedy this situation, Judd suggested to the faculty that minority and ethnic politics be one component of a new urban politics position. This suggestion met opposition from several senior faculty members who argued, "that these specialists lacked academic respectability and might attract the 'wrong kind' of applicant." Thus, the department's 1980 recruitment ad did not mention ethnic or minority politics as a requirement for the three available positions. In total, 131 applicants for an assistant position in urban politics were reviewed.

The faculty voted unanimously to invite three of the applicants for a personal interview. One of these applicants, Lawrence Mosqueda, was one of the first Chicanos in history to receive a PhD in political science from the University of

Washington. Mosqueda was also among the first Chicano graduate students recruited to Washington under the program created by Dolbeare. He played a significant role in the leadership of the Minority Student Association which struggled to secure a faculty position for Munoz and which led the fight against Flathman.

In a paper published in 1982, Judd described his attempt to hire Mosqueda:[14]

I had first met Dr. Mosqueda the previous September, at an American Political Science Association meeting in Washington, D.C. He had presented a brilliant paper at the conference and I was very impressed by his entire presentation. I learned that he had to his credit over three years of teaching experience, with excellent teaching evaluations. He had presented several conference papers and was in the process of revising his dissertation for publication. Later, prominent faculty in the urban politics field confirmed my sense that he was indeed one of the brightest young scholars in the country.

For all these reasons, and also because he was one of the very few Chicano PhDs in the political science profession, I decided to seek Mosqueda's application for one of the department positions. I worked hard to persuade him to apply because I was certain he would bring the high quality, creativity, dedication and academic balance that I sought to build into the program.

He twice declined my invitation and implied that a generally undistinguished faculty at the University of Denver could not prompt him to leave his colleagues at the University of Colorado at Denver. Eventually, however, I convinced him that we were committed to improving the quality of our department and that we could offer him the opportunity to contribute to what would become an outstanding political science program.

Just a few days before Dr. Mosqueda was invited to interview, I overheard a number of faculty make remarks indicating a distinct prejudice against Chicanos. Later, while Dr. Mosqueda was being interviewed, it was painfully obvious that several faculty members were unconcerned with his professional credentials and were motivated to reject him for racial reasons.

Based on that interview as well as other incidents, I approached the dean to express my concern that the faculty were committing

affirmative action violations. But after several meetings with him, and after presenting overwhelming evidence that racial prejudice was operating, the dean refused to investigate the search process. Instead, he indicated support for the "autonomy" of the department in making its hiring decision.

Despite his outstanding credentials, exceptional track record, and regardless of the fact that five of six students participating in the search considered him the most qualified candidate, Dr. Mosqueda was not offered a position. By a 6-2 vote, the faculty decided to offer a position to a white male candidate who had not yet completed his dissertation, had never held a full-time teaching position and had no scholarly accomplishments to his credit.

In contrast to his earlier refusal to intervene, the dean ultimately vetoed the 6-2 decision and "froze" all hiring activity within the department. I can only assume that he (and the university as a whole) feared that should the offer be made under the circumstances, an affirmative action charge might be forthcoming.

In response to the university's persistent refusal to investigate this situation I submitted my resignation as department chairperson on March 2, 1981. It became effective on June 30. For taking this action, I have paid a high price. I was once a part of the "establishment" and my "betrayal" of the privileged has been met with consistent efforts to discredit and harass me. In the last half of 1981, I lost more than $8,000 in salary. University administrators subject to my lawsuit take every opportunity to penalize me. One of them has been appointed as the new department chair, which seems only to further indicate the university's attitude toward affirmative action. While Dr. Mosqueda and I must spend time raising money to meet our legal expenses, the university has absorbed the legal costs and defense effort for all individual faculty and administrators named as defendents. I have been labeled as "crazy and emotionally unstable." In fact, these charges have become the mainstay of the university's defense.

Affirmative action may exist in the law books, but it has been my experience that enforcement is both difficult and expensive. Under these circumstances, and in the face of resurgent racism,

it becomes clear to me why equal opportunity has made only the most halting progress.

Professor Judd's decision to resign as chairperson and join Dr. Mosqueda in a racial discrimination law suit against the University of Denver was a pivotal point in this struggle. In most situations a white chairperson (due to the usual screening process) would cooperate with other white administrators to "stonewall" any minority faculty complaint. Judd, however, was a political product of the rebellion era of the '60s. He had worked to achieve affirmative action at the University of Illinois and had investigated the disastrous effects of racism on both Blacks and whites in East St. Louis, Illinois. His political consciousness, commitment to justice, and willingness to struggle against heavy odds were a perfect illustration of the continuing impact of the student movement.

Larry Mosqueda likewise was not an individual who would shrink from confronting racial discrimination. His experiences in the anti-war movement and the movement for racial justice at Iowa State University and the University of Washington steeled him for a protracted struggle to produce radical change in the United States. When the faculty and administration at the University of Denver persisted in their racist behavior, they picked the wrong person as a target. In a paper published in 1982, Mosqueda recounts his reactions to this discrimination, the steps taken to combat it, and the unity developed between him and Judd:[15]

When Dr. Judd first approached me regarding an urban politics position at the University of Denver, I was reticent to apply. At the time, I held a full-time assistant professor position at the University of Colorado at Denver (UCD) in a department that was young, dynamic, and progressive. In contrast, the department at the University of Denver was largely staffed by older, tenured and what I considered to be rather unproductive faculty. I had already accumulated two years toward tenure at UCD and enjoyed teaching a variety of courses there - urban politics, American politics, theories of social and political change, minority politics and Marxist political theory. I had worked to demonstrate a solid record of scholarly activity, including several conference papers. I was to chair a panel at an upcoming professional convention, and had just submitted an article for publication. In almost all respects, I was happy with the job I had.

On the other hand, I was aware of Dr. Judd's academic reputation. He is considered to be one of the foremost urbanists in the country and the prospect of working with him became an opportunity difficult to refuse. After giving the idea careful thought, I decided that it would be in my long-term best interest to sacrifice what I had and begin again at an entry level position in order to work with Dr. Judd.

At the time I applied, Dr. Philip Meranto was on a visiting appointment at the university. He had been my dissertation advisor at the University of Washington yet, I found out later, was not asked for his opinion of me or my credentials. I also learned later that some departmental faculty found my dissertation on "Chicanos, Catholicism and Political Ideology" unrelated to urban politics - this despite the fact that it had been approved by several urban scholars at the University of Washington, and that both urbanists at the University of Denver considered me the best candidate in the field.

Throughout the interview process, I was asked what I thought to be leading questions about my ability to be "objective" in teaching Chicano politics. I was asked whether or not I would be able to relate to the anglo students at the university. Faculty seemed oddly curious about what it had been like to "grow up a Chicano in Iowa." One Chicano faculty member from the music department at the University of Colorado was asked to comment on my academic qualifications because he was of my "ethnic persuasion." I was told by one interviewing faculty member that he "used to be prejudiced against Mexicans" but that he had learned that "some of them are the nicest people around." In all of this, I felt a keen sense of racial discrimination.

When I ultimately learned that I had not been hired, I firmly believed that the decision had been racially motivated. In an attempt to make my suspicions known and in the effort to rectify the situation, I decided to file a complaint with the university's Affirmative Action Officer. Initially, there was some question about whether or not I could even make a formal complaint because the university's affirmative action guidelines did not allow job applicants the right to file a grievance. The chancellor did eventually rule that he would make an exception and that I was eligible to file.

On March 25, 1981, Chancellor Ross Pritchard called me at my home to ask if he might meet with me. Although such a meeting was not a standard part of the university's guideline procedure, I agreed to meet with him if I could have an attorney present. He found that unacceptable, withdrew his offer to meet and implied that my request meant that the matter was already in litigation. He ordered the affirmative action officer to stop her investigation of the matter.

All of this was in conflict with affirmative action procedures agreed to by the university in 1978 under a consent order signed by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs. Those procedures required that the affirmative action officer make every effort to reconcile differences between contending parties. If differences could not be reconciled, the officer was to proceed with a hearing before the university's Affirmative Action Board. Under the school's own rules and regulations, the chancellor is not allowed to intervene in the process and there is no special opportunity for the chancellor to abort an investigation.

It is my opinion that the university did everything it could to ensure that a fair investigation not be conducted and that the collective actions of faculty and administration consistently revealed bad faith. For example, after taking statements from various parties involved, the university's affirmative action officer supplied copies of those statements to the respondents and the departmental files supplied to her by Dr. Judd without her ever letting him know that she had done so. These and other actions seemed to me irregular, possibly illegal and tantamount to denying me all other procedural options. I retained legal counsel, a scheduled EEOC hearing was canceled, and the EEOC granted me the right to sue.

In many ways, Dr. Judd and I are unlikely allies, yet we have become colleagues in the truest sense. His principled actions and their consequences demonstrate to me that minorities are not the only ones damaged by discrimination. An institutionalized system of denial, injustice and racism is as deeply embedded in university faculty recruitment as it is in any other aspect of our society. Individuals who attempt to alter it - no matter their race, sex, religion or national origin - confront strong defenses and even

stronger fears. Dr. Judd and I remain determined to meet both with as formidable a front as is necessary.

In order to conduct this struggle Mosqueda, Judd, Lippman and the Merantos developed an organization -- Justice in Employment -- which joined together faculty, students and community people. The overall strategy of this coalition was to educate as many people as possible concerning institutional racism at DU and to apply as much political pressure as possible on the university to fundamentally change its behavior. This education campaign included conducting teach-ins, sponsoring fund raisers, selling T-shirts, making presentations at professional conferences, networking with other repressed faculty members, writing articles for national periodicals, and stimulating investigations by national minority associations. Added to this campaign, on June 30, 1981, Dr. Mosqueda filed suit in federal district court against the University of Denver seeking $1 million in compensatory and $10 million in punitive damages. He also initiated suit against 10 individual faculty members and administrators. Dr. Judd also sued, seeking $1 million in compensatory and $5 million in punitive damages, as well as damages from individual faculty members and administrators.

The university responded to this campaign by harassing Judd, Mosqueda and their supporters. The university portrayed itself as innocent of racism and characterized Judd and Mosqueda as "crazy and uncooperative." Pressure was placed on Judd and Mosqueda to drop the law suit and give up the fight which was financially costly and mentally wearing. However, the unity and collective spirit within the Justice in Employment community successfully pulled the collective through the rough periods. Indeed, the strength of the collective proved to be stronger than the enormous material resources of the University of Denver. Unable to crush Justice in Employment, the university finally admitted guilt by settling the law suit out of court for a reported $250,000.[16]

Within a year of this settlement, the chancellor was forced to resign by a highly dissatisfied faculty, the university faced a serious funding crisis, and numerous faculty members were fired in response to the budget problem. Student enrollment in the political science department took a nose dive and Judd, Phil Meranto and Lippman left for other academic positions. The University of Denver continues to function, but not without public knowledge of its racist practices and deteriorating conditions.

Some Political Issues

If the University of Denver and other racist schools had their way, they would continue to perpetuate a white, upper middle class educational process while portraying themselves as being committed to equal opportunity. The willingness of Mosqueda and Judd to challenge this facade, however, exposed the racist and distorted educational program at the University of Denver. Because of this effort, many students learned more political science than they had learned in their classes.

Additionally, students and others witnessed the power of multi-racial unity. Racism has been perpetuated by a strategy of divide and conquer; a splitting of progressive whites from non-whites. In this case, however, the strategy did not work. Judd refused to go along with the white administration and instead joined forces with Mosqueda to form a multi-racial alliance. Given the population characteristics and over-all political situation in the United States and on university campuses this kind of "rainbow coalition" unity will be critical if successful future struggles are to be achieved.

Another important lesson of this struggle was the necessity of linking a legal attack with an all-out political campaign. Our analysis of the court system made it clear that we could not rely exclusively on a legal approach. Thus, our main strategy was to launch a comprehensive political campaign against racism at the University of Denver and use the law suit as a tactic within this over-all strategy.

This approach proved successful. Instead of sitting around and waiting for the results of a long, drawn out legal ruling, our organizational energy went to mobilizing a variety of forces to engage in the struggle. Spirits were thus kept reasonably high. Many people were involved, and a political apparatus was in operation in case the law suit was lost. Psychologically, this was important for Mosqueda and Judd who did not have to face the harassment of the university alone. Faculty or students who oppose universities as isolated individuals are caught up in a very uneven battle that generally is doomed to failure.

We realize that the outcome at the University of Denver was a small victory in a long, protracted struggle to eliminate institutional racism in higher education. However, we feel the strength and speed of this struggle will be enhanced by positive examples, collective instead of individual efforts, and coordination and sharing of information among organizations.

Even small victories are important stepping stones in the effort to turn the tide of the reactionary trend and to move toward larger efforts for fundamental social change.

End Notes
Chapter 7

[1]Tomas Almaguer, "Historical Notes on Chicano Oppression: The Dialectics of Racial and Class Domination in North America," Aztlan (5:1 and 2, 1974). James and Grace Boggs, Racism and the Class Struggle, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970).

[2]Almaguer, Ibid., p 28.

[3]Lawrence J. Mosqueda, "Chicanos, Catholicism and Political Ideology," PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1979, Chapter 2.

[4]Almaguer, p. 43.

[5]Ibid., p. 29.

[6]Quoted in Monte Piliawsky, Exit 13, Oppression and Racism in Academia, (Boston: South End Press, 1982 , pp. 124-125.

[7]Ibid., p 127.

[8]Ibid., p. 147.

[9]Ibid., p. 153.

[10]Scott Heller, "Reaffirm Drive for Integration, Colleges Urged," The Chronicle of Higher Education, November 21, 1984, p. 1.

[11]Ibid., p. 14.

[12]Ibid., p 15.

[13]Dennis Judd and Lawrence Mosqueda, "A Meeting of the Minds, Justice in Employment" Equal Opportunity Forum (April/May, 1982), p. 12.

[14]Dr. Judd's account is quoted from Ibid, p. 14.

[15]Dr. Mosqueda's account is quoted from Ibid., p. 15.

[16]Rocky Mountain News, (August 9, 1983), p. 6.

Chapter 8

Cracks In The Academic Armor:

Continuing Impacts of the Student Revolt

INTRODUCTION

One of the most significant developments during the student revolt period was the emergence of "liberation classes." On one campus after another, a similar scenario unfolded. The unmasking of the university led to militant student action. Violent police repression countered the action, and students reacted by calling a strike and closing down the campus. The students, however, did not stop there. Disproving critics who attacked them for being intent on destruction, the students and progressive faculty re-opened the university by creating an alternative educational structure -- "a liberated university with liberation classes." Students did not want to halt the educational process on university campuses. They wanted to destroy the traditional racist, sexist, and pro-capitalist curriculum and the authoritarian faculty-student relationship at the core of existing universities.

Students often attempted to create a new curriculum and a new, democratic pedagogical process. Within these liberated structures, students, faculty and some community residents began to explore issues and topics generally forbidden in the establishment structure. At the University of Illinois, for example, courses were organized around criticizing the ideological perspective of white, male, upper-middle class education. Courses on imperialism, racism, sexism, community organizing, labor history, radical movements, the world revolutionary process, capitalism as organized crime, Third World cultures and a whole host of educational topics emerged in day-long and late-night sessions that were a tribute to people's thirst for knowledge. Out of the comparisons of this experience with the traditional educational program, students began to demand fundamental changes.

WOMEN'S STUDIES CHALLENGES ACADEMIA

Perhaps one of the most significant developments that grew out of this process was the challenge of white, male,

middle-class education by women and minorities who demanded an education that was more reflective of their reality and relevant to their needs. In the case of women's studies, for instance, it "set out to put women's accomplishments back into history, literature, and the social and natural sciences. It asked new questions and called for a reorientation of educational concepts and methods to reflect changes in women's consciousness about themselves and society."[1]

By 1984, approximately 500 women's studies programs existed in the United States. Although it is difficult to assess the exact impact of these programs on universities, their mere existence is an advance over the totally male oriented education of the 1950s and '60s.[2] At minimum, women students (and men students) now have available to them courses that provide information and a perspective that was lacking until the women's movement insisted that women's studies become an educational component of the ivory tower.

As with all new developments, however, women studies has experienced its own internal contradictions. According to Marilyn Carlander, assistant to the director of the women's studies program at the University of Illinois - Chicago, "The greatest challenge for women's studies faculty, staff and students has been the conscious examination of our own racism, anti-semitism, homophobia, and class bias and how these have limited our communication and vision in the classroom, in the university and in the community."[3]

Debate on these issues surfaced at the 1983 annual conference of the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) at which NWSA was criticized for its narrowness by an ad hoc coalition of "women of color, lesbians, white, poor and working class women, Jewish women, and women with disabilities." The coalition successfully created an "Autonomous Institute" that exerted control over several conference workshops in which topics ranged from the role of women in Latin American movements to the politics of aging and passing.

Some women of color have also criticized women's studies and Black studies for not adequately addressing issues relevant to them. In an effort to overcome this weakness, a proposed Women's Institute is being developed at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, where the student body is 75 percent Black women. The Institute will develop a core curriculum in women's studies that addresses issues relevant to women of color and will engage in related research. This will be the first African/Black women's

studies program in the nation -- another step in cracking the ideological armor of establishment education.

Countering this positive development, is the threat of diluting women's studies through what is known as "mainstreaming." "Essentially, mainstreaming consists of adding material on women to existing courses in other departments without radically altering their basic assumptions."[4] Although this process has generally been done under the direction of female scholars, in universities such as Yale and Duke, the mainstreaming has been directed by males. Even where women direct the procedure, white, middle class males teach the new material, thus raising serious questions of interpretation and commitment.

In addition to mainstreaming, women's studies faces financial cutbacks. Often viewed by hardnosed university administrators as a "frill," women's studies and minority programs, lead the list of programs to be reduced or abolished in an era of budgetary shrinkage and social conservatism. In this atmosphere "many programs have been forced to compromise their principles significantly in order to be accepted by the university administration; others have been closed down entirely and some have been required to launch major campaigns for their very survival."[5]

Individual feminist scholars also face difficult tenure battles against administrators and senior faculty who do not view women's studies as a "real discipline." Feminist historian Estelle Freedman, for instance, was initially rejected for tenure at Stanford because her work was judged to be narrowly focused on women's issues and because it was "committed to a cause." It took two years of intensive struggle to have her reinstated.

Traditional academics are not the only resistent force faced by socialist-feminists. Linda Gordon, a history professor at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, states, "Many left scholars continue to relate to a world that is totally masculine . . . While we in women's history are also concerned about general developments in labor and social history, this is not reciprocated by many male historians."[6]

Despite these problems, women studies, the women's movement, and women's intellectual efforts constitute one of the basic and significant continuing impacts of the student revolt movement. Twenty years ago the reformism, cooptation and cutbacks in women's studies were not issues because of the ideological hegemony practiced by universities. That intellectual

monopoly now has been broken, the main task ahead is to strengthen the new foundation and resolve both the barriers and internal contradictions that are holding back further development.

To identify both the progress and the continuing barriers confronting women faculty and administrators in higher education, Helen S. Astin and Mary Beth Snyder conducted a study of 92 institutions in 1982, and concluded:

> On the basis of these analyses, it seems clear that the women's movement and affirmative action legislation have prompted higher education institutions to take significant steps to remedy a history of neglect of women . . . To date, some of the most telling signs that significant progress has occurred since 1972, are the increases in numbers of women entering higher education at all levels, the emergence of women's studies programs on many campuses, the number of new journals and books by and for women, and the creation of programs to identify and develop administrative and leadership talent among women.[7]

Despite this progress, the authors point out that "the prevailing mood on many campuses appears more one of frustration than of optimism." Many male administrators and faculty members remain skeptical about affirmative action. They label such programs as "too expensive" and complain there is a "limited availability of qualified women."

Thus, according to these authors, the continued resistance by the male hierarchy in academia has produced a situation in which, "Overall, most academic women still view themselves as an insignificant minority on the campus, concentrated in the lower academic ranks and occupying less influential policy making positions."[8]

In addition to overt discrimination, Evelyn Hu-Dehart notes "serious burdens and responsibilities" are placed on individuals who are "one of a few women or minority-group members on a college faculty." Women, "cannot afford a single mistake, and if we slip or fail, we affect the reputation and future prospects of the entire group or groups that we personally represent. In short, far from lowering standards, a higher standard of performance is imposed upon us, and we carry the

Revolt By Women 137-143

burden of proof for ourselves and others like us . . . When we fail, we fail for all women and all minorities, but when a white male fails, he simply fails as an individual."[9]

In general, then, women have made considerable gains in higher education since the 1960s, but these gains must be protected against backsliding and more struggle is necessary to achieve further advances.

One of the most significant recent examples of such struggle was the fall 1984 strike at Yale University. This strike was initiated by female clerical and technical workers who successfully fashioned a coalition with students, teachers, other employees, and faculty at other Connecticut colleges.

Yale strike

The striking workers were secretaries, typists, hospital aides, research assistants, and laboratory technicians who received an average of $13,473 per year. Many of these predominantly female workers had masters degrees and were administrative heads of academic programs. Yet, they were paid less than the predominantly male building and grounds, cafeteria and custodial workers at Yale.

Given this disparity in wages and other issues, 1,600 clerical and technical workers went on strike on September 26, 1984, and demanded a 26 percent wage increase over three years. Yale offered a 17 percent wage increase. The union and university also were divided on issues of job security, pensions, and health and dental benefits.

Two days after the initiation of the strike, 4,700 students signed a petition calling for an arbitrated settlement. Unsuccessful in their efforts to convince Yale to settle the strike, students and faculty began to honor the workers' picket lines. Faculty began to teach classes in their houses, in church basements and local theaters. By November 1, 1984, about 625 students had been arrested for acts of civil disobedience. Students also filed a multi-million dollar law suit against the university. They proclaimed that, "No longer will Yale make students pay for its unreasonable bargaining position . . ."

One 19-year-old male philosophy major observed, " A year ago, if someone had told me I would be arrested for a cause, I would have laughed and said that was silly . . . Now, that's not the case . . . I got involved . . . because I believed that Yale was foresaking its ideals and these workers were being paid unjustly . . . People are tired of being labeled the apathetic generation . . . There is a sense of honesty, maybe, principles, ideals . . . There was this idea that it was okay to pay lip service to ideals without

believing in them. Now, we feel you have to act on your beliefs."[10]

On October 27, Black civil rights leaders Bayard Rustin and Ralph Abernathy led students, faculty, and union workers into the streets where they blocked traffic on the Yale campus for one hour. When 430 people were arrested, Karin Cope, a 20-year-old literature major, proclaimed, "Student apathy has died on the Yale campus . . . Education no longer continues in the classrooms. Yale University is in the streets today." Confronted with this rebellious action, Yale reportedly threatened to terminate professors who canceled classes without unanimous approval of all the students in the course. Foreign students who participated in strike activities were warned they faced possible deportation.

A. Bartlett Giamatti, Yale's president, dismissed the strike as "a terrible miscalculation," although the workers gained considerable momentum and outside support. The strikers were visited and supported by Judy Goldsmith, head of the National Organization of Women; by Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO; and by Angela Davis, founder and co-chair of the National Alliance Against Racial and Political Repression. Davis said at a rally that the 10-week-old strike was "part of a nationwide fight for equality for minorities, women, and labor unions." She had come to the university "to express militant and heartfelt support" for locals 34 and 35 of the Federation of University Employees. " The struggle for comparable worth is perhaps the most important struggle the women's movement and the labor movement are undertaking," she remarked.[11]

The Yale strike is a perfect example of the continuing impact of the student rebellion era. The consciousness and willingness of the women workers to struggle sparked a coalition with students, faculty, community people, labor unions, and civil rights workers against the Yale administration.

This coalition beat back a concerted effort by Yale to defeat the strike. Yale attempted to throw six cheerleaders off the squad who had worn "settle" buttons on their uniforms at the first football game. Graduate teaching assistants who supported the strike were threatened with dismissal and losing their scholarships. Yale unsuccessfully attempted to induce students to cross union picket lines by offering free meals to freshmen in the student cafeteria.[12]

By late January 1985, this coalition helped produce a union victory over Yale. Local 34 successfully negotiated a three-year

contract that included pay equity, maternity and paternity leaves, seniority rights, and a substantial pay boost to the lowest paid workers, "a disproportionate number of whom are female and Black or Hispanic."[13]

According to Professor David Montgomery, a labor historian at Yale, "This settlement has shown that it's possible, even in the Reagan era, to win very significant gains for clerical and technical workers."

The Yale community supported the strike because women graduate students, other workers, and younger faculty members realized they also were being mistreated by the Yale administration. Union activist Beverly Lett notes, "Now we have students talking about, 'Well, we need a union,' graduate student teaching assistants say, 'Hey, you know, TA salaries are pretty low,' and the faculty is saying, 'Well, we don't have a faculty senate.'"[14]

The victory at Yale stimulated additional struggles at Harvard and Columbia universities, where union organizers began to launch similar campaigns. Jim Braude, a United Auto Workers organizer from Boston, told the Yale unionists, "When you negotiated a spectacular contract for the 2,700 people here, you also negotiated a spectacular future for university workers everywhere."[15]

Women also are combating sex discrimination in the courts. The City University of New York, for example, was found guilty of sex discrimination against its entire female faculty and was forced, in 1985, to pay $7.5 million in damages.[16] Additionally, three women academics were awarded $5,833 each in damages after demonstrating that they had been discriminated against by officials in Oregon.[17] And female faculty members at Keene State College agreed to withdraw a class-action complaint in return for raises. A study demonstrated that women at Keene State earned an average of $730 a year less than male faculty in comparable positions.[18]

Given the contradiction between the objective conditions most women continue to face on university campuses and the subjective ideology of the women's movement, this struggle and others will continue to fuel the movement for change. A critical resource in this continuing movement is the building of additional coalitions of the kind that emerged at Yale.

THE EMERGENCE AND IMPACT OF MINORITY STUDIES

A main topic in many campus struggles and liberation classes during the '60s was the "whiteness" of higher education and the racist treatment of minorities. These struggles and classes were conducted in a historical context which included a rejuvenated civil rights movement, wide-spread urban rebellions, the emergence of the Black Power movement and the Black Panther Party, the killings of Malcom X in 1965 and Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, the struggle of Chicano farm workers, and the Native American uprisings. These and related events among all minority groups created a societal context in which racial consciousness and the struggle against racist exploitation reached historic heights.

Traditional institutions of higher education, controlled by upper class and middle class whites, did little to investigate the root causes of these rebellions or to contribute remedies. Indeed, as we noted earlier, universities themselves were and are deeply involved in institutional racism. Rather than being neutral ivory towers, they reflect and perpetuate the racism of the larger society.

Minority communities and the few minority students and academics who were on university campuses recognized this fact. In a society that stresses education as the route to social mobility and as a major resource for solving social problems, minorities understood they had a tremendous stake in a relevant educational system. Thus, during the rebellion era of the late 1960s, the demand for Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Asian studies was heard across campuses nationwide.

Although somewhat different in detail, these demands included the general perspective that, "The goal for minority studies is to provide a coherent and socially relevant education; humanistic and pragmatic which prepares minorities for service to the minority community, and enriches the total society. Students will be prepared to work and live for the purpose of realizing political, social, and economic change."[19]

A key dimension of this over-all goal was the concept of self-definition and self-determination. The direction, content, and control of these new programs must be in the hands of minorities themselves. Anglo control would continue the traditional system of oppression, miseducation, and manipulation. To break this monopoly of Anglo control the

following specific demands characterized many struggles of the period:

1. the recruitment, admission, and counseling of minority students who have historically been barred from higher education;
2. the recruitment and hiring of minority faculty, administrators, and staff;
3. the formal study of minority history, culture, current situation, and future;
4. support programs for minority students;
5. minority research and publications programs; and
6. cultural and social action centers in minority communities."[20]

One of the most interesting and innovative programs to emerge from this general context was Third World College at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD). At UCSD the Black and Chicano students joined together in 1969 and presented the administration with a position paper entitled, "The Lumumba-Zapata Demands." This paper analyzed the position of minorities in society and higher education, and called for the creation of an alternative college. The college would "emphasize the problems of minority groups in the Unites States and relate these problems to the problems of Third World people outside the U.S., in Africa, Asia and Latin America."[21] These problems would be studied from a radical perspective, and students would "be involved in every stage of the administration of the college." Thus, every aspect of college policy-making — including curriculum development, hiring and firing of faculty, and criteria for admission to the college -- was to have 50 percent student participation.

The student struggle succeeded and the college started operating in 1970-71. The course of study was divided into four major programs: Third World studies, urban world studies, communications, and science technology with an emphasis on health problems of minority groups. The college was governed by a board that included three students, two faculty members, and a provost who was also a faculty member.

According to Mario Barrera, a member of the faculty, Third World College seemed to be "the most exciting educational

innovation at the university level that was going on anywhere in the U.S."[22] Both students and faculty contributed enormous creative energy to develop the programs and fashion a truly alternative education experience. However, precisely because of the potential of this effort, the university administration moved to subvert it.

Barrera notes the university administration tried "to retraditionalize" the college by centralizing power in the hands of the provost rather than the board, thus, limiting student involvement. This conservative thrust became evident in the tension between the provost and the board. Contrary to the original vision of the college, the provost (with administrative backing) insisted that the board was only advisory. He claimed final authority and significant disagreements erupted between the provost and the board over the appointment of faculty members.

This situation was exacerbated by the fact that the provost was Black. When conflicts did occur, a majority of Black students interpreted the disagreements on racial/nationalistic grounds and supported the provost against the other students and faculty. Thus, "almost paradoxically the majority of the Black students wound up supporting the provost who was denying the students participation in running the college."[23] It is important to note that in this regard, Barrera points out that the original members of the Black Student Union at UCDS (which included Angela Davis) had an internationalist consciousness, but they were replaced later by Black students who were more nationalistic. A minority of the Black students, however, continued to embrace the original political perspective and were opposed to the provost.

Eventually, the Hispanic, Asian, Native American, and white student organizations, plus a majority of the faculty, called for the provost's resignation. When he refused, the students and faculty organized a campaign directed more at the central administration than the provost. This illustrated their political insight that the higher administration was the real force for conservatizing the college and that they were using a minority front man to do the dirty work.

It is worth noting that this strategy was not an isolated incident. The same process, for example, was used at the University of Washington to undermine the operations of the minority studies programs. There, the university hired as director of minority affairs an individual who was never involved in the struggle for minority rights, but happened to be half Hawaiian and half Hispanic. Claiming that ethnicity as a legitimizing factor,

the university administration used the director to virtually reverse the original objectives of minority studies on campus.

Unfortunately, by the end of 1972 the resistance movement at UCSD was essentially defeated by the administration's ability to split the students on racial grounds and to use the provost against the radical faculty and students. Third World College continued to exist, but its original vision was greatly compromised.

Not all, however, was lost. According to Barrera, the struggle for Third World College was very worthwhile: "The experience of the struggle itself creates different kinds of consciousness. A great deal of political learning takes place during the struggle . . . You can learn about power structure from textbooks, but it really doesn't become real and immediate until you actually confront the power structure, try to bring about change and see the reaction that is forthcoming."[24]

While the struggle for the Third World College was unfolding in San Diego, an avalanche of minority studies programs were founded on campuses across the United States. One study estimated the number of schools providing Black studies programs reached a high of 500 in 1971.[25] A 1974 study estimated "there are perhaps 150 Chicano studies programs, 600 plus Spanish surname faculty in colleges, and 150,000 or more Spanish surname students . . ."[26] By 1984, however, the number of Black studies programs had declined to approximately 225 and the number of Chicano, Native American and Asian Studies programs also had declined.

This decline was due, in part, to the manner in which many of the programs were created. According to Robert Allen, "The hastiness with which many of the new programs were patched together suggested that they were being offered as palliatives, or pacification programs to cool out the students, rather than as serious innovations in the educational process."[27]

He also notes that foundations, government agencies, and universities tended to support the more conservative programs and attacked programs that had a radical orientation. Nathan Hare, for example, one of the founders of Black studies, wrote, "A Black Studies curriculum must include race analysis, class analysis, and the study of the oppressor as well as his Black victims. There must be a study of the march toward freedom of other peoples in other eras and other lands -- why they succeed, their failures, an analysis of their goals and strategy, their tactics."[28] This revolutionary perspective came under severe

attack at San Francisco State College, and Hare finally resigned to establish The Black Scholar with Robert Chrisman, another Black faculty activist. Programs which stressed purely academic pursuits such as Black history and the contributions of Blacks to American society had a better chance of survival.

Allen argues, however, that the general attack on Black studies and minorities as a whole should be analyzed within the overall political context of the Unites States. He writes, "The attack on Black studies coincided with the consolidation of reaction under the Nixon regime. On the one hand, the domestic economy was in trouble -- plagued by chronic stagnation, rampant inflation, and rising unemployment. On the other, the U.S. had been beaten in Vietnam and placed on the defensive internationally by the socialist countries, revolutionary struggles in the Third World, and contradictions with its capitalist allies.

Faced with these problems, the Nixon Administration, as the mouthpiece of America's rulers, launched a campaign to shift the burden of economic instability onto the working population in general while singling out Blacks and other potential dissidents as scapegoats for intensified repression . . . Academic racists were trotted out and used to justify this attack on the grounds of the 'inherent inferiority' of the Black race."[29]

This general attack, however, has not been completely successful in wiping out the hard fought gains of the minority student-community struggle. Many of the new minority studies programs managed to survive and progress. Although they face continuing problems of existence and expansion, they constitute one of the most significant ideological cracks in the academic armor. The truthful historic and contemporary analysis of minority life in American culture was virtually nonexistent in the traditional university. That monopoly of ignorance and neglect has been shattered. Although institutional racism persists in higher education, it is at least seriously challenged by students, faculty, and community members who have forced their feet through the door.

At Brown University, for example, minority students held rallies, sit-ins, and briefly occupied one of the university's libraries in April, 1985, to protest the university's "tolerance of racist behavior and its unconcern about the problems of students from minority groups."

The students pointed out, for instance, that the number of minority faculty is the same in 1985 as it was in 1975 -- 38. And

the number of Blacks on the faculty had actually declined, from 17 to 13, about 2.5 percent of the 530 member faculty.

Students also charged that courses paid little attention to the Third World. Several complained, for example, about the textbook used in the introductory survey course in history. "There were six pages in which Blacks were mentioned, all referred to slavery. That's how you can go through Brown," said one of the protest leaders, Robe Imbriano.

In response to these changes and to the demonstrations, the Brown Administration agreed to establish a committee to recommend ways to improve life on the campus for minority group members.[30]

Progress has been achieved while confronting some common problems across many campuses. One of the major problems has been funding. Black studies, like other minority and women's programs, emerged during a period when higher education began to experience budgetary problems. Thus, these new programs were put into financial competition with established programs with solid political bases within universities. More often than not, the established programs won the struggle for shrinking dollars, and minority programs were either eliminated or kept to a minimum. The programs that did survive faced the immediate problem of curriculum development. As is true with any new discipline, the development of introductory material and the consideration of what should be studied, how, and with what objectives, is debatable. This task was compounded by the fact that minority studies are interdisciplinary programs calling for intellectual synthesis. In addition to the time and effort required to fight budgetary battles and develop curricula, minority faculty have contributed considerable energy to support services for students and have engaged in community services. The time and energy required to meet these pressing demands usually took away from scholarly research and writing. Consequently, as we pointed out in earlier chapters, many minority faculty members have been denied tenure because they did not publish material that satisfied the "scholarly standards" of the traditional faculty.

According to Carlos A. Brossard, "Of all structural barriers, the hardest to address was the most unexpected in a period of proclaimed Black unity -- the strong interpersonal warfare around ideological differences and national backgrounds of Blacks.[31] The first issue usually boiled down to political perspective -- "Marxists vs. nationalists, reformers vs.

revolutionaries, accomodationist institutional role players vs. political activists on social change projects."

The second issue flowed from differences between international Blacks and American Blacks. Brossard points out, "Black American professors often showed more tolerance for class and cultural backgrounds of Black and poor students," while international Blacks, who had often been trained overseas in highly stratified colonial educational systems, did not. In some cases, these internal splits were more detrimental than external factors to programs.[32]

The host of problems that have plagued minority programs, while serious barriers, have not prevented successes. One of the most successful Black studies departments, for example, is directed by William Nelson, Jr. at Ohio State University. A graduate student colleague of Dennis Judd at the University of Illinois, Nelson accepted the challenge of developing a Black studies program at Ohio State as his first job in 1970. Although his program has faced the common problems of minority studies, he has managed to build it from a fringe program with seven faculty members to a full-fledged department with 20 faculty members offering a masters degree.

Nelson says this success is rooted in two important political resources.[33] The support of the Columbus Black community, which contains the department's community service center, provides the linkage between the academic program and the minority community -- an important factor in mobilizing support for Black studies. Another factor has been a community advisory board that includes a state legislator who chairs the legislative committee which oversees the Ohio State University budget. The combination of community support and support within the state legislature gave the department important bargaining resources in its many struggles to develop into a first-rate academic program.

Even this success, however, must be protected constantly. Ohio State University, for example, is down 500 minority students over five years ago.[34] A study by Michael B. Preston and Maurice Woodard indicates this is not an isolated phenomenon. In a 1984 article they wrote, "The optimism that flowed from the increased enrollment of Blacks in PhD programs in the late 1960s and 1970s has been replaced in the 1980s by the harsh fact that Black enrollment in political science is decreasing. In fact, the number of Black students entering advanced degree programs in political science has dropped

steadily since 1980. Even more alarming is the fact that is shows no sign of rebounding. Indeed, all signs point to the fact that enrollments are likely to get worse before they get better."[35]

Even when minority members do achieve advanced degrees there is still considerable difficulty in obtaining faculty positions. For example, Derrick A. Bell, dean of the University of Oregon Law School and first Black scholar to head a predominantly white law school, resigned in February 1985. Bell was forced to leave his position when several faculty members blocked the appointment of a highly qualified Chinese-American woman to an academic position.[36]

The decline of undergraduate and graduate minority students, and the great difficulty of achieving tenure for minority faculty will no doubt continue in the near future. The general budgetary crisis of higher education, new cuts in student aid by the Reagan Administration, and the traditional ideology of most tenured faculty and college administrators all create a difficult situation. In the struggle ahead minorities and other progressive individuals have the historic lessons of the 1960s and 1970s to draw from. The gains achieved through the great sacrifice of an earlier generation only can be advanced by the willingness of the current generation to pick up the torch and carry it forward.

MARXISM SCALES THE IVORY TOWER

As we noted earlier, the McCarthyism of the post-World War II period virtually outlawed critical thinking and anyone vaguely associated with Marxism on university campuses found themselves under attack. The lack of a Marxist perspective within the academy began to change, however, during the student revolt era. Involvement in the civil rights and anti-war movements stimulated many students and younger faculty to search for an intellectual framework that would better explain the persistence of racism and war. For many, the Marxist critique of capitalism (that included conceptualizing minorities as a source of cheap labor and imperialism as a stage of advanced exploitation of the Third World) answered questions that liberal or conservative perspectives could not.

Indeed, in 1982, Ollman and Vernoff in their book, The Left Academy: Marxist Scholarship on American Campuses, argued, "A Marxist cultural revolution is taking place today in American universities. More and more students and faculty are being introduced to Marx's interpretation of how capitalism works . . .

It is a peaceful and democratic revolution, fought chiefly with books and lectures, with most of the action taking place on the fringes of the established disciplines."

They point out "four Marxist-inspired textbooks" are now available for introductory American government courses, whereas before 1970 there were none. They also note that the three most prestigious university presses have published over 15 books on Marxism, that over 400 courses on Marxist philosophy are offered today, and that two Marxist historians (Eugene Genovese and William A. Williams) recently have been elected to the presidency of the Organization of American Historians. The Socialist Scholars' Conferences have drawn thousands of scholars in recent years and virtually every discipline has a radical caucus challenging the traditional professional perspective.

This Marxist intellectual breakthrough is somewhat overstated by Ollman and Vernhoff who write, ". . . the continued presence of some Marxist professors has become an absolute requirement to legitimize the university in the eyes of students, faculty, and the general public alike as a real university."[37]

The data we have included in this book (including Ollman's own case) suggests the inclusion of Marxist professors is not an "absolute requirement" on campuses. In fact, a Marxist presence is still an extremely difficult achievement, although some progress has been made.

We believe that a more accurate assessment of the current situation is captured by Mark Kesselman who wrote in the same book:

> Marxism remains heavily under-represented in every political science department in the United States. It is a rare department that contains a self-designated Marxist among its tenured faculty. Few students have the opportunity to take courses in which Marxism and Marxist approaches to politics are presented in depth. Marxist faculty members and students are subject to censorship and other forms of repression. Nonetheless, there has been a remarkable growth of Marxism within American political science.[38]

Kesselman cites as examples of this growth the "increasing attention to Marx's own writing . . . a veritable explosion of Marxist political research . . . (and) the publication of Marxist and

radical textbooks and anthologies." He also notes the presence of Marxist approaches at professional conferences and the substantial support gathered by Marxist candidates in the elections conducted by academic associations.

Thus, as is the case with women's studies and minority studies, Marxist thought has established a beachhead within the traditional academy. There is no question that these intellectual currents, set in motion by the student revolt of the 1960s, have successfully pierced the orthodox academic armor of universities. Students and faculty members in 1985 have considerably greater opportunities to explore unorthodox ideas and develop critical thinking than their counterparts in the 1950s. Despite the current tenuousness of this achievement, it should not be underestimated or taken for granted since many individuals paid a high price to establish the right to a more relevant university education. More importantly, these breakthroughs provide a staging ground for additional struggles which will unfold in the period ahead. As the next chapter indicates, the commitment to social justice and the struggle for a relevant education is far from dead in the United States.

End Notes
Chapter 8

[1]Lisa Di Caprio, "Women Studies, After 15 Years, Still a Lot Left to Learn," The Guardian (October 24, 1984), p. 10-11.

[2]Florence Howe and Paul Lanter, The Impact of Women's Studies on the Campus and the Disciplines, (National Institute of Education, 1980).

[3]Quoted in Di Caprio, op.cit., p. 10.

[4]Ibid, p. 11.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Helen S. Astin and Mary Beth Snyder, "A Decade of Response: Affirmative Action, 1972-1982," Change (July-August, 1982), pp. 26-30.

[8]Ibid., p. 27.

[9]Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Women, Minorities, and Academic Freedom," in Craig Kaplan and Ellen Schecker, Regulating the Intellectuals, (Praeger, 1983), p. 149.

[10]"Yale Chief Discusses Issues In Strike," New York Times, (October 12, 1984), p. 15.

[11]Denver Post, (December, 17, 1984), p. 2.

[12]"Beep, Beep, Yale's Cheap Looking at the Yale Strike," Radical America (No. 5, 1985), p. 7.

[13]Carol and Paul Boss, "Yale Teaches a Valuable Lesson," The Progressive (March, 1985), p. 17.

[14]Radical America, op.cit., p. 8.

[15]Ibid.

[16]"Hailing Legal Victory For Women at City U," New York Times (April 16, 1985), p. 17.

[17]"3 Women Awarded $5,833 in Oregon Bias Suit," New York Times (April 10, 1985), p. 2.

[18]"32 Women Given Raises in Pay Case at Keene," The Chronicle of Higher Education (April 24, 1985), p. 3.

[19]Adopted from the Plan de Santa Barbara, see Juan Gomez-Quinoner, "To Leave, to Hope or Change: Proposition on Chicano Studies, 1974," in Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education, 1974.

[20]Ibid., pp. 154-155.

[21]Mario Barrera, "The Struggle for Third World College at U.C. San Diego," in Ibid., p. 63.

[22]Ibid., p. 64.

[23]Ibid., p. 66.

[24]Ibid., p. 68.

[25]Alan K. Colon, "Critical Issues in Black Studies: A Selective Analysis," Journal of Negro Education (December, 1984), p. 276.

[26]Juan Gomez-Quinoner, op.cit., p. 154.

[27]Robert Allen, "Politics of the Attack on Black Studies," Black Scholar (September, 1974), p. 4.

[28]Quoted in Ibid., p. 4.

[29]Ibid., p. 5.

[30]Cory Dean, "Racial Tensions at Brown Eased By Plan for a Panel," New York Times (April 30, 1985), p. 9.

[31]Carols A. Brossard, "Classifying Black Studies Programs," Journal of Negro Education, (Vol. 53, Nov. 3, 1984), p. 286.

[32]For an elaboration of these points see Brossard in Ibid.

[33]Personal interview, November, 14, 1984.

[34]Ibid.

[35]In P.S. (Fall, 1984), p. 787.

[36]"Bell Resigns Deanship of Oregon, Cites Minority Hiring Failure," Harvard Law Record (March 1, 1985).

[37]In Ollman and Vernoff, The Left Academy, p. 5.

[38]Ibid., p. 87. See Michael Parenti, "The State of the Discipline: One Interpretation of Everyone's Favorite Controversy," PS (Vol. 26, Spring, 1983), p. 189.

Chapter 9

The Resurgence of Student Rebellion

By the mid-1970s, the most explosive and wide-spread student rebellion in American history had waned thanks to several factors. Many of the most politically active students were forced out of higher education. Others left voluntarily to engage in workplace and/or community organizing. Others simply dropped out of school and politics. The draft ended, the Vietnamese won the Vietnam War, and the Watergate scandal drove Richard Nixon from the Presidency. University administrators were forced to grant concessions to students, and a multitude of educational reforms were instituted.

The combined impact of these factors provided the orthodox institutional authorities in higher education an opportunity to catch their breath and develop a strategy for countering the advances made by popular forces. As we noted in earlier chapters, administrators took steps to rid campuses of the most militant students, tenured faculty protected the higher circles of the ivory tower by eliminating numerous radical faculty members from their midst, and many innovative programs, hastily set up to reduce student-community pressure, later were attacked through budgetary cuts and administrative reorganization.

This reactionary counter-offensive generally was successful but not completely so. The student rebellion era produced the lasting effects we have already discussed. However, it was clear to many observers of the campus scene that the contrast between May 1970 and May 1980 was indeed drastic. Not only were the campuses of 1980 virtually politically silent (which was interpreted as meaning conservative), but in the larger society Richard Nixon was reincarnated through the election of Ronald Reagan. Some studies indicated that approximately 60 percent of students voted for Reagan, thus adding support to the thesis that students had evolved into a conservative sector of the population and were no longer interested in social problems or social change.

However, just when the prevailing wisdom concluded that students were not a force for political change some strange stirrings began to emerge. In an attempt to reassert U.S. military prestige in the embarrassing aftermath of the Vietnam defeat and the Iranian hostage crisis, Reagan ordered the U.S. military to conquer the small country of Grenada (about 100,000 people) in

October 1983. This blatant violation of another country's sovereignty sparked a spontaneous protest on the Berkeley campus that drew 1,500 students. According to a participant in the demonstration, the media did not focus on the demonstrators but on 15 Republican students who supported Reagan. A year later, Reagan tried to politically exploit the invasion by sponsoring student support rallies around the country. However, the tactic backfired and students opposed to Reagans militarism held counter-demonstrations that drew larger crowds than the White House-orchestrated rallies. At the University of Colorado in Boulder, for example, students who protested the Grenadian invasion outnumbered the Reagan supporters two to one in a spirited demonstration that featured musician-activist Gill Scott-Heron.[1] A week later, the New York Times published a pre-election poll that showed 53 percent of the students at seven Ivy League schools supported Walter Mondale for president compared to only 34 percent for Ronald Reagan.[2] At Yale University some 430 persons were arrested in support of strikers, and student leaders declared the student movement alive and well.[3] At Brown University a majority of students voted to direct the student health service to stockpile suicidal cynide pills as part of an educational campaign to halt the nuclear arms race. And at the University of Colorado 40 students and professors signed a pact stating their intention to shelter an illegal alien who was a political refugee from the dictatorial government of El Salvador. This public flouting of the law was organized by the Central American Refugee Task Force, a student group protesting what it said was discriminatory exclusion policies practiced by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The group was an outgrowth of a project launched by several members of a philosophy class taught by Professor James Kimble. Task force member Jill Hanauer said, "When the law is immoral, you only have one moral choice, and that is to defy the law."[4]

Someone forgot to inform these students that this was not the 1960s and that they were supposed to be politically conservative with their noses to the money wheel.

Twenty Years After the Free Speech Movement Students Attack the CIA

In an unplanned tribute to the 20th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement, a major resurgence of student rebellion emerged in the late 1984-85 academic year. Its most dramatic

CIA protest at Tufts

aspect has been the wide-spread attack by students against the CIA and university ties with apartheid South Africa.

The first major protest against CIA campus recruiting occurred at Tufts University on October 3, 1984. When Stephen L. Conn, CIA recruiter, attempted to address an informational meeting concerning CIA operations, 25 student protestors formed a human wall between Conn and the audience, preventing him from delivering his presentation.[5] The Tufts administration called the protestors before a disciplinary panel, but the students turned the hearing around and put the CIA on trial for war crimes before 90 supportive people in the audience. They also argued that the university administration, not the students, had broken university rules by violating the "standards of the community" in allowing the CIA on campus.

rationale for protesting

This defense succeeded and the panel did not discipline the students although ruled that the protestors had violated university policy. After the disciplinary process was over the protestors convinced three deans to temporarily suspend CIA recruitment until a panel of deans could determine if university policies were in fact being violated by the CIA presence on campus.

When the protestors announced the temporary suspension to the mass media, a political uproar of conservative forces occurred. Within a day, Tufts President Jean Mayer rescinded the temporary suspension. "One dean told protest leaders that Mayer had been pressured to take the action after receiving complaints from Tufts trustees."[6] It was reported that privately Mayer admitted, "It would be difficult pragmatically and ideologically for Tufts to ban agencies of the federal government from its campus."

According to an analysis written by Tufts' student John Roosa, Mayer's action is explained by the fact that, "although a small school, Tufts sends a large number of students each year to the CIA."[7] Roosa points out that the university's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy "is an important training center for potential CIA employees" and that "the last three U.S. ambassadors to El Salvador are Fletcher alumni."

Roosa also discloses strong ties between key members of the Tufts administration, board of trustee members, several faculty and the CIA. He concludes, "The case of Tufts and the CIA illustrates how some universities have sacrificed their independence and academic freedom for the chance to become servants of the state."[8] Roosa and other students at Tufts are

vs CIA at other univ.

leading the struggle to pressure Tufts University into living up to its ideals.

On November 14, 1985, about 75 students at the University of Michigan placed three CIA representatives "on trial" and charged them as follows: "The citizens of the world charge the CIA with the following crimes against humanity: the overthrow of Allende in Chile, Arbenz in Guatemala, Mossadegh in Iran, the illegal mining of Nicaragua's harbors, the funding of the contras . . ."[9]

The recruiters stood under a banner painted by the protesters that read, "Covert Institutionalized Atrocities", and refused to answer the charges concerning CIA operations. Consequently, they were escorted out of the building to their cars by the chanting demonstrators. Outside a student was distributing the CIA manual instructing readers in the methods of assassinating Nicaraguan officials and attacking civilian targets to "demoralize" the population.

After the mock trial, the CIA canceled individual interviews with University of Michigan students. None of the students faced disciplinary action.

Within two weeks of the University of Michigan action, similar student protests against CIA recruiting occurred at Brown University, Berkeley, Yale, the University of Wisconsin and Columbia. At Brown, 67 students participated in a citizen's arrest of a CIA recruiter, accusing him of violating seven specific laws.

After refusing student proposals to guarantee the "free exchange of ideas" mandated by faculty guidelines on recruiting, the Brown university administration brought the students before a disciplinary board on December 5, 1984. The students called faculty and undergraduate witnesses on their behalf, who testified that the university violated its own recruiting guidelines. Other witnesses described meetings with victims of CIA atrocities in Nicaragua.

The final defense witness was John Stockwell, former CIA agent who called his former employer "depraved" and a violator of "all the laws of God and man." "He also gave a detailed account of how he had personally committed, seen or had direct knowledge of thousands of CIA crimes, including covert domestic intelligence-gathering, murder, perjury, torture, rape and the waging of covert wars. The audience of 500 was clearly moved. Asked by the chair if he had any questions for Stockwell, university prosecutor Eric Widmer could only bow his head in

mute astonishment . . . the action generated a level of solidarity unseen on this campus in years."[10]

In January 1985, five Northwestern students were arrested for staging a sit-in in the school's placement office. Placement Director Victor Lindquist defended the university's policy of allowing the CIA on campus. "It's recognized as a legitimate arm of the U.S. . . . the university has to be an environment where any and all ideas can be discussed."

The student protestors, however, strongly disagreed. One commented, "Someone here may choose to be interviewed by the CIA, but its victims in Central America don't choose to be victims." Another student argued, "This is not a free-speech issue. They do not have a right to recruit here. We might as well let the Mafia on campus to do recruiting. If some group came to campus and identified itself as a terror squad with connections to right-wing fascists, I think the university would not let that group on campus."[11]

During early April 1985, a student-community group called Community in Action met with District Attorney Alex Hunter to seek a conspiracy indictment against CIA recruiters scheduled to be on the University of Colorado campus in Boulder.

The indictment, which also was prepared for a grand jury, charged the CIA with the "intent to promote or facilitate the crimes of murder, manslaughter, criminally negligent homicide, assault in the first, second and third degrees" and a host of other crimes, including rape and child abuse.[12]

Community in Action stated that if the district attorney did not act on the complaint its members would make a citizen's arrest of the CIA recruiters. Student Kevin Harris said, "As a citizen of this community, if our authorities are not willing to uphold these laws, then I feel I have no choice but to uphold these laws by taking them into our own hands."

The district attorney and the university's police department cautioned against the plans for a citizen's arrest and threatened to arrest the protestors if they interfered with university business. The university's Career Services Director, Gordon Gray, said, "This organization is a legitimate employer. It is a government agency that employs citizens of our country, and my business is to facilitate the students' access to jobs." Gray pointed out that 156 students signed up for interviews, putting the CIA among the top 10 potential employers for students.

The protestors, however, were not impressed by numbers; they continued to stress the moral and ethical characteristics of

the CIA. They compared the agency to the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, saying these groups also had successful recruiting drives but that did not justify their goals and actions.

When authorities refused to cancel the interviews or arrest the CIA agents, Community in Action moved to perform their own citizen's arrests. Over a period of three days, 478 citizens were arrested by university police for attempting to arrest the CIA recruiters. Each person who was arrested made a personal statement on a public address system about their opposition to CIA activity, particularly in Central America, and why it was their responsibility to stop the agency. Among those arrested was well-known poet Allen Ginsberg who stated, "I'm arresting them (the CIA) for dope peddling and murder." Asked to comment on the significance of the event, Ginsberg said, "I think it means the breakdown of the hype that Reagan has been laying down that he is a normal American."[13]

Realizing that those arrested looked forward to a public trial in which their defense was to put the CIA on trial, the Boulder District Attorney dropped all charges against the protestors about a week after the CIA left town.

As participants in the Boulder demonstration and witnesses to the individual statements of those arrested, it was clear to us that many contemporary students and past students (who are now community members) constitute a vital and growing force for social change in higher education. The notion that former radicals have joined the establishment or dropped out of progressive politics, and that today's students are only interested in a job and money, is mythical and wishful thinking of those who defend the unjust status quo. Deep humanistic moral values and informal political understandings of U.S. politics was expressed eloquently by hundreds of people for over 20 hours at the April 1985 Boulder demonstration. Such ethical values, political insights, and personal commitments to justice cannot be stopped by pretending that they do not exist or that they are merely expressions of spring fever. A new era is beginning on American campuses and it has the potential to match and perhaps surpass the explosive uprisings of the 1960s.

Students Tackle Apartheid

While students across the nation were attacking the CIA, other students were engaging in major anti-apartheid demonstrations. During April 1985, the largest student protests

occurred at Columbia and Berkeley. At Columbia University, over 300 students, faculty, and staff members barricaded a campus building on April 8, 1985, and demanded the university divest $33 million of stocks in corporations doing business in South Africa. Following a rally organized by the Coalition for a Free South Africa (CFSA), the crowd chanted, "Remember '68 before it's too late", and chained shut the main entrance to Hamilton Hall which was renamed by the protestors as Mandela Hall (after South African liberation leader Nelson Mandela).

The protestors maintained that the university's investments in such corporations such as Mobil Oil, IBM, Ford, General Motors and other companies that do business with South Africa amounts to approval and support for the racist regime in South Africa. Coalition spokesperson, Walter Hayes, said, "Our point is that the university, as a moral institution, cannot act just like a bank with its money. And as students, we have a special moral and ethical duty to oppose apartheid."[14] The coalition pointed out, "IBM is still supplying computers which keep track of Blacks under the pass law system. Mobil is still providing oil to the South African military, and all companies are still obliged under the Key Points Act to offer their factories to the military in case of Black unrest."

Reporter William Bastone writing in the Village Voice also notes the linkages between companies doing business in South Africa and the university's Board of Trustees. He writes, "Samuel Higgenbottom, chairman and president of Rolls-Royce, is chairman of the trustees. Rolls-Royce does business in South Africa. William Hubbard, another trustee, is president of Upjohn, which employs 211 people in South Africa. Trustee Thomas Young is a retired partner of Arthur Young and Company, an accounting firm that employs 475 people in the country. Trustees emeriti have been associated with Sterling Drugs, CBS, Citibank, and McGraw-Hill, all of which have financial interests in South Africa. Trustee emeritus Grayson Kirk, who called police onto the campus when he was president in 1968, sits on IBM's advisory board . . . Divestment, therefore, would be not only a statement from Columbia, but also from the companies that its trustees control."

Seven members of the coalition's steering committee, including a Black South African student, began a hunger strike March 25, vowing to fast until university President Michael Sovern agreed to meet with them to discuss divestment. When two of the hunger strikers were hospitalized, Sovern visited them

but made no commitments on the stock holdings. When one of the university's board of trustees members was informed of the deteriorating health conditions of the student fasters, his reply was "keep fasting."[15]

On April 15, more than 1,000 people gathered in front of Mandela Hall to hear Rev. Jesse Jackson speak in support of the anti-apartheid demonstration. Rev. Jackson commended the protestors for showing "a willingness to put dignity above a degree." He said they were setting a moral example that could help "organize students on every campus in America." Turning to the university administration, Jackson criticized their unwillingness to end ties with South Africa. He commented, "South Africa cannot stand alone, it needs the investments of Western democracies, led by America, and the prestige of and credibility of American universities."[16]

As students continued to maintain an around-the-clock barricade in front of Mandela Hall, about 200 Columbia faculty members signed a petition in support of the protestors. Professors also participated in a panel discussion and a "teach-in" on the apartheid system in South Africa and the liberation movement. Additionally, Black community groups visited the demonstration to offer support, and to donate food and money.

A reporter from the New York Times who covered the demonstration oberved "a sharp contrast to the tensions that marked relations between students and labor unions during the Vietnam era." For example, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters donated $1,000 to the student protestors plus $100 for each day the blockade continued. U.A.W. District 65, which represents the clerical workers on the campus also donated blankets and food, and offered legal assistance to the students. And city workers, hospital workers and members of the musicians union also sided with the protestors.[17]

Demonstration organizers vowed if their demands were not met they would initiate other forms of protest. "Our main idea is to prevent the trustees from passively sitting back and hoping this thing goes away," Laird C. Townsend said, a senior and organizer of the coalition.[18]

While events were unfolding at Columbia, a simultaneous demonstration was under way on the opposite coast at the University of California, Berkeley. The students were protesting the university's investment of $1.7 billion in concerns doing business in South Africa. For a week, students held 24-hour

demonstrations on the steps of Sproul Hall, the birthplace of the Free Speech Movement.

On the morning of April 15, police in riot gear moved in on the protestors and arrested 158 for trespassing and illegal lodging. At a noonday campus rally that attracted over 1,500 people, Mario Savio reminded the crowd of the similarities in the struggles of the '60s and '80s and said, "It's a nationwide demonstration. The students at Columbia and Rutgers are watching you. Don't let them down."[19]

Rallies during the next two days drew at least 4,000 demonstrators each. Busloads of union members, from nearby communities, made up half of the crowd. Indeed, this emerging linkage between students and organized labor is the most significant new development in the current stage of campus activism. For example, when longshoreman heard at their West Coast convention that 156 Berkeley students were arrested, "we decided to move the whole convention to 'Steve Biko' (Sproul) Hall," said union leader Al Lannon. When over 600 longshoremen showed up at the student demonstration, the students went wild with enthusiasm. The student blockade gained endorsements from a long list of labor unions and councils, including the carpenters union, school bus drivers, the Alameda County Labor Council and the Santa Clara County Labor Council. Additionally, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees which represents clerical workers on the Berkeley Campus supported the students.

The Berkeley protestors responded to the arrests by calling for a boycott of classes by students and faculty. They also demanded amnesty for the arrested students, and moved to continue the struggle until university officials cut ties with South Africa. "We're going to stay out here until our demands are met," student John Fox said, "We want the administration to know that we are not giving up."[20]

Additional anti-apartheid demonstrations were organized at Harvard, Cornell, Rutgers, and the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. Students at all the schools exposed the contradiction between the universities' stated humane ideals and the reality of their investment policies, called for complete divestment, and applied pressure on university officials to withdraw their support for racism in South Africa. At Harvard, organizers achieved a modest victory when the university announced it was divesting $1 million worth of stock in the Baker International Corporation because the company refused to supply the school with

information concerning its South African operations.[21] Although the protestors approved of the move, they pointed out that Harvard continues to hold $565 million worth of stock invested in South African-related companies, and they called for total divestment. Meanwhile, at Stanford University, the trustees voted to divest 124,000 shares of stock in Motorola, Inc. if Motorola decided to resume sales of equipment to South African police. In total, during the 1984-85 academic year, 40 colleges and universities divested stocks in companies doing business in South Africa.

A significant feature of the most recent campus struggles is the involvement of coalitions consisting of students, faculty, university staff and community groups including labor unionists. This unity of progressive forces is an important advance over struggles in the 1960s, in which students were often isolated from other sectors of the population, particularly from labor unions. The willingness of non-students to join with students in struggles perhaps is due to the fact that many former student activists now are out in the community and in labor unions. Such individuals continue the social commitments developed during the student rebellion era and now are in positions to build alliances with the new generation of students. If this emerging coalition continues and grows, the correlation of forces on campuses may shift in a more favorable direction for those attempting to achieve progressive change. The results of the Yale struggle and the growing support of the CIA and anti-apartheid struggles suggests this possibility.

The New Student Movement Confronts a Strong Right-Wing

One of the challenges confronting the current emerging student-community movement is a well-organized and well-financed right-wing student movement and conservative movement in the larger society. The student movement is headed by Students for a Better America (SBA) which was formed in 1982, and claims 5,000-7,000 members in about 100 chapters across the U.S. SBA is funded by individuals and corporate donors like the Coors Foundation and Rockefeller Trust Funds. In 1984, SBA opened a Washington, D.C. office in the same building as the Heritage Foundation, a conservative "think-tank" for the Reagan Administration. Two of Heritage's board members, Burton Pines and Midge Decter, also are on the board of SBA.[22]

On college campuses across the nation, SBA is using McCarthyite smear tactics to attack progressive student organizations. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has become their number one target. SBA has issued a report entitled, "CISPES: A Terrorist Propaganda Network," in which it is claimed that CISPES was formed by the Salvadorean Communist Party and that the group is linked to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and African "terrorist" groups. SBA claims to have distributed the report to over 400 journalists, key members of Congress, FBI Director William Webster and Secretary of State George Shultz. The group has lobbied to force CISPES to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1934.[23]

SBA also has mounted a smear campaign against Saul Landau, a visiting professor of Latin American history at the University of California at Davis. The group picketed Landau's lectures and film showings, charging he has no right to teach because he is a "propagandist for Cuba and red fascism." The campaign has stimulated one California state senator, H.L. Richardson, to request an inquiry into U.C. Davis' hiring practices. The university, of course, depends on legislative funding.

SBA's director of research, J. Michael Waller, edits "The Freedom Fighter," which is distributed free on campuses. A recent issue asserted that "2,000 Guatemalan Marxist geurrillas have joined the Salvadorean FMLN."[24] The magazine claims 60,000 readers. Those who contribute $20 receive a special souvenir--a brass bullet casing from the rifle of one of Reagan's "freedom fighters."

The conservative student organization works closely with the National Center for Public Policy Research which distributes the Heritage Foundation's reports and literature on Central America, much of it anti-Sandinista misinformation which endorses Reagan's support of the counter-revolutionaries attempting to overthrow the democratically elected Nicaraguan government. SBA also has ties with other right-wing organizations, such as Citizens for Reagan, which conducts mis-educational campaigns concerning struggles in Central America.

SBA fits into a larger political context. It is funded by the right-wing of the Republican Party, headed by Ronald Reagan, which has captured control of the Presidency and the Federal Government bureaucracy. Reagan represents the extremist political forces that backed Barry Goldwater for president in 1964

and Richard Nixon in 1968. In fact, it is worth recalling that Reagan was a "Democrat for Nixon" in 1960 before he switched his party registration to Republican in 1962.[25]

Prior to assuming presidency, Reagan strongly advocated conservative causes, including opposition to federal aid to education. He condemned the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (which provided the first large-scale funding for higher education), opposed the creation of the U.S. Department of Education, and attacked the moderate National Education Association as a left-wing union which seeks to establish "a federal school system with everything from curriculum to textbooks dictated by Washington."[26]

As President, Reagan launched a large scale attack against education. In 1982 alone, he asked Congress for a 33 percent cut in educational funding and proposed that overall federal aid to education be cut in half by 1986. He proposed deep slashes in federal aid to poverty-stricken school districts, and wholesale cuts in programs for disadvantaged, handicapped, bilingual and other special students.

In terms of higher education, Reagan has supported the views of his former chief economic advisor, Martin Feldstein, who stated, "We probably induce too many people to go on to college . . . I don't think 15 years ago I would have thought that I would be saying there's too much higher education. Yet, look at what has actually happened as a result of government subsidies."[27]

In order to deal with the problem of "too much" education, Reagan proposed in 1981 to eliminate 750,000 of the 2.7 million recipients of Pell Grants designated for disadvantaged college students. By 1983, he proposed the program be cut by 50 percent. He also attacked the Guaranteed Student Loan Program, which made it possible for students to borrow money at subsidized interest rates while in school and pay off the loans after graduation.

The proposed Reagan education budget for fiscal 1986 would prevent an estimated one million students from receiving federal aid. It would cut $1.67 billion from the 1985 budget. No student could receive more than $4,000 a year from all federal sources. Pell Grants, work-study funds, and student loans would be restricted to students from families earning no more than $25,000 a year. Subsidized Guaranteed Student Loans would be restricted to students from families with annual incomes below $32,500.

Reagan's Secretary of Education William J. Bennett, caused an uproar among students and educators when he defended these cuts by stating that some students may have to consider "divestiture of certain sorts: stereo divestiture, automobile divestiture, three-weeks-at-the-beach divestiture."[28]

Testifying before a congressional hearing on aid cuts, John P. O'Brien, a first-year medical student at the University of Vermont, commented, "What he said really denigrated students. He's right about one thing. There are some students who have cars, vacations and fine clothes. But not those on financial aid."[29] Mr. O'Brien estimated that he would owe the federal government $240,000 when his medical education was completed. "I don't have a car, and I don't have a stereo. I don't have any material goods except athletic stuff. I don't even have a clock." he said.

Susan Davis, a law student, said she had student loan debts of $17,000 and that many of her fellow students made "real and painful sacrifices" to go to law school. She testified that as a single parent if she were unable to receive federal aid her only alternative would be to accept a job that paid the minimum wage and go on welfare.

Without federal aid, graduate students like myself wouldn't stand a chance. To lower the funds we receive would deprive us in the future. I'm representative of a growing number of adults who are compelled to return to school. My future and my children's futures depend on student aid," she said.[30]

According to a report by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, about a quarter of a million students from families with annual incomes of less than $6,000 would lose an average of $1,160 each in federal aid under Reagan's proposals. An additional 96,000 students from families with incomes between $6,000-$12,000 would suffer aid cuts.

"These figures show that the Reagan Administration's claim that the cuts would affect only middle-income students from families with incomes of more than $25,000 is false," said AASCU President Allan W. Ostar. "In fact, 40 percent (500,000) of the students who would be affected come from families with incomes below $25,000 per year."[31]

The report findings are summarized on the next page.

Number of Students Who Would Lose Aid
Under Reagan Proposals

Income	Low-Income	Minority	Women	Female Single Parents
Less than $6,000	236,992	61,028	114,008	17,535
$6,000-$12,000	95,934	20,828	50,696	3,131
$12,000-$18,000	92,812	15,158	49,240	2,601
$18,000-$25,000	72,270	8,184	34,548	395
$25,000-$32,500	--	39,867	133,506	534
$32,500-and above	--	31,737	249,063	--
Total	498,008	176,815	631,145	24,106

Source: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.
The Chronicle of Higher Education, April 10, 1985, p. 19.

Congressman Carl C. Perkins of Kentucky also criticized the student aid cuts and pointed out that all but one member of the Reagan Cabinet had gone to private universities, which would suffer from the proposals. "If these institutions were good enough for President Reagan's top advisors, why aren't they good enough for able but needy young men and women?" he asked.[32]

Other critics pointed out that at the same time the Administration was seriously cutting the education budget, it was substantially increasing the military budget, thus increasing the federal budgetary debt. When this disparity between continued military spending and cutbacks in education financing were pointed out to Bennett during a television interview, he replied, "The Federal Government has a monopoly on defense. Education is mainly a state and local responsibility."[33]

Students at the University of Illinois at Chicago, however, did not buy this explanation. When Bennett showed up on campus about 150 students organized a quick protest in which they chanted, "Books, not bombs!" Student leader Dan Sobel said, "The U.S. government spends $500 on a screwdriver but they won't spend $500 on me." Student activist Ed Sadlowski observed, "It's one thing for a national leader to claim to be a fiscal conservative for the good of the people, but it's another goddammed thing for him to stand there and taunt the underprivileged . . . He's walking, talking, breathing slime that can't even be called a human being."[34]

It is important to note that the fiscal hatchet job on student aid performed by the Reagan Administration in the name of budgetary restraint, has not prevented the Administration from spending large sums to finance military related research projects on university campuses. Between 1979 and 1981 military research on campuses increased by 70 percent in dollar volume and it is the fastest growing, most reliable source of outside research funding. For example, the Army Mathematics Center at the University of Wisconsin, which was destroyed by a bomb in 1971, has been renamed the Mathematics Research Center and presently is working on a $14 million defense contract. At the University of Michigan, Willow Run, which during the 1960s helped develop surveillance systems and as a result was forced off campus, is now the Environmental Research Institute. It holds over $15 million in defense contracts for work on optics, lasers, electronic detection instruments and a guidance system for the cruise missile.[35]

In March 1985, the Pentagon announced it was awarding five U.S. universities (Auburn, the Polytechnic Institute of New York, SUNY at Buffalo, Texas Tech and the University of Texas at Arlington) a $19 million research grant to begin research on Reagan's "Star Wars" weapon system. Within a month, nine additional universities were awarded $9 million "to develop specialized computers for use in space weapons." Both academics and government officials involved said that many times the initial amount spent on the "Star Wars" project eventually will be used to develop space weapons.

University involvement in such research immediately raised concerns on some campuses. "This is treading on very, very thin ice", said an engineering professor at Stanford. The Defense Department stated that many of the researchers would need security clearances and some research may be barred from publication.[36]

Thus, the education policies of the Reagan Administration are aimed at reducing the number of students attending institutions of higher education, particularly those from low to moderate income families. The ability of such students to obtain a college education was increased in the aftermath of the student revolt era, but now those gains are being seriously curtailed. These cutbacks in student aid are occurring simultaneously with a rapid expansion of funding for military research on campus. The implications are clear: as funding is withdrawn from students who may want to pursue the humanities, women's studies, minority studies, health care, social sciences or law, and as funding is increased in the areas of military research, the emphasis on college campuses shifts toward fulfilling the military needs of the state rather than educating students to be critically minded.

The danger of such a shift is enhanced when the same Secretary Bennett who argues that education is a state-local function makes a major speech attacking the manner in which history is taught in U.S. schools. Speaking before a Conference on Civic Virtue and Educational Excellence, Bennett complained that students were not being taught about the "communist threat" in Central America and questioned whether "American schools are helping to transmit our democratic heritage. Do the norms and values which the schools inculcate make the case for our political system?" he asked.[37] Bennett placed part of the blame for students' lack of knowledge on "cultural relativists" who he said taught history without transmitting the social values of

democracy and failed to draw distinctions between opposing political traditions.

Another member in Reagan's advisory circle has attacked the substance of what is taught in American education. Former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon wrote in his book, A Time of Truth, that the main source of our national problem is "an egalitarian-redistributionist ideology promoted by a powerful political intelligentsia," housed principally in American universities. Additionally, the Trilateral Commission, an organization representing the most powerful American corporations and including several key Reagan advisors, has said American intellectuals constitute "a challenge to democratic government which is, potentially at least, as serious as those posed in the past by aristocratic cliques, fascist movements and communist parties."[38] Recently, a right-winged group, Accuracy in Academia, has been established to monitor college classes and to expose academies spreading left-wing "misinformation" to students.

The pressure to mold universities into even more conservative institutions is exerted by increasing corporate penetration of university operations. As we have noted, the governing boards of universities are dominated by corporate officials who have final authority in the selection of administrators, faculty appointments, and other key policies. In recent years, universities have been forging tighter links with the corporate world than ever before. Many large corporations now work hand-in-hand with universities in a wide variety of research efforts. As with military research, corporate-funded research (which has increased 325 percent over the past decade to $3.1 billion in 1983) strongly influences the focus of university intellectual pursuits. Indeed, at a recent meeting of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, William C. Norris, chairperson of Control Data Corporation, told college presidents that to improve their "output of human capital" they must form a partnership with the business world "to determine what needs to be taught."[39]

The combination of corporate control of university governing boards, corporate funding of research, and influence on curriculum, increased military research on campuses, a federal administration that seeks to drive potentially critical-thinking young people out of school, and the emergence of a well-financed right-wing student movement poses a powerful opposition force to the emerging progressive student movement.

Can the resurgent student movement successfully combat this constellation of conservative forces? The future course of higher education may well be determined by the answer to this question.

End Notes
Chapter 9

[1]Daily Camera (Boulder, Colorado), October 26, 1984, p. 1.

[2]"Ivy League Poll Gives Mondale a Clear Lead," New York Times, October 30, 1984, p. 10.

[3]"430 Arrested at Protest in Support of Yale Strikers," New York Times, October 27, 1984, p. 12.

[4]Charlie Brennan, "40 at CU Vow Shelter for Alien," Rocky Mountain News, December 4, 1984, p. 10.

[5]John Rosa, "Tufts University: Students Counter Spies," The National Reporter, (Winter, 1985), p. 31.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. 35.

[9]Lisa Vikos, "CIA Recruiters Chased Off Campus," Guardian, December 5, 1984, p. 4.

[10]Christopher Walsh, "Citizens' Arrest of CIA Man Brings Brown Rebuke," Guardian, December 26, 1984, p. 5.

[11]Bruce Dold and Howard Witt, "CIA on Campus Pits '60s vs. 80s," Chicago Tribune, January 18, 1985, p. 24.

[12]Charlie Brennan, "CIA Recruiting Spurs Indictment Call," Rocky Mountain News, April 2, 1985, p. 8.

[13]Charlie Brennan, "164 More Arrested in CIA Protest at CU," Rocky Mountain News, April 12, 1985, p. 10.

[14]Larry Rohter, "Defying an Order, Students Continue Columbia Protest," New York Times, April 9, 1985, p. 13.

[15]Eric Alterman and Joshua Nessen, "Blockading Apartheid," Guardian, April 17, 1985, p. 1.

[16]Larry Rohter, "Jackson Praises Columbia Apartheid Protest," New York Times, April 16, 1985, p. 17.

[17]"Unionists on Coast Join Protest on South Africa," New York Times, April 19, 1985, p. 4.

[18]Thomas J. Meyer, "Investment Policies Spark Blockade at Columbia U.," The Chronicle of Higher Education, April 17, 1985, p. 3.

[19]"Protest on South Africa Quashed at Berkeley," New York Times, April 17, 1985, p. 4. Also see Laura McClure, "Labor Lends a Hand to the Student Protestors," Guardian, May 1, 1985, p. 6.

[20]"Students Rally Against Apartheid Policies," Denver Post, April 19, 1985, p. 31.

[21]Vincent Chang, "Harvard Divests One Million," Harvard Law Record, March 1, 1985, p. 1.

[22]Sara Diamond, "New Right's Student Shock Troops Target CISPES," Guardian, April 17, 1985, p. 5.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Quoted in Ibid.

[25]Ronnie Dugger, On Reagan: The Man and His Presidency, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), p. 13.

[26]Quoted in Ibid., p. 319.

[27]Quoted in Ibid., p. 320

[28]Donna Engelgau, "Students Attack Bennett Defends Aid Cuts, 'Divestiture' Comments," The Chronicle of Higher Education, February 27, 1985, p. 26.

[29]Ibid., p. 1.

[30]Ibid., p. 26

[31]Cheryle M. Fields, "Each of 250,000 Students From Poor Families Seen Losing $1,160 in Aid Under Reagan Plan," The Chronicle of Higher Education, April 10, 1985, p. 19.

[32]New York Times, April 12, 1985, p. 10.

[33]New York Times, April 8, 1985, p. 4.

[34]Chicago, Illini, April 15, 1985, p. 1.

[35]Steve Burkholder, "The Pentagon in the Ivory Tower," The Progressive, June, 1981, p. 29.

[36]David E. Sanger, "Universities Awarded 'Star Wars' Research," New York Times, April 24, 1985, p. 4.

[37]"U.S. History Classes Assailed," New York Times, April 20, 1985, p. 7.

[38]Michael J. Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington and Joju Watanuki, The Crisis of Democracy, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), pp. 6-7. This material is adopted from Dennis R. Judd and Matthew R. Lippman, "Intellectual Expression In The '80s: At Odds With Higher Education", Subject to Change, (April 23, 1985).

[39]"Colleges Feel Increasing Pressure to Produce 'Work-Ready' People," The Chronicle of Higher Education, November 17, 1982, p. 1..

Chapter 10

Democratizing the Ivory Tower: The Struggle Ahead

During the struggle to save Paul J. Nyden's teaching job at the University of Pittsburgh in the late 1970s, a student committee published a pamphlet entitled "Who Rules Pitt?" In the pamphlet they pointed out that the Board of Trustees included: 10 directors of Mellon or Pittsburgh National Bank, the vice president of U.S. Steel (who later became president of the National Association of Manufacturers), and either the president or chair of the board from Gulf Oil, National Steel, Consolidation Coal, Hillman Coal and Coke, Westinghouse Electric, PPG Industries, Duquesne Light, Allegheny-Ludlum Steel and Alcon Aluminum. This board selected as chancellor of the university an ex-Air Force colonel who was an intelligence officer in the Vietnam War and who was affiliated with RAND Corporation.[1]

The students published a second leaflet entitled "Sociology For Whom?" in which they noted that of the 19 senior professors in Pitts' sociology department (which included no Blacks or women professors) nine had done contract research for the military and seven had worked for a variety of multinational corporations.

This information was distributed widely in the effort to build support for Professor Nyden. The glaring class bias of Pitt was captured by statements of support from two labor union leaders, Lou Antal and Ed Sadlowski. Antal stated, "I couldn't help but believe that the Pitt Board of Trustees, which includes George Love of Consolidation Coal Company and R. Heath Larry of United States Steel Corporation, may have exerted pressure to get rid of Dr. Nyden. How many coal miners and steel workers are on the Board?" Sadlowski added, "Tell your Board of Trustees for me that we want more professors . . . who support the United Steelworkers of America and fewer professors . . . who sell themselves to Unites States Steel."[2]

A university which has coal miners and steel workers on its board and professors who support labor unions -- what kind of university would that be? What kind of university would it be if the board also included students, representatives from civil rights and women's organizations, members of the unionized university clerical staff, and representatives of radicalized faculty? What kind of university would it be if such a board cut ties not only with the CIA and apartheid South Africa, but with all corporate,

military and state agencies involved with human exploitation? What kind of university would it be if such a board hired a wide-range of unorthodox scholars to teach in expanded programs of women studies, minority studies, labor studies, ecology studies, peace studies, and other human oriented programs, instead of conservative faculty fitted for the business school and corporate/military research? What if tuition was free (subsidized from higher corporate taxes) and students from all class/race/sex backgrounds were encouraged to attend and to learn skills for solving the pressing human problems of their communities, the nation and the world? What if, in sum, the university took as its mission serving the interests of the needy majority instead of the privileged minority?

Such a university would be a democratized academy, one that reflected the results of numerous struggles conducted to achieve a more human society and a relevant education system in the United States. We realize, of course, that much more work is needed to achieve a democratized education system. Part of this work, however, includes creating a vision of an alternative university. The current campus struggles against the CIA and apartheid constitute a portion of that alternative vision. Students and their community allies are challenging universities to live up to their professed ideals rather than be handmaidens to the military-industrial complex that rules U.S. society. As these and related struggles intensify in the period ahead, this generation of rebels (importantly joined by veterans of earlier rebellions) once again will unmask the real character of American universities. The ivory tower's image as a center of truth and justice will be stripped away exposing the deep linkages between higher education and the elitist corporate and political rulers of the U.S. social system. The undemocratic functioning and goals of higher education will become apparent to yet another wave of students who are committed to democratic, just universities and fundamental changes in the larger society.

Although pitted against the powerful reactionary forces noted above, the contemporary movement also possesses significant political resources which can be used to produce positive results. Perhaps the most important resource is that our struggle rests on positive moral and ethical grounds. Opposing the terrorism of the CIA, the brutal racism of South Africa, the denial of education to needy students, and the ideological repression of dissenters is a moral responsibility to those of us committed to democracy and justice. As many student rebels

point out, they have no choice but to oppose the injustices perpetuated in their names. The historic lesson of a largely silent German people who looked the other way as Nazism emerged is remembered by this generation of American students. Opposition may include "breaking the law", but there are moral laws emanating from a higher authority than the U.S. legal system.

Another significant political resource is the inheritance of past struggles and the realization of a long stream of courageous individuals and groups. Many lessons and sources of inspiration can be culled from this inheritance to help fuel the contemporary phase of the struggle. Additionally, the concrete results of past efforts now exist on many campuses. The women's centers, minority programs, radical faculty and staff, more militant labor unions and educational materials that resulted from the '60s student movement constitute valuable political resources that can be utilized in conducting the current stage of campus rebellion.

A strengthened campus-community unity constitutes another important political resource. The combination of current student activists and veterans of past rebellions who now are employed in various community workplaces joining together to bring positive change to university campuses has much potential. The coalitions which have emerged at Yale, Columbia, the University of Colorado, and Berkeley brings a unity to the current situation that is a major improvement over the 1960s -- particularly when this coalition contains workers in labor unions. Such unity is feared deeply by university administrators and trustees who realize the political strength of student-community-labor alliances. The current movement has a promising opportunity to unite progressive campus-community organizations, attract uninvolved, middle-of-the road people, and isolate the extremists' right-wing elements. Contemporary demonstrations already have shown that progressive forces far outnumber the counter-demonstrations mounted by reactionary student groups.

The resurgence of the U.S. student movement is occurring simultaneously with a remobilized international student movement. Students in South Africa, South Korea, Chile, the Philippines, Europe, and other parts of the globe have unleashed large-scale demonstrations after a lull in activity. Establishing relations with student movements in other countries is another political resource which can be drawn upon in the struggle against injustice and which lay the ground work for improved

international relations between American citizens and citizens of the world.

The new stage of student-community rebellion stands on the shoulders of the last uprising, thus current struggles have the potential of achieving even greater results. The guardians of the ivory tower may discover to their dismay that democratic forces, rather than being eliminated from university campuses, have returned for another stage of intensive struggle that promises to widen the cracks in the academic armor into gaping holes which can only be filled by an alternative, more humanistic academy that lives up to the ideals treasured by thousands.

End Notes
Chapter 10

[1]Paul J. Nyden, "Labor and the Defense of Academic Freedom" in M. Berlowitz and F. Champman, Jr., (eds.) The United States Educational System: Marxist Approaches (Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1980), p. 107.

[2]Quoted in Ibid., p. 110.