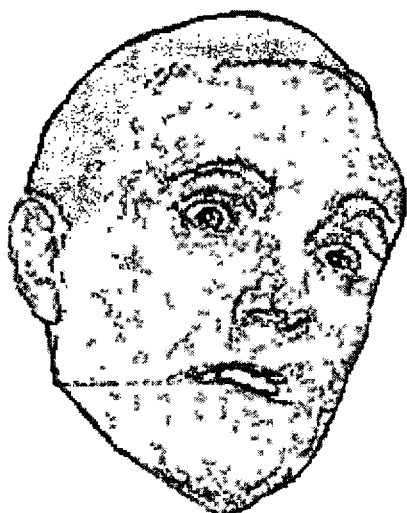


WELCOME BACK, SURVIVORS

SEPTEMBER 1995 VOL. 7 NO.3

# THE ADVOCATE

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK GRADUATE SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CENTER



WHISTLE



WHILE



YOU

## BUTCHERY '95

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PAY TUITION OR ELSE! PAGE 3  
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## EDITORIALS

### FIGHT BACK!

ENEMIES LISTS. So-called "peace officers" with arrest powers, handcuffs, mace, and batons — maybe even guns at the Graduate Center. Summary disciplinary actions against student activists. Harassment and surveillance of faculty and students by CUNY officials. Retrenchment procedures without meaningful student or faculty input. Departments closed. Faculty fired. Adjuncts on the dole.

The Graduate School's last minute move to the scandal-tarred B. Altman building, a space which is woefully inadequate and will not allow us to consolidate the off-campus programs. Dreams not deferred, but shattered.

In spite of the destructive, pathological, and reactionary direction Chancellor Ann Reynolds and the Murphy-led Board of Trustees have taken this remarkable university, CUNY students continue to fight back for public education, with no apologies and no fear. Last spring Graduate School students pulled together and helped to fight off some of the CUNY cuts through a series of protests, demonstrations and direct actions which left the city and state power elite stunned, and Pataki and Giuliani apoplectic, sputtering in ungrammatical sentences. Indeed, *The Village Voice* reported, "a movement is born".

Graduate students also pulled together to stop the closing of the German and Computer Science programs, and those were only two on a long list of departments on the chopping block. Some GSUC faculty and even President Horowitz wanted to close these programs—just ask the students. So, these small victories were achieved without, or even despite, the CUNY faculty and administration. Remember, an ad-hoc group, the CUNY Coalition, organized the rallies on March 23 and April 4, and the DSC sponsored the 'fight-back' against retrenchment and the Graduate Council resolution against its implementation.

The fact is that we are under attack as public graduate school students, as future teachers in the liberal arts- or any discipline which does not conform to a narrow instrumental vision of education- and it is critical that we continue to organize ourselves and push back and rout those in our midst who would destroy our university, our futures, our dreams. Moreover, this year we have to ensure that all of our faculty, administrators, including President Horowitz, are on our side, but first everyone has to be involved. So, come to meetings about budget cuts and retrenchment plans; talk to students in your program about the CUNY budget; persuade your faculty to publicly defend CUNY as "loud and proud" as possible. Hey, the barbarians are in our midst and they want to finish us off now so we have nothing to lose. So here's to those of you who defended public education in the past, and to those who will join us now. Organize! organize! organize! —ANDREW LONG

### FREE LEVEL 3 DEFERRAL REVISED

YOU ARE ELIGIBLE for this plan only if you receive some form of financial aid. You should first refer to the "deferred payment schedule" with your registration packet and then go the bursars office. Inform them of your eligibility and pay only your student activity fee if you receive a tuition scholarship, a Perkins loan or a direct loan. For any other form of financial aid you must pay the activity fee and \$100. —ANDREW LONG

### IF MUMIA FRIES, WALL STREET BURNS

PEOPLE INTERESTED IN RIOTING if journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal is murdered in the first degree by the state of Pennsylvania; please do not burn your neighbors' homes. They are in the same boiling pot as you are. Don't fire-bomb the local precinct even if they are the order's shock troops. Take your response to the source: a subway ride later, direct your Molotov Cocktails at the windows of the New York Stock Exchange. Thank you. —ROBERT WALLACE

### IN MEMORY

HELIO BELIK, a Ph.D candidate in Anthropology, at the Graduate School, died at home on August 9 of complications from AIDS. His partner, Marcello Marer, and friends were with him when he passed away.

Helio brought his experience as an international journalist and a United Nations radio correspondent, as well as his Master's in Communication to the classes he taught at Queens College and to his anthropological studies. Helio did fieldwork in Angola and Lisbon and his dissertation research work dealt with the postcolonial fragmentation of African states and the Lusophone world, and its representation in the urban geography of Lisbon.

A memorial is being planned by the CUNY Anthropology Program for this autumn.



ROBERT WALLACE

## LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR:

As the same-sex spouse of a graduate student, I must respond to the anonymous letter you printed in your May issue ("Domestic Partnership: What's Really at Issue").

The author argues that extending insurance benefits to domestic partners—and by this term to mean specifically gay and lesbian domestic partners—presents an undue burden to society. Extending insurance benefits to heterosexual, married partners, on the other hand, is a privilege granted by society to "acknowledge that married couples are performing a beneficial service to the state" by raising children.

Strangely, the author adds that granting these sort of economic privileges to straight married people who are not raising children is justified because "one could at least account for a percentage who are trying to save money before [having children]". He concludes that benefits granted to straight married partners should be seen as "supporting families rather than [as] policies aimed against other couples or social groupings".

In your haste to defend heterosexual privileges, Mr. Anonymous, you have relied on some pathetically muddy reasoning. If the goal of extending benefits to married partners is to support couples who raise children, then such policies are quite discriminatory, since they are not granted to the partners of tens of thousands of gay and lesbian parents who right now raise children in New York and the rest of the country.

Indeed, by your own logic, heterosexual couples known to be infertile at the time of their wedding should, like childless gay and lesbian couples, be denied insurance or other benefits, since they will never need them to alleviate the burden of raising a family.

Gay and lesbian "domestic partners"—I prefer to call us "spouses", since that is what we are—do not have the option of getting a marriage license, Mr. A. "Domestic partnership" is a half-baked idea that I abhor, but for now it is the only legal recognition our families—gay and lesbian families—can obtain. Frankly, I think heterosexuals should be denied registration as domestic partners, since

they have the option to marry if they want the economic privileges of that status.

If you feel that granting privileges to domestic partners will open the system to undue strain and abuses, Mr. A, then restrict such benefits to marriage—but allow us gay and lesbian couples who do raise children, or plan to, to get married. If you will not let us marry, then the only fair alternative is to grant us benefits through domestic partnerships. Meanwhile, if you do not wish to exclude childless heterosexual couples from benefits programs, then do not exclude childless gay and lesbian couples, either.

As a separate issue, I would like to address Mr. A's outrageous proposal that the "critical primary care" of AIDS patients—and by this I am not sure if he means CUNY students with AIDS, or simply students' domestic partners who have AIDS but who are excluded from extended insurance coverage—be covered by a sort of charitable donation! Would you, Mr. Anonymous, propose that the medical care of people with other costly, often fatal diseases, such as cancer, also be covered by such "optional" spare-change funds? (Mr. A generously suggests that such funds could also be used to "boost the morale" of AIDS patients. Well, whoopee! Lord knows, under such an arrangement, they'd need it!)

The tone of Mr. A's letter presents a false front of reasonableness and goodwill. His words, not his actions, betray his (and yes, I have assumed he is male) profound ignorance about gay and lesbian people as well as of the reality of gay (and straight!) New Yorkers with AIDS. To Mr. Anonymous, we who belong to these categories are "special interests," outsiders whose needs are peripheral to the rest of society.

To me, Mr. A, straight males like you are the special interest group, and I find your "generous" consideration of my needs as a gay "domestic partner" to be presumptuous, ignorant, and repugnant. As your letter demonstrates, people with prejudices never hesitate to use flimsy, illogical excuses to justify continuing discrimination against gays and lesbians as being in the best interest of what you presume to define as the "common good."

Rick Loftus  
Manhattan

## THE ADVOCATE

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Thanks also to the workers at the printers.

Letters to the Editor: *The Advocate* will publish all letters, but they must be 500 words or less and they must be signed. We will withhold a writer's name upon request, but, again, they must be signed.

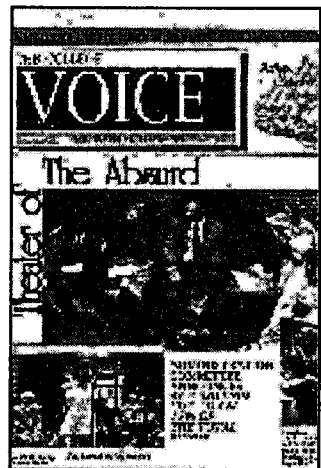
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## FEED MEDIA

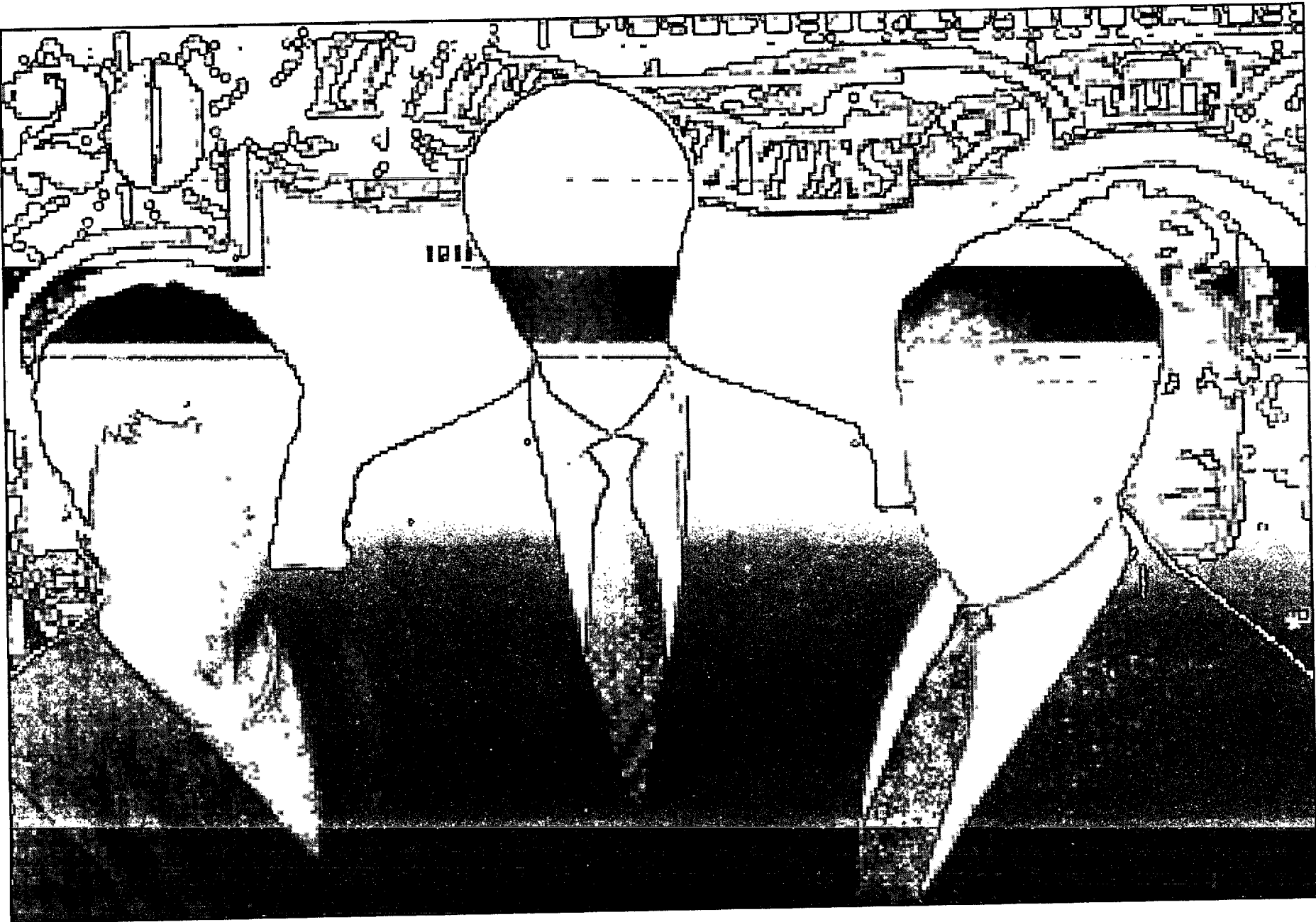
### VOICE-LESS?

IF YOU THOUGHT retrenchment wasn't bad enough, now student governments are getting in on the act. The new student government of the College of Staten Island is in the process of defunding one of CUNY's best and most outspoken local college newspapers, the College of Staten Island *Voice*, claiming fiscal constraints do not permit two papers on campus. Campus publications are funded through student activity fees which are unaffected by state and city budgets and budget cuts.

Despite the claims of financial constraint the student government has approved a twofold expansion of the *Banner*, a non-political campus paper. The student government nevertheless claims that politics were not a motivation behind the cut in funding to the *Voice* and the concomitant expansion of the



MEDIA CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE



ROBERT WALLACE

# Pay More or Else!

**CUNY Board of Trustees approves record increase in tuition. Grad students hit the hardest with increase and change in "level" criteria**

BY ANDREW LONG

**A**T IT'S JUNE 26 meeting, the CUNY Board of Trustees voted to raise tuition for undergraduate and graduate students by as much as 82%. The Board's action marked the steepest tuition increase in CUNY history. According to many observers, in addition to 5 years of disabling budget cuts, the recent increase has left this renowned public university hemorrhaging, its mission to the working class of the city all but abandoned.

The tuition for undergraduates was increased by \$750, from \$2200 to \$2950. Since Chancellor Ann Reynolds' arrival at CUNY, full time undergraduate tuition has increased by \$1500 (103%) from \$1450 to \$1850 (per year for in-state students) in September of 1991, and then to \$2450 in the following year, with a two-tier charge for students enrolled prior to 1992 who had already endured tuition increases in the two previous years. Senior college undergraduates do not pay tuition for the semester prior to receiving their degrees.

CUNY graduate tuition was increased by \$1000 per annum to \$4350 for level 1 and \$2720 for level 2 in-state students. Level 3 in-state tuition was increased by 82% from \$290 to \$540 per semester. Out-of-state and foreign students were especially victimized as level 1 tuition was increased by \$1750 to a daunting \$7600 per annum. Level 2 tuition for these students is now \$6050 and level 3 is \$1080. Foreign students are not eligible for many federally funded financial aid programs.

In his comments on the tuition increase, Vice Chancellor for University Relations,

Jay Hershenson, stated that the CUNY Board of Trustees had fought hard to keep the tuition increase to a minimum. Both he and another CUNY spokesperson, Rita Rodin, noted that in his original proposal, Governor Pataki planned to raise tuition for all CUNY students by \$1750, and that the current increase formula is the result of a valiant effort on the part of the Trustees and the CUNY administration. Rodin argued that the trustees were caught in a fiscal situation largely controlled by the Governor. Though she conceded that only the trustees have the right to raise tuition at CUNY, and the Governor's demands were not within his powers, Pataki created the context for the tuition increase through his austerity budget proposal. The tuition increase, she continued, is part of a balancing act to keep the system going, without closing down schools or whole sections of the university, and firing many faculty.

CUNY activists such as the Graduate School's Tara McGann and Wayne Van Sertima laughed at these statements about the Board's struggle for CUNY. Both pointed out that the large student protests and actions went a long way towards convincing the Governor and State legislature that the CUNY constituency was ready to fight back against rollbacks of social services, such as the City University system, which took decades of struggle to achieve.

The Board seemed to sense public doubt about its recent performance and in an official statement argued that to meet the mission of the university "in view of State and City budgets . . . requires a tuition increase." Having offered their rationale for the tuition increase the trustees went on to affirm their commit-

ment to the maintenance of "access to quality educational programs . . . into the twenty-first century."

The protestations and rationale of the Board, especially the finger pointing at conservative and distant state legislators seems odd when one considers that the central administration and the Board have planned for a tuition increase for several years, as the formation and operation of a tuition "prepayment committee" suggests (see accompanying article on private tuition deferral plan). Moreover, this committee and its attendant tuition policy predates the election of Governor Pataki. Most of the current Board of Trustees were appointed by former Governor Cuomo, though, notably, Pataki has not moved to remove them or reorient the ideology of the Board.

This fall CUNY students and their supporters will be watching for two key criteria by which the tuition increase will be judged: student attrition, and the total number of revenue dollars derived from the tuition increase. *The Advocate* will follow both aspects of this story as resources permit (see "Attrition Watch" below). Graduate Center student Kate McCaffrey pointed out in a 1991 article

about CUNY tuition policy in *Splinter!* that three years after the 1976 imposition of tuition the school's teaching staff had been slashed by 50% and the student population declined dramatically from just over 200,000 to approximately 125,000. Many of the 75,000 students who were forced out of the university system were African American and Latino.

## Back at the Grad School

A \$1750 increase would have doomed the Graduate Center. At most public and private universities graduate students receive a tuition waiver as a standard feature of their financial aid package. Moreover, unlike the Graduate Center students at other graduate schools receive a multi-year financial aid commitment, thereby avoiding the annual scramble for jobs and the small amount of support the Graduate School offers. This point was not lost on President Horowitz' legislative aide, Steve Gorelick, who told *The Advocate* that, as a former Graduate Center student, he believes that this is in fact one of the most expensive doctoral institutions in the country, despite its misleadingly low tuition. "The fact is that though our tuition is very low, we simply cannot offer the same financial aid as almost every other graduate program, and our students live in one of the most expensive cities in the country. When you consider this in addition to the recent tuition increase, and the fact that our financial aid was not increased and only remained the same as last year, then you have problems." Gorelick, like many

PAY CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

## ATTRITION WATCH

HEY, CUNY GRADUATE Students! Have the tuition increase and budget cuts changed your academic plans? Are you planning to take a leave of absence or transfer to another graduate school? Are you thinking about dropping out for a different, non-academic, lucrative (!!!) career? Well, don't go quietly! Send us a note with your name and the program in which you were/are enrolled to: Attrition Watch, The Graduate Student Advocate, 33 W. 42nd St., N.Y., N.Y., 10036. We are interested in bringing some human definition to student statistics, and we may publish some names, so please indicate if you want us to keep your identity confidential.



# Movin' On Up?

**Grad Center to move to B. Altman's. Move will provide more space, but won't bring the GSUC together.**

**BY ROB HOLLANDER**

A PRIORITY ON the agenda President Horowitz announced shortly after her arrival at the Graduate Center has become a partial reality. The humanities and social sciences programs of the Graduate Center will be moving to a new site in the building of the former B. Altman's department store.

The move will provide a full 30% more space than is available at the current 42nd street addresses, much of which the administration claims will be slated for student use. There will, however, be no room to accommodate science labs, which will continue to be housed at outlying campuses. Immediate proximity with the New York Public Research Library and with Bryant Park, two of three advantages of the current site, will be displaced by six blocks' distance. There are no parks in the 34th street area. The third advantage, a central address, is retained by the new location.

The space in the Altman's building is being bought for \$50,000,000 by the University out of its capital budget. An additional \$16,000,000 has been allocated for design. By moving to the new space, the Graduate Center will no longer have to lease space in either the Grace Building, which housed several humanities and social science programs, or in the North Campus (25 West 43rd Street), which housed several institutes and centers. Leased space has long been considered a wasteful financial burden.

The Graduate Center will be sharing the Altman's building with

Oxford University Press and the New York Public Library's Science, Industry, and Business collections (SIBL).

## Good Move or Bad?

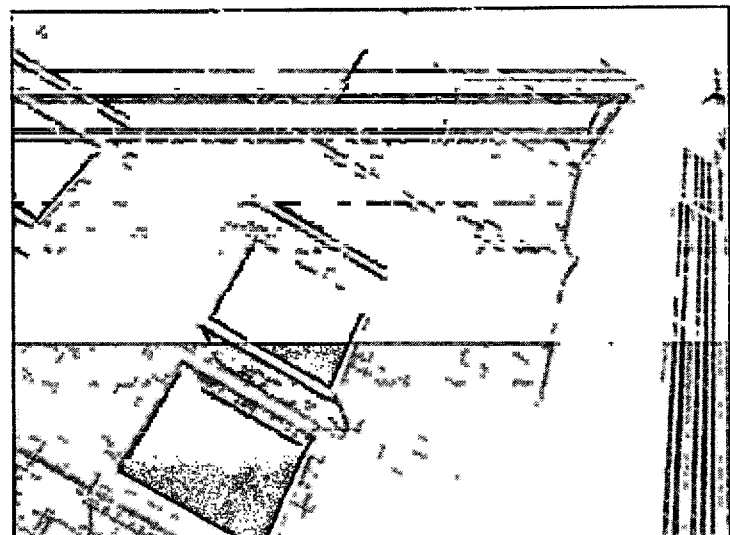
At CUNY, moves and construction usually mean lots of additional money for new facilities. In this case moving will likely mean an infusion of money for the Mina Rees Library and the Computer Center. The Board of Trustees historically has looked with far greater interest and favor on construction with relation to the University than on issues of academic support. Even when budgets are tight, it is always possible to float bonds to finance construction under the auspices of the New York State Dormitory Authority. A move presents a rare opportunity for the Grad Center to cash in on construction and expansion.

The move has come under sharp criticism from students who question the wisdom of moving to a site which is clearly not permanent. The Altman's building will suffice only for ten to fifteen years, according to current estimates of Graduate Center growth in the humanities and social sciences. It does not provide space for any of the sciences, all of which will continue to be housed at senior colleges in Queens, Brooklyn, the Bronx as well as Manhattan.

At a 'town meeting' held in April the President announced her decision to accept the terms of the move. Those terms included vacating approximately five Grad Center floors to accommodate the SUNY School of Optometry, which has been leasing midtown space at great expense to the State. "Swing space"

in the 42nd street area would be found for the displaced five floors. The State made the President an offer which she unilaterally and swiftly signed on to. The Altman's building has been the object of intense interest as a possible site for the last few years.

The terms were disturbing to many. The idea that programs would have to move out of the Grad Center into temporary space to convenience the State at a time when CUNY's budget is being cut by those same forces in the State, seemed a risky deal at best. What if the State, having found a cheap site in the Grad Center for the School of Optometry, couldn't find the funds to buy Altman's? We would be stuck with several programs in a permanent state of "swing." Some students were also — not surprisingly — unimpressed with the touted benefits of the new space. Having the humanities and social sciences under one roof



Nice view, but for how long?

ROBERT WALLACE

appears less crucial when one considers that at virtually every large university the buildings are spread widely apart. The philosophy building at Columbia, for example, is much farther away from Columbia's Casa Italiana than the Grace building is from the main GSUC building. And since the NYPL Humanities and Social Science collections will remain at 42nd Street, the new location, for all its elegant revolving doors, is less, not more, convenient.

Students also expressed their dismay that no other sites appeared to have been looked at. The south

campus at CCNY, for example, remains vacant. No attempt was made to negotiate for that space, nor indeed, for any other space in New York though there are possibilities. Locating on 125th Street, which would place the GSUC between CCNY and Columbia in a Federal empowerment zone, was not considered. Proximity to Columbia would have allowed access to one of New York's great libraries. Federal dollars would have helped finance construction, and the neighborhood would have benefited tremendously.

Rather than the fulfillment of a large vision of the future of the university as a research center for the sciences, social sciences and humanities, the move to Altman's suffices only for a more short-sighted view. The GSUC will be moving from one small space to another, somewhat larger, small space; from one midtown address to another, more elegant, midtown address. Instead of Bryant Park across the street, we will be staring at the Empire State Building, in the center of a crowded business/shopping district. There the Grad Center will be used to buttress a neighborhood of declining megastores and emptying skyscrapers, much as it was used on 42nd street to stem the tide of decline around the Times Square district.

## BEHIND THE SCENES

### How did the GSUC get into the Altman's building?

After B. Altman's department store went bankrupt, the building was bought by Peter L. Malkin, a governor of the Real Estate Board of New York. As a major player in the world of New York real estate and politics, Malkin was assured that, having bought the building, the State would support his investment by finding him some occupants in return for political favors. Public money through special legislation installed both the NYPL and Oxford University Press. Now it's the Graduate Center. The big financial advantage for us is that we won't have to \$4 mil out of our operating budget to rent space from Grace and 43rd Street. The big question for us is, now that the real estate moguls and the State have made good on their investments, how much of that \$4 mil will graduate educational programs or GSUC students see after the administration takes its cut? Anything? —R.H.

## DESPERATELY SEEKING COMMITMENT

Students are needed to serve with Faculty members on Graduate Council policy-making committees. The power and influence of these committees should not be underestimated:

### Committee on Committees

(nominates and appoints to all other committees)

### Computer Committee

(considers all matters related to computer needs at the Graduate Center)

### Curriculum and Degree Requirements Committee

(considers new Ph.D. programs, certificate programs, interdisciplinary programs, changes in language requirements, courses and course requirements, grading systems inter al.)

### Library Committee

(considers all policy matters related to the library)

### Research Committee

(reviews the status and activity of the centers and institutes located at the Graduate Center and matters related to grants and research funding)

### Structure Committee

(reviews the governance structure of each program and of the Graduate Center and the Graduate Council)

### Student Services Committee

(considers all aspects of student life, financial aid, services and accommodations)

Apply to Alico Elsonborg in the President's Office, or to the DSC, rm BM001

# NEED A LAWYER?

Are you having trouble with your landlord or boss? Is someone at CUNY, a professor, administrator, student or staff member, hassling you? Do you need help with an immigration or visa problem? You may need a lawyer. Come by the DSC office (SC01) and ask for a legal referral or submit a request for \$200 for legal reimbursement. Telephone 212-642-2851 for further information. This service is funded by The Doctoral Students' Council.

# RETRENCHMENT



**O**n February 27, 1995, the Board of Trustees of CUNY declared a state of fiscal exigency which gives them the power to fire tenured faculty and staff, and even close departments and schools. Though the CUNY system is still somewhat intact, retrenchment has arrived and been implemented across the whole system since that time. With the declaration the Board of Trustees requested each campus to establish a retrenchment committee to make recommendations for cuts in order to close a \$3.9 million budget gap at CUNY. Some campuses complied with this request, and administrators there offered up programs to be put on the chopping block, such as the Nursing, Classics, and Anthropology programs at CCNY. As a result, these colleges will lose departments and jobs, effective immediately. The Graduate Center was one of several schools that agreed to comply with the retrenchment process and President Horowitz appointed a committee. The committee included only three students, all of whom were appointed. Students from the programs which were slated for retrenchment, German and Computer Science, were not involved in the process in a meaningful way, only as an afterthought.

The CUNY Board claims that its declaration is a response to cut-backs from the City Council and State Legislature. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani wanted to cut \$33 million from CUNY, 42% of its budget. Most of these cuts would be at the community col-

leges. As if the city hadn't cut enough from the two-year schools, the New York State Legislature also cut \$10 million from their budget. The Mayor's plan would eliminate 300 full-time faculty, 200 non-teaching positions, 4,300 class sections and severely cut back student services. In addition, the university offered early retirement packages to faculty and staff. Approximately 692 employees have accepted these packages so far.

CUNY's budget took a major blow even though the State Legislature did not cut quite as deeply as Pataki proposed. In the end the Legislature restored \$56.3 million to CUNY, and the SEEK, TAP and Aid to Part-time Study programs were saved in part. However, the legislature did pass a budget of \$941.5 million, a reduction of \$5.5 million from last year (not adjusted for inflation). That budget includes \$514 million and \$395.2 million from tuition revenues, and the rest from miscellaneous expenditures. They handed this allocation down to the campuses as a call for retrenchment, delivering on Pataki's January threat that CUNY must "tighten its belt".

Clearly the retrenchment plan will have a devastating impact on the CUNY system this year and into the future. While professors, adjuncts and staff face lay offs, students will lose programs and resources, and have to take a tuition hike of \$750 per year, bringing the cost for one year at a four year college at CUNY up to \$3,200. With these changes, access to education at CUNY is increasingly curtailed. Much of the impact will be felt directly as students see programs eliminated in the fall. In fact, the university has targeted the elimination of programs as opposed to more piecemeal cuts. The Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the faculty union, has described this strategy as a "programmatic rather than an across-the-board approach," meaning that the University is cutting by taking whole sections out of the system rather than whitening away pieces from all departments.

On June 26 the Board of Trustees announced that nine schools will lose programs, including City College, NYC Technical College and Queens

College. In addition to the programs mentioned earlier, City College will lose its Physical Education, Classical Languages and Hebrew, Theater and Dance departments. Other departments face consolidation, on top of already severely diminished resources. Language and arts programs have been hit particularly hard, as well as Physical and Health Education. Lehman College, for example, faces the abolition of the Department of Classical, Oriental, Germanic and Slavic Languages and the Department of Romance Languages. In its place, the Board of Trustees has designated a Department of Languages and Literature. Similarly, Kingsborough Community College will lose its Departments of Music and Speech and Theater, now combined into one department called the Department of Communications and Performing Arts. Some observers point out that the retrenchment plans erode the broad liberal arts education that CUNY has offered to date and replaces it with a more instrumental and technocratic curriculum. The PSC has pointed out that the "programmatic" nature of the cuts suggests a rationale more akin to the Goldstein Consolidation Plan, which the faculty rejected in 1993, than fiscal exigency.

The Board of Trustees also has other budget-cutting projects in store. Students needing ESL training, for example, now will have to demonstrate they can complete the instruction in two semesters or they will not be admitted into a four-year school. The foreign student tuition waiver program will now be eliminated, threatening opportunities for foreign student enrollment. The Board has authority to make recommendations for "restructuring" SEEK and CD programs. They propose limiting serial subscriptions. In addition, the Board "expresses its intent" to review workloads for professors and counselors "through the collective bargaining process." In other words, the Board hopes to take on the CUNY unions and renegotiate the costs of wages and benefits for employees in the system, to "achieve an overall increase in instructional productivity."

## Graduate Retrenchment

This spring President Frances Horowitz at the Graduate Center complied with requests by the Board of Trustees and convened a Retrenchment Committee comprised of students, faculty and staff to prepare a proposal for what should be cut at the Grad Center should Pataki's cuts go through [for the final report, see box on page 6]. The Committee was encouraged by the Administration to leave three areas untouched: the Library, the Computer Center and Financial Aid.

The retrenchment report was presented at the end of the school year, arriving at a time when there were few faculty and students on campus. President Horowitz publicly presented their findings at two town meetings held May 18 and 19. Though barely advertised only two days in advance, these meetings were packed with audiences of several hundred, and the impact of the proposed cuts was brought home to the Graduate Center for the first time. The President's final decisions, however, were made after these meetings, long after students and faculty had departed for the summer. As a result, the details of retrenchment have remained murky for many people at the Graduate Center, including some of those directly facing elimination. The President's office has yet to make the details of the final report widely available to the university community.

The retrenchment report had three budget scenarios, Levels I, II and III, pending the Legislature's passage of the budget. By far the biggest shock in the report lay in the recommendation to eliminate the German and Computer Science Departments. This proposal somewhat mirrored the CUNY-wide trend where retrenchment attacked language programs and the arts.

# BY LEE WENGRAF



Terminating the German and Computer Science Departments supposedly would save \$408,600 and \$100,272 respectively. Some provisions would have been made for advanced students to be able to complete their degrees, although the situation would have been less than satisfactory for many students who might have been forced to transfer, losing time and credits along the way. In the end, Horowitz decided to spare both departments. Their futures, however, remain uncertain.

Professor John Gearey, Executive Officer of the German Department, told *The Advocate* that the Department's existence is guaranteed only for the next year. The proposal to close the department came as a surprise, he said, because CUNY scored a major victory as the recent recipient of a major grant of \$260,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities for German study, a grant which Graduate School Provost Geoffrey Marshall approved. The grant would have funded undergraduates from first year German all the way through their Ph.D. coursework and so would have given a significant boost to building German scholarship at the Graduate Center. However, with the Doctoral program under threat, the grant money must be returned.

The relationship between the German Department here and the few colleges where German is still available is a contradictory one, Gearey explained, where they are both looking to each other for support that neither can give. Prior to retrenchment, the German Doctoral pro-

gram had lost a faculty line that was not filled supposedly due to small faculty support on the campuses. The loss of this line put a further strain on the German departments in the system. The Doctoral program currently has 2 central appointments with 7 full-time faculty members and two half-time appointments on loan from the colleges. The retrenchment committee claims that lack of support from the campuses was a major factor in proposing to close the department down, though this is a budget-cutting logic which has not been applied to other Graduate School programs such as the Psychology subprograms, whose faculty, including President Horowitz and Graduate Council Executive Committee member Professor Herb Saltzstein, are a powerful block. Trying to smooth out the situation for doctoral students facing a crisis in their department, Provost Geoffrey Marshall asked German faculty to stay on and teach courses at the Grad Center anyway, *without a department*, presumably as a *pro bono* effort. The faculty refused.

The Computer Science Department finds itself facing a similar predicament. The Computer Science Department was spared from the cutting block, yet Professor Stanley Habib, Executive Officer of Computer Science, says that "survival will be about cutting it back to a smaller program." The Department is one of the largest at the Grad Center, with 124 students; the long-range plan is to trim enrollment down to a department of 60 students. Professor Habib said that the original decision to eliminate Computer

## THE PLAN

Retrenchment Plan: dated June 16, 1995, released July 24, 1995

### Level I

Other Than Personnel Spending (OTPS) Reductions \$482,625

Personnel Spending (PS) Reductions 1,412,262

Close Placement Office, reduce staff in Residence Life, Interdisciplinary Studies, Centers and Institutes, the President's Office, Human Resources, Office of the Dean for Research and University Programs, Vacant Lines/Searches

[all staff took early retirement]

Total Level I Reductions 1,894,887

### Level II

Personnel Spending Reductions 120,088

Psychological Counseling, Non instructional personnel

Total Level II Reductions 120,088

TOTAL LEVEL I AND II REDUCTIONS 2,014,975

Note: The allocation lines to the colleges were not cut under the final plan.

Science stemmed from an external evaluation that recommended investing additional resources into the program. The Graduate School administration, it seems, decided that rather than invest in Computer Science it would terminate the program. Professor Habib expressed his disbelief at such an action. "I couldn't imagine such a lack of vision in cutting Computer Science. It's unthinkable to have a Ph.D. school without Computer Science."

According to Habib, the Administration reversed itself due to the efforts of advocates for the program. "We very aggressively marshaled support from inside and outside the University. 80th Street got letters from many, many people that they couldn't ignore." Support came from corporate heads as well as other computer science departments. Ultimately, however, the Administration will make the final life or death decisions, yet academic programs are not giving up: "the school has to have a program, and the Administration has to find the resources for it."

### Graduate Students Reject Retrenchment

Following the release of the retrenchment report, the Doctoral Students' Council convened an emergency meeting on May 16 to respond to the proposed cuts. From the meeting a resolution was passed unequivocally denouncing retrenchment. Five points were made in the resolution, summarized as:

- (1) the budget cuts are unnecessary
- (2) academic departments should be protected
- (3) cuts in the Executive Compensation Plan and the Research Foundation should be made instead
- (4) the Retrenchment Committee validated a preconceived plan of President Frances Horowitz's to cut at the GSUC
- (5) the plan sends a signal to politicians in Albany that the cuts are acceptable.

On May 18, the Graduate Council passed a version of the resolution, with votes of support from faculty and students who actually sat on the Retrenchment Committee. Student members of the committee described the retrenchment committee procedure as so fundamentally undemocratic, that ultimately the members had no real power, voting or otherwise, over the finished

product.

Many students, however, objected to the establishment of the Committee in the first place, and criticized students and faculty who participated. Many claimed that serving on the committee only helped to accelerate the retrenchment process as serving on the committee was a tacit agreement that *something* had to be cut. President Horowitz tried to establish legitimacy for the Committee in the eyes of the students by asking the three DSC Co-Chairs, Robert Hollander, Andrew Long and Eric Marshall to participate. They all refused to take part in the budget-cutting process.

At the town meetings that week, angry students turned up to denounce the proposals and speak out about the efforts they had taken over the past few months to stop the cuts. Students spoke to each of the five points of the resolution in turn. Representatives from the German Students Planning Committee appealed to the President to reconsider the importance of German study at CUNY. Others spoke to the need for direct action to protest the cuts, saying that electoral strategies were not helpful in turning back the tide of austerity.

Many students were angry in particular at the attack on academic programs and some felt the two were targeted because they are departments heavily represented by women and minorities. "The cuts are disproportionately impacting on women and people of color because of the composition of these departments," said Wayne VanSertima, member of the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts and the Black Student Alliance. BSA wrote a letter to Horowitz calling for retrenchment to start at 80th Street, the Administration's headquarters. Students vowed to meet again over the summer and keep up the fight against retrenchment.

*Editor's Note: On August 3rd Assemblyman Edward Sullivan, Chairman of the Assembly Committee on Higher Education held a hearing on the retrenchment process at CUNY. The timing and inadequate announcement of this hearing, over the summer, does not enable those most affected, students and faculty, to participate. We urge all graduate students, especially in German, Classics, Economics, and Computer Science, to telephone his office at 212-866-3970 and demand another hearing this fall, before the next round of mid-year budget cuts.*

## "A Glorified High School"

Much of the premise of "retrenchment" is based on accepting the idea that a limited amount of funds exists in the City's budget. This idea has a strong hold on CUNY administrators and New York City politicians alike. Because administrators have accepted this idea from the outset, they acquiesce to the idea that there is only a finite amount of funds available in the system—for CUNY, for social services, for health care, and so on. Yet numerous reports (see the accompanying "counter budget" article) have shown "retrenchment" to be a lie. Money exists in the system, but politics governs the choices made on how to spend it. The cuts at CUNY are part of a larger picture of austerity in which Giuliani and Pataki are trying to cut costs in their budgets by driving down wages and the standard of living for New Yorkers. The cuts at CUNY are political; they are trying to tell people that overspending at CUNY is where the problems of public higher education lie. The success of students at CUNY to mobilize 20,000 protesters on March 23 and the strength of GSUC students denouncement of the cuts on May 18 was due to the fact that they rejected *all* cuts as unnecessary.

CUNY Administrators, along with politicians in this country, are facing a crisis. Both have accepted the need to cut back spending. Yet their cutbacks are also creating consequences that they have no solutions for. As more and more people lose their jobs as well as access to welfare and education, politicians have no vision of how to resolve this mess of a rapidly-growing social crisis. They do not know what the next step forward is, except to put through reductions today, even if it heightens the crisis tomorrow.

In the same way, as the Administration at CUNY cuts the system to the bone, it is creating problems that it doesn't know the way out of. It is running into a conflict between maintaining CUNY as a "university" with its liberal arts traditions or becoming

some other kind of institution. Higher education has always served the role of educating future workers for society, although the education needs of workers changes as the workplace does. Restructuring and retrenchment is transforming CUNY into a training ground for a more technologically-oriented, lower-paid workforce. The Administration has set itself on this road, but they may not want to be headed in that direction. The lack of vision and conflicts they have about the way forward for CUNY explains a lot of the Administration's flip-flops, such as Horowitz's decision to save the academic programs after all.

Nonetheless, despite the ambivalence of the Administration, actual policies are pointing towards dismantling CUNY as we know it. Quality in education will be the first to go when the budgets come back again next year. John Gearey from the German Department sees the cutbacks as part of an increasing "climate in the country tightening on education," a climate that has created a "numbers game where public institutions need to justify their existence." If departments are not turning out large numbers of students, he says, they are seen as not useful. Frances Fox Piven, Professor of Political Science at the Graduate Center, told *The Advocate* that, "The Board of Trustees is not interested in fighting the cuts at all. They're turning CUNY into a glorified high school." Yet, she says, they are sowing the seeds of their own demise. The policies they've promulgated are so reckless," she said, "they are headed for disaster."

So there is hope for the fight against the cuts at CUNY. Student protests at CUNY this past spring sent a strong message to politicians and showed what students are capable of. Future campaigns against the cuts depend on completely rejecting the need for retrenchment and convincing students, faculty and staff that a diminished CUNY is not inevitable. —L.W.

# Free Mumia!

**CUNY Coalition joins the fight to save Abu-Jamal.**

**BY ROB HOLLANDER**

FOLLOWING FOUR months of frenetic organizing against State and City assaults on higher education, the members of the CUNY Coalition against the Budget Cuts began the summer months looking for new directions for their energy. Efforts were directed towards several fronts: alliances with local activists and movements, conducting press and legal campaigns, and planning for the coming year at CUNY. Among local movements, the effort to save Mumia Abu-Jamal from execution garnered the most attention from Coalition members.

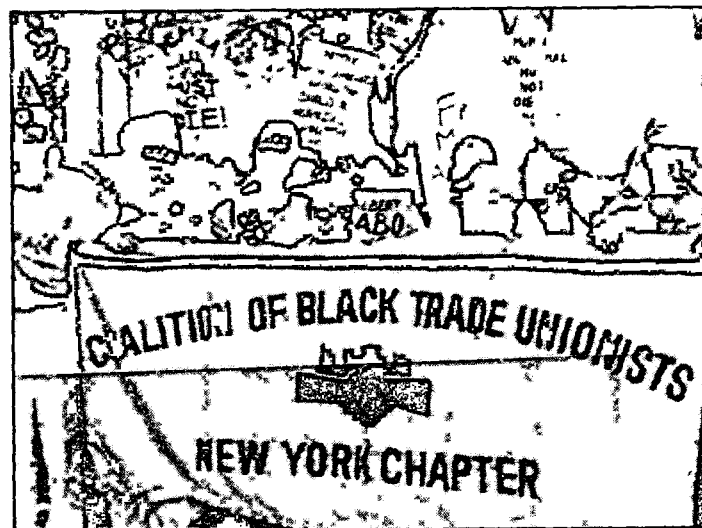
Mumia Abu-Jamal is a Peabody Award-winning journalist arrested in the 1981 shooting of a policeman who was in the act of beating Mumia's brother for driving the wrong way down a one way street (shades of Rodney King). Mumia's trial before Judge Albert Sabo—lifetime member of the Fraternal Order of Police and known both for sending more black men to death than any judge in the nation and for having more cases overturned than anyone else in the state—was riddled with irregularities.

His counsel, who is currently disbarred on independent grounds, asked, for reasons of inexperience in this area of law, to be taken off the case. Judge

Sabo forced him to remain. Mumia himself was barred by the judge from the courtroom during most of the trial and so was unable to advise his lawyer during the process of cross examination or consult with him while testimony was being given. In addition, key defense evidence was never presented, several defense witnesses never called, others were intimidated or manipulated by police. Prosecution witnesses who had outstanding warrants leaving them open to police pressure entered testimony contradicting their earlier statements.

Finally, at the sentencing stage, the prosecution made much of Mumia's youthful association with the Black Panthers—he was, at the age of 15, the Philadelphia Panthers' Minister of Information—and his espousal of militant activism. In fact, Mumia had long been a vocal critic of a Philadelphia police force that showed its true colors when two years after Mumia's trial they bombed the headquarters of MOVE, a local black activist group with which Mumia had also been associated. The bombing killed several men, women, and children as it spread through an entire inner city block. No one was ever convicted of any wrongdoing for that incident.

Aside from the question of Mumia's possible innocence, the context of Mumia's case points to several ironies in our



August 3 rally at City Hall for Mumia Abu-Jamal

justice system. The murder of an innocent civilian is not considered grounds for asking for the death penalty. If the victim is a police officer, then the prosecution may ask for death. International law requires the opposite. If a soldier kills an unarmed civilian, s/he may be prosecuted for a war crime. Not so if s/he kills an armed enemy soldier. The principle is simply that soldiers are paid, trained, and armed for the purpose of standing in harm's way. It's part of their duty. Police, who, like soldiers, are armed and trained for self-defense, and unlike soldiers, are very well paid to stand in harm's way, are given license to kill innocent civilians (they are never successfully prosecuted for such killings) and receive the protection of the death penalty for those who oppose them with lethal force. The argument made for police is: Their duty is to stand in harm's way and therefore they require the added protection of the law. In other words, the same justification which devalues the lives

of soldiers relative to citizens of our enemies, protects police against our own ordinary citizens. This kind of double standard is not uncommon: the gas used at Waco against the Branch Davidians cannot, by international law, be used in war. Governments reserve the right to use deadly force, whether it be police guns or chemicals, on their own citizenry, "free," innocent, or otherwise.

The case has drawn international attention. Because the jury may have sentenced Mumia to death on the grounds of his political views and activities outside the U.S. this is widely considered a political execution. International standards prohibit the execution of political prisoners. The Italian government passed a resolution asking our government to stay the execution. The German Foreign Minister sent a letter to President Clinton, as well as their ex-president Weizsacker. The government and several political and labor groups in South Africa, which recently did

away with the death penalty, leaving only the U.S. among industrialized nations with capital punishment, also sent letters. Demonstrations were held every day outside the U.S. consulate in France. More locally, PEN, the writers organization, made public statements opposing the imminent execution. Perhaps most damning was the position of the Association of Black Police Officers, whose opposition to the execution was based on their inside knowledge that police lie in court regularly and frequently.

The CUNY Coalition's involvement began with Saturday meetings in Washington Square with Mumia supporters for the purpose of keeping the CUNY movement thriving and contributing to social awareness. This was followed by the formation of a student group, meeting at Hunter College. This group organized trips to Philadelphia to demonstrate against the progress of the hearings on Mumia's request for a stay, hearings being conducted by the same Judge Sabo who had allowed so many irregularities in the original trial. Though many weeks of dedication were daunted by pessimism, supporters of Mumia were finally rewarded for their efforts by a stay of execution which will almost guarantee a new trial. It was clear from the day-to-day trial proceedings that, were it not for public and international pressure, Judge Sabo would have allowed the execution to go forward. However, until every cop alive who has killed an innocent civilian has served, like Mumia, fourteen years on death row, there can be no truly fair trial for Mumia that does not end in Mumia's freedom. ■

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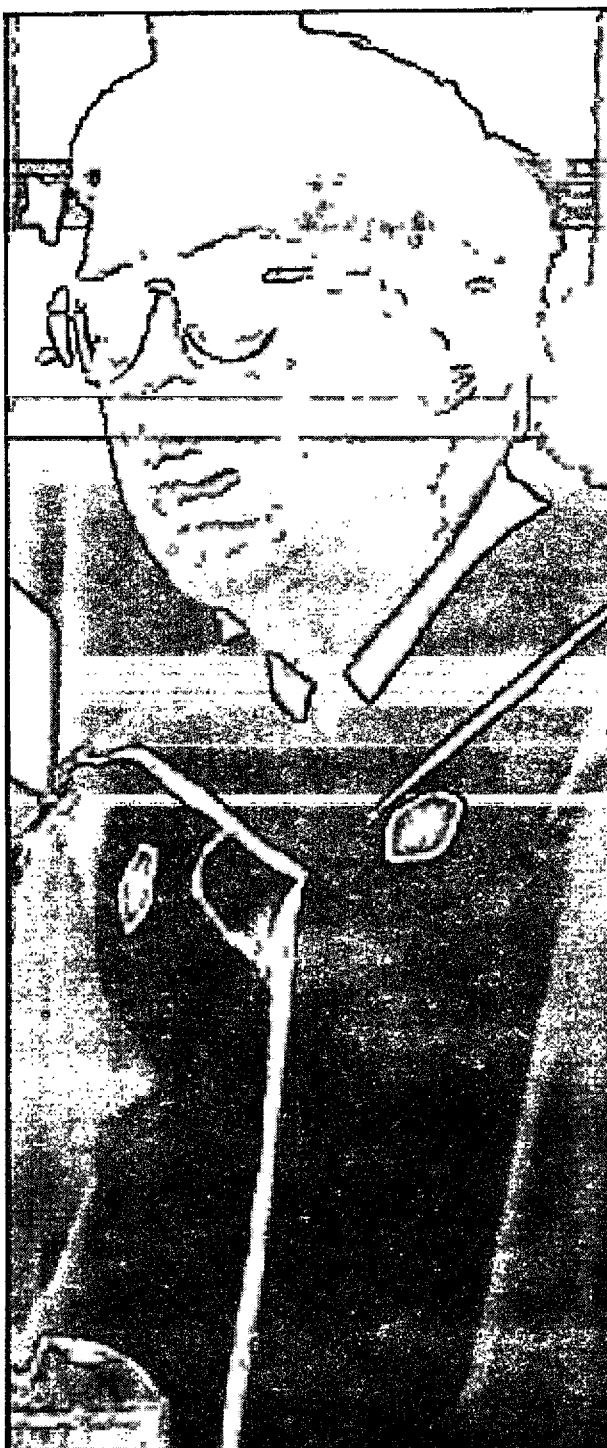
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Trustees of Privatization: from left, the AMS pamphlet; CUNY Trustee James Murphy covers his butcher's bib with an academic gown; Herman "Attack Dog" Badillo.

# FOR SALE? LINK BETWEEN CUNY TRUSTEE MURPHY'S EMPLOYER AND PRIVATE TUITION DEFERRAL COMPANY SUGGESTS CONFLICT OF INTEREST BY ANDREW LONG

Many CUNY students may be wondering how they are going to pay a huge across-the-board tuition increase and, in desperation, will sign up for the Academic Management Services (AMS) tuition deferral plan. The AMS plan is private and costs \$25. The advent of this private tuition deferral program, and AMS' link to a CUNY trustee, as well as other tuition policy shifts suggest that the free CUNY deferral plans may soon be scuttled. Many graduate students remember that the level 3 tuition deferral plan was dissolved last year. With the current 82% increase in level 3 tuition, for example, students must either immediately pay a large sum of cash, \$540, or pay the \$25 AMS fee for a 5 month installment plan.

Some students first heard about the AMS plan when they received an information package from the company. Curiously, the introductory letter for the private program was on Graduate School letterhead, the letter was signed by the school bursar, Ab Abraham, and the AMS pamphlet incorporates the Graduate School logo. It is unclear at this time whether Mr. Abraham signed this letter at the request of the CUNY central office, or as a matter of Graduate School policy.

For the short term, however, most CUNY students will use the interest-free/no-user-fee CUNY "Hardship Deferral" plan which allows a student to pay his or her

tuition in three equal installments. Currently, the Graduate School also has its own tuition deferral plan for students who receive financial aid. This plan also allows the student to pay in three installments with the last payment on November 17th.

AMS is a private company which, in 1994, was awarded a CUNY contract to run a for-profit tuition deferral program. AMS was one of 4 companies which responded to a publicly advertised "Request for Proposal" (RFP). Jay Hershenson, CUNY Vice Chancellor for University Relations, told *The Advocate* that the issuance of the RFP was the culmination of efforts on the part of a CUNY committee to develop a "prepayment" plan. Despite the "pre" in "prepayment" Hershenson assured *The Advocate* that the university was not working on a tuition prepayment plan such as a current model in Michigan, where a parent can deposit money into a "tuition" account, ostensibly as a prepayment of a child's future tuition. These programs favor the wealthy, or those who have ready access to large sums of cash, and for CUNY would indicate a dramatic reorientation of the school's mission. For the moment Hershenson would only state that the efforts of the committee were towards a centralized tuition payment policy.

AMS was originally owned by Old Stone Bank and then, in 1989, Maryland National Bank. AMS was

bought in 1993 by the monster merger bank from the South, NationsBank. AMS recently broke off from NationsBank and became independent and private, a status which protects it from some public disclosure laws. AMS has been in business for approximately 20 years and, according to its literature, serves 1,500 schools nationwide. The partial list of the schools served, which AMS provided to *The Advocate*, indicates that most are state universities. These include several branches of the SUNY system, the University of Kansas, University of Connecticut, Rutgers, UNC-Greensboro, Towson State, and Trenton State University.

AMS began to work with Fleet Bank in 1992. The Chairman of the CUNY Board of Trustees, James Murphy, is Fleet Financial Group's Vice President for External Relations and was a key player in the scandal surrounding a \$450,000 loan to Elizabeth Holtzman's 1992 U.S. Senate campaign. After the loan was approved by Murphy, Fleet Financial Group was chosen by Comptroller Holtzman, office as the underwriter for New York City bond issues. This selection was later overruled by Mayor David Dinkins.

Murphy's fellow trustee and Giuliani ally, Herman Badillo, ran against both Holtzman and Hevesi for the city Comptroller position in the 1993 election. Though Badillo has criticized Chancellor Reynolds in the past he





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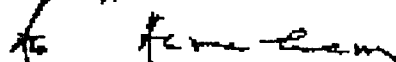
Here are just a few of the reasons why so many families use the AMS Monthly Payment Plan:

- The only charge is a \$25 per semester or \$45 annual enrollment fee.
- The AMS Plan allows you to pay the fall semester's tuition over five months or the fall and spring semester's tuition over ten months.
- Tuition Payment Insurance is provided at no additional cost. Should the insured person die, the remaining AMS payments will be made to the school.
- With AMS, there are no hidden charges such as late fees and interest fees.

AMS is a leading provider of tuition payment services, with similar plans at 1500 colleges and schools throughout the country. For additional information, you may call AMS representatives at 800-635-0100. The office hours are 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. Monday through Friday and 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. on Saturday.

We wish you continued success in the upcoming year.

Sincerely,

  
Abraham  
Bursar

Who's working for whom? AMS advertising on GSUC letterhead, signed by school's bursar. Fleet Bank's 42nd St. headquarters.

has never brought up any questions or discussion of the integrity of the CUNY Board of Trustees. Though Badillo has combed the New York City public school system, looking for systemic "fat", as well as corrupt teachers, custodians, and bureaucrats at 110 Livingston Street, his office told *The Advocate* that he had "no comment" on the question of a conflict of interest involving Murphy's employer, AMS, and CUNY tuition policy.

This is how the AMS tuition deferral plan works: a student pays AMS \$25 and is enrolled in the program. The student must make monthly payments to AMS' account at Fleet Bank on or around the third week of each month, for either a 5 or 10 month period. There is no grace period and accounts which are 15 days overdue are canceled. AMS monitors and updates the student's payments, and eventually forwards the money to CUNY. At the moment, according to AMS president William Hastings, only 2000 to 2500 students are enrolled and the company has actually lost money on its CUNY account, though this will probably change with the tuition increase.

Hastings assured *The Advocate* that the account with Fleet is a trust, which is different from a personal bank account. Hastings could not explain the significance of this distinction, though informed sources told *The Advocate* that the account is legally set-up as a trust in order to protect AMS from charges of financial impropriety, such as embezzlement. To this extent Fleet's function as a trust is only relevant to AMS' fiduciary activities and consumer/student confidence in the company.

CUNY spokesperson Rita Rodin and a source close to the Board told *The Advocate* that Murphy was concerned about a conflict of interest charge prior to the award of the contract to AMS, and sought an opinion from the New York State Ethics Commission. Rodin and Hershenson stated that the Ethics Commission told Murphy that the application and possible selection of AMS was not a conflict of interest, though Murphy himself did not return several phone calls to his office at Fleet Financial Group. Walter Ayres of the Ethics Commission explained that his agency only offered opinions and is not subject to public disclosure laws and would not respond to a Freedom of Information request or comment in any way on the matter. Ayres stated that the Ethics Commission was not even bound to reveal if anyone had sought an opinion and that the only sure way to confirm the rumor was to speak with Murphy himself. Again, Murphy did not return phone calls to *The Advocate*.

The conflict of interest charge is complicated because there is no direct personal link between AMS and Murphy, that is, he does not personally profit. Fleet Bank's involvement is apparently only a business relationship. University spokespersons Rodin and Hershenson insist that "there is no scandal" and point out that in addition to the opinion of the Ethics Commission, Murphy did not attend the meeting when the Board approved AMS as the tuition deferral vendor. Still, CUNY students should consider that when they join other public university students who enroll in the AMS program their payments are regulated and flow into a single account held by Fleet Bank. Remember, currency is an abstract representation of capital and to say that student monies are in a trust account does not mean that students' precious belongings or even dollar bills are locked in a deposit box and remain untouched and secure. Banks make money when they hold money for an extra day or even hours, and though they immediately draw the money from, say, a checking account in Illinois, you, the consumer/account holder, do not receive full credit for several days. Bank profits are about the regulation of the flow and circulation of capital, and regular payments into an account, however small these might be on an individual level, offer the opportunity for profit. Students should consider the profit potential for an account which serves state university students nationwide.

It is disturbing that the AMS private tuition program has replaced or expanded programs which were already in place. When *The Advocate* asked AMS President Hastings if CUNY could run a tuition deferral program such as that of AMS he simply responded, "I don't know." Jay Hershenson also acknowledged that CUNY and the Board simply turned to a private vendor and did not consider the University Student Senate or the establishment of a not-for-profit student organization which might return the profit to CUNY students as a partial contribution to an affordable university-wide health plan or some other student service. Nor could he explain why CUNY cannot offer the same plan, other than to say that it cost money for staff and overhead, costs which they already pay. Yet, if the cost of student services is always a subject of debate, and possible privatization, then everything that the Central Office or the administrative offices at each campus normally do as a matter of running the university will involve a user fee. Moreover, educational policy based on user fees is an attack on the very notion of public education. The charge for a tuition deferral might seem small but the policy implications threaten

the existence of CUNY as we now know it, however diminished it may be.

Students have to ask the Chancellor and Trustees, then, why they have forced them into the hands of a private company. The \$25 fee is not much money, but it is insult upon injury after the recent tuition increase. Moreover, if a profit is to be made at student expense why must it go into private hands? The Board of Trustees, especially the banker members, could surely have provided or arranged for the start-up capital (interest free!) to any student government or even the University Student Senate which could then set up a not-for-profit corporation, buy a computer and hire an accountant. It is important to remember that AMS does not pay your tuition, they simply monitor your payments, and, like a collection agency, play the role of snitch on behalf of the university when you do not make your tuition payments on time. With an increasingly centralized tuition payment program, possibly privatized, the decision-making is taken out of the hands of a campus bursar or registrar and handed over to a company based in Providence, Rhode Island.

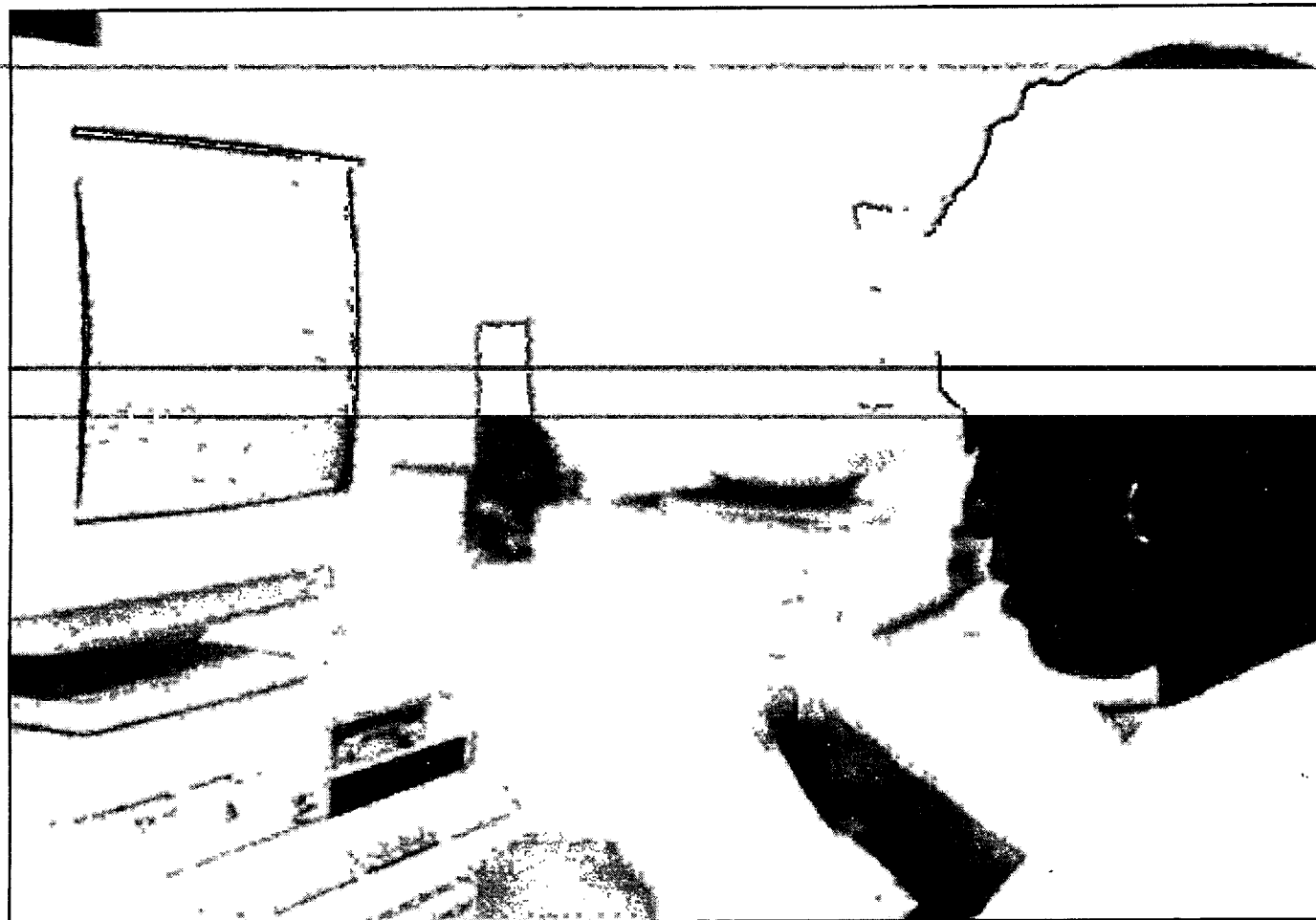
Finally, when CUNY policy is debated in the future and a chancellor is chosen for the New York City public schools, CUNY students, indeed all New Yorkers, should think very carefully about the role, function, and endangered status of public institutions such as our university. In recent years the very concept of the public has been trampled and ridiculed, possibly bringing about a most resentful conception of a Malthusian society. The presence of private interests inside public institutions is itself a conflict of interest, which is why a public school system or university system should bar businessmen from policy making and executive positions. Though the profits here are small, the principle at stake is huge. Public interests must be met effectively and are not the subject of cost effective arguments and private profit. The selection of a private vendor whose business is to make a profit from a tuition increase is outrageous, and should be grounds for the immediate removal of Murphy and his fellow bankers, Everett, Howard, and DelGiudice, from the CUNY Board of Trustees. In the immediate future CUNY students should ask Comptroller Alan Hevesi, the New York City Council, and the New York State Assembly to investigate for a particular and a general conflict of interest when bankers and private interests are appointed to the boards of public institutions. These boards are not elected and accountable to the public they serve, and the professional obligations of their corporate members are antithetical to the effective function and existence of public institutions.





ROBERT WALLACE

# Computer Center Moving



Tracy Fisher (Anthropology) tickles the plastics at the soon to be crated and shipped Computer Center.

## BY LEE WENGRAF

**A**LTHOUGH YOU MAY not have realized it, the Computer Center, located on the Third Floor of the Graduate Center, has already begun to move to its new location at the back of Mina Rees Library in the basement. Connections have already been laid running from the computer server down to the Library. The real move may take another few months to complete as the Center plans to relocate sometime during the Fall semester.

The plan at the moment is to transform the study carrels at the back of the library into semi-private computer work areas. The redesigned space will also provide for a printer room, a group computer use area and a consultant's station. According to Jim Haggard, the Executive Director of Computing and Communication Services, the new area will have greater capacity than the current location, although there are no plans as yet to bring in new computers. To compensate for the loss of study space at the back of the library, the reference section will expand the number of carrels to partly make up for the diminished number of study areas. The plan for the current computer center space includes transforming it into a multi-media classroom.

Requests to reserve the multi-media classroom have already come in from at least a dozen professors, yet creating this type of training facility, although important, "was not a driving issue" in the decision to relocate the computer center, according to Haggard. The reasons for the move lie in the need to bring together two crucial student resources, the library and the computer center, to "integrate cultures," he says. Such a plan follows general trends in education towards this type of integration and seemed to meet needs of the library as well to provide increased access to computer services. A major factor in the decision was the likely move of the Graduate Center to the B. Altman building in the next few years which offers a challenge to the Computer Center to integrate its resources along new lines. In the interim, says Haggard, the move to the library provides a kind of "trial run for the B. Altman building," to begin to answer important future ques-

tions about access and services.

Several questions and problems are suggested by this move. One set of issues includes the challenge posed by introducing a new facility into a space relatively limited in size and already facing structural problems such as noise, heat and water leaks. Susan Newman, Chief Librarian, sees the move as presenting opportunities for students and is "very enthusiastic" about the possibilities for computer study, access to data bases and the worldwide web and other resources. At the same time, she is "very concerned" about the issue of space and feels the university administration needs to take up these concerns. "Integrating activities is important," she said, "but we don't have room for students here as it is."

Many of the problems that currently beset the library will be exacerbated after

the move. For example, following a recent rain storm, some leakage occurred in the library, a not-infrequent event. When leaks happen, books must be laid out to dry, which requires considerable space. Thus, the relocation to the library raises questions not so much about damage to the computers, which would be fairly well protected in their proposed site, but rather new space constraints put on damage-control in the library itself. Other questions also remain unanswered, such as how to provide adequate lighting, the impact on the cooling system because of the heat generated by computers, how to manage any increased noise level and the issue of facility hours and access. Currently the library has shorter hours than the Computer Center, hours which were reduced in the past due to budget cuts.

The move will also present some prob-

lems for administering to computer users as well. One student computer consultant noted that the new design in the library will create some difficulties for consultants as users will be more dispersed throughout the area and the printer will be far from the consultants' station, a major drawback, he said, because printer malfunctions cause the bulk of the problems for users. However, the current location is clearly far from ideal, according to the consultant. The lay-out is poor and the sound environment is bad. The move is a step forward, he felt, yet with the disadvantages posed by the library location, why not look for better lab space? For one thing, he guessed, extending the computer connections to the library was costing the university thousands of dollars.

Haggard concurred that the current Computer Center was unsatisfactory, saying that the design "couldn't be worse." "It's noisy and messy," he said, "and provides no opportunities for semi-private study. However, he disagreed that the connecting procedure was an expensive one. End of the year money that became available will be used to finance the operation. Overall, he said, the budget crisis presented the most difficulties in terms of hiring, not in upgrading and operating computer equipment. The move did not appear to present financial difficulties to the center.

With an issue that so directly affects students and their studies, not surprisingly concerns about student input into the move have surfaced. The student consultant who spoke with the *Advocate* felt that students' ideas on design had not been adequately been taken into account. Similarly, Susan Newman stressed that computer users should be asked what they wanted. "People need to express themselves and say what they want."

Jim Haggard stated that taking these needs into account was a priority. He plans to form a Computing Advisory Committee so that "everyone can understand each others' needs." "We want all clients to participate," he said; future committees will be convened to plan the move to the library and, in the future, for the new design of the Computer Center at the B. Altman building.

The coming semester will reveal whether input from the university community will be able to mitigate some of the difficulties of the move and whether the new location will in fact enhance resources for students at the Graduate Center.

## Annals of Administration

### 101 ways students get screwed

## BY ROB HOLLANDER

### Way #69: The Quick-Fix Finance

**A**T THE END OF MAY, *The Advocate* was informed that the Computer Director and the Chief Librarian had been discussing the idea of moving some computer work stations from the Computer Center into the Mina Rees Library in order to expand the usefulness of the Library as a research facility. Both administrators made clear that they intended to present these ideas in a public forum before the student body, suggesting a town meeting in the auditorium or an informal brown bag lunch in a classroom. As the GSUC consumed itself in divisions over budget cuts and retrenchment proposals, the term came to an end and it became clear that any such presentation would have to wait for September.

Unexpectedly, in mid-June, a report came to the DSC from a concerned com-

puter center student consultant. She relayed that the entire user area was to be turned into a computer classroom and the equipment in it was in the process of being moved into the Library. Although the consultant agreed that fitting the library with computer stations was a good idea in theory, she pointed out a variety of environmental problems some of which are not amenable to solution, particularly those of access. In addition, the structural columns in the (now former) user area make it completely impractical as a classroom. Noticing that the people involved in the decision-making process either had no grasp of these problems or had chosen to overlook them entirely, she rather urgently notified the student government about the move afoot.

Alas, too late. At the end of the fiscal year, the State reported that an unallocated lump sum remained in the GSUC budget roughly sufficient for wiring the library. It had to be spent by the end of June or it would be lost to that budget and possibly used as an excuse to reduce next year's budget on the grounds that any-

thing you don't spend, you don't need. (That's how it works here—you can't save money, you can only lose funding. So the administration cuts costs all year on important stuff and then spends indiscriminately and wildly in June.) The Provost was bent on spending this remaindered sum on a long dreamed-of plan to move the user area into the library. Overnight the interesting little proposal for experimenting with a few computer stations in the library became the major project of eliminating the computer center user area and opening one up downstairs. The expenditure was approved by the Vice President for Finance and Administration's office which is not directly concerned with academic affairs and so not usually pressured by students to consult with them on its construction and financing projects. Thus it came to pass that the authoritarian juggernaut was set rolling by administrators most removed from student affairs. Chief Librarian Newman and Computer Director Haggard were consulted for their assistance. But students? Not a priority for the Provost. "I assure

you we had every intention of consulting students," says he, after the fact. No doubt they were all thinking: Why look a gift horse in the mouth? How often does such an opportunity come along?

And what kind of administration, which usually has to beg for this kind thing, would turn it down when offered on a silver platter, take it now or forever beg? The cart was rushed along motivated by a budgetary carrot, and now the administration is in the awkward position of promising us assurances with their mouths full of budgetary carrot-juice. Well, those carrots had better be good, because it looks like we're all going to be eating them in the back of our leaky library once this move is made.

There's an irony and a pity to all this. The pity of it is, students in the environmental psychology program just completed an impressive study of the library

for the Student Services and Library Committees of Graduate Council. Those students would have had a lot to say about how to approach such a move—just one more reason there should be a student representative where these decisions are made and discussed (in the President's Cabinet, for example; it couldn't hurt. O-Great-and-Wisest Ones So Very Far Above Us, it would only help).

The irony is, when we move to the Altman building in about a year or so, we will have to spend all this money again on rewiring. If that sounds wasteful to you, you'll never be a spin doctor. James Haggard calls this wiring project a great opportunity to practice for that big move to Altman's—not a bad damage-control way of finding something to feel good about even if everything connected with the project at hand should go wrong. Worse come to worst, we still get a

chance to learn from our mistakes. Now there's a man after my own heart. Maybe the entire Grad Center should do a practice move to a really adequate space, bigger than Altman's, large enough to house the science programs. And then—shuck 34th street!—we could just stay there. Would there were an ideal world! In the real world, we will just have to think of the move to Altman's as a practice move, to that really adequate space we will never see. Paltry truth!

For better or for worse, we now have a wired library and all the surprises that such a move will present. Susan Newman is already looking forward to them with her usual hearty mix of zeal-in-the-face-of-frustration. And the days of what Jim Haggard has described as "the worst possible user area" are finally over. Well, it's better than having spent the end-of-year surplus on a crate of Havana Coronas. ■

ing at 11:00 PM and, according to some witnesses, left the scene. During subsequent court proceedings student attorney Ron McGuire challenged the authenticity of signatures on the arrest warrants and

pointed out that it was unclear if President Moses had signed any of them.

Many CUNY students and faculty were particularly disturbed to learn that the peace officers were gathering intelligence at on and off campus events. In the fall of 1994 several anti-budget cut rallies were held at City Hall, organized by the student government at BMCC. In November all four officers of the government were summarily suspended. After protest, Acting President Marcia Keizs reinstated them, though all four were then charged with violations of the Henderson Rules which govern student conduct. In the discovery stage of the disciplinary case student attorney Ron McGuire revealed that peace officers' logs indicated that several guards were placed on plain clothes duty on November 22 and 23, the two rally days, and their duties included identifying students at the rally and keeping them under surveillance.

One student familiar with the employees at 80th Street was shocked to recognize plain clothes peace officers filming the March 23 and April 4 rallies. In a letter to Chancellor Ann Reynolds the CUNY Concerned Faculty protested the stationing of peace officers outside the offices of faculty activists, as well as the videotaping of peaceful campus protest.

The Hunter Envoy reported in its May 16 issue that Security Director' Jose Elique's office was distributing a list of CUNY students arrested at off-campus protests. One student on this list was denied entry to Hunter College for an April 26th vigil against the budget cuts. Student organizers protested and the student was eventually allowed to attend the event. The Envoy revealed that the lists and procedures were approved by Hunter College Dean Sylvia Fishman, who stated that "we have the right to ban anyone

from this college that we want to." He explained that this policy was for the "protection of the students of Hunter College". Elique readily admitted to the lists and their distribution. Some legal observers question the constitutionality of the lists. It is an infringement of privacy, for example, for the NYPD to release the names of those arrested prior to arraignment, as happened on April 26th. It is also an infringement of free speech and public access laws to use the lists to bar people from public spaces, such as the CUNY colleges.

Legal observers familiar with current security policy and actions at CUNY are worried. McGuire stated that "the administration has created a police force... and they are increasingly taking on police and supervision functions." He added that there is now a CUNY "desk appearance ticket" for violations of the Henderson Rules, which all CUNY peace officers can issue, despite the security policies of the campus president. McGuire added that "the [CUNY] administration seems to think that CUNY peace officers have jurisdiction wherever CUNY students are."

With more emergency budget cuts expected in the fall at both the state and city level, and consequent student protest, student activists expect more violations of the freedom of speech and assembly, but intend to carry on with their struggle. ■

*Editor's Note: At press time the 4 guards who have worked at the Graduate School for over 20 years are still uncertain of their employment status and have not received a scheduled February 1995 pay increase. Though President Horowitz has publicly announced her intentions to retain these four men, most recently at the May Graduate Council meeting, and incorporate them into the new security force at the Graduate School, no formal actions have been taken.*

# Peace Farce

## Grad Center Loses Dollars, Gains a 'Peace' Officer Students protest CUNYTELPRO

BY TOM SMITH  
WITH ADVOCATE STAFF

**D**ESPITE LOUD PROTEST from students and official opposition and objection from the Doctoral Students' Council, a CUNY peace officer arrived on campus at the GSUC last June. The assignment of a peace officer to the Graduate School is the last part of Chancellor Ann Reynolds' "Campus Security Initiative". All CUNY campuses now feature these new security guards who have the power to arrest and may bear arms such as firearms, pepper mace, batons, and handcuffs. Sources informed *The Advocate* that this academic year, additional peace officers are scheduled to replace the contract guards who have provided security services to the Graduate School since its inception.

The peace officer's name is Ronald Reeves, and he was previously employed at New York City Technical College as a peace officer (level 1). Though he has maintained a low profile through July, and only visited the campus once a week for a few hours, he will be more visible in the fall. Over the summer he received additional training for sergeant status (level 3). His duties at the Graduate School will include console operator and night shift supervision. Mr. Reeves will report to Graduate School Security Director Joseph Schaefer and Victor Caliguri. Mr. Schaefer stated that Mr. Reeves will not carry a gun, pepper mace, or a baton, though he was unsure about handcuffs. Schaefer stated that he does not have a license to carry a gun, has no past affiliation with any police force, and can only make arrests under the direction of a supervisor.

The assignment of a peace officer to the Graduate School was debated at a meeting between President Horowitz and Graduate School students, at the end of the year meeting for program Executive Officers, and at the May meeting of the Graduate Council, the governing body of the Graduate School.

During her meeting with students President Horowitz was repeatedly asked about her acquiescence to a policy which would bring potentially armed men, who were licensed to arrest, handcuff, and detain students, onto campus. The president was reluctant to discuss the matter and frequently deferred to Mr. Schaefer, though she did publicly vow that the guards would not bring firearms to the GSUC. Students responded that the firearm prohibition was not binding, that the policy could change when President

Horowitz left office, and that she did not mention or explain the use of handcuffs, batons, or pepper mace, nor did she raise the possibility of a compromise with students. The ACLU is currently challenging the LAPD's use of pepper mace, charging that it has led to the deaths of several people taken into police custody.

At the Graduate Council meeting the Doctoral Students' Council presented a motion in opposition to the presence of peace officers at the Graduate School. Prior to calling on student speakers, President Horowitz, who chairs these meetings, called on herself and spoke for more than 20 minutes in favor of the peace officer program, and then summoned Mr. Schaefer to support her claims and answer questions. In the January 1988 issue of *The Advocate*, after Mr. Schaefer was appointed head of security at the Graduate Center, he changed the security dress code to give the Graduate Center guards a more corporate and less that of a "para-police force". In opposition to the peace officers Prof. Joseph Wittreich invoked his memories of tear gas and the National Guard on campus at the University of Wisconsin. Most faculty, however, angrily ranted about student takeovers and the need for armed guards. Prof. Baumrin (Philosophy) even denounced the DSC for its "attack on this administration", and stated that though he was "not a conservative man" he would propose a "substitute" motion, such that the DSC motion was replaced and never voted on. The substitute motion was passed though it simply barred the guards from bringing firearms onto campus. The DSC subsequently protested Prof. Baumrin's motion as a violation of parliamentary procedure, and will take the matter up at the next Graduate Council meeting.

Though student protest against the imposition of a new security arrangement

initially centered around the peace officer's license to carry a weapon, several events quickly broadened the scope of the students' objections. *The New York Times* and *New York Newsday* revealed that selected peace officers were formed into in a special squad officially dubbed the "SAFE Team" in order to deal with campus protests. According to a memo from 80th Street, the special squad was trained by the NYPD in crowd control and mass arrest procedures. The "SAFE Team" may be invited onto campus by the campus president or ordered onto campus by the Chancellor. Once on campus, however, the "SAFE Team" is under the control of the squad commander, not the campus president. The head of CUNY security is Jose Elique whose qualifications and expertise include anti-terrorism training during stints with the Port Authority and the FBI.

In the November 1991 issue *The Advocate* noted that the CUNY peace officer corps was planned shortly after the 1991 CUNY-strike. The Chancellor and President Horowitz have mistakenly cited the tragic December 1991 CCNY stampede when 9 people lost their lives as the impetus for this program. The Mollen investigation revealed that the NYPD were on campus during the stampede though they did not take the appropriate steps to avert tragedy. Many CUNY student activists argue that the peace officers and especially the "SAFE Team" are on CUNY campuses to intimidate and silence student dissent against CUNY administration and city and state education policy.

On April 11, 47 hunger strikers were arrested at CCNY by the "SAFE Team", who were closely supported by NYPD riot police. The hunger strikers had intended to maintain an overnight vigil in the NAC Building, but CCNY President Yolanda Moses abruptly closed the build-



Daily News photo of CUNYTELPRO's \$30 million political police.



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# Adjuncts on the Dole

## CUNY part-timers deal with unemployment

BY LEE WENGRAF

**J**UST WHEN YOU thought the retrenchment situation couldn't get any worse at CUNY, the University is handing out pink slips to its adjuncts. Graduate students and others who work as adjuncts on CUNY's campuses have been told by some departments that their services are no longer required for the summer and fall semesters. In the short term, the picture looks bleak for CUNY adjuncts who also face a tuition hike, diminished resources and, now, unemployment.

The threat of diminished adjunct opportunities is a serious consideration for students at the Graduate Center, where well over half the students teach at one time or another and many rely on teaching to support themselves while enrolled in school. The University itself is no less reliant on the adjuncts: approximately 60% of the faculty at the two-year colleges in the CUNY system are adjuncts, as are about 45% of the teachers at the four-year schools. Using adjunct teachers became a national trend about twenty-five years ago and has generally been on the increase since then. Past adjunct demands for fair wages and guaranteed employment is more relevant than ever today as the retrenchment axe falls on CUNY, and adjuncts continue the struggle to hold onto their jobs.

Over the years, part-timers have attempted to organize themselves. Currently, adjuncts have the option of becoming a member of the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the professors' union affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Beginning in 1982, however, Part-Timers United, an activist adjunct group, worked until 1987 to try and establish a separate chapter for adjuncts because they didn't see the union as working for their interests. They launched a decertification campaign that eventually lost, where adjuncts voted on whether to break from the PSC and join a different union such as the Communication Workers of America. In the course of the decertification campaign, the adjuncts sued in 1986 for unfair labor practices for being thrown off campuses for attempting to organize. Though they won their suit they lost the decertification campaign, and the PTU shifted course and encouraged adjuncts to join the PSC in order to create an adjunct-rights bloc.

Since then there has been continued dissatisfaction with the PSC's handling of adjuncts' concerns. *The Advocate* spoke with some former DSC co-chairs who have also been active around adjunct issues. One stressed that the PSC has undermined its ability to organize adjuncts by making union membership optional for part-timers, which it is not if you work full time for CUNY. "By making it elective, they have limited part-timers participation. If people are mandated to pay dues, they will have more at stake and will join the union," he said. Teachers' unions at other universities have taken a range of positions towards the adjuncts, some adopting a more proactive stance towards organizing their part-timers. At Long Island University, for example, the union successfully won proportionately larger salaries for adjuncts, a struggle won with the solidarity of full time employees. At Rutgers, adjuncts are compelled to join a separate chapter that specifically organizes adjuncts. Currently, at CUNY, about 10% of the adjuncts are members of the PSC.

One issue that some adjuncts have been pushing the PSC to be more active around is the right of adjuncts to claim

unemployment insurance. Some students feel that the PSC has not really encouraged adjuncts to file or publicized that they may in fact qualify for benefits. Their rights to file have been somewhat shrouded in secrecy. Adjuncts are not eligible for unemployment under certain conditions, namely if they have been given "reasonable assurance" of employment in the following semester. Department chairs are required to notify adjuncts in writing by December 1 and April 1 if they will not be kept on. If that is the case, then the adjunct is free to take their non-reappointment letter down to the unemployment office and to file for benefits. They will then receive unemployment based on the average earnings of sixteen weeks of work per semester.

However, due to the machinations of the CUNY administration, the situation can get a little more complicated. The administration at 80th Street actually takes a fairly aggressive approach to adjuncts trying to claim unemployment and actually has an employee hired specifically to fight such claims. They challenge adjuncts mainly on the basis of whether or not the adjunct position is part of their financial aid because it defines them as having a *student* status. Thus, students working under Graduate Teaching Fellowships, College Work Study fellowships or Graduate Assistant A or B positions do not qualify because, supposedly, they are teaching "as students." On the other hand, adjuncts who can show that they have *independently* secured their position, regardless of whether or not they were a student, can then qualify for benefits.

Hiring adjuncts is quite a boon for the university. As one former DSC co chair said, "the University survives because of the contribution of part-time labor. It doesn't have to pay benefits for." Part of the way the University is able to maintain a low-paid workforce alongside its higher paid, regular employees is by enacting policies designed to set the interests of one against the other. In April of this year, the University announced a new policy intended to reinforce just such a divide between adjuncts and professors. The Board of Trustees decided that full time professors would no longer be able to teach additional courses, such as over the summer, ostensibly to try and minimize the workload for already overworked faculty. By enacting a policy that *forbade* overtime, however, and by tacitly encouraging adjunct employment instead, the Board provoked the full-timers and fanned the flames of the tension already existing between them and adjuncts within the PSC.

The PSC rushed to the defense of its constituents by opposing the new policy. Adjunct organizers were none too pleased. The DSC co-chairs at the time, Robert Hollander, Andrew Long and Eric Marshall, along with a past co-chair, sent a letter to Irwin Polishook, president of the PSC, CUNY Chancellor Ann Reynolds, and all the college presidents denouncing the PSC's move to overturn the policy. They received a vague and non-committal reply, though Reynolds' decision not to cut Graduate Teaching Fellowships (GTF) seemed to signal support for the adjuncts. Nonetheless, the politics behind the policy's timing seemed clear. In April the University was shifting gears into retrenchment mode and many groups at CUNY were being pushed against the wall. In adopting retrenchment procedures on many of the campuses, the administration encouraged students, staff and faculty to fight it out amongst themselves for the pieces of a rapidly-shrinking pie. The Board's policy preventing moonlighting by professors

was one of a number of tactics used against members of the University community during the strike. Their policy had nothing to do with looking out for adjuncts' jobs.

With continued attacks by the Administration and politicians inevitable at CUNY, what's in store for adjuncts? In the immediate future, adjuncts will probably find themselves facing a tighter job-market in the CUNY system. With retrenchment forcing the closure of entire departments, particularly foreign languages and the arts, prospects for some part-timers may be grim. Although there is some variation from campus to campus, at the moment there appears to be a tendency to hold onto full-timers.

Yet as restructuring at CUNY continues over the years, CUNY as a whole could see a shift that would have a definitive impact on adjuncts. Downsizing CUNY will most likely include cutbacks in resources, including teaching. As a result, the administration will increasingly turn to part-timers as a money-saving measure. Thus, in a more permanent sense, CUNY could see a transformation of its faculty into a workforce dominated by part-time employees without job security and benefits who have less leverage within the system to negotiate the terms of their employment.

Yet as the Administration increasingly turns to adjuncts to solve their financial problems, they find themselves in a contradictory situation. For as they see themselves compelled to cut costs and hire lower-paid teachers, at the same time they are now and will continue to be reluctant to rely on a part-time workforce. "It's a quick fix solution," said one former adjunct activist, describing the

current dilemma facing the Administration as they deliberate on how to run CUNY. "Having many more part-timers than we have now would be an unstable situation. They can't rely on a contingent workforce, it puts too much strain on their managerial capacities and greater pressure on full-timers." Other conflicts also loom large for the Administration if it becomes too dependent on adjuncts. Ultimately will CUNY, by agreeing to cut-backs in teaching, be forced to sacrifice its reputation as a quality institution of higher learning? The Administration is grappling with this dilemma but only has a "quick fix solution" to offer.

For many students at the Graduate Center, University policies have left them in a different kind of bind. "The University is saving a fortune by using graduate students as teachers," said Vinnie Tirelli, president of Part-Timers United from 1990 to 1992. "Yet not only are students getting screwed by losing the opportunity for low-paid jobs but now, as graduate students, they have to pay higher tuition. They're getting it at both ends." Clearly the University does not have a mandate to cut back adjunct jobs or put through any of the other cost-cutting measures they have planned. Adjuncts have a history of fighting at CUNY and will need to look to that history as they take on cuts at CUNY in the following years. "The administration is trying to implement a vision of CUNY that has been decisively defeated by faculty and student protest several years ago," said one CUNY activist. Adjuncts need to join the struggle to save CUNY and save their jobs, and make sure the Administration's vision is not realized. ■

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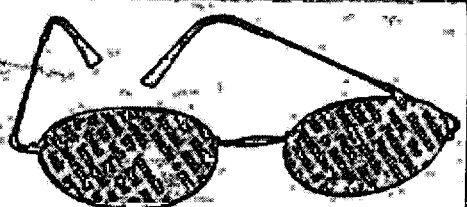
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experiment. Lee (below),  
Advocate associate editor,  
was brave enough to under-  
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✓ A recent sharp decline in  
Russian male life expectan-  
cy is due to past Soviet poli-  
cies (NYT, August 2) and not  
to a corresponding abandon-

ment of social programs under "free market" capitalism.

✓ Abu Marzook, linked by U.S. officials to Hamas, is guilty (NYT, July 28). Of  
what, the Israeli apologists don't  
know. But he must be because,  
you see, he's with Hamas. Human  
Rights Watch recently censured  
the Palestinian Authority police  
for arresting Palestinians en  
masse not for any involvement in  
attacks on Israelis but "for their  
suspected political affiliation".

✓ Members of the Somoza fami-  
ly are victims (NYT, July 25 &  
28). Former Sandinista govern-  
ment officials are blocking the  
family's efforts to recoup person-  
al wealth, land and corporations  
it, in actuality, stole from destitute  
Nicaraguans in a U.S.-backed  
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OLD BOY 1: My dear fellow, how about a "substitute motion" to put the kaboosh over on those hoi-polloi. OLD BOY 2: Right-oh! Tell them we remembered we saw it somewhere in Robert's Rules.

# The Old Boys Club

*You are invited to an evening at the Graduate Council. (No students please.)*

BY ROB HOLLANDER

**O**LD BOYS CLUB, *n.* obs. 1. a congress of middle-aged white males invested by other white males with some authority and drawn together for the purpose of accomplishing some business in their mutual interest; characterized by in-group mentality, close protection of their collective interest, lack of perspective on themselves, especially gender perspective, and indifference to the interests of others over whom they exercise their authority. Example: The GSUC Graduate Council.

That's my contribution to the new Webster's International currently being prepared for press. For those of you who don't know, the Graduate Council is the governing body of the Graduate Center. Faculty and students are elected to it and all the EOs—the Old Boys—are voting members. Five years' service as a member of the Graduate Council has been an object lesson in the overwhelming difficulty, with precious few exceptions, of appealing to the Old Boys for anything not seen to be directly in their own best interests. Forget about the greater good of the Grad Center or of CUNY; if it doesn't serve the EOs or the central line appointments, it won't get to first base in Grad Council.

The real frustration in confronting the Old Boys in Grad Council is that they never debate the issue, never justify their views, never tell you where they stand. They just raise their hands to be counted, voting yea or nay with their buddies. If they were required to justify their votes, Grad Council would become tragic, comic, and infuriating by turns; tragic when the voices of the self-serving explain their lack of interest in the welfare of the student body here at the GSUC; comic when the groggy voices of the half-asleep explain that they vote as they do because their buddies do, and they don't question their buddies. Infuriating when the rest finally reveal that they vote against student proposals on the grounds that if it comes from the students, it must be wrong. The irresponsible authoritarians and their authority-worshipping lackeys, Old Boys, one and all!

## Examples: Mathematics

Case in point: the Mathematics program

presented revisions to its structure document (the rules of elections, membership on the executive committee, that sort of thing) to the Grad Council in March. Never mind that the original structure document being revised had no legal standing whatsoever, never having been approved to begin with. As Stefan Baumrin, Structure Committee Chair, put it, no one remembers a vote of approval ever having been taken in the department. "Or in the even more accurate words of Joseph Roitberg, a faculty Grad Council delegate from Math, some people in the department (central line appointments and former EOs only, of course) *claim to remember a vote* (honestly, they really remember it!), there's just no documentation of it (and all the non-central line mathematicians must be suffering from collective amnesia about it).

These conflicts of memory are no surprise, since the central lines stand to lose if the structure document doesn't get approved by vote of all department members. So it's not in the central lines' interest to submit their document for approval. On the other hand, the faculty at the branch campuses stand to gain in representation if they get a chance to exert their presence by voting down the structure and forcing the draft of a newer, more inclusive structure. Lack of voice in departmental affairs is the big controversy in Math, an EO having exercised autocratic authority over the teaching opportunities of a branch faculty member—in blatant disregard of student interests, of course. (That story, by the way, comes from the former EO, not from the abused branch faculty member, who has never discussed the matter with the *Advocate*.)

When this twenty year oversight was brought to the Council's attention, did the Council vote to send the document back to Math for departmental approval before voting to approve changes in it? Did Council take the opportunity to settle years of dispute over Math's legitimacy by having it get approval for its structure? Not a chance. Why? Because the Old Boys always protect their own. So Graduate Council made legitimate changes in an illegitimate document.

Nothing daunts the Old Boys.

## Economics

Next case: Economics. According to the rules of this program, no student who has

been in the program for more than four years may serve on their executive committee. The DSC repeatedly objected that such a rule, besides being undemocratic in itself, also eliminates just the most experienced and knowledgeable students from participation in program policy-making. The program was asked to change this point of representation or defend it. After an entire year of unexplained delays, a representative from Economics finally appeared before Grad Council with the surprising explanation that because there are so few students who have been in the program for more than four years, the executive committee felt those who were should be excluded from representation. If the logic behind that escapes you, you're not alone. Since elections are open to all and only students in the program, the newer students who don't want to be represented by older students simply won't elect them; and surely they have a right to elect older students if they feel, for example, that students who have been around longer might know more about how things operate and how to get things done. These points were made in the ensuing discussion though you'd think so poor a defense of the Economics rule scarce required any rebuttal at all. Nevertheless the Old Boys in Grad Council voted on the side of the Economics administration, without, by the way, offering one single argument for it. Aside from the statement made by the Economics representative, no statements were made in Economics's defense—how could there be for such a flimsy and irrational excuse for administrative muscle-flexing—by any of the Boys voting for it.

## The Last Straw

The last session of Grad Council was most instructive of all. Here the DSC presented three resolutions. The first condemned the President's hasty unilateral decision to commit five undetermined floors of the Graduate Center to swing space in an unknown location for the purpose of accommodating the SUNY School of Optometry as part of a deal which would buy us space in the Altman's Building. Discussion centered on just how a program should be expected to conduct its affairs while moving in and out of swing space for the next two years at least. Although the

President's only answer to these questions was "I know it will be hard," Council voted the DSC's protest resolution down. Once again, no one but the President spoke in defense of moving to Altman's and accepting a quick offer from the State (rather than waiting shrewdly on the assumption that since no such offer was being made to anyone else, the State must have been ready to buy us Altman's without the SUNY deal). Grad Council is not interested in defending decisions of the administration, only in rubber-stamping them.

Then came the resolution condemning the imposition of the Chancellor's Peace Officer initiative on the Graduate Center. Here the President recognized herself, speaking for a good twenty minutes, defending (who knows why—it's not her initiative!) the hiring of a peace officer with arrest powers, handcuffs, and license to carry firearms. Here the resolution was not defeated, but swept aside by an alternative resolution prohibiting firearms on campus. When asked whether she would consider herself bound by this resolution, the President said, "in the sense that I never intend to do that [request that firearms be brought on campus], yes." In other words, no, she does not consider herself bound by the resolution, she just agrees to it for now. One need not have an overheated imagination to think up circumstances under which she would reconsider her current feelings. For example, if the Chancellor ordered her to request that the peace officers be armed, there can be no doubt that President Horowitz would acquiesce. After all, she acquiesced to the Chancellor's initiative mandating the hiring of the peace officer in the first place. She more than acquiesced, she has repeatedly defended it at length, showing a surprising indifference to the unpopularity that defense has gained her. She might, after all, have simply absented herself from the debate rather than bring the full force of her discourse to the aid of the Chancellor.

Finally, the DSC presented a resolution condemning retrenchment. This was approved, and the reason is quite clear. It was in the faculty's personal and collegial interests—financial interests, to be plain—to oppose retrenchment.

After the meeting, many faculty claimed that they voted against the peace officer resolution only because the tenor of the debate had been so confrontational. When he killed the resolution with his alternative resolution, Philosophy Professor Stefan Baumrin made this same point with regard to the DSC resolution itself. It was, in his words, "an extraordinary affront to the administration." But note that the resolution against retrenchment was equally confrontational, yet the faculty voted for it. I guess the degree of affront to the administration depends on the hurt to your personal pocket book if you are a member of the faculty. As for 'the tenor of debate'—this seems to mean simply that students must never, never say to the President of their college that they think she is disingenuous (for saying "the peace officers are being brought here for your safety") and plain wrong (peace officers are not the norm; except for Fordham University, CUNY is the only school—of a pool of at least forty colleges in the metropolitan area—with peace officers). Such bald sentiments coming from young upstarts with neither Ph.D.s nor tenure, that will not do, no, no, that will not do at all! The students, for their part, are not likely to soon forget that, at a time of particular hardship to students, with outlandish tuition hikes, the President chose to jump into a debate and defend a Chancellor's initiative when she would have lost no points with the Chancellor if she had simply absented herself from the debate entirely. But she made her choice and will live with the consequences. ■



other Graduate School officials, was unwilling to speculate about student attrition, though he stated that he would not be surprised if many students left the school, especially foreign students. Gorelick decried the short-sighted xenophobia of Albany legislators and argued that "a world-class research institution requires a mix of the best minds and talent from around the nation and the world." When *The Advocate* asked if the school administration is preparing to focus its fund raising efforts on financial aid for students, especially foreign students, Gorelick admitted that he did not think that such a plan had even been proposed.

### Go Back One Level and Pay More Tuition!

Though the tuition increase for graduate students shocked many Graduate School students, the Board's alteration of the criteria which determine one's "level" has brought about just as much consternation and outrage. In the week after the Board's action, the Doctoral Students' Council reported that its office was inundated with telephone calls and visits from outraged students angry that their academic progress has been upset by the sud-

den and unilateral action of the Board. Academic level marks a student's progress towards completion of the degree and is tied to the time limits to which a student must conform as well as the amount of tuition he or she pays. The changes in the "level" criteria are as follows: Level 1 part time status is replaced with a per credit charge of \$245 (in-state) or \$450 (out-of-state); level 1 applies to the first 45 credits earned, a change from the previous 30 credit requirement; level 3 will apply to students who have completed their coursework and passed all the doctoral qualifying exams. Now students must pay extra tuition as they prepare for oral exams, even though they do not attend classes and otherwise use the school's resources, with the exception of the poorly-funded and inadequate library. The last change concerns level 2 or level 3 students who now have 2 years to attain the "required standards" It is unclear if the 2 year time limit refers to 2 years of enrolled status or if these students must advance by the fall of 1997. Students who hoped to advance under the previous criteria have until September 18, 1995, to do so.

As to how many students are affected by the change, last fall there were 964 level 1 students, 1080 at level 2, and 1983 at level 3, for a total of 4027. The changes will immediately impact on the



GSUC Legislative Aide Steve Gorelick sees the bright side of the tuition increase.

progress of half the students at the Graduate School, while the 82% tuition increase for level 3 students who cannot use a free deferral program will cause great hardship.

*The Advocate* spoke with several Graduate Center officials, including Gorelick, Vice President for Student Affairs Floyd Moreland, and Vice President for Student Services, Matthew Schoengood, about the change of "level" criteria, especially the genesis of the idea. All three stated that the Graduate School had little or nothing to do with the formulation of the idea, that it was the work of the central administration and the Board, though both Gorelick and Moreland stressed that it was acceptable as part of the Board's strategy to hold down the tuition increase. Moreland added that it was also part of an effort to bring the Graduate School into conformity with other schools which charge a flat tuition fee for all students prior to candidacy, and then a small matriculation fee. At SUNY Buffalo, for example, students who have advanced to candidacy are charged a matriculation/registration fee of only \$213 for in-state students and \$351 for out-of-state students, some \$300 to \$700 less than the Graduate School. This discrepancy may be relevant to the on-going CUNY/SUNY discrimination lawsuit.

For the short term many students are simply trying to reorganize their degree schedules. Some students, having completed their coursework, incompletes, or language exams were planning to advance to level 3 in the spring semester, or even move up this fall, under the old criteria. Now these students must pay \$1000 more and work harder at school

and at the job for additional years, even as financial aid declines, tuition increases, and the school's future is threatened.

Departmental schedules complicate matters even more. In some departments the written examination is scheduled in the middle of the semester or towards the end, which prevents students who have worked hard and prepared for the exams from moving up a level at the beginning of the semester. Some departments also restrict the months when students may take oral examinations or present a dissertation proposal for approval. These rules seem to violate the terms of the faculty contract, for, according to Vice President Moreland and CUNY spokesperson Rita Rodin, faculty must be available for all academic duties between September and June. Moreover these sorts of rules unnecessarily restrict student progress and, now, can cost a student more tuition money and time. When apprised of these problems Gorelick assured *The Advocate* that President Horowitz and her cabinet were determined to ensure "that students were not held back or charged more money due to departmental bureaucratic procedures."

At press time some students and the Doctoral Students' Council are considering a class action lawsuit against the Board. Students argue that the Board can raise tuition but it has a *de facto* contract with regard to academic progress, the "level" criteria, which fiscal exigency does not necessarily cover. With the lawsuit students hope to force the Board to demonstrate the fiscal necessity of the "level" change, and to "grandfather" all current students under the previous rules and criteria. □

## Zalk in for Moreland



Floyd Moreland and his interim replacement, Prof. Susan Zalk

**A**FTER 24 YEARS of intense and extensive professional involvement in CUNY academic matters, Graduate School Vice President for Student Affairs, Floyd Moreland, is taking a one year sabbatical. President Horowitz named Professor Sue Rosenberg Zalk as Acting Vice President for Student Affairs.

Moreland is a familiar figure at the Graduate School where, in addition to his administrative duties, he is also professor of Classics, and the director of the Latin and Greek Institute, and, with Prof. Rita Fleischer, the Foreign Language Institute. Moreland founded the Latin and Greek Institute and wrote the text for the acclaimed intensive language program while at Berkeley where he received his doctorate. He first came to CUNY in 1971 as an Assistant Professor of Classics at Brooklyn College and was quickly promoted to Associate Professor in 1975, before joining the Graduate School faculty as a full Professor in 1979. In 1984 Moreland was named Associate Dean for Research as well as Director of the CUNY B.A. program. President Proshansky appointed him Acting Associate Provost in 1988, and in 1989, Dean for Student Affairs. In 1993, when President Horowitz reorganized the Graduate School administration, Moreland was promoted and appointed the school's first Vice President for Student Affairs, the position he currently holds. After two decades of hard work and loyal service to CUNY and the Graduate School we hope Vice President Moreland enjoys his break and we wish him well.

Sue Rosenberg Zalk is known to many at the Graduate School as the school's

first Ombuds Officer, a position she has held for the last three years. In addition to listening, counseling, and adjudicating the problems of students, faculty, and staff, she is also the editor of *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, and a full Professor at Hunter College and in the Graduate School Educational Psychology and Social Personality subprograms. Like Moreland, Zalk is a CUNY veteran, having taught in the system for just over 21 years. Prof. Zalk's expertise is in gender-related research, and she is currently preparing a lecture on the situation of poor urban women at the upcoming Beijing Conference on the Status of Women. At press time President Horowitz has not named an interim Ombuds Officer.

As Acting Vice President for Student Affairs, Zalk emphasized that she hopes to bring the same concerns for student rights and due process to the office. She explained that she is especially concerned when a student asks for her assistance and when they complain that they have confronted an invisible departmental wall which unfairly blocks their progress towards completion of the degree. A strong advocate of fair appeals procedures for exams and other grade-related issues, as well as student/faculty mentoring and advisement, Zalk stressed that she wants to ensure that Graduate School students and faculty work together during a difficult time, due to upcoming mid-year budget cuts from the city and state and the ongoing threat of retrenchment. She added that she is "up for the job", no matter what conflicts she may encounter. We wish her luck!

-ANDREW LONG

## GOING BROKE PHOTOCOPYING AT THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY?

THE DOCTORAL STUDENTS'  
COUNCIL OFFERS  
A \$15/COPY DISCOUNT

ASK AT THE NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPYING DESK  
APPLIES TO LINCOLN CENTER AND THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

The DSC: information, services, advocacy. And money-saving.

**Banner.**

The *Voice* is a twenty page paper published every three to four weeks and distributed to many CUNY campuses including the Graduate Center. As a political forum, it has built a reputation for its radical editorial views, the activist intensity of its writers, as well as the depth and seriousness of its political coverage and analysis and its willingness to publish from a Marxist perspective. The paper frequently solicited and published articles by doctoral students and faculty at CUNY. In the forefront fighting the recent budget cuts, the *Voice* collaborated with *The Advocate* in producing a newspaper for the CUNY Coalition against the Budget Cuts.

Representatives of the student government claim that overspending in past years led to the exhaustion of the reserve fund, bringing the student government close to bankruptcy. As a result, the publications budget was drastically cut for the 95-96 year. The student government decided that only one newspaper could be supported on campus. Citing both the charter of the *Voice*, which sets forth a broad editorial policy inclusive of issues beyond local campus news, and the wide distribution of the *Voice* on other campuses, the student government chose to prefer the strictly local *Banner* as the one newspaper which best serves the students of CSI, despite widespread recognition of the low quality of its editorial and reportorial substance.

Shortly after the end of the spring session, while most students were out of school, the new Publications Commissioner of the student government recommended a merger of the *Voice* with the *Banner* as a way of retaining the *Voice* while complying with the SG decision allowing only one paper. Both newspapers rejected the recommendation. A new plan was drawn up by the Publications Commissioner intended to allow for two campus publications, one the official campus newspaper, the other a political forum. This plan calls for \$12,000 for a campus paper, to be published weekly, and \$3,000 for a monthly forum. In addition, both papers will be allowed to reclaim all their advertising revenue which previously had reverted to the student government's general funds.

The staff of the *Voice* contends that opposition to the political views expressed in the *Voice* is the underlying reason both for the decision to fund only one paper and for the disproportionate funding in the current plan. Since the *Banner* has never published on a weekly basis, the justification for funding it at a weekly rate represents an expansion of the paper. Authorizing such an expansion for one paper while cutting back on the *Voice* seriously undermines the argument that fiscal constraints are the motivating factor. More disturbing still is the unquestioned assumption that a strictly local newspaper is *ipso facto* more deserving of student activity fees. Neither considerations of the quality of the product nor the quality of CSI's public image seem to have played any role in the student government's decision. The *Banner* has been deplored by one college administrator as having "caused more trouble for us than the [radicalism of the] *Voice* ever did" because of the *Banner*'s "animal house mentality."

To those of us familiar with the *Voice*, this stifling of a vital organ of free press is a disturbing development. The *Voice* was an impressive paper among CUNY senior college productions. It was substantial, provocative, concerned with global issues as well as with the politics around CUNY. Among college papers it distinguished itself by appealing to an audience wider than just the local campus students. With its largely non-white staff it turned itself into one of the few CUNY-wide papers of interest.

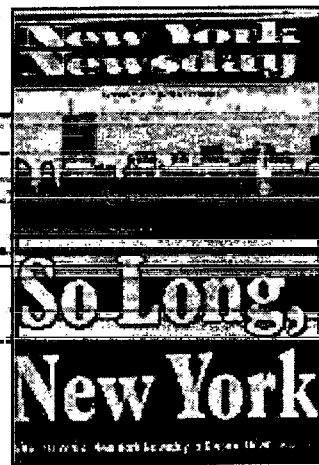
Since the expansion of the *Banner* at the expense of the *Voice* cannot be defended on fiscal grounds, it seems unmistakably clear that the motivation behind the disparity is indeed political. Members of the student government at CSI have gone on record supporting the state budget cuts, placing them at odds with the editorial stance of the *Voice*, which militantly favored and advertised demonstrations against the cuts.

Further considerations undermine the SG's claims of fiscal motivation. The College Association, a body composed of administrators, students, and faculty, must approve all student government spending. The administration itself must sign off on all checks as well. The ultimate responsibility for any overspending on the part of the student government rests squarely with the administration, and the administration should be held accountable. Administrators are paid handsomely for their responsibilities. The student government has chosen for reasons of its own to punish a high-profile student political forum for the oversights of irresponsible administrators. Sadly, it is the students of CSI, the school itself, and not those administrators, who will suffer from that choice. —ROBERT HOLLANDER

**NO PAPER TOWN**

THE DEATH of *New York Newsday* has consternated those of us interested in partaking at least a glimpse of what is actually going on in New York. We feel astray or else pick

up the other papers and enter psychedelic worlds of mushrooming boredom and wall-melting delusion. The *Daily News* and the *Post* are the grotesque offspring of moneyed egotists which arrange and interpret the world from the



York. They replied *Newsday* because the *Times* reminded them too much of *Pravda* — a litany of The Official Word. They should know.

Not to say *Newsday*'s mix of piercing local coverage, multiculturalism and comics was perfect. (Oh boy, here comes the testimonial.) I sent in a letter to *Newsday* about its coverage of NAFTA, the "free trade" agreement the editorial board supported. Like the Florida doctor who kept chopping off the wrong limbs of his patients *Newsday* let the letter appear woozy, angry, and missing its zingers:

Your article 'Only One View That's Fit to Print', on the *New York Times* series of pro-NAFTA 'advertisements', reported that the *Times* refused to carry paid advertising in opposition to the 'free trade' agreement in the supplement. The story quoted one media critic saying that the *Times* gave "the public the impression the *Times* as a total organization has announced bias on this issue." *New York Newsday* itself, however, is also guilty of conducting a pompom rally for the treaty.

Besides a deluge of editorials in favor of the business boondoggle (this isn't fundamentally problematic), your opinion pages have run a veritable regiment of pro-NAFTA perspectives (this is). The latest DOA argument, written by Carlos Fuentes, continues the campaign to emboss the momentously detrimental effects of NAFTA.

How ironic that Fuentes' column, as the biographical blurb noted, is carried by—surprise, surprise!—the *New York Times* Syndicate.

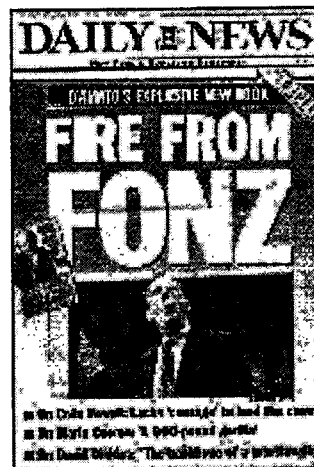
What *Newsday* chose to delete is revealing.

Exemplary of its media brethren, The *New York Times* Company owns significant interests in several Canadian paper mills sued by Native American tribes for polluting rivers with dioxin. The *Times* Company itself, it follows, would profit from jelly-spined environmental, labor and financial regulation which would inevitably tag after a NAFTA agreement...

*Newsday* should thoroughly itemize the holdings of the *Times* Mirror Company [which owned *New York Newsday*] for its readership. It should also confine its cheerleading to its editorials, present a more even-handed array of perspectives, and, to the annoyance of NAFTA schemers who presently continue the American tradition of engineering national economic policy without the public's input, pursue vigorous coverage of NAFTA and GATT as an estimable newspaper should.

We see how the chop-job veils the revelation—gasp!—that media conglomerates and their advertisers seek profit. To help, in the management vernacular, secure a happy business environment the collective media manipulate their coverage and by extension public opinion. Moreover, there's the denial that a ruling class controls the economy. The letter is also nursed as a *Times*-hit, dropping the paddle paragraph—the one I wanted printed—spanking *Newsday*'s tukus for its servitude.

But there's a bit of a problem with this take on the letter. I mean—it was printed! *Newsday* displayed a willingness to print saps like me, to provide space to a myriad of boxed-out democrats (little d) to machine gun outrage at the powers that hoard the political and economic decision-making. This distinguished *Newsday*. Partial censorship's better than the purging the



other city papers practice. (A dubious glory, but these days you count your blessings.) Some of the message of the letter, to borrow from information theory, made it through the noisy channel of New York editorship.

The ringer is that a few months later the *Newsday* editorial endorsing the undebated GATT "agreement"—who agreed?—included an itemization of *Times*-Mirror's holdings. Perhaps editorial board members have at this point belatedly come around to spot the depravities of blood-thirsty profit hoarding, the kind that inspired NAFTA and GATT and closed one of the city's best newspapers. Check that. Since a newspaper by definition must comfort

the afflicted and afflict the comfortable, as the old saw goes, we've lost the only daily paper in town. —ROBERT WALLACE

**NIOSH BOSH**

RECENTLY HAPPENED upon a National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) call for proposals in the June 16 issue of the *Federal Register*.

Excerpted in the sidebar ("Announcement 572"), it's the development of a pseudo-science for brainwashing swaths of workers. Note that "primary prevention" calls for "recommending 'best practices' for downsizing". No mention that no downsizing whatsoever would likely be the best cure for the stress and depression workers suffer during the "reconstructing" of the economy. "Secondary prevention" is the Orwellian "counseling". The \$300,000 program should, according to the proposal, be developed for "preventive interventions" and "implementing strategies to reduce employee uncertainty and ambiguity during downsizing."

As anyone on this side of the military-industrial complex knows, developing a program for "defense nuclear and related industries" as a model for other industries is ludicrous. The super-patriotism and feelings of entitlement defense workers may have probably have little in common with the emotions with which other types of workers engender their jobs.

But that's neither here nor there: Class rage is now a medical condition. If you're angry or distraught in the best of all possible economic worlds—apparently late capitalism—you must be mad. It's reminiscent of the "pedomania" with which doctors diagnosed black slaves. The slaves, you see, had this irrational impulse to run away from their plantations. (Imagine that). —R.W.

**HUMOR IN THE PERMANENT RECESSION**

AN ANTI-DRUG ABUSE poster on the subway sponsored by the New York Business Alliance warned employers: "70% of drug abusers are employed!" To which someone added in pen "Gee, does that mean if I start taking drugs I'll get a fucking job?!" —R.W.

**ANNOUNCEMENT 572**

National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health; Prevention of Stress and Health Consequences of Workplace Downsizing and Reorganization

**Purpose**

The purpose of this cooperative agreement is to utilize the special resources of the extramural community to conduct a program of applied research in the prevention of negative health consequences of organizational downsizing/reorganization in selected facilities of the defense nuclear and related industries. The program will consist of applied research to assess the effects of downsizing on employee health and well-being, and on organizational culture/climate. Specifically, this cooperative agreement is intended to result in the development, implementation, and evaluation of practical interventions for preventing the negative health and performance consequences of downsizing. Primary prevention strategies should be emphasized (e.g., recommending "best practices" for downsizing), but secondary prevention strategies, if linked to a primary prevention strategy, can be proposed (e.g., provision of counseling for employees).

At least three key aspects of downsizing/reorganization should be assessed in any research proposal: (1) the purpose of downsizing (proactive vs. reactive); (2) the process of downsizing (targeted vs. across-the-board changes, communication style, etc.); and (3) the provision of assistance to employees who lose their jobs (finding new jobs or acquiring new skills), and employees who retain their jobs. Outcome measures can include measures of perceived stress, health consequences to downsizing of those employees who retain their jobs, employee commitment and involvement and organizational culture/climate. The findings should be used to develop preventive interventions; for example, identifying best practice for downsizing, or implementing strategies to reduce employee uncertainty and ambiguity during downsizing...