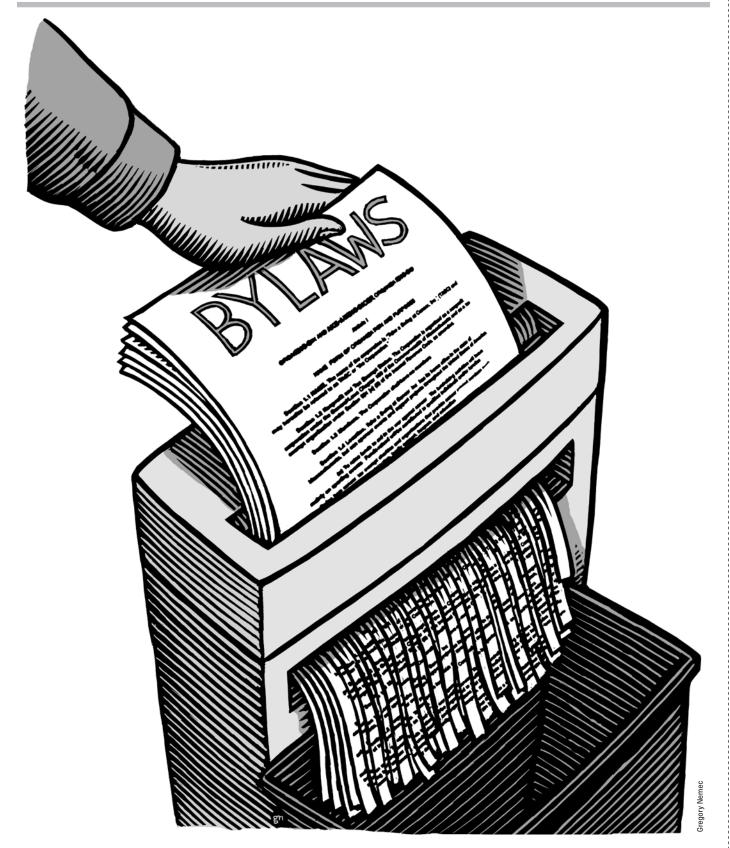
NEWSPAPER OF THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF CONGRESS / CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK



JUNE 2011



CUNY central administration has proposed extensive revisions to the University's Bylaws, changes that would undermine the rights of CUNY faculty and staff. A vote on the measure by the Board of Trustees, originally scheduled for June 27, was postponed in response to PSC protest; details inside.



it's time to act Eight PSC members reflect on why they got involved.

PAGE 10

ADJUNCT RIGHTS

Unemployment benefits & you

While current State law makes it hard for adjuncts to receive unemployment compensation during the summer, it is still possible. Find out what you need to know.



MAY 5

PSC members march & rally against austerity

A thousand faculty, staff and students demonstrated to oppose budget cuts and demand a contract that allows those who work at CUNY to provide what students need. PAGE 3



KUSHNER CONTROVERSY

Honor, degrees and the **Board of Trustees**

When CUNY trustees blocked John Jay College from awarding an honorary degree to playwright Tony Kushner, there was a storm of protest that reached far beyond CUNY.

RF contract ratified

PSC members employed by the CUNY Research Foundation (RF-CUNY) at New York City Tech, LaGuardia Community College, and the Graduate Center voted to ratify their first-ever union contracts by a vote of 177 to 0. The votes were counted and results certified by the American Arbitration Association on May 23. RF-CUNY's Board of Directors was expected to cast a similar vote of approval for the new agreements as Clarion went to press in the last days of May. The contract would then take effect June 1, when the first 2% wage increase is scheduled. In addition to wages, the agreement covers health insurance, arbitration and grievance procedures, and other terms and conditions of employment for RF workers at the three campuses. RF employees at the three schools will be included in a single union chapter.

MEC campus update

This year the administration at Medgar Evers College (MEC) has been the target of criticism from faculty and staff (see Clarion, January 2011), often concerning its friction with MEC's community-oriented academic centers. The Center for NuLeadership on Urban Solutions, which combines policy work on criminal justice issues with support for former offenders seeking access to college, was finally forced to leave MEC in March, after a longrunning dispute about its status on campus (Clarion, Summer 2010), and has relocated to offices in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Another sore point at MEC has been complaints from union members about a lack of due process. The administration has now ended the practice of using security guards to deliver letters of non-reappointment to faculty members at their classrooms. "They are beginning to meet their responsibilities," said PSC Chapter Chair Clinton Crawford. But "until they change the present climate" overall, Crawford said, the school will not see real improvement. MEC still has the most union grievances of any CUNY campus.

Five hundred MEC students have signed a petition asking President William Pollard for a public meeting to address a list of 31 questions on issues of financial transparency, college priorities and community relations. On May 16, student organizers took their concerns to a governance meeting in the college's main auditorium. Campus security personnel initially threatened them with a summons for "unlawful assembly" when they entered the auditorium, but backed off after intervention by former Congressmember Major Owens.

→ ON THE WEB:

More about MEC: tinyurl.com/ClarionMEC

City council hears CUNY voices

By PETER HOGNESS

When CUNY students began describing how their education has been stalled by lack of available classes, they got Cleveland Beckett's

Beckett, chief of staff for Councilmember Larry Seabrook, met with the students as part of the PSC's annual "CUNY at the Council" effort on May 11, a day of grassroots lobbying on the City budget. After talking for a while about budget numbers, students and PSC members began to talk about the impact of budget cuts in more personal terms.

STALLED PROGRESS

Students explained that a lack of sections for required classes often means they can't take the courses they need to move forward in their major or otherwise progress toward their degrees. Some get discour-

Students urge more funding

A reminder

austerity

aged and drop out rather than take electives they don't need. Delays in availability of key courses can also lead to students' TAP assistance running out before they graduate.

David Rosenberg, a biology major at Brooklyn College, told Beckett that **that** he had been unable to get a required chemistry course in either the Fall or is not Spring semesters. Instead, inevitable he will take the class this

summer and pay \$1,200 out of his own pocket, since his financial aid cannot be used for summer study.

"That's the first time I heard about this reality," said Beckett. "You brought it home," he told Rosenberg at the end of the meeting. "It's shocking to hear that this is happening to students."

Rosenberg took the opportunity to explain to Beckett that TAP money is now available only to students taking at least 15 credit hours per semester, a difficult burden for stu-

dents, many who have to work. When Beckett asked why the State would adopt this policy, Rosenberg responded that it was essentially a backdoor way for Albany to cut spending for financial aid.

Beckett shook his head again. "It's hard to have a learned community when you're cutting the safety net out from under people," he said.

"Austerity isn't inevitable," PSC member Eileen Moran told Beckett. "It's a political choice, and I hope vou will fight for these kids."

Mayor Michael Bloomberg's bud-

get proposal would create a \$52.6 million hole in CUNY's community college operating budget. The six community colleges would receive about \$26.7 million less in total, or approximately 10% less than the budget adopted last July, for the current fiscal year. Along with this direct funding decrease, the mayor's proposal fails to fund another \$25.9 million in mandatory expense increases - rising costs due to inflation, enrollment growth and programmatic expansion. For example, Bloomberg's budget authorizes funding for CUNY's new community college, but cuts the overall base budget for existing community colleges.

The mayor proposes slashing funding for a number of Councilsupported programs to zero, including the Vallone Scholarships, Safety Net financial aid program, Black Male Initiative, Murphy Institute for Worker Education, Center for Puerto Rican Studies, the Dominican Studies Institute, and Creative Arts Team. The PSC is urging the Council to restore \$19.6 million to fund these programs to 2009 levels.

LOOPHOLES

Meanwhile the State's adopted budget cuts base aid for CUNY community colleges by \$12.3 million. The PSC is pushing for the City to make up for this lost aid, and for City support for the community colleges' capital budget.

Forty-six percent of students at CUNY community colleges come from households with annual incomes of \$20,000 or less. Students of color make up 81% of the student body, while 38% speak a native language other than English.

"It's unfair for New York to expect its most vulnerable students to pick up the tab on lower taxes for the wealthy," said PSC First Vice President Steve London. "The mayor and the City Council should support closing hedge fund tax loopholes and increasing top marginal personal income tax rates to fund CUNY, so that students can get the education they deserve. The choice is clear: close tax loopholes on the hedge funds or deny opportunity to the City's hardestworking students."



QCC students meet with City Councilmember Peter Koo (R-Flushing) during "CUNY at the Council" day on May 11. Sitting in the far-right corner is PSC Secretary Arthurine DeSola.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORWRITE TO: CLARION/PSC, 61 BROADWAY, 15TH FLOOR, NEW YORK, NY 10006. E-MAIL: PHOGNESS@PSCMAIL.ORG. FAX: (212) 302-7815.

Real solution requires real collaboration

Regarding "Fake Solution to a Real Problem" (Clarion, May 2011), on the proposed changes in general

The Chancellery's solution does represent an unacceptable incursion into faculty control over the curriculum. It possesses familiar features: absurd deadlines, task forces including a few selected rather than elected faculty, online surveys to give a veneer of consultation, disguising the reality of a predetermined policy, and administrative intransigence.

However, this article's authors give only a cursory hand wave, in two paragraphs, to the very real problems of transfer and the treatment of community college

Write to Clarion

Letters may be on any topic, but should be less than 200 words and are subject to editing.

students that have bedeviled this university for years. The article cites opposition from five senior college governance bodies. No community college bodies are mentioned. (One community college recently took a similar position, but with 8 nays and 17 abstentions.) Yet, despite the pervasive disrespect experienced over the years by CUNY community colleges and their students, without those transferring students the senior colleges might have to shut up shop. By some estimates, half of the student bodies at some senior colleges are made up of transfer students.

The solution to this serious problem of transfer cannot rely on old measures somehow made new again. Real collaboration must occur. For that to happen, an attitude transformation would help.

Lenore Beaky LaGuardia Community College (emerita)

'Public' radio?

Just so we know who our friends

I heard a reporter on the 5:00 news on WNYC-AM, on May 5, say that lobbying in Albany is at an all-time high - and what was his second of two examples? That's right, the teachers' union! I couldn't believe it.

I believe there is a difference between advocacy by a membership organization of workers and lobby ing by a multinational, multibilliondollar corporation. And as a news broadcast organization claiming to need your membership dollars to support an alternative to for-profit journalism, WNYC/NPR should recognize this.

If not, then I have to wonder why "public" radio is sounding like Fox

Richard Faust

RISING REVENUES

Although the mayor has so far refused to support such fair-tax measures that would raise additional revenue, City tax revenue is nonetheless projected to be \$2 billion higher than originally estimated for the remainder of fiscal year 2011 and 2012.

"It's unconscionable that the Mayor would subject New York's community college students to such cuts at a time when City revenues are growing and there are fairer ways of balancing the budget," PSC President Barbara Bowen said.

The City's budget deadline is July 1. You can send a message to your councilmember at psc-cuny. org/get-involved/act-now.

Rally against austerity

By PETER HOGNESS

In the PSC's largest protest of the year, faculty, staff and students marched from City Hall to Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) on May 5 to oppose cuts to CUNY's budget and demand a union contract that allows university faculty and staff to do their best work for students. After a rally at City Hall, 700 people marched to BMCC, where the crowd grew to about a thousand.

"We're rallying to puncture the myth of economic austerity used by Albany and City Hall to justify massive budget cuts," said PSC President Barbara Bowen as she addressed the protesters at City Hall. "If we let politicians continue to say 'We're broke,' with one side of their mouths while they promise tax breaks for the rich with the other, millions of ordinary New Yorkers will pay the price."

SLASHED

Albany has cut CUNY by \$107 million and Mayor Michael Bloomberg has proposed another \$52.6 million in direct aid reductions and unfunded expense increases for community colleges. At the same time, New York's wealthy are scheduled to receive \$5 billion in tax breaks.

Union members at the rally said that recent cuts and years of underfunding have led to overcrowded classrooms, fewer full-time faculty lines, less time for student mentoring and guidance, abuse of hardworking but underpaid adjuncts, and reliance on tuition instead of public investment. Improvements on the job, they said, are needed to improve education

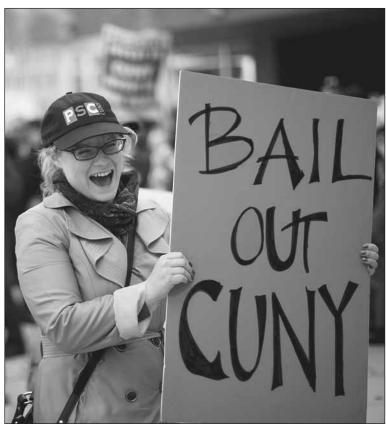
"We worry about our students. They need our help, they don't need cuts," said Ximena Gallardo, an associate professor from LaGuardia Community College who came with about 20 colleagues from her department. "The 'shadow workload,' as we call it, is getting really tough,' Gallardo added. "There's growing pressure to do more committee work, administrative work. That means that I constantly have to choose between my life and my students - so of course the rest of my life goes down the drain.'

SWOLLEN CLASSES

"At Queensborough, the cap in my writing classes is 32 to 33 students - in a basic writing class!" said an adjunct who has taught in the CUNY system for more than 25 years. With classes that large, she said, it's a difficult struggle to give each student the attention he or she deserves.

"There has been a pervasive erosion of resources at CUNY," said Margaret Tabb, chair of the English department at John Jay College. "Finances have plunged, for my

1,000 people at PSC protest



A popular sentiment at the May 5 demonstration.

department and the college since I became chair. I feel strongly that the union is one of the few groups that is speaking up for us."

"We need a good contract," agreed Ken Levinson, a professor of developmental skills who has worked at BMCC for more than 20 years. "We are tired of attacks on educators. Give us the support we need to do our jobs." The idea

that cuts are required to make up a budget shortfall is a fiction, Levinson told Clarion: "There's a lot of money around, and it should be going to public higher education."

Imtiaz Shafique, a business administration student at to fight for it."

raised, then I'll know I can finish my studies and do something for American society."

had were adjuncts, and it pains me investment."

"We are here today because we are determined - faculty, staff and students together - to resist the cheapening of a CUNY education," concluded PSC President Bowen. "That cheapening happens every time funds are cut and we are forced to make due with fewer books in the libraries, older equipment in the labs, inadequate numbers of full-time faculty, scandalous

conditions for part-time faculty, over-sized classes, and spiraling tuition costs for students. We will not accept austerity for our students, for CUNY or for ourselves. Another university is pos-

For a fair

contract,

& full

funding

BMCC, said the rally was the first protest he had ever attended. "I'm really worried that the tuition is going up," he told Clarion. Originally from Bangladesh, Shafique said a tuition hike would be a roadblock for New York City's new arrivals. "So many immigrants, when they come new to this city, they go to CUNY. If the CUNY budget is

Students also spoke out about their teachers' working conditions. "Many of the best professors I have to know that they don't get the pay and respect they warrant," said Hunter student Christina Chaise, who spoke to the rally at City Hall (see page 9). "We need more public

sible, and we are prepared



PSC members march from City Hall to BMCC on May 5.

'I want my CUNY back'

At the PSC's May 5 rally, Scott Dexter, union chapter chair at Brooklyn College, seemed to speak for many of those who attended when he addressed the crowd.

I want my CUNY back.

When I came here to teach in 1998, fresh out of grad school, fresh out of the Midwest, I was deeply inspired to become part of this institution, working with faculty and staff dedicated to nurturing workingclass people in this city. I quickly learned that CUNY is not easy, that its mission is always threatened. And I learned how to survive, more or less, in an atmosphere that always feels just a little toxic.

But this week I find myself more enraged and concerned about CUNY's possible future than I have been at any point in the past 13 years. Our mission, our students and our students' futures are being directly assaulted by the very people who are supposed to be the stewards of this university and the hope it represents.

CRUMBLING

Our governor and our mayor are hell-bent on coddling the wealthiest New Yorkers, even as CUNY and other structures that create new economic opportunity are crumbling before their eyes. Our chancellor's response to the starvation of CUNY is to try to rip control over academic policy away from faculty and give it to his merry band of bureaucrats....Don't even get me started about our trustees.

I want my CUNY back, and that's why I'm here right now. We need a banner under which all of us who want CUNY restored can rally, and that banner is the PSC's banner.

The PSC demands that we find new and better ways to value the professional staff, like our colleagues who help students navigate mind-numbing financial aid regulations [so] students can focus on their studies. My CUNY, our CUNY, needs a way for Higher Education Officers to advance.

WHAT WE NEED

The PSC demands that the university reciprocate the dedication of our contingent faculty to our students by paying them equitably and offering job security for long serving adjuncts. Our CUNY needs equity for adjuncts.

The PSC demands that the university reduce the teaching loads of the full-time faculty so that we can focus on the kind of effective pedagogy that we know is key to our students' success. My CUNY, our CUNY, needs teaching loads that support our mission.

We are here today because we feel the urgent need to defend our students and to defend the very real meaning of CUNY to this city. We are here because we know this has to be a shared struggle, that our students' success depends on our success. We are here because we want our CUNY back. So let's go take it back.

Gen ed changes: debate sharpens

By JOHN TARLETON

CUNY central administration's plan to overhaul general education requirements has sparked months of debate, and this spring 80th Street promised that a revised proposal would reflect concerns raised in faculty discussion. But when CUNY released a revised version of the General Education initiative in mid-May, faculty governance leaders expressed bitter disappointment.

"The University Faculty Senate has devoted countless hours towards negotiation with Vice Chancellor Alexandra Logue, was promised by the Chancellor that its recommendations would be seriously considered, and now sees its labors as trivialized and a waste of time," said UFS Chair Sandi Cooper. As Clarion went to press, Cooper said that some UFS leaders were advocating a motion of no confidence.

"Transparency and consultation have been the hallmark of the General Education initiative and the need for a rational transfer policy," CUNY spokesperson Michael Arena replied via e-mail to Clarion. "Vice Chancellor Logue's campus by campus 'listening tour' included many dozens of meetings with hundreds of faculty, deans, students and administrators," said Arena, resulting in "substantive changes" to the proposal.

"The resolution provides colleges with a high level of flexibility, maintains academic standards and ensures students can transfer without loss of time or credits," Arena added.

FACULTY SENATE

Discussion of general education and transfer issues was the focus of this year's UFS Spring Conference, where faculty expressed strong concerns that the plan could undermine education at CUNY and weaken the faculty's role.

CUNY's revised proposal, scheduled for a vote at the Board of Trustees meeting on June 27, follows the same basic approach as the prior version. All CUNY undergraduates would be required to complete a 30-credit "Common Core" in order to graduate with an associate's or baccalaureate degree. Transfer students could not be required to take more than 6 to 12 additional general education credits beyond the Common Core, depending on how many credits a student transfers with and whether a student has received an associate's degree. Another provision would require all undergraduate courses taken for credit at CUNY colleges to be accepted for credit at all other CUNY colleges.

In a significant shift of authority, courses in a college's Common Core would be required to meet certain university-wide criteria, and the University Office of Academic Affairs would have the power to accept or reject a course as being in compliance. Recommendations for those criteria would be made by a task force appointed by the chancellor, in a report due December 1 of this year.

UFS says its views dismissed



Professor Manfred Philipp of Lehman says basic administrative measures could alleviate many transfer problems.

credits

also at

Francisco Soto, a professor of Spanish and Latin American literature at CSL was one of a half-dozen panelists who spoke at the UFS conference, held at John Jay College on

Soto noted that CSI had spent more than a decade strengthening its general education requirements, and said he worried that CU-

NY's proposed changes would unravel CSI faculty's efforts to provide students with a strong, challenging liberal arts education. "It's our responsibility to open the world to them," Soto

Panelist Pamela Mills, a proissue fessor of physical chemistry at Hunter, expressed similar concerns, saying that the proposal would mean "a reduction in standards."

The shift in authority from college faculty to CUNY central administration has been a major concern of the plan's critics. The UFS conference, in fact, was titled, General Education & Faculty Authority: CUNY's *Future.* "These proposed changes are symptomatic of the bureaucratization and the corporatization of the University," commented Joshua Wilner, a professor of English and comparative literature at City College and the panel's moderator.

CART BEFORE HORSE

Philip Belcastro, a panelist who is chair of BMCC's Faculty Senate, criticized the report that CUNY administration issued last October, "Improving Student Transfer at CUNY," for its focus on the number of students graduating with an "excess" of credits above the 120 required for a baccalaureate degree. Belcastro noted that students' interests often evolve during their time in college and that their majors change as well. To assume that extra credits are wasted credits, he said, was "putting the cart before the horse."

Some faculty have argued that the administration has tended to conflate issues around general edu-

cation with the separate question of acceptance of transfer credits for a course prerequisite or requirements for a major. "There's a significant difference between a problem with transfers and with general education requirements," CSI's Soto told the UFS conference.

"Let's get discipline councils up and moving," urged Belcas-Accepting tro. "That's a real solution," he said, to the problem of transfer transfer credits being rejected by senior colleges. In a similar vein, Franfor majors cisco Fernandez, a panelist who chairs the Natural Sciences Department at Hostos Community Col-

> lege, highlighted the importance of articulation agreements between community and senior colleges.

> The proposal as issued in May, however, rejects the use of discipline councils - CUNY-wide groups of department chairs in a given field - in favor of new bodies selected by CU-NY central administration. In order that "clear pathways be created for the largest transfer majors," the plan states, the chancellor "will convene relevant disciplinary committees consisting predominantly of faculty." By May 1 of next year, these new bodies are to recommend no fewer than three and no more than six courses as "entry-level courses for beginning the major, or as prerequisites for such courses."

The UFS's Cooper criticized the avoidance of the discipline councils. "Vice Chancellor Logue rejects their use because, she claims, community college faculty say these are dominated by senior college faculty and do not represent their work,' Cooper told Clarion. But "this allegation has been made once by one group," Cooper said, while in the past four months eight other discipline councils have met with no such issues. "There is no sign that the central administration is willing to consult these representative groups, and it appears to distrust

anything organized by the faculty itself," Cooper said.

Logue did not respond to a Clarion request for comment on the discipline councils.

DISCIPLINE COUNCILS

BMCC's Belcastro, who chairs the discipline council in health education, noted that the Board of Trustees resolution creating the discipline councils in 1993 charged them with "identify[ing] ways in which each field can be strengthened across the University in areas such as curriculum [and] program development." By excluding the councils "from arguably one of the most extensive curricular modifications in recent memory," Belcastro said, the Board would "concede that its commitment to faculty and faculty governing bodies is pro forma."

Faculty governance bodies at nine of the eleven senior colleges have passed resolutions opposing the administration's plan. At the community college level, only QCC has acted similarly. On May 10, the school's Academic Senate approved a resolution opposing the linkage of transfer with general education curricula while sidestepping the issue of how many credits should be devoted to general education. The vote was yes: 33, no: 8 and 17 abstentions.

Vice-Chair Peter Bales was among those who abstained. Bales told Clarion that while he did not favor CUNY's approach to the transfer problem, he thought it was preferable to the continued status quo.

"There's nothing else on the horizon as far as senior colleges not continuing to disrespect our courses and our students," Bales said. "It seems unfortunate that we have to strip individual colleges of



Professor Peter Bales of QCC: Disrespect of CC's & their students must end.

their right to set their own course requirements."

Emily Tai, chair of the QCC Academic Senate Steering Committee, supported the resolution. At the UFS conference, Tai said she was concerned that the proposed changes would encourage more community college students to transfer before completing their associate's degrees. This is not in most students' interest, she said, since those who complete their associate's degree before transferring to a senior college are more likely

to earn a four-year degree as well.

"If we have them [students] for the full 60 credits," Tai said, "we can help them prepare for the more competitive environment of a senior college."

On the senior college side, Scott Dexter, professor of computer science and director of Brooklyn College's Core Curriculum, told Clarion that CUNY's plan "will severely weaken colleges' ability to evaluate students' readiness for advanced or specialized study, and limit the extent to which we can prepare students for the unpredictable demands of professional life."

The UFS conference also heard from several members of the University Student Senate (USS), all of whom spoke in favor of CUNY's proposal, though the USS as a whole has not voted on the matter. Students quoted in a May 20 New York Times story expressed either support or mixed feelings about the plan.

But Manfred Philipp, former chair of the Chemistry Department at Lehman College and former chair of the UFS, argues that CUNY has only recently begun to implement basic administrative measures that would have a big impact on transfer problems.

BETTER ADVISEMENT

For years, senior college faculty have been unable to access the prior college records of CUNY transfer students – something that has not been a problem for transfers from non-CUNY schools. This has made it much harder to offer useful guidance, Philipp told Clarion. CUNY did recently institute a university-wide system for exchanging students' records, but Philipp said that it has been poorly publicized.

He added that community college students could receive much better advice on which prerequisite courses to take for a given degree path if the University upgraded its Transfer Information and Programming Planning System, or TIPPS. "It's blindingly obvious how they could fix this [transfer] problem and they have no interest doing it," Philipp said. "It leads me to question what is going on here."

Angela Anselmo, director of the SEEK Program at Baruch, told Clarion that mentoring and early outreach to prospective transfer students starting from their first semester at a community college can make an enormous difference. "If you put money in advisement, you don't have to tweak curriculum," Anselmo said. But to provide this kind of support to every student who needs it, she noted, would require a large infusion of new resources for CUNY.

→ ON THE WEB:

Op-ed from the May *Clarion*: tinyurl.com/GenEd-OpEd

CUNY proposal and other info: cuny.edu/pathways

UFS resources on general ed: cunvufs.ora/A

Trustees say nay, then OK, to Kushner

By PETER HOGNESS

On May 2, when the CUNY Board of Trustees blocked John Jay College from awarding playwright Tony Kushner an honorary degree, everyone present seemed surprised. The rest of the board did not seem to expect that trustee Jeffrey Wiesenfeld would move against it, and Wiesenfeld seemed surprised when he prevailed.

The trustees also seemed surprised that their action drew such intense and widespread protest – but they should not have been.

THE BOARD

"What sent shockwaves around the University and beyond was not so much what Mr. Wiesenfeld said, but the silence of the other trustees," said PSC President Barbara Bowen. "That not one trustee spoke up – and that not one seemed to understand how their decision violated basic standards of academic discourse and respect for faculty – suggests that there are problems with the current selection process for trustees. That process needs to be reformed to ensure that CUNY has trustees with real knowledge of academia, rather than a board filled largely with political appointees."

John Jay's Faculty Senate and the college's president had proposed Kushner on the unanimous recommendation of its honorary degree committee. The letter nominating Kushner cited him as one of the nation's "leading literary figures." It noted his Pulitzer Prize, Tony Awards, and other honors, and gave an extended account of his work – Angels in America, his other plays, his essays and more. It also described a 2010 lecture he gave at John Jay:

"What made the strongest impression...was Mr. Kushner's response to the students in the audience. During the official Q&A, he listened attentively and provided patient and detailed answers to the students' questions. At the conclusion of the event, [he] spent a long time talking to each student about his or her major and ambitions. We practically had to drag him out of the theater." "Tho "No honor among trustees," faculty say to each student about his or her major and ambitions. We practically had to istended."

But when Kushner's name came before the trustees on a list of 22 honorary degree candidates, Wiesenfeld objected, citing what he presented as Kushner's position on Israel and Palestine.

Wiesenfeld described three statements from Kushner he had found on the Internet. One, he said, criticized the Israeli army's treatment of Palestinians as illegal; another held that "ethnic cleansing" had occurred during the establishment of Israel; while another held that founding a Jewish religious state had been a mistake. "I think you get the idea. I don't want to bore you all with the details," Wiesenfeld told his fellow trustees. He declared that he would vote against a degree for the dramatist, "even if I am the lone dissenter." (In a subsequent

Wave of protest forces change

interview with the *Atlantic*, Wiesenfeld called Kushner "a Jewish anti-Semite.")

When the vote came, seven trustees supported awarding all the degrees, including Kushner's, while four - Carol Robles-Roman, Peter Pantaleo, Judah Gribetz and Charles Shorter – joined Wiesenfeld in voting no. But a majority of those voting was not enough; the motion required nine votes in favor, a majority of the 17 trustees who have a vote. In a hurried proceeding, Chairperson Benno Schmidt then proposed awarding all degrees except Kushner's, which was approved, and the trustees tabled consideration of Kushner's degree. Because John Jay's commencement would occur before the board's next meeting, and no trustee proposed scheduling another session, the college was effectively prevented from awarding the degree.

The next day, University Faculty Senate Chair Sandi Cooper, a non-voting member of the board, wrote to trustees and the chancellor objecting to Wiesenfeld's attack on Kushner as a distortion of the playwright's views. She urged the board's executive committee to meet and approve the tabled motion.

AT BRANDEIS

Cooper quoted from a letter that Kushner had written to the president of Brandeis in 2006, when he was similarly attacked over an honorary degree (one of 15 honorary degrees Kushner received before he was considered by CUNY). "I love Israel, but I am neither a Zionist nor an anti-Zionist," Kushner wrote. "Though I think nationalist solu-

"No honor among trustees," taculty say.

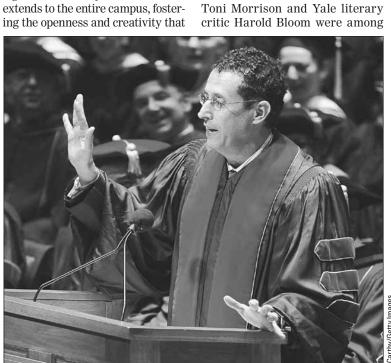
Though I think hationalist solutions to the problems of oppressed minorities are usually mistakes...I want a two-state solution to the crisis in the Middle East through courageous, honest peace talks supported

by the international community. In every interview and essay on the subject I've declared that Israel's existence must be defended, its borders secured and its people safe."

"As Kushner says," commented Cooper, his views involve "complicated thoughts not conducive to being understood in sound bites."

Kushner himself wrote to the trustees the next day, taking exception to what he called "a grotesque caricature of my political beliefs... concocted out of three carefully cropped, contextless quotes" presented by Wiesenfeld. He was even more critical of the board as a whole, for acting without any effort to seek his response to this attack. "I'm not a difficult person to find," Kushner wrote. (Kushner's letter is online at tinyurl.com/KushnerBoT.)

Reaction to the board's action was swift and widespread. Ellen Schrecker, a professor of history at Yeshiva University and a scholar of academic freedom in the McCarthy era, wrote to the trustees that she would have to return her own honorary degree from CUNY ("the greatest honor I have ever received") if the board's violation of academic freedom was allowed to stand. Academic freedom, Schrecker wrote, "is more than just the protection of the teaching, research, and public activities of college and university teachers. It also extends to the entire campus, fostering the openness and creativity that



Above, playwright Tony Kushner receives an honorary degree from Julliard in 2010.

allow American higher education to flourish." Other recipients of CUNY honorary degrees, including writers Barbara Ehrenreich and Michael Cunningham, and civil rights attorney Sharon Minter, soon said that they would also return their degrees.

"The trustees' craven decision is an offense against open intellectual discussion and freedom of thought," said PSC President Barbara Bowen. "It dishonors our University, and the values for which we ought to stand." Bowen called on the board to reverse itself as soon as possible. The trustees' vote was based on "a one-sided attack that distorts Kushner's views beyond recognition," she added, an action that was "especially perverse in light of Kushner's long history of public defense of CUNY." More than 600 PSC members responded by sending their own letters of protest via the union's website.

FOR OPEN DEBATE

"I can't think of a dumber academic decision," wrote former New York City Mayor Ed Koch, whose honorary degree the trustees had voted to approve. As for Kushner's criticisms of Israel, he said, "What if I were denied an honorary degree because of my strong support for that state?"

The president of the PEN American Center, Kwame Anthony Appiah, and the director of its Freedom

the hundreds of other statements of protest. Seventy-five CUNY distinguished professors sent a joint letter of their own (see page 9), as did nearly 100 faculty members at Columbia and 34 faculty members at the CUNY School of Law. A Facebook page launched by CUNY faculty and a blog started by the Graduate Center's *Advocate* emerged as online organizing centers, highlighting particularly eloquent protests and encouraging new ones.

to Write program, Larry Siems,

urged the trustees to reconsider, in

the interest of "free and open debate

in the university community, and in

the country as a whole." Meanwhile

Elissa Bemporad of Queens College,

where she holds the Jerry and Wil-

liam Ungar Assistant Professorship

in East European Jewish History

and the Holocaust, wrote from Je-

rusalem that "this decision has

damaged CUNY's reputation, both

Letters from Nobel Prize winner

nationally and internationally."

On May 5, the trustees issued a statement that their action "should not be interpreted as reflecting on Mr. Kushner's accomplishments." The protests only grew louder. By May 6 it was too much, and Schmidt announced that the trustees' executive committee would convene on May 9 with a single item on the agenda. In a short meeting that day, the honorary degree for Kushner was approved. "I am very, very grateful to everyone who protested," Kushner told the Graduate Center's *Advocate*. "I realize that it has a lot to do with things that are bigger than me," he added.

May 5 was the date of both major PSC rally (see page 3) and a the opening of Kushner's latest play, The Intelligent Homosexual's Guide to Capitalism and Socialism with a Key to the Scriptures. A group of PSC members led by Hunter adjunct Sándor John went to the Pub-

lic Theater after the rally to show their support, with signs such as, "CUNY Faculty & Students Honor Tony Kushner." Kushner stopped by to thank them. In a later interview on *Democracy Now* he expressed deep appreciation to the PSC for the role it had played throughout.

In his own letter to the trustees, Ed Koch had gone beyond urging that Kushner's degree be granted. "I consider Mr. Wiesenfeld's action so outrageous as to be an abuse of power on his part requiring his resignation or removal from the Board of Trustees," the former mayor wrote. (In an interview earlier that same week, Wiesenfeld had told the *Jewish Press*, "If the city of New York were a person, who would it be? It would be Ed Koch.")

Koch was joined in this stance by *The New York Times*, which published an editorial calling for Wiesenfeld's resignation. The PSC took the same position. "Of course Mr. Wiesenfeld has the right to freely express his views at board meetings, however misleading and offensive his statements may be," PSC President Bowen said. "The union is calling for his resignation not because of the positions he expresses, but because he consistently abuses his position as trustee."

The union cited Wiesenfeld's repeated attempts to limit academic freedom at CUNY, including denouncing faculty conducting an antiwar teach-in as "seditious," interfering in the selection of a department chair, and seeking the dismissal of a PSC member Kristofer Petersen-Overton, an adjunct faculty member at Brooklyn College, this spring (see coverage in the March 2011 *Clarion*) – in each case because of his disagreement with their political views.

REFORM

The more fundamental issue, the union said, was the need to reform the Board of Trustees as a whole. "The country's most important urban public university deserves better than a board packed with political appointees chosen without regard for their understanding or even commitment to public higher education," wrote the PSC's Bowen in a May 12 letter in *The New York Times*. "Let this embarrassing episode be the occasion for a rethinking of the process through which CUNY trustees are chosen."

Legislation has been introduced in Albany to create a new selection process, lead by a blue-ribbon commission that would screen candidates for their appropriateness for an academic governing board.

→ ON THE WEB:

Kushner's letter to trustees: tinyurl.com/KushnerBoT

Wiesenfeld remarks: tinyurl.com/JW-vs-TK

PSC views & media links: tinyurl.com/PSCviews

Faculty and staff rights at risk in

By PETER HOGNESS

CUNY Central Administration has proposed an extensive series of amendments to the University's Bylaws. A vote on the changes was originally scheduled for the trustees' June 27 meeting. That vote has now been postponed; it remains to be seen whether the administration will alter the proposal itself.

While the administration has portrayed this package of changes as largely technical, they would in fact undermine the rights of CUNY faculty and staff in dozens of ways, both large and small. The proposed changes attack longstanding rights and protections of faculty and staff

Deleting job descriptions & retrenchment rules

and attempt to increase the power of college presidents, the chancellor and trustees. Many of the proposed amendments appear intended to reverse victories won by the PSC through the grievance procedure.

NO QUALIFICATIONS?

The amendments would eliminate position descriptions and qualifications for most jobs in the PSC bargaining unit. The union contract covers only titles; it does not detail functions of employees. The PSC has been able to ensure the integrity of the titles for both faculty and staff by referring to the descriptions of the duties and qualifications of those positions contained in the Bylaws.

The deletion of position descriptions and qualifications appears intended to eliminate the union's ability to protect the integrity of job titles. It would open the door for administrators to try and save money by telling employees to do work that should be part of a higher-paid position, or to harass an employee by assigning duties that have nothing to do with the job she or he was

Approval of these changes would mean no written standards for all positions in the Higher Education Officer and College Laboratory Technician series, all adjunct faculty positions, Lecturers, Distinguished Lecturers, all Visiting Positions, Continuing Education Teachers, Research Associates and many more, thanks to the deletion of Articles 11.10-11.35 and 11.38-11.45 and 11.44-11.46. This change would undermine standards and accountability in the workplace at City University.

An equally serious threat comes from the proposed amendment to Article 6.1, which would create a number of new positions under the Instructional Staff employment

category, without any description of duties or qualifications - for example, "Affiliated Professional."

"AFFILIATED PROFESSIONAL"

If these changes are adopted, position descriptions and qualifications that still remain could have much less meaning, because CUNY could attempt to assign whatever duties it chooses to the new, undefined positions. In the absence of a job description, colleges might plan to hire Affiliated Professionals and assign them to each teach seven courses per semester, instead of filling tenure-track lines. Current faculty and staff could find themselves not reappointed and then replaced

by Affiliated Professionals who happen to perform the exact same duties with less pay, and fewer benefits and job rights.

The proposed changes also move governance decisions away from the faculty and toward high-ranking administrators and the Board of Trustees, by limiting faculty role and influence in one area after another.

POWER TO PRESIDENTS

For example, the amendment to Article 9.1.e would give college presidents the power to remove any member of a departmental personnel

and budget committee Power grab (P&B). P&B members are elected by their **by CUNY** colleagues, but the central amendment would aladministration low removal of a mem-

> college's president decides that "the interests of the college" require it, after merely "consult[ing]" with the department chair. Having such power could allow presidents to control departmental P&Bs.

ber any time that the

The proposed amendment to Article 8.6 would mean a broader expansion in administrators' powers. The Bylaws currently state that "The faculty shall be responsible, subject to guidelines, if any, established by the board..." for formulation of policy on curriculum, granting of degrees, and other academic matters. The amendment would change this to, "This body shall be responsible, subject to the board...."

The most obvious problem is that this change eliminates any mention

Union letter urging delay in vote

May 20, 2011

Dr. Matthew Goldstein Chancellor, The City University of New York 535 East 80th Street New York, NY 10075

Dr. Benno Schmidt Chairperson, **Board of Trustees** The City University of New York 535 East 80th Street New York, NY 10075

Dear Chancellor Goldstein and Chairperson Schmidt:

I am writing on behalf of the entire instructional staff to urge you in the strongest terms not to hold the vote on the proposed CUNY Bylaw changes until there has been adequate time for University-wide discussion. The proposed changes are sweeping, unprecedented and profound. They are far more than minor revisions. Their effect would be to undermine faculty governance, eliminate almost every Bylaw provision the PSC has cited in defending our members' rights, and fundamentally alter the historical relationship between University management - including college presidents as well as the central administration - and the faculty and staff.

A number of the proposed changes are aimed directly at eliminating or reversing longstanding terms and conditions of employment of the faculty and staff. Yet there has been no negotiation with the PSC over the proposals. Despite the University's representation in the Board of Trustees calendar that the changes are simply updates or ministerial corrections, their breadth and depth suggests an anti-labor agenda.

To announce a revision of this scope late in the spring semester and then hold the vote in June is to give the appearance, at least, of attempting to limit participation in discussion and opportunity for dissent by CUNY's faculty, staff and students. A single opportunity to testify, during the summer annual leave period, is not sufficient. As Chancellor of the University and as Chair of the Board, you have both spoken repeatedly about the importance of free discussion and open debate at CUNY. In order to uphold such values, the University should delay the vote until mid-Fall and should ensure that there is ample opportunity for public debate.

The PSC strenuously objects to many of the proposed changes because they have the potential to strip our members of their rights and damage shared governance. Among such changes are:

- a new provision that gives the college president the right to remove any member of a Department Personnel and Budget Committee (Article 9.1.e.);
- revision of the language expressing the rights and responsibilities of the faculty, including elimination of the requirement that the Board of Trustees issue guidelines as the means for exercising control over academic matters (Article 8.6);
- elimination of descriptions of positions and qualifications for all professional staff titles and several faculty titles (Article 11);
- addition of new positions without any job descriptions or qualifications (Articles 6 and 11);
- new language specifying that adjunct appointments do not require recommendation of the Chancellor and approval by the Board (Article 6.4.a.);
- elimination of requirements for notice of non-reappointment of adjuncts (Article 6.6)

- elimination of the provision that allows P & B Committees to make recommendations on special salary increments (Article 8.9);
- elimination of Academic Due Process provisions (Article 7);
- elimination of all Bylaw language on Retrenchment and of Bylaw rights to transfer in the event of Retrenchment for faculty with tenure or the Certificate of Continuous Employment (Article 6).

Other changes would affect governance, recruitment of faculty, job duties, tenure rights, job security, promotion, appointment and reappointment rights, salary, leave-time and non-discrimination protections.

In light of such far-reaching proposals, the Professional Staff Congress calls on you to postpone the announced vote and allow time for the widespread discussion such changes deserve. To do less is to deprive the University community you serve of an essential opportunity for discussion and to risk signaling that the **CUNY Central Administration** and the Board seek actively to limit comment by the faculty, staff and students on the essential issue of how the University is governed. We call on you to announce immediately that the vote will be delayed.

Yours sincerely, Barbara Bowen **Professional Staff Congress**

cc: The Board of Trustees, The City University of New York; Frederick Schaffer, General Counsel and Senior Vice Chancellor for Legal Affairs; Pamela Silverblatt, Vice Chancellor for Labor Relations; Dr. Sandi Cooper, Chair, University Faculty Senate; Delegates to the Professional Staff Congress Delegate Assembly



Changes to Article 11 would delete job descriptions for most positions in the PSC bargaining unit.

Bylaws changes

of the Board of Trustees issuing guidelines as the means for exercising control over educational and academic issues. This could open the door to post hoc review of any faculty decision.

In addition, the current language in Article 8.6 states clearly that CU-NY faculty are responsible for policy on curriculum and other areas. Changing the language from "the faculty" to "this body" introduces ambiguity, and might be interpreted as removing these responsibilities from the faculty as a whole.

RETRENCHMENT

The proposed Bylaw revisions also take an axe to protections for tenured faculty in the event of retrenchment. The amendments propose to delete Article 6.9, which spells out requirements for discontinuance of tenured positions and suspension of seniority rights. If these Bylaw changes are approved, it could mean a loss of protections in the event of a retrenchment at CUNY.

Adjunct faculty are also a target of these proposed changes. In addition to eliminating all provisions on qualifications and job descriptions contained in Article 11.11, the proposed amendments eliminate Article 6.7, which provides notification rights for adjuncts in the reappointment process. The PSC has pending grievances arguing that this provision also limits the ability of CUNY to non-reappoint adjuncts without reason.

RIGHTS DELETED

The proposed amendments would restrict or eliminate other rights and protections for faculty and staff in many additional ways. Language in Article 8.9 stating that P&Bs can make recommendations about special salary increments would be deleted. Elimination of Article 6.2.g would remove current protection against discrimination in the tenure process for those who take maternity leave, while changes to Article 13.5 would have a similar effect against those taking child-care leave. Provisions on required dates for notifying junior faculty of tenure decisions would be deleted.

These last few points, and many others, are also covered in the PSC-CUNY collective bargaining agreement. But that does not mean the protections in the Bylaws are redundant - far from it.

As the last few months in Wisconsin have shown, the legal standing of a union contract can sometimes change rapidly and without a lot of warning. Currently New York State law keeps the terms of an expired collective bargaining agreement in full force after the contract expires. However, as reported in the April 2011 Clarion, this provision, known as the Triborough Amendment, is under attack and its repeal is being sought in many quarters. If





A change to Article 9.1.e would give college presidents the power to remove any member of a departmental Personnel and Budget committee.

the Triborough Amendment is repealed, the rights contained in the Bylaws would become a member's main vehicle for defending his/her

rights as faculty or staff. Attempts to eliminate provisions such as Article 7, which ensures academic due process, appear aimed at leaving faculty and staff with as few rights as pos-

sible should the Triborough Amendment be repealed.

POWER GRAB

Removing

quarantees

of academic

due process

The proposed revisions would affect not only CUNY employees, but also the public at large. On a wide range of topics, such as the Bylaws' definition of job descriptions, the amendments would eliminate the requirement for the Board of Trustees to act. This would allow many areas of policy to be defined directly

by the chancellor and those working under him/her, with no public oversight. Current opportunities for public review and comment before policy decisions are made would be removed.

Overall, the proposed changes add up to a power grab by the administration. They would abolish important guarantees of fair procedure. They would undermine both the rights and the role of faculty and staff. They would mean a decline in clear standards and accountability, to the detriment of the University as a whole.

CUNY faculty and staff should evaluate what is at stake, make sure their colleagues are aware of the changes the administration has proposed, and monitor what next happens to this proposal. To stay current, see psc-cuny.org for updated information.

UNDER PRESSURE

CUNY agrees to delay vote

By BARBARA BOWEN

PSC President

On the day before *Clarion* went to press, the union received a call from 80th Street informing us that Chancel-

lor Goldstein had decided, in response to the letter on the facing page, to delay the vote on a major rewriting of the CUNY Bylaws. Earlier that day, I had sent an e-mail message to all CUNY faculty and professional staff inviting sig-

natures on an electronic petition with the same demand. By the time CUNY called, two hours after the message went out, there were already 300 signatures on the petition; by the end of the day, the total was close to 1,000.

We won a delay in the Board of Trustees vote on the Bylaws revision because of the collective force behind my letter – the PSC's 22,000 members – and the power we have when we take action together. CUNY's initial plan of holding the vote in June, after the end of the regular academic year, had every appearance of being an attempt to ram through major Bylaw changes when very few of us were looking. But we were looking, and we were not willing to allow the trustees to vote on a sweeping Bylaws revision, the text of which the University had not even made public.

For many of us, whatever faith we might have had in the trustees' willingness to protect the rights of the faculty, staff and students has been shaken by recent evidence that they

were prepared to take a significant vote without even asking for full or accurate information. The attempt to rush the Bylaws vote also seemed part of a pattern of CUNY policy decisions made after only superficial

consultation with faculty and staff, often with no participation by governance or union representatives. High-stakes decisions on such issues as the formation

of a new community college, the introduction of a "pre-tenure review" and now the mandate for "a common general education framework," are too often being made with only the veneer of participation by the faculty and professional staff.

'The proposal is

anti-faculty, anti-

professional

governance.'

Delaying the vote on the proposed Bylaws revision is an important victory, but it alone does not reverse that pattern, or resolve the issue of the proposed changes themselves. As of this writing, we do not know when CUNY plans to reschedule the vote or whether the vote will be on the revisions currently proposed. As you'll see from the summary on the facing page, the changes proposed for the June vote were unmistakably anti-faculty, anti-professional staff, anti-governance and anti-labor. What's needed is not just a delay in the vote, but a rethinking of the whole attempt to undo our Bylaws protections. The delay gives us the chance to press for that change.



Deleting Article 8.9 would remove rules for retrenchment.

PSC pushes legislative agenda

By JOHN TARLETON

When Gov. Andrew Cuomo pushed through a draconian budget this spring, polls showed that the public did not support the billions of dollars in service cuts, or the tax break for the richest people in the state. But the governor had strong backing from the state's politicians, pundits and editorial boards, and when the budget was passed Cuomo boasted that he could "feel the love."

Now the PSC and its allies want to make him feel the heat. The union is calling on Albany to approve a supplemental budget that would provide much-needed revenues for CUNY and other vital public services. At the center of this effort is a drive to renew a surcharge on the state's highest income tax earners, currently set to expire at the end of this year.

A SIMPLE QUESTION

On May 10, PSC members joined other educators from NY State United Teachers (NYSUT) in Albany to make the case for more funding for public education. Bob Cermele of the PSC's Legislative Committee said his delegation posed a straightforward question to lawmakers and their top aides: "We asked how many millionaires do you have in your district? And then we told them that when people feel the pain from these budget cuts, that pain is going to be noticed a lot more than if they go ahead and increase the tax on a few millionaires."

Cermele said lawmakers seemed open to the idea of a tax hike on the

Millionaires' tax in play



Susan DiRaimo at a union meeting earlier this spring. On May 10, DiRaimo joined educators from across New York in Albany to urge State legislators to reform the law on adjunct unemployment benefits.

rich. "They said they might vote for the tax if it was just for millionaires," Cermele said. "It wasn't as negative as I thought it would be."

On May 17, State Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver introduced legislation for a modified "millionaires' tax" that would not affect a penny of the first million dollars per year that a taxpayer earns. The current tax is a surcharge of 1-2.12% that kicks in on net taxable income above \$200,000 for individuals or \$300,000 for married couples, which affects the highest-paid 3% in New

Silver's revised "millionaires' tax" would bring in 85% of the \$5 billion per year in revenue generated by the current surcharge, according to the labor-community coalition Strong Economy for All.

\$40 MILLION

Meanwhile, the PSC and NYSUT are lobbying the Legislature to authorize the University to use \$40 million in higher tuition that it began charging this spring. The PSC calls on the Legislature to not hold these funds hostage while debate on SUNY's tuition and economic development proposals such as UB2020 are debated. Cuomo has signaled some support for incremental and differential tuition proposals put forward by SUNY, but has chastised the the Republicans for their pressure tactics.

"I don't agree with contor- Making tions – leverage this to get the case that," Cuomo told the Daily News. "Deal with the issue on the merits."

PSC members have also lobbied lawmakers to reform State Unemployment Insurance law to remove an ambiguity in the law that makes it much more difficult for adjunct faculty to collect benefits.

SEASONAL WORKERS

"We're seasonal workers," says Susan DiRaimo, a longtime adjunct lecturer at City and Lehman colleges who was part of the Albany delegation. Like actors, construction workers or those working in the seasonal tourism industry, adjunct faculty face frequent periods of temporary unemployment through no fault of their own. "The federal law is that when you're not working you should be getting unemployment," DiRaimo said

New York State law says that part-time employees of educational institutions cannot collect unemployment benefits between academic years or terms "if they have a contract or reasonable assurance of employment in the period immediately following." But the law is unclear about what constitutes "reasonable assurance." (See below for more information.)

A union-backed reform measure would clarify the meaning of this phrase to exclude offers of employment that are contingent on future funding, enrollment or program stability. If enacted, an

adjunct faculty member who meets other criteria for collecting unemployment compensation would be presumed to be eligible; CUNY would have the burden of proof if it sought to

demonstrate otherwise. The bill has been reintroduced in both the Senate and Assembly and the union is urging legislators to sign on as co-sponsors.

for adjunct

UI reform

TUESDAY, JUNE 7 / 6:00 pm: Legislation Committee Meeting. Join us for our June legislation committee meeting. PSC Office, 61 Broadway, 15 Fl. To RSVP call Amanda Magalhaes at 212-354-1252 x221 or e-mail amagalhaes@pscmail.org.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8 / 2:00 pm: Social Safety Net Working Group Meeting. Join in the efforts to educate about, and defend against cuts to, Social Security, public sector pensions, Medicare and other safety net programs, PSC Office, 61 Broadway, 15 Fl. For information contact Steve Leberstein at sleberstein@ ccny.cuny.edu.

TUESDAY, JUNE 14 / 6:00 - 8:00 pm: Women's Committee Meeting. Join the PSC's Women's Committee for their monthly meeting to discuss labor and workplace issues and promote leadership and solidarity of women in unions. PSC Office, 61 Broadway, 15 Fl. For more information contact Marcia Newfield at revolu@earthlink.net.

THURSDAY, JUNE 16 / 5:00 pm: Community College Chapter Chairs and Officers Meeting. PSC Justice Room, 61 Broadway, 15 Fl. For more information contact Anne Friedman at arfriedman@optonline.net.

FRIDAY, JUNE 17 / 9:30 am: 36th Annual New York City Labor Communications Convention, Join the Metro New York Labor Communications Council (Metro) convention for a special panel on "Framing the Public Sector" with PSC President Barbara Bowen. AFSCME Public Affairs director Chris Policano, FAIR Program director Janine Jackson, Bill Hohlfeld of Ironworkers Local 46, and Amy Goodman of *Democracy* Now! Metro will also honor CUNY Professor Frances Fox Piven with the Distinguished Labor Communicator Award. At the Joseph Murphy Institute, 25 West 43rd Street, 19th Floor. For more information or to register visit metrolabornyc.org.

Adjuncts & unemployment comp

By MARCIA NEWFIELD

PSC Vice President for Part-Time Personnel

& PETER HOGNESS

When summer comes, adjunct faculty often find themselves out of work. No work means no pay – so can an adjunct collect unemployment compensation? The PSC and our state affiliate, NY State United Teachers, have been working to reform current New York law, which stacks the deck against adjuncts (see above). But in the meantime, here is a look at your options.

SOME CASES

Despite the limits of current State law, in some cases adjuncts are entitled to unemployment insurance (UI) during the summer months. If you have not been told that you will probably be rehired for at least the same number of courses in the Fall as you taught the previous Spring, or if you have been told directly that you will not be reappointed for as many courses, or not at all, and you are looking for work during

Should you file?

the summer, you are eligible and should file to collect. A general letter promising reappointment without naming the specific courses is

usually not considered "assurance" by the Department of Labor. Unless the college tells you that they want you back and what they want you back to teach, you have **reemployment.** not received "assurance" of reemployment.

been told orally or in writing that you are reappointed to teach specifically named courses and for as many or more courses in the Fall as you taught the previous Spring, you will probably not be considered eligible for UI during the summer, under current law.

Adjuncts rightfully point out that at the beginning of a new semester, they can be told that their classes have been canceled or that they will be replaced by a full-time instructor or a different part-time instructor. If this has happened to you before, it may help to document it when applying for UI in order to show that

It depends if you have 'assurance' of

you have less assurance than it may seem. According to Jon Bloom of the Workers Defense League, a workers' rights orga-

nization specializing

in UI, it is very important that ad-If, on the other hand, you have juncts applying for UI provide the Department of Labor with complete information regarding what they have been told by the college about Fall semester. This includes written and oral communications. By telling the Department of Labor everything you have been told, you help protect yourself against accusations that you were not forthcoming and possible demands that you pay UI benefits back.

Applications for UI benefits may be made by phone to the UI Tele-

phone Claims Center (888-209-8124), or online (www.labor.ny.gov). There is a one-week "waiting period" after you file, and thereafter benefits begin. Further details are on the New York State Department of Labor website.

If your claim is denied, you have a right to a hearing before an administrative law judge. CUNY also has the right to request hearings. The Workers Defense League (212-627-1931) is available for advice and possible representation at hearings.

PSC members went to Albany in May, as they have for the last six years, to lobby for a reform in State law so that adjunct faculty would be treated no differently from any other workers who may experience seasonal fluctuations in employment (see above). If you would like to help organize on this issue, contact Marcia Newfield (mnewfield@pscmail.org, or 212-354-1252 x213).

STUDENT VOICES

Time for new priorities

By CHRISTINA CHAISE

Student activist Christina Chaise spoke from the steps of City Hall at the PSC's May 5 rally against austerity at CUNY (see p. 3). Her remarks appear below.

am a student at Hunter College, where I am pursuing a double major in psychology and sociology. Prior to Hunter I went to BMCC, where I graduated with an honors degree in liberal arts. Coming from poverty, the achievements I've made are not expected; my mother didn't even graduate from high school. Yet through my experience in college, I've learned that education is liberation. It provides an opportunity to flourish in this world and to have a meaningful life.

This makes me question why education is not prioritized and properly funded. The same issues we see in primary and secondary schools - lack of resources, overcrowded classes, overworked teachers, lack of individual attention, and increasing dropout rates – these are the same issues we're seeing today at CUNY.

But why? These problems are growing at CUNY because of the skewed priorities of our

representatives in government, where their motto seems to be "Profits before People." How else can we describe the decision to give a tax break to millionaires, while cutting funds for CUNY students' education? Yet I believe the social benefits that come from having educated and well-paid citizens far outweigh the monetary costs. We must give precedence to investing in our people – in our future.

UNDERPAID FACULTY

During my first semester at BMCC, I had a professor who changed my life. His name is Chris Agee, and the class was in political science. It is because of his pedagogy and his belief in me that I am here today. Unfortunately, he was an adjunct, meaning that he did not get the pay he deserved, nor the privileges that would allow him to give his students all the attention they deserve. Many of the best professors I have had were adjuncts, and it pains me to know that they don't get the pay and respect they warrant.

Because of the choices made in government and in the CUNY administration, faculty, staff and students get hurt. Faculty are underpaid and students underestimated. In a country, and especially city, that has so much wealth, this should not be the case. Instead, we need more public investment. Money is there, despite all the rhetoric: getting the money where it's needed is just a question of priorities.

That is why we are here today: to demand that CUNY be a top priority. To demand that it get as much, if not more, investment than the banks and corporations that get bailouts and tax breaks. Where is our bailout? When is our break? Students, faculty and staff are struggling to make ends meet, and the more increases there are in budget cuts and tuition, the further away we move from opportunity; the further away we move from progress.

The freedoms we have today weren't given to us - they were fought for. And this is a fight we're not going to give up. Education is not a privilege. It is a right - and (as Martin Luther King Jr. once said) "a right delayed is a right denied." The struggle for our rights is a battle we are prepared to fight – and ready to win.



Hunter College student Christina Chaise spoke at the PSC's May 5 demonstration.

Disinvesting in education a poor idea

SPEAKING OUT

Distinguished professors' letter on Kushner degree

Below is a letter sent by 75 CUNY Distinguished Professors to the Board of Trustees, which called on the Trustees to reverse their action blocking John Jay College from awarding an an honorary degree to playwright Tony Kushner. The Board's Executive Committee did so on May 9; see page 5.

As Distinguished Professors of the City University of New York, the most democratic university in the most democratic city in the country, we are anguished and disheartened by what seems to be the decision of the Board of Trustees to deny an Honorary Degree to Tony Kushner, the foremost playwright of our generation. Based on a distorted and

Andre Aciman, Comparative Literature, Graduate Center

Ervand Abrahamian, History, Baruch College

Richard Alba, Sociology, Graduate Center

perverse presentation of Kushner's alleged views on Israel, the Board voted to table John Jay College's recommendation to honor him. Kushner's views on Israel are not the issue. The reputation and traditions of CUNY are. We abhor this attempt to silence controversy, to limit the range of acceptable ideas - when the very purpose of a university is to foster conversation and debate.

As Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel said, "the opposite of good is not evil, the opposite of good is indifference." We cannot be silent. Therefore, we appeal to the Board in the interest of our great university to reconsider its action and to affirm John Jay's decision to honor Tony Kushner.

David Harvey, Anthropology, Earth and Environmental Sciences, and

Samuel Heilman, Sociology, Queens College

Virginia Held, Philosophy, Graduate School

Saul Kassin, Psychology, John Jay College

Wayne Koestenbaum, English, Graduate Center Adam Koranvi, Mathematics, Graduate Center

Isaías Lerner, Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures, Grad Center

Jane Marcus, English, CCNY

Gerald Markowitz, History, John Jay College

Judith Milhous, English and Theater, Graduate Center

Nancy K. Miller, Comparative Literature, Graduate Center

James Oakes, History, Graduate Center Steven Penrod, Psychology, John Jay College Rosalind Petchesky, Political Science, Hunter College Frances Fox Piven, Political Science and Sociology, Graduate Center Graham Priest, Philosophy, Graduate Center Robert Reid-Pharr, English, Graduate Center David Reynolds, English, Lehman College Carl Riskin, Economics, Queens College Ruthann Robson, CUNY School of Law David Rosner, History (emeritus), Baruch College Morris Rossabi, History, Queens College David Savran, Theater and English, Graduate Center Sarah Schulman, English, College of Staten Island Anthony Sclafani, Psychology, Brooklyn College Thomas Sleigh, English, Hunter College Neil Smith, Anthropology and Geography, Graduate Center Michael Sorkin, Architecture, CCNY Stephen Steinberg, Urban Studies, Queens College

John Mollenkopf, Political Science and Sociology, Graduate Center

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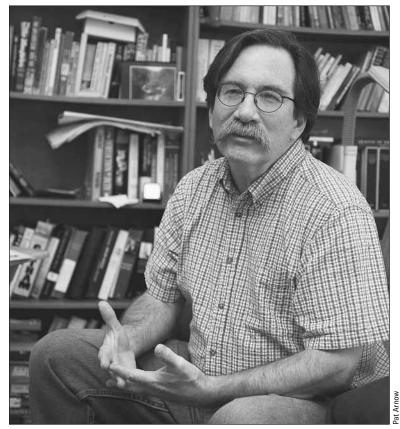
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Fighting for a writing-centered pedagogy

Glenn Petersen A

Professor of Anthropology Baruch College

This year Glenn Petersen helped lead faculty resistance to the imposition of jumbo classes in several departments at Baruch. For college administrators, switching from writing-intensive introductory courses with caps of 32 students to giant classes with as many as 114 students per faculty member looked like an easy way to save money in hard times. A large number of adjuncts would have been eliminated and more work squeezed out of full-time faculty.

Petersen, who chairs Baruch's Department of Sociology and Anthropology, worried that such a move would undermine a writing-centered pedagogy that challenges students to think in new ways and argue for their ideas, not simply memorize facts. He recalled lying awake at night, thinking he would have to retire if required to teach the proposed jumbos.

Along with other faculty, Petersen spoke out. "We communicated that we weren't going to destroy teaching models we had developed over many years," he told *Clarion*. In the face of widespread opposition, Baruch's administration backed away from the plan before the end of Fall semester.

DIRECT ACTION

But with more cuts looming in CUNY funding, Petersen decided more had to be done. So he traveled to Albany to push for renewing the "millionaires' tax," joining other PSC members in meeting with legislators on March 22. And on March 23, he took part in a unionsponsored direct action.

Petersen was among 33 faculty, staff and students arrested in the State Capitol for blocking the entrance to the office of Gov. Andrew Cuomo, to oppose the governor's plan to give a tax break to New York's wealthy while cutting CUNY funds by \$112 million. More than 150 PSC members and community allies

took part in the demonstration, part of what the Associated Press called "an uncommon level of protest" over this year's budget.

"I took a stand for something I believed in, and did something that needed to be done," said Petersen. "My campus has *already* had its budget ripped to shreds, and further cuts will definitely hurt the quality of instruction. So I just couldn't see this being done to my students without resisting it."

It was not the first time Petersen had put himself on the line for his beliefs. A former Navy flyer in Vietnam, he later turned against the war and tossed his medals over the White House fence in a 1971 protest alongside future presidential candidate John Kerry.

"For the rest of my life," Petersen said, "I've felt the importance of demonstrating the force of one's opposition by one's actions when something is just wrong."

Why I decided

By JOHN TARLETON

This semester the PSC has faced a new level of challenges – and members have thought hard about how to respond. CUNY funding, the labor movement, and our own working conditions have been under assault,

often in ways that would have seemed unthinkable just a few years before. Yet almost everyone at CUNY is overworked, and finding the time for union action in an already busy schedule is difficult. But PSC members have responded to the challenge in many different ways. Here are some of their stories.

New opportunities for solidarity in the public sector

Michelle Fine ➤

Distinguished Professor of Psychology Graduate Center

For more than 20 years, Michelle Fine has studied how poverty and opportunity are distributed by race and class. Today she sees public policy shifting the scales in the wrong direction.

"I live in New Jersey and work in New York, and in both states the inequality gaps are enormous and growing," said Fine. "Yet both governors have refused to equitably tax the rich and, by so doing, have shifted the financial burden onto poor children, poor students and our public institutions."



"There's a privatizing and punishing virus among us," Fine observed. To oppose it, Fine has stepped up her involvement with PSC protests this semester. On March 23, she was one of nearly three dozen CUNY faculty, students and staff who took part in a sit-in at Gov. Cuomo's Albany office, where they were arrested for blocking the entrance.

For Fine, it was a way to give voice to public opposition to Cuomo's deep cuts in CUNY's operating budget and in TAP funding for students. "The union has been a key conscience in keeping CUNY public," said Fine, the coauthor

or editor of nine books including
Beyond Silenced Voices: Class,
Race, and Gender in United States

thanked them fo could not.
"The whispers

thanked them for doing what police could not.

to speak out."
Fine, who also joined the union's May 5 rally and march for a fair contract, sees the attack on CUNY as a part of a larger push to close public spaces throughout society. But the breadth and severity of the attack, she said, open new opportunities for solidarity.

Schools. "It seemed important for

those of us who have secure jobs

This hit home when the State Police, who arrested Fine and her colleagues on March 23, quietly "The whispers in the ears by the police were such a confirmation that the conditions are ripe for public-sector solidarity," said Fine. "It feels like we're building momentum in the state and across the nation around a solidarity between unions, students, parents, community organizations, upstate and downstate. It's cross-generational, multiracial and multiethnic," she told *Clarion*. "You're beginning to see alliances that recognize that unless we work together, we're all going to be privatized out of our public institutions."

'It's time to rise to the occasion.'

Lizette Colón ◄

Academic Counselor Hostos Community College

Lizette Colón doesn't go to a protest by herself. In the week leading up to the PSC's May 5 rally for a fair contract and full funding for CUNY, Colón visited five classes and spoke to faculty and students about the importance of getting informed and involved.

With Mayor Michael Bloomberg proposing a budget that would short-change community colleges by \$52.6 million, Colón said, "my message was that it's time to show that you really care about your education and to make your presence felt." The PSC chapter chair at her campus, Colón also reminded former students she worked with as an academic counselor, about the rally and had bilingual flyers placed in campus toilet stalls. The Student Government Association provided free subway cards to

students traveling to the protest.

At Hostos, 72% of students are members of households that earn less than \$30,000 per year. If tuition goes up, students taking remedial courses would be especially hard hit, Colón said, as their TAP money would be more likely to run out before they complete their associate's degrees. "We have to keep vigilant so that educational possibilities will stay real for everyone who needs them," she said.

Colón thinks there needs to be wider participation by PSC members the next time the union calls a protest like the one on May 5. "It's time to rise to the occasion or we will have a lot fewer rights in a year or two," she told *Clarion*.

Colón was back in Lower Manhattan on May 11, meeting with City Council members in the PSC's annual "CUNY at the Council" grassroots lobbying day. The City budget's new deadline is July 1.



Lizette Colón (second from left) teamed up with community college students to visit city councilmembers at their offices on May 11.

to take action



Wisconsin protests caught his attention

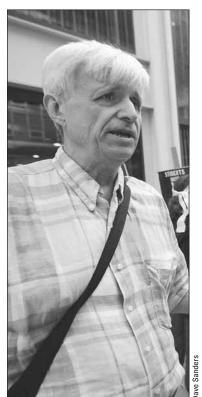
Gordon Tapper A

Professor of English LaGuardia Community College

"I feel it's important to have the union but I usually don't have the time to get involved," said Gordon Tapper, a LaGuardia professor of English, during the PSC's May 5 rally for a fair budget and a fair contract.

Tapper said events in Wisconsin had caught his attention, and reminded him that being a union member allowed him to participate in a public debate in which otherwise he might not be heard.

"It's a crucial moment. We have to build on the growing public backlash against the extreme right-wing agenda," Tapper added. "We're reaching a tipping point where people have to speak out."



'There are alternatives to austerity.'

Dave Bryan ▼

Special Assistant to the Vice President for Student Affairs **Brooklyn College**

Dave Bryan's voyage from Brooklyn to Albany began in Madison, Wisconsin.

Bryan, who works in the Office of the Vice President Students Affairs at Brooklyn College, was following nightly coverage on MSNBC of the battle in Wisconsin between Gov. Scott Walker and the state's labor movement. Upset by what he saw, Bryan decided to do something he hadn't done before: get involved in his own union.

"Taking away a group's ability to decide what is in their self-interest is just not right," Bryan said. "It could happen here, too. It was time for me to become active and learn as much as I can and share that with other people."

On March 8, Bryan joined a 20-member PSC delegation that traveled to Albany for a day of grassroots lobbying with the union's state affiliate, NY State United Teachers. The message his group conveyed, he said, was "that funding to CUNY should not be cut, and other solutions are possible" such as renewing New York's "millionaires' tax" that is set to expire at the end of this year. Bryan said that Clarion's coverage of State revenue issues helped prepare the PSC members to make their case.

Bryan also joined a PSC delegation at the May Day protest at Foley Square, which drew thousands of supporters of worker and immigrant rights, and he told *Clarion* he intends to stay involved. "I'm going to keep on talking to colleagues on campus and to my friends and family, and let them know that there are alternatives to the austerity measures," Bryan said.



Taking the classroom into the streets

Tony Gronowicz ◄

Adjunct Associate Professor of History

Tony Gronowicz was one of more than 20 PSC faculty members who volunteered to lead open-air teachins during the May 12 protest that brought thousands of people to Wall Street (see page 12). Eight marches focused on issues such as education, housing, jobs, social services and immigration started at various points in Lower Manhattan and converged at the corner of Water and Wall. Teach-ins on the same themes were held along Water Street, soapbox-style, at different points on the sidewalk.

With 22 years' experience as an adjunct faculty member at CUNY, Gronowicz was ready to do whatever was needed. "I can teach anything," Gronowicz told organizers when they gave teach-in leaders their assignments. "Just tell me what you want." Currently Gronowicz teaches history at BMCC, where he also serves as faculty advisor to the Student Government Association.

Author of Race and Class Politics in New York City Before the Civil War, Gronowicz said he finds teaching irresistible for the opportunity it gives to "conjure up the world." Skills as an analyst and a performer are both required. On this day he wanted to relate education to both the roots and consequences of the Great Recession. "This crisis is permanent until average people are in positions of power instead of the plutocrats," said Gronowicz, who finished fourth when he ran for mayor in 2005 as the Green Party candidate.

When his turn came, Gronowicz gave a presentation to a group of young protesters from the Queens Community House on economic inequality in New York and the loss of free tuition at CUNY. "I wish it [CUNY] was free," said a young woman after Gronowicz finished. "Education should be free."



Because our students deserve better

Donna Gill A

HEO Assistant Hunter School of Nursing

As her son was growing up, Donna Gill warned him about the importance of not doing anything that would risk getting arrested. On the night before the March 23 action in Albany, the tables were turned. Gill was one of 33 CUNY faculty, staff and students who volunteered to risk arrest while engaging in nonviolent civil disobedience inside the State Capitol building. And Gill's son reminded her of their past talks about not going to jail.

"It's a scary thought," Gill said during the bus ride up to Albany. "But the cause is worth it. CUNY is working on the bare minimum. There aren't enough professors. The professional staff has been decimated. People are already overworked."

CUNY is also suffering in ways that seem small but have a larger impact. Campus buildings are not being cleaned as frequently due to a reduction in support staff at a time when enrollment is increasing, she said – and that sends a message to students about the value society puts on their education.

Students deserve better, said Gill. She told Clarion that Hunter's financial aid office, where she worked before moving to its School of Nursing, is straining to meet students' needs. "How are we going to service students if there aren't enough of us?" she asked.



'Winding up' politicians like a clock

Terry Parker

Assistant Coordinator Library Media Resources Center LaGuardia Community College

Terry Parker sees the impact of massive day of lobbying in Albany austerity every day at LaGuardia's library. The school's enrollment has grown by 32% since 2006, but the library lost three full-time staff members this past semester due to early retirement. Part-time personnel have also been cut and the library increasingly relies on student interns to maintain the shelves.

"We're told we have to do more with less," said Parker, who has worked at LaGuardia for 30 years. "But the truth is, we have to fight and push and argue for everything we get."

On March 15, Parker joined hundreds of other CUNY and SUNY faculty, students and staff for a against budget cuts proposed by Gov. Cuomo and his Republican allies. Persistence is key to winning legislative victories, Parker said, He described politicians as being "like clocks that you have to keep wind-

As for why he made the trip, Parker said it was simple: "When the union puts out a call, I believe it's important to respond. We need the union. And it can't survive if the members don't help out."

Fax to fight defunding

We have the power! Tell New York City Council to restore and enhance funding for CUNY with just a few mouse clicks using our Act Now system at psc-cuny.org/get-involved/act-now.

Generate faxes to key public officials on vital higher ed and public policy issues urging them to fight the \$52.6 million deficit in CUNY's community college

operating budget created by the Mayor's Executive Budget, and restore financial aid programs such as Vallone Scholarships, Black Male Initiative, Murphy Institute for Worker Education, Center for Puerto Rican Studies, the Dominican Studies Institute and Creative Arts Team. Visit psc-cuny.org to take action now.

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NEWS Clarion | June 2011

May 12 message to Wall Street

By PETER HOGNESS

At the foot of Wall Street, the marching band played while a hundred people sang along: "We're not gonna take it/ We're not gonna take it any more!" Behind the musicians, a banner called for banks and millionaires to pay more taxes; a sign on a trombone's slide said "Stop the Cuts!"

On May 12, more than 10,000 people converged on the Financial District in an energetic protest against the upside-down priorities in Mayor Michael Bloomberg's proposed budget, and the failure of the state and federal governments to make Wall Street pay for the economic crisis that it created.

EXTREME INEQUALITY

"Income and wealth inequality in the country is at its most extreme point since 1928, just before the Great Depression," said PSC Treasurer Mike Fabricant. "Today's growing inequality puts a spotlight on the fact that the nation's wealthy are being dramatically undertaxed."

How to fix the City or State budget gaps is relatively straightforward, Fabricant said. "We are not in the midst of an expenditure crisis but a revenue crisis," he told Clarion. A modest income tax surcharge on upper brackets (the so-called "millionaires' tax"), closing tax loopholes that protect hedge fund managers, ending the 100% rebate of New York's stock transfer tax – these and other measures supported by the PSC and other unions could solve current fiscal problems quickly, he said: "What we need is the political will to put them in place."

"As a professor, as a citizen, I'm angry about this budget," said Gerardo Renique, an associate professor of history at City College. "It's going to affect not only education but the future of this city, the future of our young people. It's outrageous."

"There is plenty of money in this city, so we know money is not the issue," agreed Elidio Jiménez, a Chief

Unions say 'Tax the rich, stop the cuts!'



PSC members and students marched from the charging bull statue on Broadway to lower Wall Street.

CLT at Lehman College.

Shirley Frank, an adjunct assistant professor at York College, said she has been directly affected by the cuts to date. "I've lost some of my classes – and it's not from low enrollment, it's from cutbacks," she said. "It's obvious that the money isn't going where it's needed. At CUNY, we have to scrounge around for a piece of chalk!"

TIME FOR A CHANGE

Social needs are growing, said Frank, "but corporations are paying less and less. The money has been so unevenly distributed that you have to say we're the victims of greed." Frank was excited to see unions and community groups coming together to demand a change: "I think this is a wonderful demonstration, this is huge. We're taking the message to Wall Street, and I love it!"

Gathering at eight different locations, from City Hall to the charging

bull statue on Broadway, the crowds marched down the lower blocks of Wall Street. The protest included dozens of planned teach-ins on economic and budget issues, a large one at City Hall and many smaller ones arrayed along Water Street.

The tumult of the crowd made it difficult for many of the teach-ins to occur as planned, but others went forward successfully in the midst of the music, drums and chanting. About one-third of the sessions were led by PSC members.

"It's a great beginning," said Joe Wilson, professor of political science at Brooklyn College. "I'm hoping we can foster a mass movement to challenge the policies of Wall Street, to fight for public education and the public interest," he told *Clarion*. "It's wonderful to see so many students today – it looks like the United Nations out here! And that's what we need. It's going to take a united movement

to overturn these bankrupt policies."

Steve Garib, a student at Queensborough Community College, said he is worried about the effect of more budget cuts on both the cost and the quality of his education. "Tuition is supposed to go up," he

Thousands

the banks

said, "and my family has some financial troubles. And the way QCC is now, I get extra help after class, like with math. That's going to be out of there if they

cut the budget."
Community organizations also turned out in strength for the May 12 protest. "We are just appalled, we are furious, at what's going on right now," said Celina Lynch of Families United for Racial and Economic Equality (FUREE), a Brooklyn-based group organizing low-income families, mainly in communities of color. "The way the system is being run right now, it seems like it's only catering to the

big corporations. So we are here to support the working class and the middle class."

Kelitha Spence, a special education teacher at I.S. 125 in Queens, held a sign that said "Instruction, Not Destruction."

"Bloomberg is destroying our classrooms," said Spence. "We already have 30 to 35 students in each classroom, for one teacher. That's ridiculous. In schools in other countries they don't go over 20 students. But rich people don't care, because their kids don't go to public school."

With four years' experience in the city's public schools, Spence said she is potentially vulnerable to the layoffs that Bloomberg has predicted. But she dismissed Bloomberg's call to give the Department of Education the power to ignore seniority in layoffs. "I think he's just trying to divide us," said Spence. "Instead of taxing income above \$200,000 a year, he wants to cut jobs of people who make \$48,000 a year? That just doesn't make any sense."

DEMOCRACY

Bloomberg and other wealthy New Yorkers are out of touch with what life is like for the majority, she added. "On CNN, I saw a banker complaining that \$200,000 is 'nearly poverty-level," said Spence, shaking her head. "Then what's \$48,000 a year if \$200,000 is poverty-level?"

One young protester wore a T-shirt that read, "Democracy is Not a Spectator Sport" – and many in the demonstration said they were energized by the chance to make their voices heard.

"I can't wait for the next action," said Ron Hayduk, a professor of political science at BMCC. "I think we should come back here on a regular basis. Let's make Wall Street our Tahrir Square, let's keep coming back."

✗ ON THE WEB:

Do taxes make rich people leave? tinyurl.com/DoRichLeave