

# ZEDEK

The official journal of the Social Activist Professors Defense Foundation, the only independent organization defending social activist professors whose basic constitutional and civil rights have been violated.

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The August, 1982 issue of ZEDEK will feature an article on Bertrand Russell's denial of a professorship at the City College of New York in 1940.....



(Text on right  
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CURRENT BIOGRAPHY,  
1951)

In 1938 Russell came to the United States to serve as visiting professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago, and the next academic year he taught at the University of California at Los Angeles.

When it was announced in February 1940 that Russell had been appointed professor of philosophy at the College of the City of New York, a storm of protest immediately arose from among the clergy, several religious organizations, a section of the press, and the City Council, denouncing him as "an enemy of religion and morality." A taxpayer's suit brought into the courts by a Brooklyn housewife resulted in a judicial order to rescind the appointment on March 30, appeal was denied, and the appointment remained invalidated. Unsuccessful attempts were also made to oust him from Harvard, where he gave the William James lectures in the fall of 1940. The substance of all Russell's courses since his residence in the United States was published in *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth* (1940), which C. E. M. Joad called "a profound and difficult book." In October 1940 Russell signed a five-year contract to lecture at the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Pennsylvania. Upon his dismissal from this post at the end of 1942, he sued for breach of contract and was awarded \$20,000 damages the following year. The lectures designed and partly delivered at the foundation were published in *A History of Western Philosophy* (1945), which Paul Weiss, in *The New Republic*, found "readable, witty, incisive, challenging, and paradoxical."



EditorialsJUNE 12th, 1982: A VERY SPECIAL DAY!

As the June 12th Rally in support of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament II (UNSSD II) approaches, SAPDF fervently and fully joins with the broad coalition of organizations who have worked unceasingly and given unstintingly of their time, to hopefully bring together the greatest number of people ever convened around the gravest issue the world has ever had to consider and to counter - a Nuclear Holocaust! UNSSD I is four years past and the peoples' protesting voices of that time were at very best side-stepped as the nuclear build-up escalated. This time the voices must and will be heard as our numbers begin to grow into the many thousands and our unity is taking hold.

A socio-political development of significance is that a committee simply known as the June 12 Rally Committee called this demonstration. For close to one year a coalition under the June 12 Rally Committee umbrella has worked for the coming Rally. This coalition represents the laying aside of partisan positions as representatives of most multi-tendencies joined in this large step toward mature recognition of mutual goals and priorities.

Thousands of dedicated activists of every class, color, and creed, and many political viewpoints, have gone to churches, union halls, schools, and whatever assembly halls were even slightly welcoming with the FREEZE NOW Rally message. One of the most useful tools to rouse people has been the film THE LAST EPIDEMIC, produced by the Physicians for Social Responsibility (even the AMA is somewhat realistic in its moderate support of a halt to nuclear weaponry (although they are not, as yet, part of PSR). The message in the film could not have been more graphically stated. In 55 minutes there were unforgettable views of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the bombings, the projected effect of a nuclear bomb dropping on an American city, the presentations of Dr. Caldicott, among others, and more.

We have had day long conferences with physicians (e.g., Dr. J. Frank who was the first American at Nagasaki after the bombing and who vowed to share his witnessing of 37 years ago to assure it shall never happen again), with high-ranking military retirees and scientists, and others all carrying the same message: the U.S. must view the nuclear issue without insanity. We have enough nuclear weapons to overkill every human on earth 40 times over! And we have Arthur Cox's book RUSSIAN ROULETTE, which spells out a too often forgotten reality - that with 150 known computer errors in the control/discharge of nuclear strikes already committed, one such error, if not immediately caught, with a 6-minute capacity strike time, one such uncaught error could unwittingly lead to THE END OF LIFE ON EARTH!!!

We have also the most painful living truth telling us about the human cost of the ultimate in inhumanity - the Hibakusha, the nuclear victims, who will be at the Rally in large numbers to continue their vow of NEVER AGAIN.

That the impact of such unity and purpose is physically heard might be proven in President Reagan's sudden about face re Salt II which he had openly disdained of until now. We support the upcoming Moscow Summit.

As June 12th comes up we join in the clarion call: FREEZE NOW! It is the only sane message conceivable to Washington and Moscow, from all of us.

The whole world will be watching and we of SAPDF will see you in New York on June 12th, 1982.



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Editorials (continued)

LET US NEVER FORGET: A VIEW OF NAGASAKI, 1945

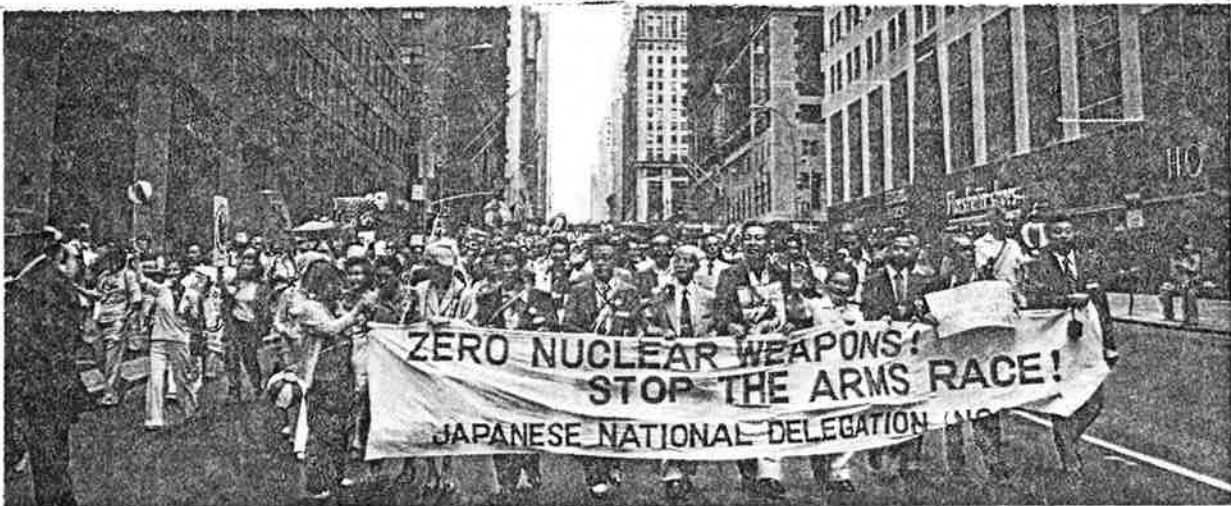


●長崎; 8月10日午後  
撮影: 山端庸介

●Nagasaki; Afternoon, 10, Aug. 1945  
Photo: Yosuke YAMAHATA

●Nagasaki; 10, Aug. 1945, nachmittag  
Bild: Yosuke YAMAHATA

MARCHING HIBAKUSHA: 1978



●SSDI ニューヨークでの行進; 1978年  
撮影: 森下一徹

●Marching Hibakusha in New York,  
participating in the SSD I; 1978  
Photo: Ittetsu MORISHITA

●Marschierende Hibakusha in New  
York, anlässlich der SSD I der UNO;  
1978/Bild: Ittetsu MORISHITA

Editor's Note: The tenure issue is still one on which there is still much debate. In March, 1972, the ACLU published papers in CIVIL LIBERTIES for and against tenure. These papers are worthwhile reprinting. With the permission of the Editor of CIVIL LIBERTIES we here present those papers again in the hope that they will stimulate thoughtful discussion, action, and reactions on the part of our readers.

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FOR TENURE: SAFEGUARDING ACADEMIC FREEDOM

by Robert Bierstedt and Walter P. Metzger

One of the intramural jokes of the academic profession is that a faculty member with tenure may be dismissed for one or both of only two reasons - gross immorality and insanity - and the second is impossible to detect in a college professor.

Like all such pleasantries, this one, of course, is overstated. Actually tenure is a question that has been of concern to the academic profession for many years and it is an institution - won with ardor, industry, and some pain - that has come in recent years under increasing attack, both from the political right and the political left. Before considering the substance and the merits of these attacks let us consider the meaning of tenure as outlined in the famous 1940 Statement of Principles of the American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges and since endorsed by every learned society of any significance (73 by 1969) in the United States.

The Report concerns both academic freedom and tenure. The two, in fact, are inseparable, since the former is the principal and sufficient justification for the latter. It is possible, however, to extract parts of the Report that deal with tenure itself. An early statement follows:

A Means

"Tenure is a means to certain ends; specifically (1) Freedom of teaching and research and of extramural activities, and (2) a sufficient degree of economic security to make the profession attractive to men and women of ability. Freedom and economic security, hence, tenure, are indispensable to the success of an institution in fulfilling its obligations to its students and to society."

This preamble, unfortunately, is defective in that it fails to recognize that tenure is also a benefit to society; that is, it guarantees to a society that its more articulate members will be free to criticize its institutions without fear of economic reprisal and that in the long run the society will gain from such criticism. Byse and Joughin express this point in their TENURE IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION (1959) as follows:

"Academic freedom and tenure do not exist because of a peculiar solicitude for the human beings who staff our academic institutions. They exist, instead, in order that society may have the benefit of honest judgment and independent criticism which might be withheld because of fear of offending a dominant social group or a transient social attitude."

In other words, society rather more than the individual is the ultimate beneficiary of tenure.

How It Works

The part of the Report that deals specifically with tenure follows. It merits careful attention:

"(a) After expiration of a probationary period, teachers or investigators should have a permanent or continuous tenure, and their service should be terminated only for adequate cause, except in the case of re-

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FOR TENURE (continued)

tirement for age, or under extraordinary circumstances because of financial exigencies.

"In the interpretation of this principle it is understood that the following represents acceptable academic practice:

"(1) The precise terms and conditions of every appointment should be stated in writing and be in the possession of both institution and teacher before the appointment is consummated.

"(2) Beginning with the appointment to the rank of full-time instructor or a higher rank, the probationary period should not exceed seven years, including within this period full-time service in all institutions of higher education...

"(3) During the probationary period a teacher should have the academic freedom that all other members of the faculty have.

"(4) Termination for cause of a continuous appointment, or the dismissal for cause of a teacher previous to the expiration of a term appointment, should, if possible, be considered by both a faculty committee and the governing board of the institution. In all cases where the facts are in dispute, the accused teacher should be informed before the hearing in writing of the charges against him and should have the opportunity to be heard in his own defense by all bodies that pass judgment upon his case. He should be permitted to have with him an adviser of his own choosing who may act as counsel. There should be a full stenographic record of the hearing available to the parties concerned. In the hearing of charges of incompetence the testimony should include that of teachers and other scholars, either from his own or from other institutions.

"(5) Termination of a continuous appointment because of financial exigency should be demonstrably bona fide."

Only Safeguard

All of this would seem to be simple, clear, and correct. Unfortunately, attacks on the tenure principle continue. The ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee, accordingly, devoted a number of meetings in 1971 to an extensive discussion of the issue.

Before considering some of the criticisms directed against the principle of tenure, we may reiterate that the reason for tenure is that it serves as an essential bastion of academic freedom. No other instrument has been devised that can protect a professor from the imposition of political tests or continued appointment. No other device can so well assure that the professor's freedom of research and publication is protected against the vagaries of changing political tides, educational fads, and social fashions. Without tenure a professor's academic freedom would be limited and constrained by the need to please - or at least not to displease - those, including legislators, trustees, colleagues, administrators, and students, whose favorable opinions he would otherwise require for re-appointment. Indeed, the argument for tenure in the academic profession is the same as that in the judiciary. If an independent judiciary is necessary for the successful operation of a democratic society, so also is an independent professoriate.

Tenure, however, is not an absolute guarantee of permanence. A tenured professor may be removed, but only for cause, as normally stated in the statutes of the university. Tenure does not give him the right to behave offensively toward his colleagues, to mistreat his students, to decline to meet his classes, to spend more time on external pursuits than on his teaching duties, to teach only the courses he wants to teach, to set his own teaching schedule, to engage in plagiarism or otherwise to violate the ethical standards of the profession, to appropriate the work of his students and publish it under his own name,

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FOR TENURE(continued)

to commit with impunity a wide variety of other offenses against his profession, and most especially no right to violate the academic freedom of others.

Tenure, in short, is not a guarantee of security under any condition. It is designed to convert the dismissal process into a judicial process so that dismissals on ideological or political grounds can be forestalled or clearly identified as such. The academic right to dissent would be weakly protected if institutional curtailments of it could masquerade under other names. The prime purpose of tenure, and the due process safeguards that are its essence, is to reduce the opportunity for masked intolerance.

The Debate

It is time to confront directly the arguments against tenure that have recently found expression in various sectors of society:

1. By what right do university professors regard themselves as a special class, immune from the risks of the marketplace, risks that afflict every other occupation in society from business executives to taxi-cab drivers?

The answer to this criticism has already been given. Tenure is a benefit to society and not only to an individual. As Fritz Machlup has observed: "With respect to some occupations, it is eminently in the interests of society that men can speak their mind without fear of retribution....The occupational work of the vast majority of people is largely independent of their thought and speech. The professor's work consists of his thought and speech."

2. Tenure prolongs the economic security of weak, etiolated, and intellectually impotent has-beens who would otherwise have failed of re-appointment years earlier in their careers.

The answer to this one is that the tenure principle helps to prevent such appointments in the first place. A tenure appointment involves a sedulous process of evaluating candidates not only by senior colleagues but - frequently at the better universities - by an outside committee of leading figures in the candidate's field as well. Indeed, the candidate is also compared to outsiders of equivalent rank who pursue the same line of inquiry.

It is true that mistakes are sometimes made, and that the young person who appeared to have superior competence in his field at the time the tenure decision was made turns out, 20 years later, to have been outdistanced by other men. Mistakes are made because human institutions, like human beings, are less than perfect. It is rare that those denied a tenure appointment ever become leading figures in their fields. One can think of maverick exceptions, like Thorstein Veblen for example, but their number must be almost infinitesimal.

Quality

The tenure principle, far from being a refuge for the indolent, is thus an important and primary guard against the locking-in of incompetents. Without it simple compassion and collegial friendship would encourage the re-appointment, year after passing year, of those who

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*"The strength of the Constitution lies entirely in the determination of each citizen to defend it. Only if every single citizen feels duty bound to do his share in this defense are the constitutional rights secure."*

—Albert Einstein

FOR TENURE(continued)

have nothing to contribute to their chosen field of inquiry beyond the doctoral dissertation. With it, only those who have won recognition for the quality of their work by at least the sixth year after initial appointment can satisfy the exacting requirements of permanent appointment.

That tenure contributes to, rather than detracts from, the excellence of universities and the level of scholarship and science that appears there is further attested to by the fact that the top 20 universities in the United States today (as judged by the Cartter Report of the American Council of Education) are all proud subscribers to the principle.

Finally, if it were the case that tenure protected sloth, lethargy, and inefficiency, it would also be the case that American scholarship ranked higher on the world exchange before tenure became broadly institutionalized in this country (prior to, say, 1940) and that places where tenure is least securely anchored have a qualitative edge over those where it is most entrenched. Since neither of these corollaries is true in fact, one has reason to be suspicious of the premise.

3. But is it not a fact also that tenure prevents a university from improving the quality of its faculty?

This belief also fails to survive examination. It is encapsulated in a familiar metaphor: A university, it is said, contains and must somehow divest itself of "dead wood." Professors, like other men, may of course grow moribund. For this reason it is important, and fair to all, for universities to have a compulsory retirement age (even though some may be senile at 60 and others creative at 80). But surely a university is not a lumberyard, collecting and sorting finished things. In fact, a university is a society, and it shapes as well as assembles its materials. University X goads its faculty into scholarly achievement by its mixture of plentiful concrete rewards and its tacit but unmerciful expectations. University Y opens no broader vista after tenure than salary increases for longevity and no more scintillating examples than veterans mired in domestic chores. The first produces normative antibodies against the natural tendency to go slack; the second would enervate its members even if it had the authority to dismiss them on the spot. The warehouse metaphor is, then, doubly mistaken. It ignores the extent to which men sink or rise to the level of their social circumstances. And it presumes, against all the facts of psychology, that one stick - expulsion - and no carrot - distinction - governs what men aim for and achieve.

Mistakes

4. Because of the conceded possibility of mistaken decision, why should a university not be able to re-examine the qualifications of professors at, say, five or 10 year intervals?

The first reason is that this would not be a tenure system at all. It would not be a tenure system because if insecurity has a chilling effect upon the exercise of academic freedom over a period of one or two years it would also chill over a longer period. Sometimes five or even 10 years are required for the completion of an important book or major piece of research. Would a professor dedicate one-seventh of his

"After several thousand years, we have advanced to the point where we bolt our doors and windows and turn on our burglar alarms --- while the jungle natives sleep in open-doored huts." - Morris Mandel (on progress, in the JEWISH PRESS)



FOR TENURE(continued)

life (using the Biblical estimate) or more than one-fifth of his career life to a work that might arouse the wrath of society if one of his rewards were to be dismissal from his chair?

The second reason is that the suggestion suffers from serious practical difficulties. It is hard to imagine how this so-called reform would increase faculty productivity. If an institution can afford the manhours that would have to be devoted to repeated search-and-possibly-destroy operations, it either has an extraordinary productive faculty already, or else a grossly under-used one. For it is clear that there would have to be, as in the case of initial appointment, peer and professional participation in the re-evaluation process. Would an institution be well-advised to multiply by the number of existing staff members the time now devoted to the screening of each candidate for appointment and then again for a tenure decision?

Should it not also be clear to those who now, when universities are in financial distress, begin to think in terms of criteria like "cost-effectiveness," that an incalculable price would be paid for the use of massive re-appraisals if these coincided with campus turmoils? It is dismaying to imagine what would have happened if the members of the Columbia faculty had to seek approval from their fellows in the divisive year of 1968. What factional groupings would have taken shape, what defensive blocs and clique aggressions! The bounds of inner fellowship at Columbia (and elsewhere too) were reknit in part because the tenured faculty was not empowered to be their brothers' keepers - or forsakers either. Tenure, in addition to its other virtues, performs the vital function of protecting academics against themselves.

Collective Bargaining

5. Would not collective bargaining agreements serve as well as the tenure principle as guarantees of job security? other

The impact of collective bargaining upon tenure, as upon/academic procedures, has yet to be assessed. It betrays a want of current understanding, however, and a talent for perverse prophecy to assume that the elimination of the tenure system as we know it would result in the elimination of job security. The tendency marked in certain parts of the academic system is toward the replacement of that system with yet more security-conscious collective bargaining arrangement. A reading of the contracts agreed to by administrations and faculties represented by exclusive bargaining agents recognized in law reveals that these tend to shorten the period of probation, during which the administration can exercise evaluative discretion, and to require a more exacting procedure for non-reappointment even then. The tip does not go toward greater flexibility, but toward more rule-laden constraints.

6. What effect does tenure have on university governance?

An altogether salubrious one, and one that relates also to the undesirability of term evaluations of faculty performance. The recent Harvard Report on Tenure [DISCUSSION MEMORANDUM ON ACADEMIC TENURE AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November, 1971] takes cognizance of the increasing drain upon faculty time by service on administrative and departmental committees and goes on to say:

"These burdens have accumulated in part because of each Faculty's express desire to involve its members more intimately in the administrative and decision-making process of the University, and in part because of students' desire for more numerous and more accessible officers within each department, as well as in the Administration. This Committee [The University Committee on Governance], itself a symptom of these developments, is in turn in its various recommendations, proposing

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FOR TENURE(continued)

additional faculty involvement of this nature. Perhaps this is the place to register a particular, and often forgotten, argument in favor of the institution of tenure: how many faculty members would be willing to assume administrative tasks, or even a committee assignment, to forego professional meetings for meetings of one or another council or committee, or to supplant the writing of scholarly articles with the gestation of tedious memoranda on the true meaning of the true dean if - when and if they returned to full-time scholarship and teaching - they could expect to be exposed to annual or some other short-term assessment of their credentials? In this respect, if in no other, the institution of tenure is essential to the self-government of the University."

Teaching

7. Does not the emphasis upon research and publication, as reflected in tenure decisions, have a deleterious effect upon teaching and thus support current student criticism of the university?

It is doubtful if this ancient issue should be discussed in the context of tenure. The academic profession is one - perhaps the only one - in which one is paid for doing one thing and promoted for doing another thing. But there is no evidence that tenured professors are any less effective in the classroom than untenured ones. Indeed, the contrary is almost certainly the case.

In any event, the answer is the same as that given to the question immediately above. Tenure increases the opportunities for innovation and experimentation in teaching. Once more the following observations from the Harvard Report on Tenure seem relevant:

"Empirically it simply does not seem to be the case at Harvard that tenure leads to stasis, to mindless duplication of old course material. It has more often provided that sense of freedom-with-security which liberates the energies of faculty members for not only intellectual experiment but even for otherwise chancy pedagogical ventures. E. Ebele, director of the Project to Improve College Teaching (co-sponsored by the Association of American Colleges and the American Association of University Professors) has contended, after an extensive survey of American higher education, that tenure may be 'as necessary for achieving excellence in teaching as for maintaining freedom of inquiry.' His conclusion - that the proponents of excellence and of innovation had best look elsewhere than to academic tenure for their reforms of universities and colleges - seems clearly applicable to Harvard."

Untenured Faculty

8. What about the vulnerability of untenured personnel to dismissal (or non-reappointment) as compared with those on tenure? Where is the equity in this arrangement?

The abolition of tenure would simply extend the vulnerability from seven years to an entire lifetime.

Furthermore, academic freedom requires that all faculty personnel, untenured as well as tenured, be protected against arbitrary actions based on factors unrelated to academic competence. This is the case now under ACLU and AAUP principles, and it would continue to be the case. Incidentally, the most junior faculty member also has tenure and may not be removed without cause during the term of his appointment.

There is, however, one difference. In the case of the untenured professor the burden of proof that the negative decision was based upon grounds other than competence is upon him. In the case of the tenured professor the burden of proof is on the university. Both, however, are entitled to due process.

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FOR TENURE(continued)

Here again, however, the institution of tenure is a boon to the untenured professor caught in a circumstance where political considerations are the covert reasons for non-reappointment. The tenured members of the faculty, who suspect the sincerity of the overt reason, can spring to the defense of their junior colleague without jeopardizing their own appointments.

Care in Choosing

The Harvard Report on Tenure mentioned above contains in its concluding paragraphs pertinent and penetrating comments on at least two of the matters discussed above - the preservation of the incompetent and the merit of frequent review of tenured appointments:

"Finally, it should be stressed that one of the most valuable implications of a tenure system is that it forces an institution to make hard and important choices in its selection of personnel. It would no doubt be possible for Harvard to devise a panoply of review procedures, governing the middle years of a tenured professor's life, that would in effect place every faculty member on term appointment. It would do so, however, at an immense cost to the institution as well as to those who serve on its Faculties - losing both intellectual freedom and ebullience, sacrificing commitment, loyalty and the willingness of Harvard professors to serve the University in ways that are not stipulated and could not be stipulated in any imaginable contract. But such a system could be devised and devoted to weeding out a handful of 'incompetents'; of rectifying the 'mistakes' (as when the candidate who, at the age of 35, promises to be the first in his field is, alas, overtaken a decade or more later), and of thereby guaranteeing that, at Harvard, none but the 'best' would ever be continued.

"But the facts of history and probably even of human nature suggest that this would not be the result of a system designed to assure a perfect meritocracy. The so-called 'Up or Out' system devised by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in 1939 came about as a response to a decade or more in which assistant professors were continued well-nigh interminably at Harvard by virtue of a combination of the compassionate charity of their colleagues and the Administration, and of most men's unwillingness to make hard decisions as to the future of their many friends and students. No institution should legislate against such qualities of character, but one of the great advantages of a tenure decision being forced on a date certain is that the institution must at last decide. In the 1960's to be sure, the academic market was such that a tenure offer was more than once used to keep a Young colleague at Harvard. For the foreseeable future, however, this economic situation will not so regularly pertain, and the natural disposition will be to defer as long as possible the moment of decision. In such circumstances, the absence of a required time for tenure decision will quite possibly be disastrous for the individuals involved, as well as for Harvard."

Resolution

The university, like other social institutions, cannot and should not claim immunity from persistent examination and criticism. And so also for the principle of tenure. A thorough examination of this principle, however, results in the conclusion that it continues to be an essential support of academic freedom and that vigilance is required to protect against the assaults that arise especially in times of financial stringency and social unrest.

For these reasons the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee, after considering the matter at length, passed on Nov. 18, 1971, the following resolution by a vote of 10 to 4 and commended it to the favorable attention of the Board of Directors:

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FOR TENURE(continued)

"Resolved: That the Academic Freedom Committee strongly re-affirms its support of the principle of tenure in colleges and universities."

The ACLU Board of Directors on Feb. 6, 1972 adopted the position of the majority of the Academic Freedom Committee.

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Editor's Note: At the time of the publication of the above position paper, Robert Bierstedt was professor of sociology at the New York University and Walter P. Metzger was professor of history at the Columbia University. Both men were members of the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee.

AGAINST TENURE: DUE PROCESS FOR ALL

by Philip G. Ryan

In the debate on tenure it is time for the American Civil Liberties Union to consider the welfare of all sectors of the academic community, not only that of the senior professoriate. A reaffirmation of tenure would serve only to further insulate this group to the detriment of students, younger faculty and society as a whole.

A re-examination of academic tenure in universities need not develop from political concerns. A sense of fairness, an appreciation for the civil liberties of all involved and an awareness of current changes in the academic world make such a re-examination a necessity.

The traditional, on-going debate on tenure has been rather inconclusive. It has never been determined, for example, what effect tenure has upon the quality of teaching or upon the professoriate as the independent conscience of the nation. It is not worthwhile to reiterate these issues at this time. Instead it is necessary to focus on two growing problems affected by tenure: the increased competition for academic appointments and the rising threat to the academic freedom of untenured faculty.

Job Market

There is a new generation of scholars, more numerous and more outspoken than before. These academics view tenure not as a protection from Joe McCarthy, but as a barrier keeping them out of the profession. Today tenure can hardly be defended as a needed measure of security to make the profession more attractive. Times have changed. There is an oversupply of PhD's flooding the job market. There are few tenured positions available in comparison to the large numbers of young academics seeking work. Already a pattern has emerged where new PhD's are shunted from university to university because there are so few permanent positions. ( Often the one hired is the most pliant, the least likely to cause trouble.) Academic merit should decide who shall fill the positions at the universities, not a rigid tenure system protecting those who have been there the longest. Due to tenure the overriding criterion for filling academic posts is seniority. Like other industries, the university has acquired a "civil service mentality" where time carries more weight than excellence. Only the future can tell what will come of the increasing frustration of younger academics in the face of seniority practices in academia.

The more serious objection to tenure is that it does not provide equal protection of the laws. Because only tenured professors enjoy the complete protection of tenure, other faculty suffer a loss of academic freedom. Often the young faculty member finds himself in a

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AGAINST TENURE(continued)

"no-man's land" where he must face his accusers alone. This is an even greater problem today because it is the young faculty member who is most likely to face a challenge to his academic freedom. It is the young academic who is criticized for being too radical, too outspoken, too student-oriented or too "New Left." It has been argued that the impregnable position of the tenured professor enables him to come to the rescue of his younger, vulnerable colleague. It might be argued more convincingly that the senior colleague would fight more vehemently if he felt that he, too, was being threatened by an attack on academic freedom. Instead tenure has created a division of interest within the profession. This is an unfortunate and dangerous development at a time when the academic profession ought to stand together.

Equal Fairness

Almost by definition tenure downgrades due process protections. It ought to be the goal of one concerned for civil liberties and academic freedom to support due process for all. To reaffirm support for tenure would reflect badly upon the sincerity of subsequent arguments in favor of due process. Indeed, there is a nagging inconsistency in the case for tenure. On one hand, tenure is defended as the very bastion of academic freedom. On the other, the young academic is told that he too has academic freedom - protected by due process guidelines. Does this mean that all professors are free, but that some are freer than others?

The defense of academic tenure is not convincing. One does not sense a guiding concern for the welfare of students or a deep feeling for the problems of younger faculty. Instead, the proponents of tenure seem to envision a static world with tenure as a bulwark against change, a mark of privilege and an instrument of self-interest.

Future

This debate is not without irony. It seems likely that tenure will be reaffirmed by ACLU. It also seems likely that tenure will be abolished gradually by universities in coming years in favor of more flexible, more effective and more equitable procedures.

One young professor is less optimistic. In the Winter 1971-1972 issue of CHANGE he wrote: "The system of college and graduate education is thus deeply entrenched. With the tenured faculty currently in command, the perpetuation of the status quo seems assured. With an overabundance of job applicants, the hiring of docile, amenable young professors is also likely for some time to come. Accordingly, among the masses of graduate students and young faculty it is a time of great frustration and near despair."

By supporting due process for all the American Civil Liberties Union would be favoring a cause that is not only just, but more defensible in the courts. Only by considering the needs of all will the ACLU be able to maintain its credibility with a new generation.

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 Editor's Note: At the time of the publication of the above position paper, Philip Ryan was a political scientist at the City University of New York and a member of the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee. In 1972, the ACLU Board of Directors adopted the position of the majority of the Academic Freedom Committee, that is, they re-affirmed the ACLU's support of the principle of tenure in colleges and universities. What are your views on this issue? Please share them with ZEDEK.

*"there is no progress without struggle"*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

A MESSAGE FROM A SURVIVOR OF HIROSHIMAby Geoffrey Jacques

Peace activists here prepared for the June 12 rally at the UN Second Session on Disarmament by meeting with their Japanese counterparts, including a survivor of the atomic bomb blast at Hiroshima. There are a number of Japanese Survivors meeting with Americans throughout the United States with their supportive message.

The meeting, sponsored by the Michigan chapter of the U.S. Peace Council and a dozen other individuals and groups, was greeted by prominent city officials and more than a hundred people who had come to share their concerns about the dangers of nuclear war.

Detroit city council member Barbara Rose-Collins welcomed the group on behalf of the Detroit city council, saying that meetings such as this one were "something that's desperately needed."

She said it was a "lasting insult" for the warmongers to threaten the human race with extinction "before Blacks have achieved self-determination and freedom, before women have had a chance to receive their full human dignity, before all people can realize their potential."

The first term member of the Detroit city council enthusiastically endorsed the organizers of the meeting who, she said, worked "so that the insane warmongers will understand that they no longer have the right to make war."

The main speaker at the meeting was a survivor of the atomic blast at Hiroshima.

Hijimi Kito was 19 years old the day the bomb was dropped. He was being discharged from an army hospital where he was being treated for war wounds on August 6, 1945. The hospital was, he said, about four kilometers from the center of the explosion.

"As I was about to step out of the hospital building, something in front of me made a great flash," he said. Window frames were blown away and roof tiles were blown from the roof, the heat on my feet and surroundings was unbearably hot and the room was nothing but dust in front of my eyes. Fine glass was everywhere.

When he finally looked outside, the people he saw "looked just like ghosts. Some of them had hands dangling from their chests," and soon afterwards the wounds of those who survived the blast "became infested with maggots." You couldn't tell, he said, "whether they were men or women". He survived, but one must realize this was an atomic not a nuclear blast!

HIROSHIMA SURVIVOR (continued)

Shortly, Kito said, his hair began to fall out, he had considerable liver problems and to this day he suffers from a spinal problem and constant ringing in his ears. He cannot lose the sound of that day.

He spoke to the assembly about the current efforts of the Japanese atom bomb survivors to get compensation in the form of a Protection law, and about efforts to ban nuclear warfare.

These Japanese peace activists brought 30 million signatures from their country on petitions to the UN Second Special Session on 'disarmament urging the banning of nuclear weapons.

These peace movement people also are organizing to rescind U.S. government attempts to get the Japanese government to rescuing it's agreements imposed by US/UN at the end of World War 11 that it would not rearm. (U.S. is actively agitating and bribing W. Germany likewise).

The Japanese Prime Minister is willing and cooperating. "What is happening ther is that money is being cut from welfare in Japan", he said, "to go toward the rebuilding of military forces in our country for the first time in almost 40 years." It was the non-Military economy allocations that allowed Japan to forge ahead of U.S. industrially.

"The Japanese peace movement", he said is "trying to see that this does not happen". They recognize through the bitter experience of having been the only people to date whose land was laid waste and tainted by the greatest evil of destruction ever invented, that the next mushroom cloud the world sees may well be a universal shroud.

This is their message to the Disarmament rally June 12th in New York, and to the Disarmament 11 Sessions.

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Editor's Note: Geoffrey Jacques is a correspondent for the METRO TIMES (Detroit) and other publications. He is also a musician and social activist.



Coming in the August, 1982 issue of ZEDEK:

The Story of a Tenure Struggle in the Sociology Department at the Wayne State University

How an Internationally Respected Scholar Was Denied a *PHILOSOPHY* Professorship at the City College of New York

and More.....

A VICTORIOUS TENURE STRUGGLE by Ronald Aronson

[Following is the story of Ronald Aronson, now a tenured professor at Wayne State University in Detroit, telling of a victory, won after struggle between 1973 & 1975 -- *Editor's Note*]

"Let me begin with some brief information: In the Fall of 1972, I came up for tenure at Monteith College of W.S.U. My division voted in my favor 4 - 2, (the required 2/3 majority) and recommended me for tenure. In the Spring of 1973, the appropriate college committee persons voted 4 - 1 to recommend me. The Dean concurred, then passed on the recommendations for tenure to the Provost, who in June of 1973, notified me that I had been turned down.

I was shocked and immediately met with some friends, comrades, and colleagues to organize both an appeal and a struggle against the decision. I had one more year at W.S.U. in which, if I wanted to, I could come up for tenure again. But that whole process became strictly secondary in the struggle. Primary was the appeal and the grievance procedure, the political struggle, the drumming up of support and all the things necessary to win on a political level.

In this story I am trying to compress 2-1/2 years experience into a few minutes---the struggle left me with 3 major lessons I would like to convey:

The first lesson is that it is possible to win under determinate conditions, but it is not possible to win any struggle at any university at any time. It is only possible if conditions are appropriate to mobilize the forces necessary to win, to get sufficient support to wind up with a reversal decision. Let me point out that my reversal came after my contract had expired. I went into the unemployment line for 6 months, and I no longer had a job at W.S.U. I would also point out that the reversal came in January, 1975, with back pay to the previous June granted as of 1974. It is possible to win then! But in my case as I look at the factors, I realize how many things have to be going your way in order to win.

First of all one must have allies---allies not merely at the departmental level or the college level, but allies in the community --- allies outside of the university. Let me explain this:

Once the colleagues in my department voted favorably and the college committee voted in my favor, that whole arena became secondary. What became primary was to try and reverse the Provost's decision, to put pressure on the President, to convince the administration of the University that I deserved tenure.

Allies were a must --- personal friends, political allies who could help me understand and analyze the situation, and to organize the struggle. Secondly, I needed support of a union, in my case the AAUP, which at that point had a fairly strong bargaining position at the University. Let me emphasize here that without a union and a collective bargaining agreement, I can't imagine how I could possibly have won.

Our bargaining agreement at that point was two years old. Mine was the first major grievance to come up and be won, because the AAUP supported me completely. In our union we had not only Marxist colleagues who were in leadership positions, but non-Marxists who gave me whole-hearted support and wound up obtaining leadership



### A Victorious Tenure Struggle (continued)

positions such as president and vice-president of the union, after having been the grievance co-ordinator. They took up my case having decided that academically I had a strong case and was probably only being discriminated against as a Marxist, which they viewed to be an outrage to academic freedom and therefore would press the case.

Furthermore, to win, I needed the help of an astute attorney---one in addition to the AAUP attorney --- a separate, personal attorney who had practiced labor law and therefore was able to determine what were the strengths in my case and the weaknesses in the University's case. Finally I needed, and as I mentioned previously, had support from the community outside of the university. This gave me contacts with the UAW and other unions in Detroit. These lines of support enabled me to put pressure on the University, on the Board of Governors, on the Administration, and to so strengthen my case to the point where I was not only an issue in the University, but in certain areas of the community as well. This gave me some independent lines to key Administrative people who communicated in my behalf with the WSU President and Board people.

We have in Detroit, a political community which is extremely interesting, and interested in helping struggles such as mine. A liberal Left community dating back to the labor struggles of some 50 years enjoys considerable political respectability, while within the movement there exists a presence of Socialism and Marxism. While this opened doors, my strongest support from the WSU Board of Governors was from one of its members, who, prior to his election to the Board in 1974, had been a student of mine. At that time, he had organized a very active student campaign for my reinstatement.

In this struggle one of the basic necessities was having people available who could sit down and analyze the situation. Cooler, objective heads are needed with political experience. Fortunately, I had some of the best political people in Detroit cooperating with me.

To summarize the point: It is possible to win with the right conditions. One right condition is that one be academically strong enough to be able to pull out the stops on other fronts and get support. It is presumed that one has done the necessary kind of building of bridges in the community.

The second vital issue and the conclusion I would draw from my case, is that one needs to know how to assess whether or not there is a potential for winning. You also need to be able to preserve your mental health. No one can escape the fact that in a tenure struggle there are strong undermining, countervailing pressures. Namely, the responsible authorities at your institution are saying to you and about you, that you are "not good enough". It now becomes officially verified that you have been stamped as "inadequate."

There is a certain dynamic that can develop in this situation. I was miserable, I don't think anyone can escape this. My tenure struggle was all I thought about. I could not go on a vacation and be happy. I could not watch a movie without feeling the pain flood over me. The thought of people saying that "you are no good" hurts. Despite the tender concern, devotion and love of my wife and daughter, my sense of self worth remained low.

### A Victorious Tenure Struggle (continued)

In all political pain a kind of macho style tends to take over; so you sit with your comrades and colleagues and analyze the task at hand, but you cannot admit how lousy you feel. As a result of all this, the pain of the situation eats away at you, and you never get a chance at getting listened to in terms of the Big Question: "Am I really inadequate or am I good enough?" You tell yourself and you tell other people that you're being screwed politically; but the hidden questions remain; "Is that true?" or "have they found something out about me?" Since we are not perfect and have numerous faults, perhaps, we feel, these will be used by them to sink us.

It is important to find someone with whom you can share your pain---probably not people centrally involved in the struggle. It is important to not keep the pain bottled up, otherwise what will you become? It is quite possible you could become one of those righteous people that everyone avoids talking with at any length. It is important to not be branded inside your self, in your heart of hearts, as a "loser."

The key in a tenure struggle above all is to come out of this whole -- win or lose. To come out of it feeling that if you have vindicated nothing else, you have vindicated a sense of your own competency and your own adequacy. The only way to be assured of this, is to share your doubts and pains and work through them, so that if indeed you do lose, you can recognize that life has its pains and tragedies; that this was one of them, and there is nothing else to do but continue living a good life anyhow.

The 2 points I've raised so far, first that one can win politically, which takes the mobilizing of forces with an astute political analysis, and secondly, that it is really important to feel your pain. Those 2 points, the political and emotional ones, lead to a third point.

The situation seems to say that those who make it are colleagues who become "successful" professors at universities; <sup>they</sup> are after all, realists, who keep their deepest commitments hidden and do what's necessary in order to survive. The universities are filled with people who do what is accepted and who, if they had been Marxists or other kinds of radicals initially, have now learned how to hide these commitments, and become "realistic" and have surrendered on some levels and thus become cynical tenured professors. They are losers,

The point is: how do you win and survive in such a way as to make possible the survival of your vision in a real world, so that you might survive with your beliefs, with your values, with your purposes intact---with the reason why you came to teach in the first place, with the reason why you wanted to write in the first place, with your hopes and the dreams? How do you learn to make those into functional realities, principles of struggle in the real world? That is the question I believe I faced in my struggle and that all of us face.

One needs to develop a strategy for these years--- a response to being hurt and attacked (even though in subtle ways) which includes a deep commitment to what one is about as a person, and, in addition to this affirmation of self to find a

A Victorious Tenure Struggle (continued)

way to continue this affirmation---this sense of struggle which is the one we all face in this world. One must learn the ways of making visions and commitments functional struggle principles.

How do we learn the ropes? How do we learn to fight? How do we learn what is necessary? How do we develop a tough-minded idealism, which is of course, the meaning of Marxism as I understand it, --- not the idealism part but the tough-minded commitment to make one's own principles prevail.

In the case of a university professor, this includes publishing even in "respectable" journals. It includes learning how to put on a suit and tie when necessary; learning how to have real bonds with the community; learning how to not give up in advance and accept a split in advance between one's politics and the real world; learning how not to say "what I do is unacceptable, so I'll do what is necessary" or "I'll leave this damn place."

Learning how in each field it is different, and how in each university it might be different; learning how to live with who you are in such a way that your survival may not be the survival of a shell.

The main point is that it is possible to stay whole in a tenure struggle, whether one wins or loses that battle. I have learned how to do this in my own career, I know it is extremely difficult but there is no reason on earth to give up in advance and that any way of dealing with it other than to head into the struggle, I feel, is to wind up losing.

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Editor's Postscript:

This article is based in part on a tape Ron Aronson made for SAPDF for an ASA panel conducted by SAPDF in August, 1980 in New York, and on an interview with Helen Samberg in Detroit in May, 1982. Dr. Aronson is the author of Jean-Paul Sartre, Philosophy of the World published in 1981; and a book near completion on the subject of Catastophe and Hope due in early 1983. He is enjoying considerable recognition within and outside WSU these past tenured years. He is a member of SAPDF.]

*“Wherever they burn books,  
sooner or later  
they will burn human beings also.”*

Heinrich Heine (1823)

# RALLY PROGRAM

Speakers and entertainers will appear at two June 12th platforms. The first rally of speakers and musicians is scheduled from 9:00 am to 12 noon at the United Nations. Marchers will hear the speeches and music as they proceed past the UN to Central Park. The main rally will be at the Great Lawn in Central Park from 1:00 pm to 6:00 pm. The following is a partial list of speakers and entertainers for both rallies:

**Coretta Scott King**

**Dr. Helen Caldicott,**  
Physicians for Social Responsibility

**James Taylor**

**Cleveland Robinson,**  
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

**Bruce Kent,**  
British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament  
**Miriam Friedlander,** New York City Council

**Linda Ronstadt**

**Barry Commoner**

**Bella Abzug**  
**Bishop Roy Nichols**

**Pete Seeger**

**Ruth Messinger,** New York City Council

**William Sloan Coffin,** Riverside Church

**Peter, Paul and Mary**

**Dave Dellinger**

**Grace Paley**

**Victor Gotbaum,** AFSCME

**John Hall**

**Randall Forsberg,** National Freeze Campaign

**Roman Bedor,** Belau Pacific Center

**Yolanda Sanchez,**  
East Harlem Council for Human Services

**Rev. Herbert Daughtry,**  
National Black United Front

**Carlos Zenon,** Puerto Rico

**Lord Noel Baker,**  
World Disarmament Campaign

**The Most Venerable Nichidatsu Fujii,**  
Japan World Peace Office

**David Livingston,** UAW

**Holly Near**

**Jackson Browne**

**Henry Nicholas,** 1199

**Maggie Kuhn,** Gray Panthers

**Sweet Honey and the Rock**

**Andre Gregory,** Actor

**Wanda Kelly,** Widow of Atomic Veteran

**Orson Welles**

**Third World**

**Russell Means,**  
American Indian Movement

**Norma Becker,** American Peace Movement

**General Nino Pasti,**  
Former Italian NATO Commander



**Rally - June 12, 1982**  
**Central Park, NYC**



DSA UNITY CONVENTION: SYNTHESIS OR ANTITHESIS?by Steve Shank

Following a decade of fragmentation and disintegration, the socialist left in the United States has remained isolated not only from the American mainstream; it has become alienated from itself. During the 1970's, socialism once again collapsed into a muddle of competing sects, many of which disappeared completely from the fringes of the political landscape at the beginning of the 1980's. The recent merger of the two largest "democratic socialist" political tendencies is therefore of no small importance to a movement seemingly on the brink of extinction.

The Unity Convention of the New American Movement (NAM) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) on March 20, in Detroit, was a marriage unparalleled in American socialist history. People who never expected to be in the same room with each other were now members of the new organization, the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Political antagonists representing over sixty years of mutual mistrust and hatred were attempting to unite around a common socialist vision and a common program.

NAM and DSOC reflected very different histories and traditions. NAM with its 1500 members was born from the remnants of SDS and the New Left in 1971. Its members were largely young veterans of the anti-war, student, women's and civil rights movements of the 1960's. DSOC with 5000 members was born from the breakup of the Socialist Party in 1973. Its original membership included older, established veterans of the social democratic, labor, and civil rights movements, although it recruited many new activists in recent years, including a 1500 member Youth Caucus. NAM was rooted in the counter-culture and the breakup of the liberal consensus posed existential dilemmas for both groups. As they searched for new allies and new constituencies, they found each other.

The presence of former Communist Party activists in NAM added another striking dimension to the Unity Convention. A small but significant number of participants in Communist Party splits of the late 1950's and early 1970's joined NAM and provided important local and national leadership. The merger was a particularly soul-searching affair for these individuals. Dorothy Healy, the former head of the Communist Party in Southern California, who was expelled for her continuous opposition to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, stated early in the two year negotiating process that she did not leave the Third International to join the Second. The former C.P. activists, however, elected to support the merger, while the most anti-parliamentary and anti-Democratic Party forces in NAM, comprising between one-fourth and one-third of the organization, left NAM over the merger question a year and a half before the convention.

Members of DSOC's right were equally apprehensive. Irving Howe, the brilliant editor of "Dissent" and rabid opponent of Stalinism and New Left radicalism, formed an anti-merger caucus. As discussions progressed, and Howe's caucus was defeated during the merger vote at the DSOC national convention, the caucus was abandoned and Howe remained in DSOC. Thus, we witnessed the unlikely scene of former cold war social democrats, former participatory democrats and former Stalinists standing together at the St. Andrews Society Hall in Detroit, singing "Solidarity Forever."

DSA UNITY CONVENTION(continued)

The merger of current political perspectives is certainly of more importance than the merger of personalities and traditions. It is this aspect of the merger that will pose the most problems in the months ahead. Saul Wellman, the former head of the Communist Party of Michigan in the 1950's and Detroit NAM activist in the 1970's has observed that the basic principle of the new organization is an agreement to disagree. Having said that, the problem remains of how to prevent the organization from stagnating into a debating society and instead move it forward in a programmatic direction. How can the merger effectively wed the extra-parliamentary politics of NAM which focused on the community and local-level union politics with DSOC's electoral strategy of relating to the Democratic Party and international union leadership?

On an optimistic note, several major points of historical disagreement were resolved or at least compromised in the merger document. NAM's "critical support" of Soviet-style socialism and knee-jerk support of Third World liberation movements moderated over the years. As the merger document was being written NAM agreed that the Soviet Union and similar systems were not socialists because, they felt they were not democratic. Although DSA's analysis of the Soviet system is as yet undefined (and somewhat irrelevant for those of us who are wary of sectarian hairsplitting), Michael Harrington's articulation of "bureaucratic collectivism" is not the dominant operating analysis that it was in DSOC. We may safely assume that very few if any NAM members have been converted to Schachtmanism. More importantly, NAM recognized the progressive role being played by the Socialist International, particularly regarding Central America, and DSA continues to be affiliated with that body.

DSOC for its part accepted NAM's insistence that "personal politics," particularly an emphasis on socialist-feminism and the gay movement, be a top priority in political work. When and how a socialist feminist perspective will be presented in the Democratic Party or labor arenas remains to be seen.

Furthermore, cold war references to "Communist totalitarianism" and other absolute characterizations common among social democrats, no longer appear in the literature.

Another major compromise centered on the question of Israel and the P.L.O. The merger document acknowledges the right of Palestinian self-determination without mentioning the P.L.O. It further supports American military aid to Israel. Interestingly, NAM's position on the Middle East, supporting Israel's right to exist and calling for the recognition of the P.L.O. as legitimate Palestinian representation in negotiations, is actually closer to the official position of the Socialist International. The critical and emotional importance inside DSOC for full support for Israel prompted the new formulation.

The pivotal areas of tension in the coming months will revolve around the Democratic Party and the labor movement. Problems are already surfacing that raise the question of whether a shared strategic direction is possible. Indeed, it is unclear if a shared vision of socialism exists. We are confronted with an old dilemma in assessing socialist strategies and goals: Do we advocate Socialism from Above or Socialism from Below? The Democratic Agenda is a good example of the problem.

DSA UNITY CONVENTION(continued)

The Democratic Agenda, created by DSOC in 1975, was intended to be a broad left-liberal coalition within the Democratic Party to provide labor and liberals with a means to fight for a progressive platform. Essentially, it has operated as a non-socialist DSOC front. Although it played an important role at the 1976 Democratic convention and the 1978 midterm convention, it was lost in the Kennedy-Carter fight at the 1980 convention. It's national role is now severely hampered by the new Democratic rules changes consolidating power once again in the hands of party professionals.

DSOC's strategy has always been aimed at the party elite, hoping that left-wing politics would eventually trickle down to the rank and file. With a successful national Democratic Party strategy now improbable, a new strategy would concentrate on state and local party elites. The Democratic Agenda, the dominant position argues, should avoid endorsing candidates in an attempt to build as broad a coalition as possible without offending any members of the coalition. Therefore, socialist candidacies like Gore Vidals' senatorial race in California and Zolton Ferency's gubernatorial race in Michigan, do not receive Democratic Agenda endorsement.

More importantly, DSA locals themselves now hesitate to endorse major socialist candidacies. Zolton Ferency, a DSA member and a major visible figure in the Michigan Democratic Party, did not receive the endorsement of DSA locals in Michigan. The Detroit local in particular did not want to offend the UAW's Solidarity House, which is supporting a safe, traditional predictable, and presumably electable liberal candidate. Although Ferency's campaign provides an opportunity to operate in Democratic Party politics with the goal of cultivating a rank and file base for socialist politics, the Detroit DSA local has another agenda. A plurality of this local would rather ingratiate itself to sources of power in the labor movement. In an attempt to coalesce at the top, socialist organization has its politics dictated by the liberal milieu in which it operates.

This strategy applies to the problems faced by the labor movement as well. Unlike NAM, which advocated a grass-roots approach to labor organizing as well as community and electoral campaigns, DSOC concentrated solely on the issue-oriented coalitions promoted by progressive international unions. Supposedly in an attempt to avoid inter-union factionalism, DSOC provided no analytical leadership in such important issues as the autoworkers contract concessions. The Debs-Thomas Award that was presented the same weekend as the Unity Convention went to UAW Secretary-Treasurer, Ray Majerus on the eve of his negotiations with American Motors. Many observers viewed this award as a callous slap in the face to autoworkers, who narrowly accepted General Motors takebacks several weeks later.

The critical questions are obvious, although their answers are complicated. Can we build an independent mass-based movement for progressive change, or must we rely on traditional sources of power to achieve the same ends? Does the greatest potential for change lie with citizens groups, local labor leadership, and rank and file activists or with international union presidents and Democratic Party professionals? Ultimately, do we believe in a truly democratic vision of socialism and socialist transformation or do we believe in a bureaucratic vision of socialism and the necessity of leading the electorate into naive illusion or are they reality?

DSA UNITY CONVENTION(continued)

DSA claims that we can agree to disagree. These concerns, it is argued, are not necessarily contradictory. Each approach may compliment the other in practice, building a rank and file base while affecting real politics in the real world.

Can such fundamental differences be melded together? Given the fact that such unity has never before been attempted, the answer is unclear. The real outcome rests on the resolution of priorities and the sense of possibilities inside DSA. Other factors necessary for success, like the impact of the Reagan years on people's receptivity to radical solutions, are as yet unanswered in a period of general despair and disillusionment.

Given the other political alternatives - neo-liberalism, neo-conservativism, sectarian irrelevance, regional isolation, or political abstinence - the DSA seems to be the only game in town.

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Editor's Note:

Steven C. Shank, M.S.W. is a long-time labor organizer and community organizer in Detroit. A former member of the New American Movement, he serves on the Board of the Detroit local of DSA and Steve is a sponsor of SAPDF.

LettersANOTHER PERSPECTIVE ON MELVIN RADER

To the Editor:

As former student and close friend of the late Melvin Rader, I would like to add some comments on Samberg's review of his FALSE WITNESS which appeared in the May-August, 1981 issue of ZEDEK.

Among the many warm memories I have of Melvin Rader, I would mention his classes and lectures on Marxism, romanticism, and aesthetics, his active work on behalf of civil rights and academic freedom, and his participation in many of the anti-war demonstrations, draft resistance meetings, etc., of the late sixties and early seventies. Certainly it was his desire to combine liberalism and Marxism.

It should be pointed out that in his last years Rader was primarily concerned with giving a new interpretation of Marxism which, above all, freed it from reductivist dogma. It was his strong belief in the intrinsic good of art and civil liberties which lay behind his reappraisal of Marx in MARX'S INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. The peculiar brand of Marxism that Rader was trying to hammer out has, of course, affinities with many of the most progressive currents of Marxism in western and eastern Europe today, from Habermas to Stojanovic.

Norman Fischer

Department of Philosophy  
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To Our Readers: Keep those letters coming. We need your feedback.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND NEEDS

Note: Unemployed social activist professors are entitled to free ads in the ZEDEK classifieds. Employers willing to hire unemployed social activist professors will also be given free ad space in ZEDEK. Please keep ads under 100 words and send them to: Employment Section, ZEDEK/SAPDF, 19329 Monte Vista Drive, Detroit, Michigan 48221. Box replies should be sent to SAPDF.

Employment Needs (Unemployed Social Activists)

Male, age 57. Specialties: musicology and philosophy. Internationally recognized scholar. Seeks university position in which there is strong graduate program. Married: wife, 2 young children. Blacklisted for more than 9 years. Will consider any meaningful job. Box 1-F.

Male, age 54. Specialties: political science, international relations, criminology. Internationally recognized scholar. Seeks university position in which there is a strong graduate program. Married. Blacklisted for more than 2 years. Will consider any meaningful job. Box 2-F.

Male, age 54. Specialties: sociology, psychology, social psychiatry. Internationally recognized scholar. Seeks university position in which there is strong graduate program. Single. Blacklisted for more than 6 years. Will consider any meaningful job. Box 3-F.

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2. Funds to help support the legal struggles of Bertell Ollman should be sent to: Ollman Academic Freedom Fund, c/o M. Brown, 210 Spring St., New York, N.Y. 10012.
3. Funds to help support the legal struggles of F. Joseph Smith should be sent to the: Smith Vindication Fund, c/o SAPDF, 19329 Monte Vista Drive, Detroit, Michigan 48221.

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Note to Readers: Part II on the Stastny case has been delayed and will appear in a future issue of ZEDEK. Reports on other cases might be delayed because of legal considerations and other relevant matters.



SAPDF NOW SEEKING SUPPORTERS TO HELP FINANCE ITS STATED AIMS

The Social Activist Professors Defense Foundation, SAPDF, a non-profit foundation, established in 1980 to defend social activist professors whose constitutional and civil rights have been violated, is now seeking funds through a program of annual memberships. There are four basic memberships: Individual, Supporter, Sponsor, and Patron. There is also a special membership for Students, Seniors, and Additional Members of a Household. All four basic members receive the official journal ZEDEK plus all special publications (reports, monographs, etc.) as they appear. The special members receive ZEDEK only. The stated aims of SAPDF can be found on pages 1 and 2 of the November, 1980 issue of ZEDEK. A new expanded list of aims will be published in a forthcoming issue of ZEDEK. We will continue to seek individual and institutional subscriptions to ZEDEK but these subscriptions do not fully pay for the current production and distribution costs even though the SAPDF/ZEDEK staff, thus far, is presently voluntary. To fulfill its many aims SAPDF needs the wide support of interested and concerned members. Please seriously consider becoming a member of the Social Activist Professors Defense Foundation.

A Distinction Between Endorsers and Sponsors and Sponsor-Members

When SAPDF was first organized the term sponsor was used in the sense of endorser because SAPDF had no members, that is, any person or agency which endorsed the aims of SAPDF and lent his or her or its name to SAPDF was designated as a sponsor. Since SAPDF now has a membership category of Sponsor, the former use of the term sponsor is no longer in force. Henceforth, we shall properly call all former sponsors endorsers because they have endorsed the aims of SAPDF regardless of whether or not they contributed a particular amount of money in support of SAPDF. Thus, some of SAPDF's current endorsers include a wide variety of progressive, humanistic persons, e.g., Scott Nearing, Noam Chomsky, Benjamin Spock, Herbert Aptheker, Zolton Ferency, Shirley Cereseto, Roy Larson, Father Victor Weissler, Sarah Silver, Rick Kunnes, Thomas Lough, Maryann Mahaffey, John Snider, Sarah Cooper, Ron Aronson, Betty Lanham, Alex Efthim, Murray Jackson, Bobbie Graff, Richard Weiss, and many others. While SAPDF needs many endorsers, SAPDF also needs many members who are also sponsors in this newest sense. If you are not already an endorser of SAPDF and wish to be an endorser as well as a member, please indicate that fact on the registration form below and sign your name and the date. Thank you.

REGISTRATION FORM ↓

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Membership	_____ \$10 (Student, Senior, Additional Member of Household)	_____ \$150 (Sponsor)
	_____ \$20 (Individual)	_____ \$200 (Patron)
	_____ \$50 (Supporter)	_____ or more

Make all contributions payable to the Social Activist Professors Defense Foundation or S.A.P.D.F.

Endorser Statement

I, \_\_\_\_\_, wish to become an endorser of the  
(Print Name)

Social Activist Professors Defense Foundation.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

(complete signature)

**\*\*Note:** An SAPDF return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.