

FACULTY SENATE MINUTES #133

John Jay College of Criminal Justice

February 8, 1996

3:15 PM

Room 630 T

Present (31): Yahya Affinnih, Arvind Agarwal, Luis Barrios, Michael Blitz, Edward Davenport, Jane Davenport, Peter DeForest, Robert DeLucia, Janice Dunham, Arlene Geiger, P. J. Gibson, Elisabeth Gitter, Amy Green, Elizabeth Hegeman, Zelma Henriques, Lee Jenkins, Karen Kaplowitz, Sandra Lanzone, Gavin Lewis, Tom Litwack, James Malone, Robert McCrie, Dagoberto Orrantia, Daniel Pinello, Chris Rashbaum, Frederik Rusch, Carmen Solis, Davidson Umeh, Maurice Vodounon, Agnes Wieschenberg, Daniel Yalisove

Absent (7): Lou Guinta, Andrew Karmen, Kwando Kinshasa, Mary Ann McClure, Henry Morse, Ruth O'Brien, Marilyn Rubin

Guests: Shevaletta Alford, Jane Bowers, Marlene Kandel, Jerry Markowitz, Harold Sullivan, Marcia Yarmus

Invited Guest: Assemblyman Edward C. Sullivan

Agenda

1. Announcements from the chair
2. Approval of Minutes #132 of the December 8 meeting
3. Resolution of Appreciation for Assemblyman Edward C. Sullivan
4. Report on the CUNY Budget situation
5. Invited Guest: Assemblyman Edward C. Sullivan

1. Announcements from the chair [Attachment A]

The Senate members were directed to the written announcements [Attachment A]. The Senate applauded their colleague, Senator Jane Davenport, upon her election as Vice President and President-elect of LACUNY, the CUNY Librarians' Association. Senator Davenport took up the duties of Vice President of LACUNY in December, when she was elected, and will assume the duties of President in September.

President Kaplowitz reported that she learned earlier in the week that the College needs a legislator to sponsor a bill for the \$20 million to design Phase 11. She said that when she was told this by a member of the Chancellory, she mentioned that Assemblyman Edward Sullivan is coming to the Senate this week and was told that he would be an ideal sponsor.

She then consulted with President Lynch who supported her suggestion that the Senate today ask Assemblyman Sullivan to be the bill's sponsor.

2. Approval of Minutes #132 of the December 8 meeting

Minutes #132 of the December 8, 1996, meeting were approved by a motion duly made and carried.

3. Resolution of Appreciation for Assemblyman Edward C. Sullivan
[Attachment B]

By a motion made and carried, the Resolution of Appreciation carried by unanimous vote [Attachment B].

4. Report on the CUNY budget situation [Attachment C]

President Kaplowitz reported that the Executive Budget, which Governor Pataki released on December 15, calls for a \$57.6 million (6.1%) cut in CUNY's budget from the 1995-96 adopted budget. The actual shortfall is larger when mandated cost increases (\$27.6 million) and items added in the Executive Budget (\$11.1 million) are factored in. The shortfall between CUNY needs and the Executive Budget is \$96.3 million. CUNY estimates that its management initiatives, including the second year of the early retirement savings (\$23.5 million) and other initiatives will reduce the impact of the cut to a \$50 million shortfall for the senior colleges.

The Governor's Budget also calls for a cut in TAP (Tuition Assistance Program) of \$50 million for CUNY students. The budget proposal requires students to allocate half of their Federal PELL grant (which is for living expenses such as food, transportation, and books) to their tuition before TAP is given, which would mean that the economically most disadvantaged students would have a decrease of PELL funds of \$1200 each year. This proposal, if it is approved, will lead to an anticipated drop in student enrollment and with that a drop in funding from the State (which is based on student enrollment). If the proposed TAP changes are implemented, financial aid for CUNY students would be reduced by 38%. A 10% loss of full-time, undergraduate students at the senior colleges would result in a loss of \$21.3 million in tuition revenue, which would represent an additional potential budget cut for CUNY.

All the CUNY colleges, except John Jay and Baruch, experienced an enrollment drop this semester. John Jay's headcount enrollment was up by 7 percent over Fall 1995.

Also, although CUNY students get 22% of TAP State-wide, CUNY students would sustain 50% of the total cut in TAP that is being proposed. Also, a cap in the total TAP fund is being proposed. This proposal is despite the fact that when tuition was first imposed at CUNY in 1976, TAP was created with the promise that the cost of tuition will never be allowed to impede or prevent financially disadvantaged students from attending CUNY.

5. Invited Guest: Assemblyman Edward C. Sullivan

President Kaplowitz: Welcome, Assemblyman Sullivan. We are honored to

have you here as our guest. Many members of our Faculty Senate are your constituents and all of us are grateful to you for your ceaseless work on behalf of countless good and worthy causes, most especially CUNY.

Assemblyman Sullivan: It is a very, very real pleasure for me to be here. I am very glad that you invited me and I want to thank you for giving me this opportunity to meet with the faculty.

President Kaplowitz: Assemblyman Sullivan represents the 69th Assembly District, which includes the Upper West Side of Manhattan. Born in Springfield, Massachusetts, he came to New York City in 1957, where he has lived since, except for some years spent in Europe. Mr. Sullivan attended the Sorbonne in Paris and the New School, from which he graduated in 1968. He taught English as a Second Language for 15 years, at the City University of New York, at New York University, and at other institutions, until 1976 when he was elected to the New York State Assembly.

Assemblyman Sullivan is the Chair of the Assembly Higher Education Committee and represents the New York State Assembly at the National Conference of State Legislators where he serves on the Education Committee. He chaired the Assembly Subcommittee on Libraries for ten years and has served on the Health, Social Services, Environmental Conservation, and Tourism Committees. Among the bills that Assemblyman Sullivan sponsored are the Urban Cultural Parks Bill, the Omnibus Library Bills of 1978, 1983, and 1986, the Liberty Scholarship Bill, and the Proprietary School Reform Act of 1990.

I would like to present you, Assemblyman Sullivan, with a unanimously approved "**Resolution** of Appreciation" from the John Jay Senate. [The text of the Senate's "Resolution of Appreciation" (Attachment B) was read to Assemblyman Sullivan and the framed document was presented to him. The Senate applauded him.]

Assemblyman Sullivan: I am surprised by the Resolution of Appreciation and am very, very grateful. It is easy to be a supporter of the City University because I think you do wonderful work. I think many of you know the wonderful work you do but not everybody in the world knows it, but you know it and that is what is important and what's more important is that you keep your high standards up. That is very difficult at a time when a lot of people are trying to get you to lower your standards, to push your standards down. I'm not referring necessarily to the Governor of the State . . . [laughter] but if you make that extrapolation it is all right by me. So it is hard when you know that standards are important, and not everyone does, to insist upon those standards: that's very hard and yet you do that and I think that's very, very important.

I don't think people understand what is obvious to anyone who thinks about it for a minute: as you make money a criterion for entrance into an academy of any kind, as the money standard goes up, the academic standard goes down. The Governor, a Yale graduate, too, and a graduate of Columbia Law School -- it is amazing [laughter] -- seems to think that as he raises the money standard for entering public colleges, somehow the academic standard goes up with that because, obviously, why would people have money unless they were more intelligent? Right? [laughter] Doesn't that stand to reason? Would God not favor them with money unless they were more intelligent? That's apparently the thinking that goes on. You know differently. You know that the excellent students that you see in your classrooms come from everywhere. Some do come from favored families. Many do not come from favored families. It is important that they work together, that they learn together, that they learn from one another.

Not far from here my daughter at LaGuardia was made a member of the Chinese Students Club. She has a friend who is Chinese American and she

was invited to be a member of the club and so here is a person who even though her parentage, which is American but her parentage way back is mostly Irish, and a little German, is a member of the Chinese Student Club. What could be better than that? It's good for her, good for the Chinese students, good for everybody. That's what the City University is all about. And so it is my pleasure to be your advocate to the extent that I can do that.

President Kaplowitz: When you walked into this building you may have noticed a lot of different flags: those flags represent the 75 countries that our students at John Jay come from. This is one of the reasons it is exciting to teach here. But we need to hear about the budget, about the political situation, your assessment of the situation, and what we can and should do. We know that you taught **ESL** for many years and that you believe in what CUNY does, not only from the perspective of a legislator but from the perspective of a teacher for many years and so we are particularly interested in your analysis of the current situation.

Assemblyman Sullivan: Let me put this in a larger perspective, then narrow it down, and then talk about what we are going to do. The larger picture is that the Governor -- and the people who direct the Governor's activities and who are really more important -- I'll say the Governor but you understand what I mean: there are people behind him associated with the Manhattan Institute and other like genius pots directing his activities. He has decided there are too many people going to college in New York. Some of his people have come into my office and have told me that: "**Ed**, not everybody should go to college. There are too many people going to college here. We've got to downsize this a little bit and get a little bit of **perspective.**" Remember those standards: if you throw a lot of students out of college, of course it will always be the dumbest who get thrown out! Especially if you use the money standard! That is their logic. They think like that! And so they want to downsize the colleges.

They have no particular affection for the City University. Not many of you probably voted for Governor Pataki, they reason, with some justification, probably. Not many of your students voted for him. Why should they worry about you: you're probably not going to vote for him next time anyway. And so they will take care of those whose favor they want to curry. So, therefore, they are after the public sector. I think they made a mistake, a tactical mistake, when they decided to go after the State University first instead of going after the City University. I think they saw the State University set up as softer than the City University is set up.

I don't agree with everything Ann Reynolds does, quite frankly, but she's tough and she's bright and she's not as easily pushed around as some of the people in the State University who are nice people but less tough, less bright. And so I think they decided to go after the State University first, thinking it will be an easier pushover. I think they made a mistake. I think they didn't realize how many people there are in the State, all over the State, who support the State University: not only graduates, not only people currently associated with SUNY, but townspeople and shop keepers and all kinds of people who are more consciously related to the State University in towns all across the State. So I think he made a tactical error. I think he is going to find a great resistance to his trashing of the State University.

Today, this very day, Fred Salerno, **who** is the chair of the Board of Trustees, will be relieved of that position and a Pataki political appointee, Mr. Egan, will be put in his place. He is clearly a political appointee. There is a political appointee in the Higher Education Services Corporation. There are a couple of political appointees on the Board of Trustees of SUNY, some of them clearly political -- they are

hondlers -- that is what they do -- they do fundraising events, and similar political things, and now they are on the Board of Trustees! He has not done that yet with CUNY but the day will come, he thinks, that he will do that. I think the battle right now is primarily at the State University although it will come to the City University. But right now it is primarily at the State University because they are under direct attack by the Governor and he intends to politicize the State University to put it under his direct control. That process is not only planned but it is under way and it has advanced considerably. To make the analogy of Napoleon invading Russia: he's already at Kiev and Moscow is not that far away. So, that's where that is going.

We are trying to fight that and I think we are going to be able to resist that but that's what is going on. If SUNY folds to this political attack, can CUNY be far behind? I don't think so. His theory, I'm sure, was -- he doesn't consult with me -- I'm reading his mind -- but his theory was that once he knocks off SUNY it will be easy to get to CUNY. And so that's the general plan. The idea is to reduce the number of people who go to college thereby saving money, thereby creating a depression on the job market because people who are not as well educated are less demanding in what they ask for.

Bear in mind that Pataki is an operative of the Republican revolution -- I don't mean to offend anyone here who is Republican -- I just want to speak frankly -- he's an operative of the Republican revolution which, essentially, is to move the United States backward in time in terms of the rights of workers, in terms of the demands they make upon the economy, and that is the basic activity and this is simply a part of that. Obviously, the less well educated that workers are, the less they will demand. And that's why he is doing this. What is he doing? One of the things you know about is the PELL/TAP switch which is being orchestrated by the Governor and, unfortunately I have to say this, by the organization of independent colleges. I have a call into them now and we are going to deal with them and maybe give them something to think about. It is not as if they aren't at the spigot themselves. We will just have to work with that political reality.

President Kaplowitz: This is the first meeting of our Faculty Senate since the Governor released his budget proposal. You explained the PELL/TAP proposal so well at the University Faculty Senate meeting, perhaps you would be good enough to explain it to us.

Assemblyman Sullivan: I'd be happy to. The TAP [Tuition Assistance Program] is for tuition only. PELL is for the cost of attending college. It is easiest to explain by talking about a student who receives the maximum aid and the numbers reduce, of course, as one goes higher in the income ladder. If you are going to the City University, your entire tuition -- minus the 10% reduction (last year TAP was reduced to a maximum of 90% tuition) will be paid for by TAP and that will leave PELL for books and transportation and other costs of going to college. If you are attending a school, such as a SUNY college, where there is a dormitory that you have to live in, that soaks up the entire PELL right there. If you are going to CUNY, you don't live in mid-air, as apparently the Governor thinks you do if you go to CUNY, there is the cost of your living somewhere even if you are living with your parents (there is a room that could be rented out or that someone else could be living in that you are occupying) so there is a cost of living, and you do eat, and take subways, and **so** there is **a** cost that goes along with attending CUNY.

What the Governor intends to do -- and I'm not even totally sure **it's** legal although other states do it but maybe people haven't made the right legal protest -- is that half the PELL must be applied toward tuition and so of the **\$2340** PELL grant that goes to a student who gets the maximum

PELL award -- in other words, \$1170, -- would have to be applied to tuition. And then TAP would cover the rest of the tuition. But that would mean that instead of having \$2340 for living costs, the students who have the least economic resources would now have only \$1170 for living costs. The Governor says these students should rely on student loans.

I had to explain to a Regent from upstate New York that there are families who live in a trailer by the side of the road who have a car for which they pay cash. If a car costs \$200, they buy it when they have the \$200 in cash. That is how they live. There are people who live in New York City who would no more think of borrowing \$10,000 to send one of their family members to school than they would think of flying to the moon. It's impossible. It is psychologically impossible for them to do that. They pay cash for everything. To say to those students: "You can borrow money. People in Westchester do it, don't they, why don't you?" is to tell them to do something that is not possible for them to do in this society of ours: they can not borrow that kind of money. What Ronald Reagan taught us well was that when you have a problem, borrow the money: what's the problem, right? That might apply to you and me but it doesn't apply to some people. That is the reality. These people, under this proposed scenario, simply will not be able to go to college. What are their names? What are their addresses? I don't know, but you know because you talk to them on a daily basis.

President Kaplowitz: But that **is** the plan.

Assemblyman Sullivan: That **is** the plan. Of course. That is the plan. And so when you say: "How can you possibly ask a poor student to have to pay another \$1170 to go to college?" they would simply say, "The students can borrow it: what's the big deal?" And that is the answer they would give but it's a false answer. It is also a false answer even if the student could borrow the money. Why should a student, a young person, have to borrow money to go to college? That's ridiculous. That's a denial of responsibility on the part of the older generation -- I'm sorry to say -- my generation which went to college for nothing and when we got through we said: "That was easy. Let's see if we can get out of paying for the next generation's education." Now only one generation could do that flip.

Down the line some very moral generation might flip it back and pay for both their own education and for the next generation's. They will be the ones to be honored. But our generation is not doing that. I disagree with President Clinton -- I'll vote for him -- but I disagree with his policy of more student loans. If you are going to be a big CEO, I guess borrowing to pay for college is okay. But if you are going to be a social worker it is not so okay. I had a social worker call me to ask if I could help her out: she just could not make her college loan payments. And they are after her because she is behind by three months and this will go on her record which she doesn't want and she wanted to know if there is anything she can do. She works for the City of New York as a social worker: this is not a person who is a shirker. I suggested that if she has a ten-year note we could arrange to change it into a 20-year note which would reduce the amount of each payment. She started to cry because she had already done that and she still can not afford the monthly loan payments. Here she is 26 years old with payments going until she is in her mid-40s. God forbid she falls in love with another social worker. . . [laughter] and God forbid they have children, they really will have problems. That is what we are doing to young people and we should not be doing that to them.

They also want to cut CUNY's budget again and we have to demand that the State restore much of the money that the Governor attempted to cut in his proposed budget. I went over a brief run through of all the things we

might have to restore: to hold everyone virtually harmless, without making any advances, it would cost about \$200 million for higher education. In order to get that kind of money, we have to get off this tax cut roll that we are on. I hope that I can ask for some of you to help us to do that by contacting each of your members of the Assembly and asking them to please re-examine the wisdom of a tax cut at a time when there's really not enough money to go around and perhaps talk to the Speaker of the Assembly and suggest to him that it might be better if we delay a tax cut until things are back in order in terms of receipts for the State government.

That will free up some of the money that will be necessary to restore the money to CUNY, to repair this PELL/TAP shell game. Of the \$200 million, there's \$93 million right there. To restore SEEK up to a higher level, which I think is very, very important. There may be other problems from SEEK -- frankly, from both directions -- and we are trying to look into that but whatever the solution is, you can't do something with nothing. And try to do some of the other things we want to do for CUNY.

President Kaplowitz: One of the things that has troubled many of us is the fact that Speaker Shelly Silver, at a Crain's Breakfast two or three weeks ago, said he is supporting the tax cut. Not only do most, if not all, of us here agree with you that we should not be doing that but we were aghast that he would say that because it seems there is no leverage then in negotiating a budget. Has the Speaker rescinded that position or retreated from it at least somewhat?

Assemblyman Sullivan: No. I am currently "off message," as we say. But that's all right: he understands that, because I'm frequently "off message." Tomorrow I'm going to Albany, next week I'm going to Buffalo, and subsequently to Long Island and to Oswego and to Binghamton and to Brooklyn and to places in the City here to try to carry the message that it is in the interest of the future of this State and of this City that we put our higher education activity back in order, that we need money to do that, and the only place we get money, really, is from the taxpayers, and we have to ask them to contribute to this. And I think that the vast majority of the people of the State, when the issue is put to them connectedly, that is to say that services cost money and we need money to provide services: that if you want your children to go to the State University or to the City University you have to pay taxes for that: where else are we going to get the money? And that those two things go together and, therefore, would you be a little forbearing -- not only forbearing, but would you encourage your political representatives to be bold in saying not that we're going to have a giant tax increase but could we just delay the decrease so that we can function.

I think that would be a reasonable thing to say and I think that if you choose to do it -- and it would be your choice, obviously -- then that would be very helpful in resolving this battle. When I am told, as you will be told, that you are coming at this from a left point of view then you can say to people, as I say to the Speaker: "Then I am making you look more moderate and, so, why is that a political negative for you?" I think battles have to be fought.

I spoke to the people in the State Education Department. They're kind of down in the dumps: everybody is jumping on the State Education Department and so I wanted to give them a little bit of pep talk and so I said: "The State Education Department has got to be independent. That is a key to your functioning well. If you are not independent you are not going to be able to do your job right. Now the Legislature is going to say that you have to do what the people want you to do and we are the people's representatives -- so you have to do what the people want you to do." Here you have independence on the one hand, here you have the Legislature pushing on them on the other hand and, I submit, it is the

tension between those two seeming opposites that is the real place where most good things happen. But if they give up on the idea of independence then the whole thing falls flat and there isn't that tension.

You have to come at us. You, who are working in the field of higher education, have to come at us who are the people's representative, who not only have to write the laws for the services but then have to ask the taxpayers to fund those services. You have to come at us with your agenda, crystal clear, so that we know what we should be doing. Now, don't worry, you won't be getting everything you ask for, you are not going to break the bank -- don't worry about that -- but you have to tell us what you need otherwise how are we going to know and how is that tension going to be created that I feel is really the nexus of American politics. People who feel that we can only do this and that we would get American politics right . . . let me tell you, American politics is very right -- by right I mean, of course, correct. It has run this country reasonably well for over 200 years. It is the model for most people who are fighting for liberty around the world. We are not so bad.

I am a big critic of a lot of things and I continue to be that but the American political system which has a constant tension going on between going in one direction and going in the other direction -- it's that tension that's the best part of our politics -- not the worst part as Rush Limbaugh, the fascist who lives right up here, by the way, -- he's not so dumb that he doesn't know where to live [laughter] -- he wouldn't live in . . . Akron.

Senator James Malone: Wait a moment! I come from Akron! [laughter]

Assemblyman Sullivan: But you don't live in Akron either! [laughter]

Senator Malone: I did, but I was smart enough to move to New York! [laughter]

Assemblyman Sullivan: That's right! And, as I was saying, it is that tension that really creates American politics and makes it work well. You've got to contribute to that tension by being strong and purposeful in your advocacy of the City University.

President Kaplowitz: Professor Harold Sullivan is the Chair of our Government Department and he is also the Chair of Chairs.

Professor Harold Sullivan: We went through this last year as, of course, you know. And we worked to have students mobilize themselves, to have faculty mobilize themselves, we wrote thousands of letters -- 10,000 from John Jay alone (and, by the way, all with private funds, of course, we did not use a dime of State money: we were very careful about that) and there were demonstrations. And all this seemed, in the end, to have some impact. Can we have an impact again doing the same thing? In other words, if we write letters and hold demonstrations will that work again or will the legislators say, "They've been there, they've done that, we don't want to see this again"? Or is there something new we can do to influence those politicians who are wavering?

Assemblyman Sullivan: You are afraid that you are caught up in that old joke of the doctor saying, "Did you ever have this before? Yes? Well, you have it again." [laughter] And that is what it is: you have it again. I think the good news is that you are, I hope, working closely with the students in this. The students will always have -- because they are emerging into this battle -- they will always have more imagination than I will ever have. They are more imaginative and they come up with new ideas. For you it's the same thing you've been doing for several years but for them it isn't: it's a new thing for them and so I urge you

to align yourselves with the students and allow their creativity to be part of your presentation. I think it will be to everyone's benefit if that happens. It's good to be in alliance anyway. Politics -- as I tell my staff, who because they may be grumbling about someone I have to reassure them -- politics, I tell them, is the business of making friends. Making friends, and making alliances is very important and when you are in a battle it is better to have allies than to not have allies: that's fairly basic.

So I think it's good for you to align yourselves with the students. There will be times when you might disagree on an issue or two: when the punch comes down on the tuition, there's always a problem. There's always problems in any alliance. There's not an alliance all of history that did not have problems. But line up with the students because you have a lot of things in common: what you have in common is that you both want to make sure that the State of New York meets its responsibility vis a vis the City University. The stronger you are in making that application the better off you will be. And yes, I do think engaging in those activities can have a positive affect.

President Kaplowitz: Last year when we were working with the students to restore the funding to CUNY, we realized that the one good thing about the budget crisis was that we had realigned ourselves with the students so well -- the faculty and students realigned ourselves -- after years of somewhat of a division between the us. So the positive aspect was that we worked together wonderfully. I would like to recognize Professor James Malone, who is on an advisory committee to Senator LaValle's higher education committee and who is, formerly, from Akron.

Senator James Malone: Yes, a very long time ago. Needless to say, Assemblyman Sullivan, I commend you for your years of great work. I'd like to ask you whether CUNY is effective in its lobbying efforts, not just when the Governor releases his budget proposal but year round. Do we lobby effectively?

Assemblyman Sullivan: First of all, you have one of the best lobbyists in Albany in Eileen Kouyoumjian Goodman. She is really very effective. She is omnipresent, she knows how to lobby well, she presents CUNY well. Good lobbyists don't moralize at you. A good lobbyist will come in and say: "Let me ask you what are the problems in such an area?" And then they get you talking to them and pretty soon they understand where they have to go to solve the problem. That's what a good lobbyist does and she does that a lot. She's a good friend. I said before and I'll say it again, although I disagree with Ann Reynolds on many things, she is an excellent spokesperson for the University in Albany. I know that in the University there is a problem, I understand that. But in Albany, she is strong, she's bright, she comes on with a kind of tough New York stance -- I know she's not from New York. I think she from near Akron [laughter], from Indiana, I think -- which is the way to get things done, quite frankly. So I think there is nothing wrong with your lobbying efforts. There are some little glitches here and there, but basically it is good.

If I had a complaint I would say that maybe somebody should work on the press a little better -- Lord knows, it is hard -- I don't envy anyone working with the press because it is hard. I find it hard. I've taken a cue from someone I knew years and years ago who told me: "I never talk off the record." That person was Cliff Wharton, who at the time was working with Nelson Rockefeller on a project. He said: "I never talk off the record." I was a reporter at the time and I always remembered that. When I went to the Assembly I decided that I was never going to talk off the record to reporters and I never have and it works well for me because you decide what you want to tell the press and what you don't want to tell them and they respect you and they come to you because they know that they

are going to get the straight story every time. So I think you need to work with the press a little more, maybe invite reporters in to see some of the better things you do. I don't think they know some of the great things that happen. I have said that of all the colleges -- and John Jay is an excellent school -- but of all the colleges it is Medgar Evers that drives the establishment nuts and why does it do that? Because Medgar Evers is an excellent college, a top-notch college, and it wasn't supposed to be. It was supposed to be a sop thrown to the Brooklyn political establishment: "If they want a college, give them a college." That's what it was supposed to be but it isn't turning out to be that.

I think that's the kind of thing the press has got to be made aware of, that there is excellence all over the University, generally and in pockets. The Graduate Center received mention in the survey reported last fall in which 8,000 professors were asked to name the best graduate programs in the country. The CUNY Graduate School was listed as among the top schools in about nine or 14 academic disciplines: it was up there with Princeton, MIT, and other such institutions of higher education and it ranked better than many prestigious schools. Now these are subjective evaluations rather than hard numbers but they are evaluations by 8,000 people, not a small number. As you know, because perhaps many of you teach at the Grad Center, the Grad Center draws from all the campuses for their faculty and so that is not only a tribute to the Grad Center but to CUNY generally: but people don't know that. The story never got into the local press. That's what has to happen.

The local press has to understand that City University is an excellent school, better because it draws from the newcomers to New York, not worse because of that but better because of that. Because, obviously, a University is a place where ideas are supposed to be bandied about and new people have new ideas, and isn't that better? If there is a problem with CUNY, I would say it is that the press could possibly be improved but it is very, very difficult. Reporters call me with a story already written. They read it over and decide: "Not enough quotes, so call Sullivan." Then they call and say, "Don't you think?" and when I say, "Yes" they will write their own words and put my name at the end of it. That's one of the things you have to be careful about. It's very hard to work with reporters sometimes but you should try your best because there's a story here that is not told well and should be told well. That would help.

President Kaplowitz: Professor Daniel Pinello is a member of the Government Department and is a leading member along with Professor Ken Sherrill whom I know you know and myself and others in THE PAC, The Higher Education Political Action Committee, which is raising money for, among other things, to contribute to key election campaigns: we have already contributed to yours, by the way. [laughter]

Assemblyman Sullivan: Thank you.

Senator Pinello: Thank you so much, Assemblyman Sullivan, for being here. I wanted to ask you what size the window of opportunity is to persuade the Legislature to delay the tax cut.

Assemblyman Sullivan: I don't know. Among the Democrats, were a poll taken today -- and I have not taken such a poll -- there might be a couple dozen in favor. But we have seven weeks from the budget deadline.

Senator Pinello: That is my question: do you anticipate that the budget will be passed on time?

Assemblyman Sullivan: I don't know. I have no idea. How's this for an answer: either it will be done on time or it will be done shortly after

the deadline or it will be done much later. [laughter] It will either be done at the end of March or early April or if not then it will be done in late June. Those are the three possibilities that I envision. But you have to shoot for the early date, for the end of March. You should have your piece in by then. You don't want to know what goes on at the end of March, because then you're dealing with insurance and other money exchanges. Whatever is in [the budget] by the end of March will probably not come out [of the budget] and that is why it is difficult to get things in after the end of March. Because in order to get something in, you have to find money somewhere or you have to get something out and that makes things harder. And so you should take as your target that by March 15 you want to have your piece in good shape. Things start to get hysterical around March 20.

President Kaplowitz: With reference to getting our piece in: although we are concerned about CUNY overall, there is one local item, local to John Jay, that we are interested in, and that is the funding for the design of Phase 11. That's not why we invited you but we were just informed the other day that there is only another week or two to have someone sponsor a bill for the funding for the design of Phase 11.

Assemblyman Sullivan: That is not necessarily true. But, nonetheless, I'd be happy to sponsor the bill.

President Kaplowitz: The timetable has to do, I believe, with a bond issue. But the fact that you are willing to sponsor a bill is wonderful.

Assemblyman Sullivan: I would be happy to sponsor the bill, but you might want to have [Assemblyman] Dick Gottfried, who represents this area, do it. But I'd be happy to talk with Dick. I don't think you need a bill but if you need a bill in two weeks I'd be happy to sponsor it but I'm sure Dick would also be happy to.

Senator James Malone: Would that bill come through the Dormitory Authority or does it come through the Legislature?

President Kaplowitz: What happened was that after the Board of Trustees meeting three days ago, on February 5, a high ranking member of the Chancellery told me that a bill is needed and that a sponsor for that bill is needed. I told her that you are coming to our Senate meeting this week and would ask you and she said that would be wonderful. I'll ask the Vice Chancellor to call you, if that is all right with you.

Assemblyman Sullivan: Good. Please have her call me. I'd be happy to talk with her about this.

President Kaplowitz: I'd like to give you this copy of the Senate's minutes of our meeting with Vice Chancellor Macari last March: appended to the minutes [#119: Attachment B] are charts developed by Professor Ned Benton for the meeting which demonstrate graphically (in both senses of the word) how critical our need for space is. According to a study subsequently conducted by Vice Chancellor Macari's office, John Jay currently has 49% of the interior space we need given our enrollment and our academic programs. And our enrollment keeps growing as this chart that Professor Benton prepared for a meeting two months ago with Vice Chancellor Freeland [Minutes #132: Attachment A-1].

It is projected that in five years we will have only 13% of the space that we need if our physical plant is not expanded. And since most of the faculty teach in North Hall and have offices there, we would be grateful if you can help us with this not only on behalf of our students, who have 75% of their courses in North Hall and all the student services, but on our own behalf.

Assemblyman Sullivan: I had not heard that it is in that much trouble but let me just double check, at your request. Certainly if a bill has to be sponsored and forwarded, I, together with Dick Gottfried, would be happy to do that.

President Kaplowitz: At Monday's Board meeting, Vice Chancellor Rothbard distributed these very interesting budget charts, which I am happy to give you, if you haven't yet received copies. They show anticipated enrollment drops because of actual and proposed cuts to CUNY's operating budget and to TAP. They are very compelling charts. In terms of lobbying, should we be going to our legislators in their local district offices or is it better to go to Albany?

Assemblyman Sullivan: There is no one who will listen to you more closely than your own Assemblymember and your own State Senator, whoever that is. I assume you don't all live in the same district, which is good. Anyone you talk to should go to their local Assemblymember. If you could get a group of 25 or 30 people into the local office of an Assemblymember or of a Senator -- every Assemblymember has a local office and every Senator has a local office -- and if you can get 25 or 30 people in there on a Thursday or Friday to meet with an Assemblymember or a Senator that's gold. If you can get 50 or 60, so much the better. Numbers count when you are having a meeting.

Once you have the meeting, logic counts, of course. But to get the meeting, numbers count. It's like a rally: you can't have a rally with 28 people, you need thousands of people. The same is true of a meeting in the local office of a legislator. If you can say that you have 25 people coming over, don't worry, the Assemblymember will be there. If he's in the City he'll find his way there because his secretary will call him to tell him he has an office jammed with constituents. He'll drop what he's doing and come over. That is a very good thing to do.

Senator Pinello: Without an appointment?

Assemblyman Sullivan: Make an appointment, if you can. But you might not be able to get an appointment or you might be given an appointment for April, which is too late. You have to get there in the next four or five weeks, with an appointment, hopefully, but if necessary without an appointment. I was speaking to a group of students in Queens who were just starting out in their advocacy who told me that they were coming to the Legislature in December and that they wanted to meet with me there at that time. I told them to tell me when they would be there and that I would make it a point to be there but that I would be the only one in Albany because the Legislature is not in session during December. They hadn't known this. So I said to them: "Why don't you get your buses and instead of going to Albany, get two busloads of people (which is what they had hoped to do), get the list of district offices, and go from office to office around Queens." I would just hope I could be there when two busloads of college students pull up and everybody piles out of the buses, creating traffic problems, horns are blowing, and they pile out, and go in to see the legislator. [laughter]. That is sood.

A couple of weeks ago I went to see the play, "How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying." I didn't really think I would get much out of it but it's been around for such a long time and I love the book: the book was fabulous. Why do we put things that are good in books in theaters? Because in theaters it has more of an impact: that's the purpose of theater. I don't know if any of you had the pleasure of seeing "The Grapes of Wrath" about three or four years ago? It knocked your socks off. You have an audience as still as death, their hands gripping the edge of their seats through the whole second act. I've read "Grapes

of Wrath." You've read "Grapes of Wrath." We have all seen the movie. But this play hit you like a sledge hammer. That's the purpose of theater. And that's the purpose of demonstrations. That's the purpose of putting 35 people or 50 people into a member's office. It has an impact. And whatever you say at that meeting, and I hope you'll be smiling, I hope you'll be polite, and logical, and rational, but whatever you say it will have more of an impact because there are people jammed in, looking around the door jamb. It gets the point across.

Another thing you can say, since the person is running for office next November (or next September in the primary) is that you intend to take Election Day off as a personal day and you are going to be on the streets, working all day long, from early in the morning until late at night. The only question remains, you explain to the legislator, is whose literature you are going to be handing out: that's the dilemma. [laughter] But, you explain, you will be there, handing out someone's literature. I think that would have an impact. I'm not telling you anything that isn't as American as apple pie. If you don't like what the people in the government are doing for you or to you, then get out there and change it around and put in someone who is more to your liking. That is what this system is all about. That's why we come up every two years for election and we should come up every two years. That is why this activity of yours has an impact. But the most important person you can talk to is your own Assemblymember, your own Senator, because they are the people that you will vote for or against on Election Day and urge your neighbors to vote for or against.

President Kaplowitz: There's an editorial in today's "New York Times" about the fact that in Oregon the elections are conducted by mail and there is tremendous voter participation. The editorial calls on other states to look into emulating Oregon. So many of the people whose voices aren't heard they work two or three jobs, they have children, there's no daycare, they go to school: it is very difficult for them to get to the polls. Do you have any reading on whether New York's Legislature might go in the direction of mail balloting?

Assemblyman Sullivan: I'm tempted to quote James Farley, who in the 1936 election said: "**As** goes Maine, so goes **Vermont.**" [laughter] So I'm tempted to say, "**As** goes Oregon, so goes Idaho." I think things work in certain areas of the world that don't work in others. I'm not against it, I don't want to be a naysayer but I just have to analyze this more and see where the votes came from, what sections of Oregon.

Senator Pinello: A Democrat won.

Assemblyman Sullivan: Yes, that's true, a Democrat won. But a Democrat may have won anyway. I've just not had time to examine it. There are people who are used to doing their business by mail and who do a lot of business by mail. There are people who are not used to doing business by mail and who don't do business by mail. And what you miss with mail balloting is the celebration of Election Day, which I think is very important and which we should probably make more of. Maybe you could have both, mail and people going to the polls. If you were to stand at polling places as I do on Election Day and see people, especially senior citizens, the men wearing fedoras, the tie knotted, maybe **78, 80 years old**, walking down the street with a cane: that's an important day for them. Women wearing hats and gloves, all dressed up, walking down the street with a walker, maybe, going to vote: that's an important day for them. It's something very, very important. That celebratory nature of Election Day. The ritual, the American ritual, is a very important ritual. I would never want to lose that.

Also, the idea of using the mail makes me nervous. My campaign

manager, who has become also my tax guy, would laugh because I used to be an adjunct teacher and I always picked up my checks personally, I never had them mailed to me. Why? Because I never trusted that I would get my paycheck. [laughter] So he would laugh and say it is my paranoia again about the mail. He asked me when I went to Albany whether I would still pick up my paycheck and I said that I would and I have.

President Kaplowitz: The "New York Times" editorial did acknowledge the possibility of more corruption in the process if voting is by mail.

Senator Rusch: And there's the potential problem of coercion, with family members pressuring each other to vote for certain candidates.

Assemblyman Sullivan: Yes, that form of voting is not as private. And things get lost. I was at a Post Office one time, reminding them that they had to get some political mail out by Election Day. They said they had received a directive and thanked me for reminding them and as I'm walking out I see carts of materials from Morris Udall, who was running for President, and I said: "So for example all this is going out by the weekend, right?" And he said, "Oh, is that political mail? Oh, then, yes, Harry. . . ." It just reaffirmed by nervousness about the mails.

Senator Jane Davenport: What do you think is the significance of so many empty seats on the CUNY Board of Trustees remaining unfilled?

Assemblyman Sullivan: Those seats are filled either by the Mayor or by the Governor. As far as I'm concerned, the seats could be left unfilled forever, or at least until we have Democrats back in office.

Senator Jane Davenport: I agree. But that is what is puzzling: now that Republicans could fill those seats, for the first time in many, many years, they have not done so. I was wondering what you think the reason might be.

Assemblyman Sullivan: I think they are waiting until they see how it goes with SUNY. I have to fault Mario Cuomo, who is a good man in many respects, but he left a lot of unfilled seats, unnecessarily. Even after he lost the election he could have rushed that through and did not. And now we are paying for it.

President Kaplowitz: The same, unfortunately, is true of Mayor Dinkins.

Assemblyman Sullivan: David Dinkins, also. You are absolutely right. I think that was unfortunate. It might seem like a light thing but we should take this as a lesson in the future, to make sure we get on political people who don't fill their seats. I think, as I said, I'd rather the seats remain empty at this point. If I get antsy with them they may fill the seats in response and so I don't want to do that. So I'm just letting sleeping dogs lie, quite frankly.

President Kaplowitz: That's an interesting reading, that they are waiting to see what happens with their appointees to the SUNY Board. Those appointees are changing the fundamental nature of SUNY.

Assemblyman Sullivan: They are awful. One woman who is now on the SUNY Board is one of the founders of Change New York. Another fellow, who came to see me, who is now the SUNY Board Chairman, spoke to me, in person, about what he called his "Republican agenda" in his role as a Trustee. It is not his job to balance the budget. His job is to be an advocate of the students and the faculty of SUNY.

President Kaplowitz: So we are going to the legislators and we are going to urge them to delay the tax cut. We also want them to restore the TAP

funding and the cuts to CUNY's operating budget.

Assemblyman Sullivan: I'd talk about restoring the cuts. That's your main position. They will probably say to you: "We'd love to help you out but we don't have any money." That will be their answer. And then you say, "You do have a tax cut coming down. Is it absolutely necessary to let that through."

Senator Rashbaum: Did you confront the Chair of the SUNY Board of Trustees about his "Republican agenda"?

Assemblyman Sullivan: He wanted a specific thing: he wanted the differential tuition to be instituted for the SUNY colleges and I told him that I would not support it. He told me all the advantages of it: he thought that I had misunderstood it. I listened to him. I said I think I understand it. They want to have in SUNY a system whereby each college would set its own tuition. So Buffalo or Binghamton or some of the colleges with a better reputation would be able to set their tuitions higher than that of the other colleges. I think it is a plan which will end up, inevitably, in the destruction of SUNY as a state university. I think if it were to go into effect, down the line, 5 years from now, they would say: "Buffalo seems to be functioning well on its own: why don't we just take it out of SUNY and make it a private college."

These are people who don't believe in government. They don't make any bones about it. I'm not telling tales out of school. They don't think that the government is right. Government is only for the military and in extremis situations. SUNY and CUNY are both governmental operations that are making the sin of working well and are putting to the lie their theory that the government can't do anything right. But here you have, present company excepted, Geneseo, one of the finest liberal arts colleges on the East Coast, doing everything right at about \$10,000 per student and here you have Williams, not that much better than Geneseo -- is anyone here from Williams? I don't want to insult anyone!
[laughter]

Senator Pinello: I am. How about Amherst?

Assemblyman Sullivan: Yes, Amherst. I meant to say Amherst. [laughter] Amherst is not that much better an educational experience than Geneseo costing twice as much (it is not the charge that is twice as much: the cost per student is twice as much). The cost, of course, is very different. That proves them to be erroneous when they say that the government can't do anything right. Of course it can.

Senator Jane Davenport: You were speaking earlier about the negative press that CUNY is getting and the fact that the media do not report good news about CUNY and that, in fact, the media echo the Republican politicians. Why do you think that is?

Assemblyman Sullivan: Part of it, I think, quite frankly, is that the press in New York City is very conservative, they are owned by conservative people. The Times is the best of them, but the Times is not really a liberal paper by any normal standard. Part of it is racism, quite frankly. Racism sells newspapers. When I worked as a reporter, I covered a boxing match in Madison Square Garden. There was a bad decision involving a boxer who won a fight he clearly lost against a Latino fighter. Half the people at the Garden were Hispanic and when they heard the decision announced they couldn't believe it and expressed their anger. Someone called the police and I was covering the boxing event and I was trying to avoid getting hurt at the same time I was trying to figure out what was going on. Finally the police came and I asked the police officer what happened here and he said: "The Spanish guy won the fight but the

white guy got the decision"! And if you were a boxing promoter, you would put those two guys together in a ring again and fill the hall. Because there is a certain built in conflict in racism. And newspapers sell conflict. They market conflict and irony.

Those are the two things that newspapers market: conflict and irony. There is built in conflict with racism. I don't know if you read Jim Dwyer's column the other day: a police officer was called to settle a dispute between a social services supplicant and a social services worker. It is unfortunate that people yell at each other and use racial slurs when they do it. But is it really worth a full page in the Daily News? Just because someone cursed someone in an office? But it is racial conflict and so it gets covered. If the parties had all been the same race there never would have been a story about it. But they were of different races and so a full page was devoted to the story, with pictures. Somebody was upset about his Social Security check, someone was rude to him and cursed him, he called the police who was cursed: end of story and yet full page in the Daily News. Why do they trash CUNY? Because CUNY is perceived as being the University for the blacks and Hispanics: and they focus on that. It's easy. It's easier than trying to get readers to think about something.

President Kaplowitz: Assemblyman Sullivan, thank you so much for meeting with us and for being so generous with your time and information.

Assemblyman Sullivan: It was a real, real pleasure. I want to thank you for inviting me.

The meeting adjourned at 4:45 with a round of applause for Assemblyman Sullivan.

Respectfully submitted,

Edward Davenport
Daniel Pinello

Recording Secretaries

Announcements from the chair

Senator Jane Davenport elected to top LACUNY post

On December 19, the Librarians Association of CUNY (LACUNY) elected Professor Jane Davenport to the position of Vice President effective immediately. As Vice President, Professor Davenport is the President-elect of the organization and will begin serving as President in September.

Better Teaching Seminars scheduled

February 29, the Senate's regularly offered, once-a-semester Better Teaching Seminar on "How to Be a Successful Applicant to Law School and How to Mentor Students Wishing to Apply to Law School" will be in Room 203 T at 3:20. A panel of faculty experts, including Professors James Bowen, Jane Bowers, Pat Johnson, and Dan Pinello, as well as current law school students who are John Jay graduates will be featured.

March 5: Better Teaching Seminar on "Teaching In-Service Students: Issues, Questions, Current and Past Experiences" will be held at 3:20 in Room 630 T. The discussion will be moderated by Professors Karen Kaplowitz and Tom Litwack.

April 18: Better Teaching Seminar on "Final Grades: What Information Do They Convey to our Students and to Others?" will be in Room 630 T at 3:20. Part of this event will be a discussion of a study which was conducted by John Jay's Office of Institutional Research: this January 1996 study is an analysis of grading patterns by academic department, by faculty status (full-time and adjunct) and by course level (100-level, 200-level, etc.). Professors Karen Kaplowitz and Harold Sullivan will moderate the discussion. Copies of the OIR Report will be distributed to those who attend.

May 2: Better Teaching Seminar on "Custom Texts: How Faculty Can Create Customized Books for their Courses" will be presented at 3:30 PM in Room 630 T. A panel of faculty who use custom texts will discuss issues of pedagogy and of pragmatic issues of how to provide such customized texts for their students.

May 8: Better Teaching Seminar on "How Faculty Can Promote Critical Thinking Skills in the Classroom and in Course Assignments" will be presented by Professors Mavis Aldridge and Henry Mazel (Communication Skills). The event is at 3:30 in Room 1281 North.

Keynote speaker chosen for the CJ Education Conference

Professor Kathryn Russell will give the keynote address on "Issues of Race in Criminal Justice Education" at the October 3-5, 1996, Criminal Justice Education Conference. Professor Russell is a member of the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology at the University of Maryland in College Park.

Visiting Distinguished Professorships approved by the Board

Dr. Jerome Skolnick, who was Visiting Distinguished Professor of Criminal Justice last semester, will continue in that capacity during the Spring semester. Professor Gilbert Geis, a widely respected expert on white collar crime, will be Distinguished Visiting Professor of Criminal Justice during the Fall 1996 semester. Both were approved by the Board of Trustees on February 5 upon the recommendation of the College.

Board of Trustees approves funds for cooling system for North Hall

On February 5, the Board approved \$750,000 for a new cooling system to replace one of the two existing systems for North Hall.

Enrollment increase over Spring 1995 semester

John Jay's Spring 1996 enrollment is 7% higher in terms of headcount compared to Spring 1995. The reports thus far indicate that enrollment at the other CUNY colleges (except NYC Tech) has declined compared to Spring 1995.

Student Council to host breakfast for legislators February 15

The Student Council will host a breakfast for Assemblywoman Deborah Glick, Assemblyman Edward Sullivan, Assemblyman Scott Stringer, Senator Franz Leichter, and Senator Catherine Abate on February 15 at 9 AM in the Faculty Dining Room.

CUNY Awareness Day at JJ scheduled for February 28

A CUNY Awareness Day is being planned at each college for special focus on voter registration and letter writing. John Jay's day is February 28. This project is the joint plan of the University Faculty Senate, the Professional Staff Congress, and the University Student Senate.

Discipline Councils needed

CUNY-wide Discipline Councils have been formed in English, ESL, Mathematics, Foreign Languages, History, Physical Education. None yet exists in such disciplines as Psychology, Sociology, etc. In most cases, the members of each Council are the chairs of the departments from every CUNY college.

Programs for in-service students being developed

A steering committee headed by Mr. George Cockburn, on which Senators Karen Kaplowitz and Tom Litwack serve, has been working through intersession on ways to recruit and retain in-service students. A report will be on the next Senate meeting agenda.

Update on CUNY Cadet Program

Mayor Giuliani's proposed budget for NYC calls for a decrease in funding of \$54.3 million for the NYPD, including \$1.4 million for the NYPD Cadet Program and \$0.5 million for the joint CUNY/NYPD Cadet Program. But \$0.7 million for the CUNY portion of the joint program remains in the CUNY budget.

NYS Senator Roy Goodman to be honored at UJA Breakfast

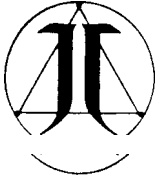
On May 3, John Jay's annual UJA Breakfast will be held in the student dining room at 9:30 AM. New York State Senator Roy Goodman will be the honoree. Professor Eli Silverman (Law, Police Science, CJ Adm) will also be honored for his outstanding contributions to John Jay College. For more information and for tickets, contact Professors Ellen Marson or Marilyn Rubin.

"Cages," written by JJ faculty, to be staged March 25 & 26

The Women Studies Committee commissioned Professors Michael Blitz and P.J. Gibson (English) to write a play for Women's History Month. The play, "Cages," is being directed by Professor Blitz and acted by JJ students. The performances, in the T Building theater, are March 25 at 3:30 and March 26 at 3:30 and at 7:30 PM.

Novelist to be Women's History Month keynote speaker

Rosario Ferre, novelist, poet, essayist, and short story writer will be the keynote speaker of Women's History Month on March 27 at 3:30 in the T Building Theater. Ferre's most recent work, the novel "The House on the Lagoon," was nominated for the National Book Award. She lives in Puerto Rico, where she was born.



ATTACHMENT B

JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The City University of New York
445 West 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
212 237-8000

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION OF THE FACULTY SENATE
OF JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE TO
ASSEMBLYMAN EDWARD C. SULLIVAN
FOR HIS EXTRAORDINARY SUPPORT OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

February 8, 1996

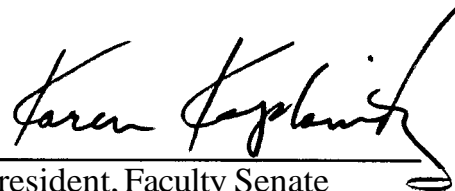
WHEREAS, New York State Assemblyman Edward C. Sullivan, who has represented the 69th Assembly District in New York County since 1976, has been and remains a tireless, impassioned, and effective supporter of the missions, goals, and programs of The City University of New York, and

WHEREAS, Assemblyman Sullivan, as Chair of the Higher Education Committee of the New York Assembly since 1987, has been a respected and eloquent proponent of public higher education, and

WHEREAS, Assemblyman Sullivan regularly visits the colleges of The City University of New York both to inform the faculty and students about political, budgetary, and policy issues important and relevant to them, and also to hear and learn from the Faculty and students about their questions and concerns, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Faculty Senate of John Jay College of Criminal Justice, on behalf of the entire faculty of the College, extends to Assemblyman Edward C. Sullivan its heartfelt gratitude, admiration, and deep appreciation for his unwavering and invaluable support for higher education in general and for The City University of New York in particular.

Approved by Unanimous Vote



President, Faculty Senate

Estimated Budget Gaps

