

REPRESSION

The institutions within which we function can ultimately (but not necessarily) structure our perception of reality to the point of blindness. At its worst, institutional authority, arbitrarily wielded, defines its own morality and conventions, sanctioning its political manipulations and even violence with a spurious respectability and legitimacy.

DESPOTISM

The bylaws of the board of higher education legitimize the despotism—sometimes benevolent, too often tyrannical—of the college presidents of the City University. Within their fiefs, these beknighted administrators can exercise power that it total to the point of absolute veto over virtually all departmental and faculty decisions.

Dr. Kurt R. Schmeller, for one, the president of Queensborough Community College, has brought to the prerogatives of his office an almost demonic enthusiasm, the excesses of which were documented in all of their grisly horror in the last issue of *action*.

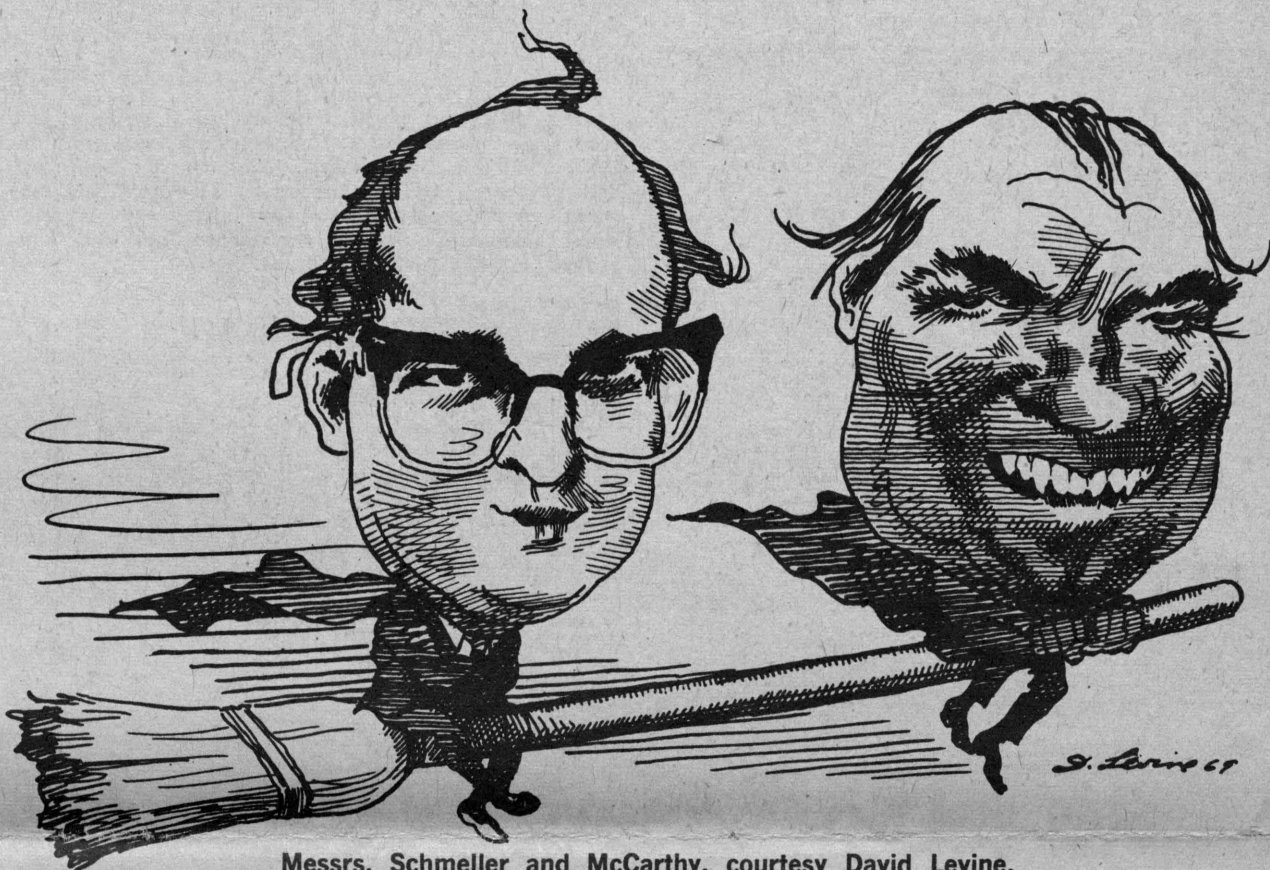
President Schmeller respected the judgment of neither the English department nor the college personnel and budget committee when he reversed their recommendations to reappoint Dr. Donald Silberman, an assistant professor of English, for the academic year 1969-70. John Riedl, the dean of the faculty, admitted in a moment of indiscretion that the administration's opposition to the reappointment of Dr. Silberman was as much a matter of politics as it was budget. (The president had originally maintained that Professor Silberman's appointment was being held up because no lines were available in the English department.) Dr. Silberman is a professed communist.

INTIMIDATION

President Schmeller responded to a massive and peaceful sit-in in support of Professor Silberman which at one point involved over 1,000 students with the tactical police, court injunctions, suspensions and the summary dismissal of Dr. Silberman and two of his colleagues. The sit-in on the fourth floor lobby of the administration-library building obstructed neither the activities nor movements of the administration and staff. Lest one has illusions about restraints that moderate presidential power, it should be noted that Dr. Schmeller dismissed the three faculty members without so much as preferring a single charge against them.

CONTEMPT

Dr. Schmeller held the faculty in utter contempt. When on April 26, it voted overwhelmingly in favor of Dr. Silberman's reappointment, the reinstatement of the three dismissed faculty and the dropping of all court charges, Dr. Schmeller, even though he participated in the meeting, declared that its results were by no means binding upon the administration. When on May 2, with 10 percent of the instructional staff having legally petitioned for a meeting, faculty members found their entrance barred by security guards and locked doors, they forced their way into the hall and voted 54 to 14 with six abstentions to call for the resignation of President Schmeller. Again, on Tuesday, May 6, Dr. Schmeller sought to subvert a legally convened faculty meeting by the simple expedient of locking the doors to the hall.



Messrs. Schmeller and McCarthy, courtesy David Levine.

COUNTERFEIT LEGITIMACY

Dr. Schmeller's actions seemed calculated only to provoke violence. On Wednesday, May 7, and again on Thursday, May 8, 30 students and faculty, after 20 days of peaceful demonstration, barricaded themselves in the administration-library building, only to leave upon the arrival of the tactical police.

The violence of the demonstrators allowed the administration the sanctimony of judging the victims of its own repression, condemning them as thugs and absolving itself of any guilt. Crime after all is most safely perpetrated behind the cloak of institutional respectability, the counterfeit legitimacy of which can sanction power that is total and arbitrary in its exercise.

On Thursday, May 8, the police arrested 27 students, the three suspended faculty and two wives, charging them with criminal trespass for their participation in the sit-in protesting the administration's refusal to reappoint Dr. Silberman. The judge before whom they were charged, set punitive bail ranging up to \$1,000.

CURIOUS COINCIDENCE

Dr. Schmeller meanwhile moved both on and off the campus to punish dissent. By rather curious coincidence, Thomas McNulty, the director of student activities was demoted on Thursday, May 8, just two days after he and a member of the English department, representing the "Concerned Faculty of Queensborough," a group of 75 members of the instructional staff, brought a case before the board of higher education charging Dr. Schmeller with harassment, intimidation and abuse of his administrative powers. Somewhat chastened by a student referendum on the matter, Dr. Schmeller the following week restored Professor McNulty to his original position. The same referendum called for the reinstatement of the three dismissed faculty as well as Professor Silberman's reappointment.

PARANOIA

The administration's paranoia seems such that it no longer can distinguish between friend and foe. It has rationalized its activities by ascribing conspiracy to those who dare oppose it. In a rather bizarre if not frightening turn of events, the Queens County grand jury served an assistant professor of history at Hofstra College with a subpoena. The professor, a personal acquaintance of Dr. Schmeller and his wife had called the president several months earlier, supposedly at the request of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, to express her dismay at and to ask him to reconsider his refusal to reappoint Dr. Silberman. For this grievous sin, the grand jury supposedly subpoenaed not only the professor in question, but her college personnel records, all of which smacks of political harassment reminiscent of the McCarthy era. Her lawyer filed and won a show-cause suit.

EXTERNALIZING EVIL

In testimony before the court, Dr. Schmeller contended that Queensborough was no more than a "super high school," its students by implication characterized by an innocence and blissful ignorance which by nature made them incapable of organizing in opposition to the administration. Such an argument allowed Dr. Schmeller to externalize evil and to subscribe to a demonology complete with conspiracy theory and the requisite outside agitators.

What is at issue here is the whole nasty business of political repression. The Silberman case was blatant; others are not. For every Kurt Schmeller, there are administrators who are much more sophisticated and insidious at the art of suppression. The board of higher education, by its very silence, condones the actions of Dr. Schmeller and administrators like him. If Schmeller succeeds without so much as having his wrist slapped, the board will have given college presidents and deans a virtual license to commit violence, the horror of which will be sanctified by its own bylaws. —W.F.

CUNY budget sliced

Dr. Albert Bowker, chancellor of the City University, has beat a retreat on the budget. After Mayor John Lindsay had pruned some \$70 million from the University's budget, Bowker testified with rather curious circumspection before the board of estimate on Monday, May 5. He requested a meagre \$6 million.

Bowker's sudden forbearance in the face of massive budget cuts contrasts sharply with the frenzied activity of the City University's public relations' apparatus which for almost three months had churned out a small fortune in literature dramatizing the very real crisis that austerity financing would create at CUNY.

In testimony the same day, Dr. Irsael Kugler, president of the UFCT pointed out that the University was operating at 143 percent of capacity, creating "an aggravated cumulative need for staffing, space and support serv-



BOWKER

ices." The University's master plan has programmed such improvements, but unfortunately, as Dr. Kugler suggested, that document

has been rendered bad fiction by \$200 million in budget cuts over the past seven years.

"This cannot go on," Dr. Kugler said.

"There are taxing powers unutilized—auto use for example. There is under-assessed real estate valuation below the going market. There are parcels of land, buildings and corporate enterprises which are exempt from City taxes. There is a tax rate for incomes above \$40,000 which is not graduated. . . . May I also suggest that you slash away at red tape that prevents college buildings from being constructed with the dispatch that is managed by commercial buildings—some even with city funds like Shea Stadium."

SPEECH FOR LEROI

In memory of my cousin Mickey Schwerner
by Armand Schwerner

(The following poem was originally written and read at a benefit for LeRoi Jones' defense fund in 1967. Professor Schwerner, a poet who teaches English at Staten Island Community College, feels the poem can serve as an appropriate allegorical and personal statement on the sentiments and reactions evoked by the current campus crises.)

common cause
common cause
come come come come
remission of sins is not in question
Jefferson is not in question
fear is in question 10:30 is in question hunger is in question
come to the anxiety fair
common sauce reasons of soup and meat and terrible
anger and the noose of news
like the wolf's jaw
tightening
friends laugh
in metal
in ropes
in distrust
to make common cause
with the time nothing is
enough or quite right, all activity forgets

ends in the exercise of being, absolutes
leap into usefulness to comfort the grave-diggers
The coolest is the most obsessed the ownership of souls
newly patented every month.

We live,
think of it, establishing
nourishment from solid
anger

that is left,
like the wolf toward mirages
and we stand
a little too straight.

Yes I live
in a dark time, belief in the poem
requires a major transplant every morning, I imagine
on my cheek, on my cornea, behind
my knee connective tissue hardening
in death, simple local answers
to the pressures in the body of the world,

come
belief, passion
come, come

sweet poem, or sour, or
broken is best;

to come sweetly
is evidence of the body letting up
on itself, falling into images.

But I know of men in an art
in an endless whip of fury, their angry certainty.
Whoever possessed by Justice selects Holy and Holier
and cries Artifact at flesh
forgets nothingness
and walks at the funeral of the whole human race.

If you took the road
through my cranial suture, through the dura matter,
what an allegorical fool you would find,
fat and weary
from too much time passing too fast, the right arm
paralyzed, and the left holding up the pennant holding
the pennant of poetry.

Mickey I think of you, I think you
into my body,

jelly tissue beginnings soft parts
in the loam of a dam between Philadelphia and
Meridian

I think about reasons for getting up mornings
and the commonness of tissue
and the violence of gravediggers and the violence
of my wish for an end

(Acknowledgements to Caterpillar magazine, and to
Black Sparrow press)

The Agency Shop

A vote *against* [emphasis added] the Conference means . . . dues of \$60 a year, and a possible "agency shop" in which an amount of equal dues will be deducted from your salary even if you choose not to become a union member, and possible assessments to finance outside organizing and strike activity.

Page three, Legislative Conference
News, October-November 1968

cha.me'le-on (ka.mē'lē.ŭn; ká.mēl'yŭn), n.
[From L., fr. Gr. *chamaileōn*, fr. *chamai*
on the ground, dwarf + *leōn* lion.] 1. Any
of a group of lizards remarkable for the
changes of color of the skin according to

the mood of the animal or surrounding conditions. 2. A person who is fickle or inconstant.

Webster's Collegiate Dictionary

Item—Upon questioning, representatives of the Legislative Conference have confirmed that their organization is negotiating for an agency shop by which an amount equal to its dues will be deducted from the salaries of all faculty in unit one whether they be LC members or not. The UFCT, representing 6,000 lecturers in unit two, is negotiating for neither an agency shop or exclusive check-off. Neither during the campaign nor the collective bargaining process itself, has the UFCT advocated either position.

RESOLUTION ON CAMPUS TURMOIL PASSED

The following resolution was passed by the UFCT executive board on May 9:

The UFCT recognizes that the demonstrations and confrontations on campuses of CUNY are often not only a manifestation of deep and sometimes profoundly moral discontent arising out of long-standing social injustices such as poverty, discrimination, and war, but also in many instances a result of irresponsibility, unresponsiveness, and insensitivity within the university structure itself. We call upon all members of the academic community—students, instructional staff, and administration—to continue to seek appropriate solutions and institute necessary change through peaceful, non-violent, and democratic procedures. We not only condemn violent disruption that threatens bodily harm and endangers life, but also vigorously oppose vengeful reprisals against students, instructional staff, and administrators whether they occur from within or without the academic community.

Violence, arson, serious damage to college buildings

and equipment profoundly threaten the very existence of CUNY by exacerbating racial and ethnic hostility and creating that anti-intellectual backlash reflected in mindless punitive legislation threatening academic freedom, disadvantaged students, and the financial viability of the university.

The maintenance of academic peace must be the essential responsibility of the academic community. Transgressions by students must be dealt with in accordance with regard for their constitutional rights and due process through democratically constituted bodies of faculty and students. Faculty members charged with disruptive acts must also be accorded due process by democratically constituted bodies of the instructional staff.

Should efforts to protect lives of students and faculty, as well as academic property, unfortunately be beyond the efforts of the colleges and the university, and the civil authorities called upon, this should be done where possible only after decisions made by responsible bodies representing students, faculty, and administration.

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“Any attempt to make sense of the present situation on the nation’s campuses must focus on the fundamental distinction between disruption and violence.”

By IRWIN YELLOWITZ

Any attempt to make sense of the present situation on the nation’s campuses must focus upon the fundamental distinction between disruption and violence, the reasons why disruptive tactics have been employed so widely, and the response that the university should make to the demands of the students.

A DISTINCTION

I believe that it is incorrect to label strikes, demonstrations, and occupations of buildings as violence, if there is no destruction of property or attacks upon persons. The disruptive tactics used by students resemble the sit-ins and mass marches of the Southern civil rights movement, which also broke laws and regulations. The strikes by public school teachers, welfare department caseworkers, sanitationmen, and other groups of public employees, have violated the law.

Many of those who condemn disruption by students today vigorously supported Martin Luther King and the other proponents of nonviolent disruption. Clearly, many of the disturbances produced by students are also nonviolent, and they flow from the same basic situation faced by civil rights leaders: powerlessness.

The student realizes that he has no effective voice in most areas of academic life, that although he is the reason for the university’s existence, his interests are not automatically protected, and that he must have the right to participate in decisions which vitally affect his activities in the university. The issuance of demands, and the disruption necessary to make the faculty, administrators, and trustees seriously consider the issues raised, seems to be the only way to secure a voice in the making of policy. Lacking institutionalized forms of power and influence, the students have improvised other methods. A faculty that has a measure of power, but continuously complains of its lack of influence over crucial decisions, should be able to understand students who lack even the modicum of authority that the faculty exercises.

DISRUPTION

Can the university put up with disruption, especially by a minority of the student body? If one regards disruption as a form of social pressure, and as an occasion for reexamining established practices, the answer is assuredly yes. Frivolous disruption is not likely to occur very often, and if it does, it will gain little support and quickly collapse. An effective voice for students in the governance of the university should do much to eliminate disruption among moderate students. The revolutionary students will then lose the student power theme, and their influence will be based on the appeal of their ideas.

Violence is another matter, which must be carefully distinguished from disruptive activity. Certainly occupation of a building can lead to the destruction of that building, and attempts to seal off a campus ultimately can become a riot—but these unfortunate results are not an automatic development of disruption. When violence does occur, it must be restrained, and those guilty of illegal acts should be punished according to law.

In America, violence has not led to a constructive end: unlike disruption it has lacked the potential to initiate change, and it usually destroyed the program proposed by the violent groups. Although Americans have accepted certain forms of personal violence, the society has repressed political violence consistently, and college students who believe that this will not be the case in 1969 or 1970 are ignorant of American history as well as fundamental attitudes in contemporary society.

“the creation of democratic order through a powerful union of faculty which can win the respect of the majority of the students.”

By ROBERT MARTINSON

In the Summer of 1961, I was imprisoned in Cell Number Five of the maximum-security unit of the Mississippi state penitentiary at Parchman as a freedom rider. In Cell Number Four was Stokely Carmichael—then a young man—later to become head of SNCC as it moved from integration and nonviolence toward “black power,” racial exclusion, and violence. In Cell Number Six was James Farmer—then head of CORE—now a Nixon appointee.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

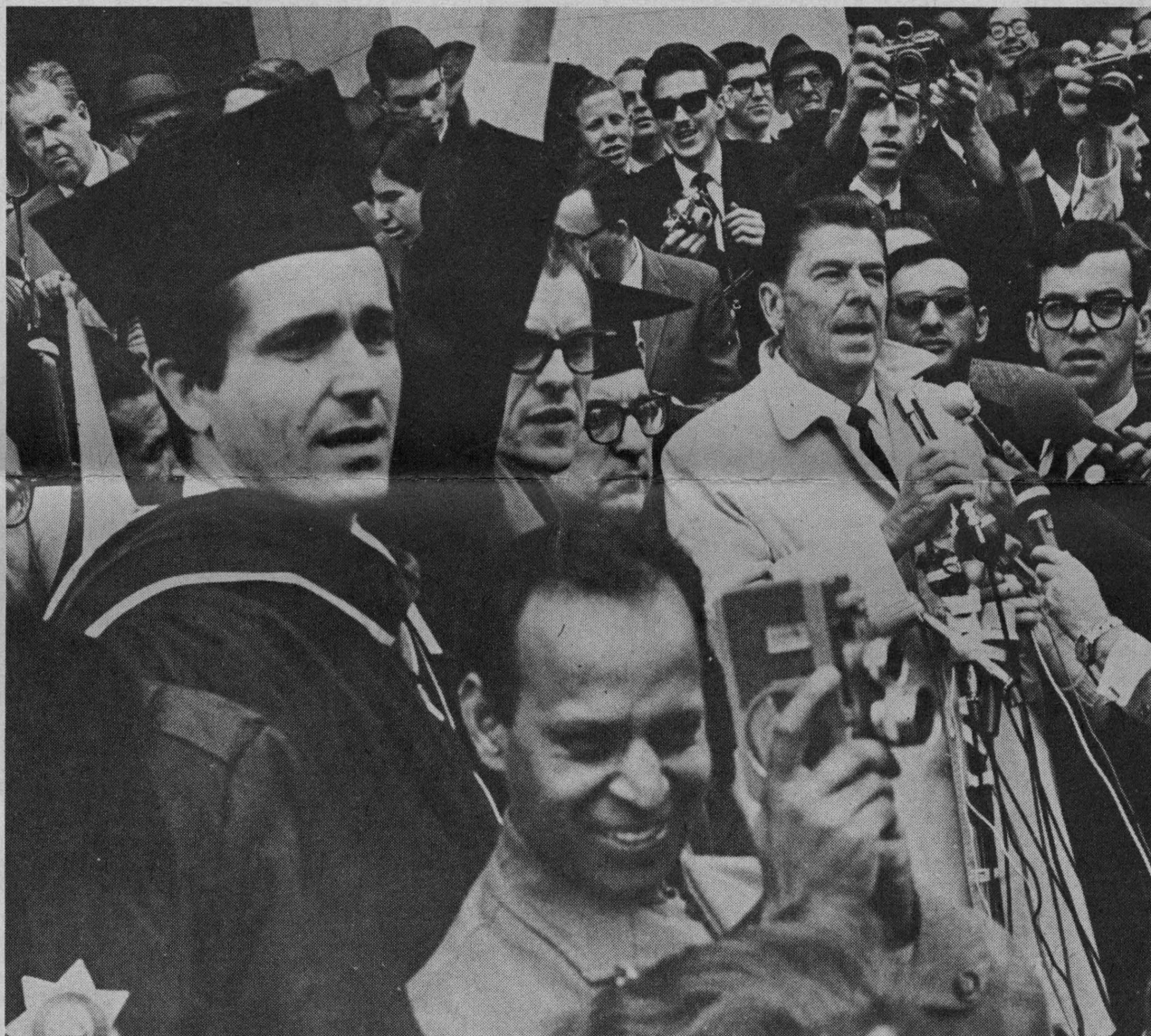
As a strong believer in democratic and politically progressive trade unionism, and as a militant advocate of full citizenship for the Negro people, I have had to sharply separate myself from these two old cellmates. Carmichael’s “black militants” and Farmer’s “black capitalism” are two sides of the same coin—they both avoid the complex and protracted task of politically organizing the mass of the black population along with trade unions, the liberal community,

If one believes that the social order itself is institutionalized violence, and that therefore other forms of violence are justified, he must accept the position of the revolutionary who argues for the destruction of society by all means possible and clearly accepts the risks of illegal activity. One can make a rational case for violence as part of a revolution, but not for violence as a legitimate tactic within an established institution. The revolutionist can claim justice, but not legality; he can turn to violence as a tactic, but not expect that society will sanction and pardon illegal acts.

INFLUENCE

Clearly disruption is not the most desirable way for students to participate in the governance of the university. Students must have influence within the institution so that they need not disrupt it in order to focus attention on their proposals. Until this fundamental change in structure is made, demands by disruptive students should be considered by whatever ad hoc student-faculty bodies can be created. Nonnegotiable demands should be negotiated, and accepted when they strengthen the university.

Professor Yellowitz teaches labor history at City College.



the churches, and others into a democratic left which could achieve political ascendance in this country.

The faculties of our universities will play an increasingly important role in this process to the degree that they are organized into a democratic, nationwide association—the UFCT—which both represents their fundamental interests and provides decisive and firm leadership during the present periods of student unrest and societal “backlash.”

POWERLESSNESS

If “faculty power” is to become a reality, the UFCT must take a firm stand against two related impulses—to capitulate to violence (as at Cornell) and to refuse to initiate change. Both impulses derive from powerlessness vis-a-vis administrations and boards of regents and from an understandable fear of political interference with academic freedom either by student extremists or by enraged legislators.

The UFCT must squarely face the problems of how to maintain democratic order on the campuses. In the long run, democratic order can be created only through a strong majority coalition of faculty and students intent on defending academic freedom and

A forum on turmoil

Crisis has characterized many of the campuses of not only the City University but the whole nation over the past two months. These crises have evoked many responses: some sympathetic to the demands of students, others not. These responses are not necessarily open to glib categorization. The five analyses found on the following three pages, while representing a wide variety of viewpoints, by no means reflect the total range of opinion on the subject of campus turmoil. The five faculty who graciously consented to write up their reactions to what has happened agreed to do so with the stipulation that they were to respond to the issues as they perceived them and with the knowledge that the brevity of their essays—necessitated by limitations of space—dictated that their comments be more suggestive than substantive.

the right to all legitimate means of dissent, including strikes, demonstrations, and peaceful civil disobedience. Such a coalition must take a firm stand against violent and confrontationist tactics aimed at the disruption of the educational process and the “Latinization” of the American university.

DEMOCRATIC ORDER

To summarize, the UFCT must join Dr. Kenneth Clark in denouncing the Antioch formula of hidden segregationism, it must cease “tail-ending” various student groups, and it must be prepared to call upon the civil authorities when necessary to defend the integrity of the educational process. While orienting the concerns of the great majority of faculty members, the UFCT must continue to press for needed educational reform. Our orientation should be: the creation of democratic order through a powerful union of faculty which can win the respect of the majority of the students.

Professor Martinson teaches sociology at City College.

"the sizeable investment of the profession in present arrangements renders suspect its claim to defend nothing but Beauty and Truth."

By JAMES PERLSTEIN

In the spectrum of reactions to campus unrest, the most common, at least within the professoreate, might be rendered, "I understand and—not without sadness—I condemn." A reaction of this kind rests on an assumption of superior wisdom: the student in revolt fails to understand what he really wants, what he really needs, what he really means. The faculty, on the other hand, perceives with the dispassion born of scholarly inquiry, and acts with the disinterest appropriate to those whose lives are dedicated to the University Ideal. Both notions die hard. Fulsome pronouncements of faculty councils still pass as value-free mediation, and reasoned student demands are construed as modern dress reenactments of the Oedipus myth.

A MATTER OF INTERESTS

With a deep bow to the complexities, wouldn't it clarify things to view the conflict on the campus as a struggle in which both sides know quite well what the stakes are, a struggle in which each is fully determined to defend its own interests? Isn't it true that the sizeable investment of the profession in present arrangements renders suspect its claim to defend nothing but Beauty and Truth? And isn't it equally true that the journeyman and apprentices, those not yet totally caught up in the apparatus, possess at least as much objectivity as the masters? Might it not be worthwhile to concede that the student is his own best interpreter; that he means what he says and not something else? After all, if the educational system works as well as its supporters claim, then one is

"The truth is that they have no higher purpose than to wield power, power for its own sake."

By ANATOLE DOLGOFF

We are part of a society whose guts are laid bare by a disgusting war and crumbling urban fabric. The power of the military, the exploitation of the poor, the racism, the distortion of human values by a complex of state bureaucracy capitalism, and vulgar mass media, are transparent. Large and influential segments of the population have become disaffected, if not on all of these issues, with at least enough of them to create a massive climate of discontent. The churches, the liberal press, key senators, civil rights groups, and, of course, the young have all come out against the war and in opposition to the draft. It is in this soil of society's evils and in this climate of tolerance to dissent within liberal institutions that the student protest movement has flourished. The alienation, needless to say, is particularly widespread on the campuses.

HAMMER-LOCK

By skillfully exploiting this atmosphere, cliques of "radical" students, their various apologists and camp followers, have shown a powerful emotional hammer-lock on their critics, a hold which must be broken if one is rationally to assess their actions. These cliques, not to be confused with the majority of student protestors who may be with them on specific issues, seem at present to have captured the student movement, and, along with the black racists, have given it a totalitarian turn. Their grip is based on two false assumptions:

- (1) That because of their youth and "sincerity," the students speak from a loftier moral plane, and
- (2) That to criticize them is to identify them with reaction.

The belief that these cliques have essentially noble intentions stems partly from their well-publicized rhetoric, replete with catch phrases dear to the guilty heart of the grizzled libertarian, and partly from the perpetual flaunting of their youth as if a passport for their demagoguery. Rhetoric is essential to all movements. It is always couched in terms of strong emotional appeal, often expressing the greatest hopes of mankind. Stop in at random at any church and more than likely you will hear true Judeo-Christian sentiments expressed in tones dripping sincerity, although in a style different from that of the "radical" students.

SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

However, more important than what one says is what one does, and I find what most of these cliques do to be reprehensible. Two hundred advocates of "participatory democracy" can tie up (without consultation) a campus used by thousands and if they are booted out, set fire to the building. Their indignation is selective at best. They can be rightfully indignant about the Vietnam War, but remarkably silent on Biafran slaughter, or Czechoslovakia. They can scream political repression, but, at the same time, hang on their wall the picture of a bearded man who locks young people up for dressing like hippies, who has spies on every block, and who tolerates no opposition

obliged to take seriously the protests of students trained to think clearly. And if 20-year-olds are incapable of evaluating their situation then the system has failed and their indictment stands in spite of themselves.

Perhaps the shoe fits the other foot. The universities possess their own copious talent for disingenuousness and self-deception. Opposition to student demands rests less on a principled faith in things as they are than in an inchoate fear of things as they may become. What if there is no longer a university *Laius* for a student *Oedipus* to play to? What if the student body becomes predominantly Black, Puerto Rican and working class? What if the ethnic composition of the faculty comes to reflect that of a new student body? What if students share decisively in the design of curricula, and in the hiring and firing of faculty? What if, in short, the university is transformed?

OBSOLESCENCE

Some foresee the end of Western Civilization. But most, at least dimly, perceive a more prosaic yet more intimidating problem: How does a white, upwardly mobile, middle class faculty cope with a student body whose power is growing and whose composition and purposes no longer correspond to its own? The uncertain answer generates most faculty resistance. Today's university is imperfect but comfortable. The university of the future will probably be just as imperfect in its own way and certainly less comfortable.

Trained to value *Academe* as it is and rewarded for the valuing, the faculty finds its own position as cul-

tural courtier too embarrassing to confront. Devotion to principle explains less at this moment than does the faculty's sudden intimation of its own obsolescence along with the institution which shelters it. The principles are discovered only after the threat is felt.

CANT AND FRAUD

If faculty and administration really desire to provide the very best education, then their fears are misplaced. Students, with rare exceptions, are neither stupid nor self-destructive. They too want the best. They prize good teaching and good reading, and they define "good" in ways surprisingly like their teachers. The Humanist Tradition is not on its last legs; even the anarchists, so-called, operate within it.

What the students do insist upon is an end to cant and an end to fraud whether in the universities or the society at large. They no longer accept the argument that in defining the Good Life the seniority principle applies. If faculty and administration could rid themselves at last of their belief in a silent democracy and a speaking aristocracy, then the university might become a genuine community capable of facing larger social issues with integrity.

There would no longer be any need nor any excuse for "understanding condemnation." The understanding derives from the implicit justice of student demands; the condemnation from their disruptiveness. But disruption and its attendant violence grow from the students' sense of their powerlessness. When they win their fair share of power the violence will pass.

Professor Perlstein teaches history at Manhattan Community College.



(you can be damn sure not in the University of Havana!).

The rationalizations for their actions are by now well known; false comparisons to depression sit-down strikes; the "fact" that it gets "results" (what kind is another matter); the inability to effect changes in the university structure by other means, as if the university were under some cosmic moral imperative to accept their domination. The truth is that they have no higher purpose than to wield power, power for its own sake. And, like all power addicts, they will do whatever is necessary to accomplish this aim until stopped. As a case in point, take their relationship with their counterparts among the black students. The black cliques make not even a pretense at progressive or libertarian ideals. Their demands of quotas, of separate facilities, of separate faculty, of separate studies, all controlled by them, is racist and reactionary. They broach no opposition from within their own ranks and display all the attributes of a totalitarian movement, color it black or white. They have dealt a body blow to integration, a cause for which better men than they have given their lives. Yet, in a tawdry attempt to enhance their own image

as the champion of the downtrodden, the white "radicals" support them.

NO ALTERNATIVE

In short, the student movement as controlled by the various campus cliques, far from offering an alternative to our society, mirrors its corruption, its hypocrisy, its authoritarianism. As such, the movement must eventually lose its appeal to the great mass of students, and even its active supporters. The climate of tolerance essential to its growth will change. The constant machinations, the glaring inconsistencies, the lies, the arrogance, the boredom of it all, will eventually take their toll. This will not happen at once, for the leadership is shrewd and knows how to manipulate their eroding base of support. But, for well deserved reasons, the movement, as it now stands, is no longer a force for effecting social justice. It is not worthy of the support of people seriously concerned with liberty. One would hope that a new movement will emerge that employs tactics consistent with its aims.

Professor Dolgoff teaches physics at New York Community College.

“And it has peace, and no violence, the cemetery, just like a tranquil campus...”

By EDWARD SAGARIN

Violence. How abhorrent! It is ugly, repulsive, sinful, and, worse than that, someone can get hurt. And surely it has no place on college campuses, which exist as sanctified centers of pure learning, where ideas are examined in a stratified atmosphere, uncontaminated by power struggles and—yes, by violence.

So let us, like professors and scholars and denizens of this world of purity (and even like unionists who have conveniently obliterated from memory much of the history of American unionism), join the chorus of denouncers. We must have peace on the campus (but quick, correct the statement, or elaborate on it, so that everyone knows we are talking about domestic peace, not international peace). Let us have tranquility, because tranquility is good for the atmosphere of professors, and let us remember we are professors, even if, as we embrace tranquility, we forget that we are unionists, and then tomorrow, when we support a strike, we can remember that we are unionists, while we forget that we are professors, because then we will not be so enamored of tranquility, and professors love of tranquility. The campus must be tranquil, and that is why we must give it tranquilizers, and if we give it enough tranquilizers, it will be the most tranquil place in town. No, not quite, but almost, because there is another tranquil spot in the city, a very tranquil spot, and it is called a cemetery. And it has peace, and no violence, the cemetery, just like a tranquil campus.

Yes, we must denounce violence, because violence is very bad, especially when it gets violent. If only we could have some nicely contained violence, gentlemanly violence, reasonably rational violence, maybe even non-violent violence, then professors could acquiesce. So let us send the violence far away, far from the campus, away, away to Vietnam for example, and let us be very gentlemanly about our violence, like Dean Rusk, who is a very nonviolent man, and who would never condone the seizure of a campus building.

RESOLUTIONS

Let us pass resolutions against violence and the destruction of people and property, or should we say property and people, just to get our priorities straight? So I propose that we adopt as the union line on this burning issue (no ambiguity intended):

“We denounce the destruction of human lives on our campus, deplore the half-dozen or more deaths of students and the injury of many others resulting from campus turmoil, while at the same time we denounce the destruction of human lives (American, Vietnamese, and other) being plotted on our campuses by an international conspiracy that reaches across many continents.

“We denounce radical students who would interfere with the rights of others to pursue their military training through the ROTC on campus, while at the same time we denounce military students who have joined in a conspiracy to take peaceful and tranquil students and send them to an early and violent death.

“We denounce blacks who would close a campus



and interfere with the rights of whites to go about obtaining their education, while at the same time we denounce whites who control the systematic miseducation of the blacks and, in the name of unionism (which has so often been synonymous with anti-black racism in America), are interfering with the rights of blacks to go about obtaining their education.

“We denounce students who are asking for separate dormitories for blacks, while at the same time we rise up to break down the illegal ghettos in our cities and demand that fair housing laws be enforced (for we are for law and order, and fair housing is a law).

SEPARATISM

“We denounce black students who would separate into clubs where whites are not welcome, and call for disbanding of such clubs, while at the same time we insist on the disbanding of Hillel, Newman Clubs, and Student Christian societies on the campuses.

“And, finally, what’s all this silly talk about amnesty? People who break the law should face the music. There must be no amnesty for black students

who keep whites out of a dormitory, or for white landlords who keep black tenants out of their buildings. Integrate them in the jails, black and white together, and throw in the city officials who have tolerated crime by allowing these two types of activities to flourish.

“There must be no amnesty for students who burn a building, nor for soldiers, generals, and civilian officials who burn (or order the burning of) a village. Arsonists all, they must be treated equally, even if we integrate them in one great trial.

“Every student who breaks a law, any law, must be tried in a court of law. Immediately tried, for he is entitled to a quick trial. But, wait. Let us make these the first trials after we have completed the great trial (for there must be no amnesty) of those who have violated the supreme law of this land, as written in the Constitution, by ordering to be waged an obviously illegal war. As soon as this latter trial is completed, I call to account these lawbreaking students.”

Professor Sagarin teaches sociology at City College.

UFCT moves against repression at QCC



Part of the picket line sponsored by the UFCT at Queensborough Community College on May 2.

The following motions were passed at an emergency meeting of the UFCT’s executive board convened on May 21 to discuss the crisis at Queensborough Community College.

• That the UFCT attorney take the Silberman case as a grievance before the BHE.

• That the UFCT support the effort of the Queensborough Concerned Faculty in its effort to have the BHE discipline President Schmeller for his flouting of faculty rights guaranteed by the by-laws. Also that the UFCT mount a campaign including a picket line before the BHE if there is no positive response from BHE

after June 1. Also, that if possible, the brief of the concerned faculty be printed in the forthcoming issue of Action.

• That if the BHE does not respond positively to the appeal of the Concerned Faculty, the UFCT pass a motion of censure against President Schmeller.

• That the UFCT establish a legal defense fund and that an appeal for funds be sent to both members and nonmembers.

• That the UFCT ask the AFT to set up a nationwide commission to hear witnesses and

to take testimony on the Queensborough situation.

• That the UFCT send a telegram to BHE protesting the summary dismissals and requesting the BHE not to cooperate with repressive investigations of faculty.

Contributions for the defense fund can be sent to the United Federation of College Teachers, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Solidarity?

(Continued from Page 8)

If the UFCT does emerge as a strong force for truly radical change in these matters and others, then what will be our relation to a unionism which in the main has acted to preserve the power relationships that have brought the country to its present state of crisis? To what extent will past favors and future ones, money and help given or to be given, or the general imperative of union solidarity, commit the UFCT to support—or even maintain discreet silence about—such policy?

Will we be able to send money to groups like the United Black Brothers of Ford Mahwah, who are severely critical of their local? As for that lady frequently referred to as our sister union, I say she is no lady and no kin of mine. But the UFCT shares its building with the UFT, and the very chairs we sit on at Executive Board meetings bear those endearing three letters on their backs. Trivial? Possibly. But the UFCT’s autonomy from UFT influence must be more than rhetorical, lest we, too, find ourselves become the protectors of the anachronistic.

—Barbara Koenig,
STATEN ISLAND CC

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Who runs our universities?

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Who runs the nation's colleges and universities?

What kind of person serves on the governing boards of the institutions of higher education in the U.S.?

Two answers to these questions were given by competent authorities last month—one dealing with San Francisco State College, specifically, and the other, a remarkably similar reply, dealing with the national picture.

Lee McClatchey, president of the academic senate at San Francisco State, was outlining possible reasons for the student and teacher strikes at SFS before a House subcommittee here, when he touched on the composition of the board of trustees of the 18-campus California State College system.

"It's not too different from most governing boards," he said. "There's only one black man and no Mexican-Americans among the 20 members. Most of the members represent legal and business interests. Most are from the upper-middle or wealthy classes." Members of the board, he noted, are appointed by Governor Reagan "strictly at his whim" and serve 8-year terms.

Asked by Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) if it wouldn't be helpful to have representatives of other ethnic groups such as blacks and Mexican-Americans on the board because of California's high population of these minority groups, McClatchey said, "Absolutely. We need more of them in the student bodies and faculties, too."

Earlier, the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, N.J., in cooperation with the American Association for Higher Education and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, did a survey of the makeup of governing boards in the entire country.

Their conclusion, as reported by the New York Times, was that "The men who govern the nation's colleges and universities are predominantly white, wealthy Protestants whose politics lean to conservative Republicanism."

"They take a considerably more limited view of academic freedom than most faculty members, and their background reading on higher education is scanty. Their views and attitudes, which have been severely criticized by students, can be expected to be in growing conflict with those of many faculty members."

The Times reported that a composite profile of board members shows that fewer than 2 percent are black, and fewer than 4 percent Jewish. More than half have annual incomes above \$30,000 and most come from business executive posts, with others frequently having backgrounds in medicine, law and education. Fifty-eight percent identify themselves as Republicans. Only 15 percent describe their philosophies as "liberal."

The trustees "generally favor a hierarchical system in which decisions are made at the top and passed down," the study concluded. Substantial numbers of the trustees felt that the administration should control content of college newspapers and that it was reasonable to require loyalty oaths from faculty members.

The study—called "College and University Trustees: Their Backgrounds, Roles, and Educational Attitudes"—was disturbed over the fact that "trustees do not read—indeed have generally never even heard of—the more relevant higher education books and journals. Half of the business executives on the board moreover were found to agree that 'running a college is like running a business.'"

FUND IS ESTABLISHED FOR STRIKING HOSPITAL WORKERS IN CHARLESTON

CHARLESTON, S.C.

(The UFCT has established a fund in support of the Charleston, S.C., Hospital workers. Contributions should be sent to the UFCT, 260 Park Ave. South, New York City 10010.)

American Federation of Teachers President David Selden, Washington, D.C., led a delegation of teacher union members joining the Charleston Hospital workers' support march here on May 11.

The more than 7,000 marchers were headed by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and among those also on hand to show solidarity with the hospital strikers were William Kircher, AFL-CIO director of organization; Walter Reuther, president of UAW; and five members of Congress, including John Conyers (D-Mich.), winner of last year's AFT Stillman Award.

Four hundred workers at two of the city's six hospitals have been on strike for more than two months in an effort to secure bargaining rights for their union, Local 1199B of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union. They walked out after the two publicly supported hospitals, South Carolina Medical College Hospital and Charleston County Hospital, fired 11 union leaders and refused to agree to a bargaining-agent election.

A rebirth of the powerful labor-civil rights coalition has been seen in the Charleston effort, as

sometimes dissident labor and civil rights leaders have united in support of the strikers. Last month, 14 civil rights leaders released a joint statement asking Gov. Robert E. McNair of South Carolina and hospital officials to recognize the union. It was the first joint statement made by leaders of such groups as CORE, the Urban League, A. Philip Randolph Institute, NAACP, Negro American Labor Council, National Welfare Rights Organization, Council of Negro Women, and others, since the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., more than a year before.

"They've even jailed the prison chaplain," said Dave Prosten of the striking hospital workers' union here, when asked in late April for a report on developments in this city. "There are 246 people in jail now," Prosten said, "and there'll probably be 300 by the end of today."

In addition to Father Thomas Duffy of Charleston, chaplain of the county jail, who was arrested, the jail then also held the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Atlanta, Ga., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Leon Davis, New York City, president of Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union. They have since been released on bond.

SAME WORK, LOWER PAY

Service and maintenance workers and practical nurses and orderlies at two of the city's six hospitals have been on strike

since March 20, when 12 of their colleagues were fired for union activity. Local 1199B of the RWDSU—an offshoot of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union of New York City—has been trying to secure union recognition for the mostly black hospital workers, who have been paid an average of \$1.30 an hour, and generally less than whites who do identical work.

The two struck institutions are the 150-bed County Hospital, and the 500-bed Medical College Hospital, both publicly-supported. Each has been trying to get along with scabs, Prosten said, but indications are that fewer than half their beds are filled. "They hire new people who work for a few days, and then they come over here," Prosten reported from strike headquarters.

One of the six hospitals, St. Francis Xavier, has recognized the union to the extent of agreeing to a representation election for its workers.

COMPARED TO MEMPHIS

In the meantime, the 300 "will stay in jail until this thing is settled," Prosten reported. Coretta King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke at an April 29 rally, and led a march in Charleston the following day. She had earlier issued a strong statement, with 13 other black leaders, urging Gov. Robert McNair and hospital officials to recognize the union. Among the other signers were Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); Rep. Shirley Chis-

holm (D-N.Y.); Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind.; Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland, Ohio; AFL-CIO Vice-President A. Philip Randolph; NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins; and Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

MEMPHIS

The statement noted that "We cannot fail to recall that the right of workers to be represented by a union is precisely the same issue that led to tragedy in Memphis last year." It was while he was aiding striking sanitation workers in Memphis that Dr. King was assassinated last April.

Labor and community support for the strikers has been great, Posten said. Black students began a formal boycott of the schools on April 28, and many of the city's schoolchildren joined in a mass march several days before, when an estimated 5,000 persons demonstrated in support of the strikers. There are 1,000 members of the national guard on duty in the city, but apart from several beatings, no violence has yet occurred.

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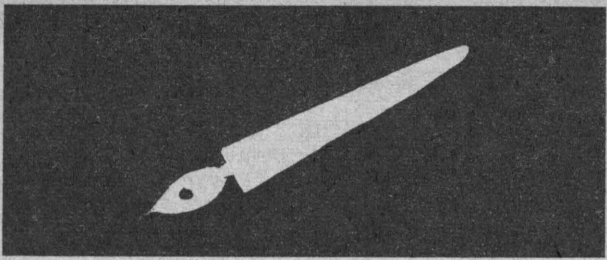
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Trade union solidarity

Dear Sir:

The UFCT has wisely taken action so that such a gesture as the controversial gift of \$100 to the UFT on behalf of our local could not again be made without the approval of the Executive Board. However, I continue to be troubled by the whole question of trade-union solidarity. I think that my conception of the union movement in general and the role of the UFCT in particular differs in certain specifics from more conventionally held definitions of unionism. My concern over the matter of trade-union solidarity has prompted me to write this letter, a letter which I hope will elicit responses and hopefully generate some kind of debate over the issues it raises.

The present student generation is not alone in its disenchantment with the conservatism of contemporary trade unionism. Many of us too grew up not when the unions were full of idealistic promise but in the years when most unions had already abdicated their social commitments. We have watched George Meany and other leaders of the AFL-CIO back Johnson's Vietnam policy and support other aggressive forays of American power that were heinous to us.

An article in the May 3 *New Republic* adds a sinister new development to this closeness between unionism and U.S. policy by revealing various kinds of massive government financing, overt and covert, accepted by the AFL-CIO for overseas labor activities. The title of the article, "Agent Meany," casts the union leader in an even grimmer role than his former ones.

Further, we have seen the union movement, as it consolidated its gains for its own workers, turn its back on the poor and the black. I am uncomfortable to find myself in agreement on this point with a recent bitter editorial attack by the notoriously anti-union *New York Times*. The work stoppage begun some weeks ago at the Ford plant at Mahwah, N.J.—principally by black and Puerto Rican workers—exposed the failure of the UAW local to represent its black workers, as other small, scattered breakaways by black workers' locals elsewhere recently have also done. But, in addition to this failure of unionism to actively fight for the black workers in its ranks, there is the even more disturbing failure of unionism to re-

Letters

cruit and organize with any great energy those who have been excluded by the rest of this rich and immensely favored society.

And for many of us to whom the real issue of the UFT-Ocean Hill-Brownsville conflict was the black community's aspiration for better schools, the pitiful destruction of Ocean Hill-Brownsville and the general betrayal of the black community by the new legislation (undoubtedly made possible by the UFT's collaboration with its "liberal" champion John Marchi) seems another sorry indication of unionism standing in opposition to the weak and needy when the chips are really down, when real power is at stake and its own privileges are jeopardized. In short, the unionism of our experience, with all its great power and wealth, stands as one of the mainstays of the status quo.

So, many of us who have been active in and loyal to the UFCT because we believe in its goals and its vision—and who feel our trust is already justified in the excellent set of demands the union is making for the lecturers, and the battle it is now waging to get those demands realized—many of us so committed to the UFCT find George Meany a most ugly bed-fellow and Albert Shanker just as offensive. Simple trade-union solidarity is not at all simple for us.

On the other hand, invoking non-problematic bread-and-butter issues is all too simple.

The UFCT, to its great credit, has, all along, recognized that its interests transcend, though they importantly include, pure business unionism—and that it must support larger social change as well as increased office space. It should hardly need be said that in a time when the whole country is being torn apart—and especially since the schools and colleges have become central battlegrounds and foci of everything that has gone wrong or been neglected for generations in the society at large—it is obviously impossible to be apolitical anywhere, but especially in education. The war touches our kids most closely, the black and Puerto Rican students are asking entry of us and questioning our admission policies in relation to avenues of social mobility out of the ghetto; the supposedly objective nature of what we choose to teach and how we teach it is rightly being challenged, etc., etc.

Trade unions that concerned themselves only with improving wages and hours of their workers but kept out or ignored—or even did not actively extend help to—the poor and the blacks were not apolitical, but were, rather, a force in perpetuating the oppression of the oppressed.

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This being the case, the crucial question is whether we in the UFCT will hold more or less tightly to an old order that has excluded so many and so much, and is now being called into question with an extremity proportionate to the time problems have been neglected and left to fester and grow. We are all defined, it seems to me, not by what we say about matters remote from us (the blacks were right, we have long ago discovered, in their contempt for Northern Liberals) but what we do when we are asked to share our own power, to open our own doors, to make changes in our own little worlds that may mean we have less and those without have more. This sharing applies to the disenfranchised younger members of faculties and departments, to students, and, in another way, to black and third-world students.

(Continued on Page 5)

Birds in the wind

By LEONARD QUART

*Soft bellies
Watch peacocks pirouetting
Placing them in gray cartons
To feel relief*

In a rash of sensational headlines and still pictures, solemn TV documentaries and pretentious think pieces, the media record and analyze youthful revolutionaries, drug busts, folk rock, campus violence, and the generation gap. Every politician, professor, and Kiwanis member feels it necessary to develop pat explanations for these both titillating and threatening phenomena. Hypotheses are projected by men on all ranges of the political and professional spectrum, neatly categorizing and explaining away the rationale behind the anger, frustration, and rebellion of "the kids." Interpretations proliferate (some more sophisticated than others): images of affluent sons rebelling against fathers, communists subverting and agitating among youth, nihilists destroying order and embracing chaos, and heroic militants struggling against establishment corruption for a more moral and socially just America.

These elaborate fictions are evoked and the public begins to feel relief. The rebellious youth—their pot-making, placard-carrying, flamboyantly dressed sons and daughters—can now be placed in boxes, a semblance of order peers through the chaos, and if the world is still in confusion, it can at least be more easily understood. These facile formulae entice me, too, for, since I teach these Oedipally ridden rebels, I also seek categories by which to grasp the whole disordered scene. However, to my chagrin I discover that when these categories confront reality, they splinter into a thousand contradictory insights and truths and I am left with a series of images

without much of a hypothesis to control them with.

This semester I plunged into the youth scene by working at Richmond College with a commune organized to study social change. The participants did not live together but they took a bloc of credits communally, inhabiting the same room and social universe. The history of the commune demands a more extensive piece to do it justice; however, there were insights that I gained and images that I can conjure up to superficially convey the experience.

APOLITICAL?

I began working with the commune under the illusion that the majority of students would be involved in some form of political action. I was quickly wrenched from this fantasy and discovered that the few SDS members in the group went unheeded in their political analyses and rhetoric. Jargon like "racist imperialism" or calls for a Marxist analysis of the budget cuts left most untouched or brought laughter in its wake. It was true that the majority of students in the commune were repelled by American policies and felt anger and resentment towards the political establishment. However, radical political feelings did not mean working actively on programs for political and social change or studying Marx, Mao, and Fanon. Although the students were alienated from American society, they were also disengaged from the political struggle. Emisaries from the New Left came and chastized them for their quietism, and the commune students listened and nodded sympathetically, but they did not leave the next day to organize the factories, or make common cause with their "black brothers."

For most of the students the major part of their energies was directed in-

ward. They constantly repeated the litany that they could do little in the outside world until they got their "heads straight." These products of non-affluent, authoritarian, lower-middle-class homes sought in the commune aid and, hopefully, some solutions for their confusion, isolation, and sense of fragmentation. One of the commune members described the communal spirit as a "weak and frightened bird" seeking wholeness and unity—a "common wind." The most significant goals for these students were personal ones, a sense of ease with themselves, greater warmth and spontaneity, a feeling of group solidarity and relatedness. The commune was a refuge from an educational system which blotted out these aspirations and operated according to impersonal pressures and meaningless abstractions. They wanted ideas to be felt—masks to be dropped—compassion to be expressed—a classroom and a college to become an authentic community.

CULTURAL REVOLUTIONARIES

The students in the commune were engaged in creating a cultural revolution. The term seems bold and overblown, and the students had not quite reached the point of fully articulating the vision of a new life or of creating a set of counter institutions. This was not a group of wild poets and bohemians but a number of community-college graduates who had begun to question the nature of their personal and social experience. On a visit to the school, Abbie Hoffman had condemned them for remaining in college and operating within the social order. It was true that they went to college and vaguely thought of jobs after graduation. Some still lived at home and, coexisting with their feelings of alienation, had numerous ties and loyalties to the conventional world. Their fragile egos still withered under criti-

cism and they continued to desire approval from those the Yuppies would have dismissed as the enemy. However, there were moments when they demonstrated a self-righteousness worthy of the Living Theater, condemning and criticizing the establishment out of a fount of moral purity. But they accompanied these feelings of self-righteousness with a courage and fearlessness which shamed their elders and transcended their own insecurities. There were luminous moments—where they stood with great dignity affirming their point of view in the face of all academic and political authority.

In an inchoate way they had expressed the alienation and despair that most Americans feel and repress in private moments of silence and unwanted revelation. They had begun to question and partially reject such American verities as status, security, patriotism, electoral politics, and a life where present gratification was deferred and sacrificed to future success. They were exploring new life styles and values—from using drugs to participating in encounter groups. These explorations were often superficial and lacking in continuity, for the students had difficulty in following up on initial enthusiasms. However, a choice had been made and even if many of the commune students entered the middle class, a small revolution had already occurred for most, and their private and public worlds would never be the same again.

In examining what I have written, I realize I have also been guilty of flattening out and categorizing what defies clear definition. But I am hopeful that my account captures more of the complexity of a phenomena which eludes simplification.

Leonard Quart teaches history at Richmond College.