The Beginnings of the Columbia University Senate

This unfinished essay details the changes at Columbia University in the immediate aftermath of the student protests of spring 1968, specifically the establishment of a university legislature, "a policy-making body which may consider all matters of University-wide concern and all matters affecting more than one faculty or school,"[1] the voting body of which is comprised of representatives from all corners of the campus.

In April 1968, at the highpoint of the war in Vietnam and the Black Power movement, only days before the general strike in France and weeks before the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, students at New York's Columbia University were galvanized in protest and for a week occupied several buildings on campus, bringing the focus of the world's media on a few square acres of northern Manhattan. The catalyst for the student revolt was the university's decision to construct a gymnasium on public land in nearby Morningside Park. Although residents of neighboring Harlem were to be given limited use of this facility, local community leaders objected, seeing the project as encroachment of a private institution upon their residential neighborhood. At the same time, the Columbia chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was actively campaigning against what it claimed was the university's support of research benefiting the government's war effort. SDS saw Columbia University as a microcosm of an imperialist, racist and war-mongering American government. A series of campus protests throughout the fall of 1967 and early 1968 culminated in a rally planned for April 23, 1968.

That rally precipitated what remains the most troubled moment in Columbia's history. Five buildings on campus were occupied and barricaded by protesting students (one held exclusively by black students) who established a series of "communes" where they lived for nearly a week, only to be ejected, sometimes brutally, by the New York Police Department, on the night of April 30.[2] On May 1, the leaders of SDS called for a campus-wide strike, which galvanized almost the entire university population in solidarity, including the faculty, who voted overwhelmingly to support the strike.[3] The trauma that Columbia suffered should not be underestimated, something reflected in the transformations that were implemented in the succeeding years, for in the wake of the events of spring 1968 a new approach to the structure of the university's governance was deemed necessary.[4]

What happened at Columbia after the 1968 protests speaks directly to the issue of how, at that moment in time, the American higher education system acknowledged the need to involve its various constituencies in the decision-making processes at levels never previously considered. There were certainly precedents for this,[5] and a flood of contemporaneous publications about the changing nature of American universities – as reflected in both the protests that shook campuses in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the calls for new structures of governance within the institutions – are instructive on this issue.[6] The opening paragraph of Clark Kerr's foreword to *Academic Transformation:*

Seventeen Institutions Under Pressure from 1973, for example, is typical of this literature:

> American colleges and universities will remember the 1960s for a long time. Campus disruption, abandonment of traditions, and seemingly insatiable demands for change brought tension into the academic atmosphere, exposed serious weaknesses in campus policies and procedures, and aroused public suspicion where there had been acceptance and approval.[7]

As is this, from a 1969 collection entitled *Student Freedom in American Higher Education*:

> Students have demanded more participation in governance, using methods from both the civil rights movement and the labor movement to assert themselves. This application of force to effect change is relatively new to higher education in America and has come into colleges from the political and social milieu outside of them.[8]

A few years earlier Kerr had explained that students were a new force on campus that could not be ignored.

> There are more of them; they are more activist; they have more grievances against the campus and against society; and they are already making gains, and they may make more. For the first time, they are challenging the inner sanctum of the campus where the faculty and the administration have ruled supreme, challenging control over the curriculum and the use of the budget.[9]

 "The issue of student participation in campus decision making is an old one," wrote Verne A. Stadtman in 1973. "It was taken seriously, however, only after 1964 when it became clear that settlements of campus controversy were impossible without the concurrence of the dissenting or challenging students."[10] As the American Association of University Professors suggested back in 1966, "important areas of action involve at one time or another the initiating capacity and decision-making participation of all the institutional components."[11] Former Columbia faculty member Robert Paul Wolff, who was present on campus during the troubles in 1968, noted the following year that "the changes that really need to be made in our institutions of higher education simply will never issue from the sorts of men who would be acceptable to present-day boards of trustees and regents."[12]

Regarding the systemic causes of the disruption experienced on campuses at the end of the 1960s, key are the post-war societal changes that were reflected in the academy. As Clark Kerr reminds us, the major force on the American campus "since World War II has been the federal government." For the nation's colleges, both public and private, most large-scale scientific research

done at that moment on campuses would not have been possible without financial support from Washington.[13] "Since 1945," Daniel Bell wrote in 1970,

> a whole series of new functions has been thrust upon the university which raises the question: To whom is the university responsible? Practically without question, new functions were assumed by the university. It was almost taken for granted that the university would be the place for these tasks to be done.[14]

Indeed, the demarcation point for this shift at Columbia might have taken place in the years immediately before the war, as it was at Pupin Hall, home of the university's physics department, where much early research was done on atomic power. For some, the Columbia campus is the true home of the Manhattan Project.[15] As Columbia's administration became more involved with government agencies and departments in the post-war years – which by the 1960s included secret research contracts – we see student calls for university disaffiliation with bodies such as the Institute for Defense Analyses, and the faculty's belief that their academic freedom was being compromised. Both concerns relate to fundamental issues of transparency within the governance not only of Columbia but of all institutions of higher education. In the wake of the 1968 crisis, as the war in Vietnam escalated, the Columbia administration's ties to IDA, secret or otherwise, were untenable.[16]

The work of Carl Davidson remains the most coherent articulation of SDS' position on the academy's interconnectedness with the outside world, and in turn the nature of necessary reforms. In an undated document entitled 'University Reform Revisited,' Davidson explains that

> SDS has named the existing system in this country "corporate liberalism." And, if we bother to look, its penetration into the campus community is awesome. Its elite are [sic.] trained in our colleges of business administration. Its defenders are trained in our law schools. Its apologists can be found in the political science departments. The colleges of social sciences produce its manipulators. For propagandists, it relies on the schools of journalism. It insures its own future growth in the colleges of education. If some of us don't quite fit in, we are brainwashed in the divisions of counseling. And we all know only too well what goes on in the classrooms of the military science buildings.[17]

In 1966, the American Association of University Professors stated that

> the academic institution, public or private, often has become less autonomous; buildings, research, and student tuition are supported by funds over which the college or university exercises a diminishing control. Legislative and executive governmental authorities, at all levels, play a part in the making of important decisions in academic policy.[18]

For an example of this we need look no further than Columbia. In May 1968 a carefully researched document entitled 'Who Rules Columbia?' was published. It set out to uncover the intricate government and corporate nexus inside which the university found itself at the time.

> This pamphlet has been produced to clarify and explain the central issues. It will attempt to show concretely how Columbia University is set up not to service the needs of its own constituency – faculty and students – but rather to service outside interests which, by controlling Columbia finances, effectively control its policy. These outside interests, represented on the Board of Trustees, have organized the university as a "factory" designed to produce the skilled technicians and management personnel which the U.S. industrial and defense apparatus needs. The millions channeled into the university coffers by the agents of these interests are, for them, essentially an investment in people which, like any investment, is expected to yield certain returns.[19]

For many on campus, the issues leading to the building occupations stemmed directly from students' perceived lack of representation within the university structures. But the authors of 'Who Rules Columbia?' (many of whom were intimately allied with Columbia's protesting student body) go one step further, stating that control of the university

> by non-indigenous and non-academic interests is the crucial issue behind the student rebellion. The student contention that the trustees represent illegitimate power is based on a concept fundamental to democracy: that the authority of the rulers is legitimate only insofar as it represents the ruled. By seizing the university buildings, the students sought to dramatize the illegitimacy of the authority of the trustees and to effect, if only briefly, a redistribution of power.[20]

While the governance structures of American universities in the late 1960s were far from uniformly identical, it is fair to say that the issues leading to campus reform at the time were similar in many of the institutions that ended up implementing change. Moreover, the suggested and practiced remedies were applicable to a wide array of universities and colleges, both public and private.[21]

The specific reasons behind the establishment of Columbia University's Senate can be simply summarized. The struggles of 1968 had revealed the inadequacies of the university's system of governance. As Ted Gold, one the most outspoken SDS leaders at Columbia,[22] said at a press conference while five buildings on campus were still full of protesting students:

> What we've done must be viewed in the context of months and years of demands by the different groups of black and white students and affected community people that Columbia explain and justify its actions and policies, and that students and faculty have access to and participation in

the decisions affecting the university. To those who support our demands, but reject our tactics, we ask, "Where were you when four hundred students marched peacefully into Low Library to present Grayson Kirk with a letter asking for disaffiliation with IDA?" The official response to this letter was, "We cannot respond because there was no return address." What was the legitimate means of discussion when SDS challenged President Kirk to discuss IDA and there was no response at all? Where were you when peaceful demonstrations were held at the gym site and the university pressed charges against the minister for trespassing? And what should we have done when we presented a petition against IDA with seventeen hundred names to President Kirk, and his response was to discipline six student political leaders for marching into the building? The administration position cannot stand up under scrutiny.[23]

A Columbia faculty group explained that the actions of the students were, in fact, inevitable.

The crisis at Columbia was a spontaneous development that was in many ways inevitable… [T]his spring, just about any rally, for any anti-administration purpose, could have exploded the way this one did. The intransigence of the administration, in the face of numerous demonstrations throughout the year, had created an impasse long before the police were brought in. The administration, obviously, had failed to correctly gauge student sentiment. Protests against the gym and the Institute for Defense Analysis [sic.] went unheeded. There was no response to the Student Life Committee's report which recommended student participation in University policy making… There was no effective, meaningful communication between the administration and the students. The lack of such communication paved the way for the subsequent demonstration and the failure of negotiations to end the occupation of the buildings.[24]

Certainly, Columbia's President Grayson Kirk was perceived by many within the university community as being weak and ineffectual, guiding an administration through the troubles of the era with a collective mindset capable of delivering "The Strawberry Statement." As James Simon Kunen writes in his book of the same name, Professor Herbert Deane, acting dean of graduate faculties, had explained a year before the spring 1968 building occupations that a university "is definitely not a democratic institution" and that when decisions "begin to be made democratically around here, I will not be here any longer."

Commenting on the importance of student opinion to the administration, Professor Deane declared, "Whether students vote 'yes' or 'no' on an issue is like telling me they like strawberries."[25]

For Columbia faculty, it was clear that

academic government has failed to keep up with contemporary needs and expectations, and has been largely unresponsive – not only at Columbia University but at universities generally – both to the desires of faculty and students to play a role in the shaping of the University's policies and social goals, and to the need of defining its relationship to the society of which it is a part. There is a considerable agreement among students of university government that a reallocation of functions and responsibilities is called for among the various components of the university – trustees, administration, faculty and students – and that their mutual relationships require redefinition.[26]

The first *Columbia University Senate Bulletin* explained that the "intentions and expectations" of the Senate were

> as diverse as the many groups and individuals who joined in its enactment, but roughly their aims may be summed up as: 1) providing a mechanism for the expression of opinion by members of the University on issues facing it; 2) extending participation in decisions affecting the University as a whole; and 3) settling conflicts through discussion, negotiation, or vote rather than resorting to force or coercion.[27]

The wave of "participatory democracy" that had been experienced by many hundreds while inside the occupied buildings had fueled the desire for a more representative system of governance at Columbia. If "participatory democracy"

> emphasizes decentralization of decision making, community control, local initiative, and a willingness to substitute *ad hoc* procedures of maximum responsiveness for the rigid patterns of traditional politics[28]

then the new structures at Columbia would have to reflect these ideals. Moreover, those structures would inevitably have to be rooted in some form of direct Jeffersonian democracy.[29]

As the summer ended and the fall 1968 semester began, it emerged that since the traumatic events of April and May there had been several organizations seriously considering the changes that Columbia would need to implement. On September 18, the *Spectator* newspaper reported on

> at least ten groups now involved in "restructuring," but of these groups only four have actually been developing detailed proposals for University-wide reorganization. They are the Executive Committee of the Faculty, through its Project on Columbia Structure [sic.]; the central administration, through the office of the Vice Provost; Students for a Restructured University (SRU); and the Special Committee of the Trustees, chaired by Alan H. Temple and assisted by a management consultant firm.[30]

A year later, *Columbia Forum* magazine published a long article about the new Senate.

> Simplistic dialectic: given the structure of the University as thesis, and the strike of spring 1968 as antithesis, the synthesis becomes the Great Restructuring Sweepstakes. There was no dearth of entrants.[31]

Early on it appeared that even Columbia's trustees needed to acknowledge publicly the need for "changes in the basic structure of the University."[32] Just how open the trustees genuinely were to change is unclear. As far as the pages of the *Spectator* go, we find a report on September 27, 1968 detailing a meeting between "the student representatives to the Special Committee of the Trustees" and "their sponsors."

> The spokesman [for the students] said that the representatives are still unclear whether they are expected to formulate their own reform planks. "We're in limbo right now," he admitted. One trustee told another representative recently that the students would serve only as a "sounding board" for the Trustee's [sic.] own resolutions. The students have come to question both their own representatives and the Trustee's [sic.] intentions.[33]

The 'Interim Report of the Temple Committee,' which is essentially the Columbia trustees' plan for reform, is vague at best, specifying nowhere any details about precisely what changes might be implemented. Indeed, the word "Senate" appears nowhere. Instead we find passages like the following:

> I am sure that I speak for all of us when I say that we are here to associate ourselves to win a common purpose, namely, to determine whether, and if so to what extent and in what ways, the present structure of the University is inadequate or defective, and how it should be changed to make it more effective in realization of the great purposes of our university.[34]

One element to the story behind the establishment of Columbia's Senate is of a group of relatively moderate students who emerged as something of a counterweight to SDS and its publicized leadership of the protests and strike.[35] Restructuring of Columbia was never a coherent demand of the campus SDS leadership before, during and after the building occupations. Students for a Restructured University was active in the days after the building occupations and ultimately functioned as a coherent movement for over a year. On May 14, Mike Wallace of the Strike Coordinating Committee announced that

> The process of reconstruction at Columbia has begun. The Strike Coordinating Committee, itself an experiment in reconstruction, has been working for the past ten days on proposals for creating a new and democratic Columbia. Under the direction of the SCC's Reconstruction

Committee, study groups and research teams composed of striking students from all departments and divisions of the University are working on a draft constitution for a new Columbia…

The events of the past two weeks have generated an exciting intellectual ferment; in every part of the university students and faculty are developing plans for democratizing their departments, for giving students and faculty the key role in making decisions that affect their lives.[36]

The next day, on May 15, SRU was formally established after it "withdrew from the Strike Coordinating Committee" and committed itself "to the Restructure of Columbia University."[37] The group immediately sought to clarify its position, not least in order to distance itself from the SCC and, crucially, SDS.

We, former delegates to the Strike Coordinating Committee, while continuing to support the strike and the May 3 resolution, feel that we must refocus our attention from the mechanics of boycott to the work of restructuring the University. The trustees and the faculty have already established groups to examine restructuring. Both groups have called upon selected students to serve in an advisory capacity. We are not on strike, nor have we ever been on strike, merely to achieve an advisory role within the present University structure. We believe in the principle that the sovereignty of the University lies with the students and faculty, and that all power must derive from them.[38]

Members of the makeshift organization then spent the summer months of 1968 researching "into the problems of university restructure" and in September presented "a proposal that represents student opinion and speaks particularly to the question of student participation in a new university society."[39] SRU proposed the

creation of a "Joint Legislature" with equal student and faculty membership, which would have final authority over all University matters. It would oversee the University-wide election of Columbia's President (who would hold a five-year ceremonial position), and the election of deans and chairmen of departments. Members of the administration, under this plan, would "act as civil servants, carrying out as efficiently as possible the decisions of the Joint Legislature." They would be subordinate to the Legislature's committees. The Trustees would raise funds and ratify decisions of the Joint Legislature as a formality… "We hope that these proposals will lead to a never-ending revolution in the University – a constant innovative experiment with education," the report's prolegomena stated.[40]

Clearly even the moderate students' proposals would never be accepted by Columbia's administration and trustees.

These localized political machinations of the student groups are relevant to an understanding of how the Columbia Senate was established, as well as an historical understanding of the issues of transparency within the American higher education system. They also shed light on how the issue of restructuring ("the byword of all activities focused on the rebuilding and reorganization of the University"[41]) helped contribute to the split that emerged within the student protest movement, at Columbia and beyond. In the late 1960s, the notion that students should be involved in helping to reform, transform and enhance the university was emerging as a powerful force on campuses. Yet this ran counter to the better-publicized strategies of more radical students, including those at Columbia who, in the years and months leading to April 1968, were instrumental in establishing conditions which readied so many students for the building occupations. As Clark Kerr wrote in 1970,

> There are more claimants for power than every before, and there is no more power to be divided. Someone must lose if others gain – a zero-sum game.[42]

It is not surprising that Kerr, former president of the University of California who watched from his office window on the Berkeley campus as the Free Speech Movement took root, believed that the demands of what we might call "student power" inevitably meant that his own power-base would disintegrate. Yet for the more progressive, less radical Columbia students, "ownership" of the university was *not* a zero-sum game. While SDS leadership might have suggested that the dynamic of the 1968 protests was, simply, "us and them," SRU took a more moderate approach.[43] The ability of students to wield a modicum of power, SRU suggested, need not result in the university administration's power being necessarily eroded. What was required was a certain amount of flexibility whereby a structure could be established that engendered a multiplicity of views. Simply, power could be shared, a state of affairs that has many precedents.[44]

The students who detached themselves from the Strike Coordinating Committee and established SRU

> have not broken faith with our mentors in SDS. We continue to feel a deep gratitude to the original strikers for their role in awakening us to the political realities of our common situation and we remain in admiration of the efficiency and effectiveness of the dedicated team at Strike Central. But we have reached a point now where we must require of ourselves an affirmation of our own distinct identity, our own distinct concerns…
>
> SDS has continually emphasized the necessity for viewing our political demands within a national political context; thus the political education of the community at large has assumed for them the highest priority. Their reiterated assertion has been that a free university is impossible in an unfree society. We, on the other hand, while recognizing the force of this analysis, have nevertheless been concerned with wresting

from the present upheaval some constructive rebuilding of our immediate context…

> I confess myself to be deeply excited by the hidden promises inherent in our situation: to speak truth to those to whom we have been for so long merely polite; to claim our rightful share in shaping the context and content of our own education; to insist that we be listened to when we have something to say. Students are human beings. So, I understand, are professors. Human beings gathered together in the same room would do well to pay attention to one another.[45]

In a flyer entitled 'The Future Role of Students,' SRU explains that

> In the months since April 23, a new and significantly expanded role for students in Columbia University has begun to emerge… There are two questions which are of primary important. First, in what areas are students to be involved? Second, what organizational structure will be most likely to facilitate involvement and maximize effectiveness?

Even though SRU believed "American colleges and universities (with a few exceptions, such as Antioch)" to be "about as democratic as Saudi Arabia,"[46] there were still much to praise at Columbia and similar institutions, even as – in the months after the protests of 1968 – information about the inner workings of the university came to light.

The existence of SRU and its proposals meant that in their public pronouncements through May and the summer of 1968, President Grayson Kirk and Columbia's trustees were able to address students' calls for change not by focusing on SDS' disruptive tactics and the destruction caused by their apparent leadership of a several hundred students (who for months after their arrests had charges of criminal trespass hanging over their heads), but on more moderate calls for reform and restructure. Indeed, by the summer of that year, the leadership of Columbia SDS was increasingly alienated from the campus, their energies directed toward organizing rent strikes in the neighborhood.[47] Perhaps the administration saw in SRU a chance to engage with the student body in a positive way, demonstrating its understanding that change was necessary at Columbia.[48]

On September 10, 1968, a week before the fall semester started, the Executive Committee of the Faculty (ECF) issued its 'Preliminary Proposals for the Creation of a University Senate and a Student Assembly.' The ECF, designed to be an interim body, had come into being on May 1, 1968, while the campus was still being swept clean of debris and scalps following the police bust. A host of Columbia faculty had worked over the summer, providing "the university with the time and the political running room to focus on the consensus-demanding process of putting itself back together."[49] The proposals made clear that what was required at Columbia was a "new university-wide legislative body."

During the troublesome events of April and May of 1968, the absence of a mechanism for ascertaining the views of the faculty, let alone enabling it to react in a speedy and meaningful fashion, led first to the creation of <u>ad hoc</u> organizations or uncertain jurisdiction and scope, and ultimately to the emergency call of the entire faculty and to the establishment of the Executive Committee of the Faculty to cope with problems and issues which, it was clearly recognized, could not be adequately dealt with by existing organs of the University.[50]

The openness with which the ECF released their proposals at the end of the summer reflected its attempts to implement what was, in many people's minds, much needed change within the university's administrative structure.

Our original intention had been to devote the remainder of September to intensive consideration by the full Committee, with a view to releasing a document endorsed by the Committee in early October. We have decided instead to release the study group's proposal now, so that the entire campus may consider and comment upon it.

Because the early release of the draft has materially shortened the Committee's own study time, it cannot yet endorse the proposal. By distributing it, however, the Committee commends it to the University community as a serious proposal worthy of your earnest consideration.[51]

Indeed, the proposal was "put forth in advance of the new academic year in the hope that its dissemination at this time will lend credibility to the effort for structural reforms that is expected to continue for some time to come."[52] The ECF's fundamental desire was for "structural reform… the key issue that must be determined before other reforms can be undertaken." The most obvious way of facilitating such changes would be via

the adoption of a plan for a strong central legislative power [which] would conclude the first phase of any restructuring effort, because subjective reforms of structure can then be undertaken through the legislative processes of the University—i.e., by introduction in, and passage by, the new legislative body.[53]

The initial ECF document recommended "that a new representative body be created, to be known as the University Senate, and the University Council and the Advisory Committee of the Faculties be abolished."[54] The ECF's specific suggestions, as regards representation in the Senate, were as follows:

50 senior faculty members—i.e., officers of instruction holding the tenured rank of professor or associate professor, elected in the manner herein provided for;

about 20 faculty members not holding tenured rank, including assistant professors and "junior faculty members," defined and elected in the manner herein provided for;

10 student members, elected by a Student Assembly from its own membership;

7 members of the administration, including the President, and six other administrators, drawn from the central administration or from among deans of schools and faculties, selected by the President;

5 alumni representatives, chosen by the members of University alumni organizations or elected by the alumni at large.[55]

There were no proposed seats on the Senate for the trustees of the University because of the basic structure of this proposed system of governance at Columbia: decisions of the Senate "shall be final, unless vetoed or overruled by the Board of Trustees."[56]

In official documentation relating to the Senate, as well as, naturally, the student-run *Spectator* newspaper, the integration of student opinion into this system is particularly focused upon. The new Student Assembly is to have

representatives elected from the student bodies of the various schools and faculties. The Student Assembly would elect from among their own membership the ten student members of the University Senate, and would, in addition, have the power, by majority vote, to place items of business on the agenda of the University Senate and to require the Senate to respond to request for information or action. The Student Assembly would have final jurisdiction over matters of student life, subject only to overruling by the University Senate."[57]

The ECF were anxious to point out how progressive was their plan as regards student participation in university governance:

It should be noted that the inclusion of voting student members on a University Senate will place Columbia University in the forefront of universities providing for student participation in their government.[58]

We are persuaded that students should be represented in the University Senate, and that they should have representation which can be regarded neither as mere token, not as an undue threat to other constituencies. Such student representation is both reasonable in principle and in line with political realities. As a matter of principle, student representation in a University policy-making body is not only defensible, but desirable because so many aspects of University policy impinge directly on the interests and the very life of students on campus.[59]

As far as the administration's voice goes:

> In spite of the fact that the administration's representation amounts to only seven members out of a total of 92, the administration's voice in the University Senate will probably be considerably greater than its numerical strength. The President of the University and the other members of the Senate who represent the administration will frequently have to serve as the main source of information for the Senate and as the Senate's major link with the day-to-day activities of the University.[60]

> This is clearly a key issue when it comes to the overall usefulness of the Senate, in terms of student and other representation. The obvious question is: how open will the Columbia administration be to student requests for information? A university not being a democracy, claims of "confidentiality" can be used to prevent the absolute free-flow of information. After the ransacking of papers in President's Kirk's office by occupying students in April 1968 (and the subsequent publication of various pilfered documents), the Columbia administration might well have been more resistant than ever to allowing student representatives of the Senate access to whatever information was required. Yet opinions can be formulated only on the basis of information supplied by those in power. As Ann Florini tells us, "The cliché is not quite right: information itself is not power."[61]

> The debate is encapsulated in part in competing words: "transparency" and "the right to know" versus "privacy" and "national security." It is showing up in a host of skirmishes, in arenas ranging from the offices of municipal governments to corporate governments to corporate boardrooms in the halls of major international organizations.[62]

As such, the effectiveness of the Senate corresponds absolutely with the level of transparency within the university administration. Nowhere in the ECF's proposal is it explained how students (or even junior faculty) are to glean the information they need in order to ask informed questions of the Senate or make informed decisions. Even when discussing the 'Executive Committee' of the Senate (which is to consist of "the presiding officer of the University Senate as Chairman, and of 14 other members chosen as the Senate may decide, i.e. six senior faculty members, one assistant professor, one junior faculty member, two students, the President, and two other members of the administration, and one alumnus"[63]), it is clear that the President and representatives of the administration will have a far greater advantage not only in setting the agenda of Senate meetings, but also being able to respond to questions from other representatives. Unclear, also, is the level of access the faculty will have to information that will facilitate its own ability to formulate a coherent understanding of the issues at play.

Already by 1969, presumably only a few months after the establishment of some of the university senates in question, a national study revealed that

60 percent of faculty respondents [to a national study] rated the performance of their campus senate or faculty council as only "fair" or "poor." A more recent consideration of faculty governance has stated that "traditional structures do not appear to be working very well. Faculty participation has declined, and we discovered a curious mismatch between the agenda of faculty councils and the crisis now confronted by many institutions.[64]

By the late 1980s, one finds an article written by a professor of higher education at Columbia's Teacher's College entitled 'The Latent Organizational Functions of the Academic Senate: Why Senates Do Not Work But Will not Go Away.'[65] Birnbaum gives a good survey of the literature about various constituencies' perception of how functional the senate system is, taking in evidence going as far back as 1918.

The ECF's summary of its proposal is as follows:

In our view, Columbia's greater needs, as evidence by the breadth and depth of Columbia's crisis, call for a response that will not only bring Columbia University abreast of other major universities, but that will take it beyond them. The proposed University Senate therefore is intended to mark a considerable advance over other existing university assemblies by reason of its broad jurisdictional range and power, by reason of its clear delegation of substantial power and responsibility for university policy into the responsible hands of the tenured faculty, and by reason of affording a meaningful opportunity for participation by all members of the University in the policy-making process.[66]

A second draft of the ECF's proposal was issued on January 5, 1969. Several changes had been made to the original document, not least because the document encompassed

numerous contributions to the idea of a University Senate from all of the components of the University, including faculty, students, members of the central administration, members of the research institutes, library staffs, and from other members of the University community. Such views were collected in the course of numerous discussions, both informal and formal, between members of the Executive Committee and other members of the University, in open forums and in informal meetings of every kind as well as during the summer of 1968 by means of a questionnaire distributed to the faculty.[67]

Joint hearings were also held between October 18 and November 12, 1968. A series of written statements were submitted and "exceedingly useful" testimony given.[68] As detailed in the January 5, 1969 draft,[69] the total number of representatives to the Senate was now to be 99:

Tenured faculty (professors or associate professors)	41
University Professors ("who shall serve by virtue of their rank")	3
Non-Tenured Faculty	14
Students ("from the different schools")	20
Administration ("including the President, the Provost and five other members of the administration appointed by the President from among the central administration and deans of the schools and faculties")	7
Affiliated Institutions (Barnard, Teachers College, School of Pharmacy, Union Theological Seminary)	6
Other groups (library, research and administrative staff, alumni)	8

The final ECF proposal was published in the *Spectator* on February 17, 1969 with the aim of establishing an organization "composed of all of the groups that form the University and that may rightly claim a share in shaping its policies and its future."[70] The ECF proposal was ultimately to be the document that served as the basis of the actual Senate structure.

 The next day, a scathing *Spectator* editorial was published about the ECF proposal which, notes *The New York Times*, "contended that real power in the University would still be left in the hands of the trustees."[71]

> Many of the differences between the earlier report and the one released Friday are differences in language. While some committee members may say that these differences are nothing more than an attempt to make the proposal more "gracious,' it is obvious that many of the changes represent serious reductions in the power of the Senate.
> If last spring taught us nothing else, it taught us to pay close attention to words. Consider for example the following changes. The new Senate is defined as "a policy-making body which may consider all matters of University-wide concern." In the staff proposal, on the other hand, the Senate was defined as "a policy-making and legislative body with full jurisdiction and power to deal with all matters of University-wide concern."[72]

Four weeks later, after having received "numerous written and oral comments" during "an intensive period of student and faculty meetings, smokers, discussions and conferences,"[73] various changes were made and a revised proposal was published on March 20, 1969.[74]

We learn much from the Third Interim Report of the Special Committee of the Trustees, which details its response to the ECF's proposals. The document is an astonishingly vague piece of "wait and see" writing:

> The Committee reaffirms its belief that the establishment of the Senate is an innovative step which may prove of great benefit to the University and which holds promise if realizing the purposes expressed in our Second Interim Report as follows: "The main objective must be to establish a body through which the resources and wisdom of the University may be drawn upon, the current opinion of the University community may be expressed, communication improved, and innovative ideas brought to bear on University problems." While the Committee recognizes that the Senate must be regarded as experimental in some respects, it believes that it is important that this step be taken. The Senate must pass the test of practical experience and be subject to change as need for change is indicated…
>
> Precisely honed By-Laws and Statutes delineating the respective functions of Trustees, administration, faculty and students are only a means to an end and not the end itself. The end must be that the governance of the University shall promote unity and cooperation and be effective. To maximize its effectiveness, the government must be acceptable to faculty and students, as well as to administration and Trustees. The Committee does not minimize the importance of clear and unambiguous Statutes and By-Laws. However, the test of the efficacy of a University-wide body is not in the language enacting it, but in its operation.[75]

Law professor Michael Sovern, chairman of the ECF, is quoted in the *Columbia Spectator* on February 17, 1969. Of the Senate, he says that both "its power and importance ultimately depend on whether students and faculty take it seriously." As a *Spectator* editorial explained the next day,

> Faith is a shoddy substitute for reason; it is not the answer to Columbia's problems. Yet as Professor of Law Michael Sovern said last week about the Executive Faculty Committee's proposal for a University Senate, the success of the recommended student-faculty-administration body depends, in the final analysis, on how much faith people place in it.[76]

An undated flyer distributed on campus at the time of the first election of the Senate injects an air of drama into the process, suggesting just how important issues of accountability and students' accessibility to the decision-making processes of the university were at that moment in time.
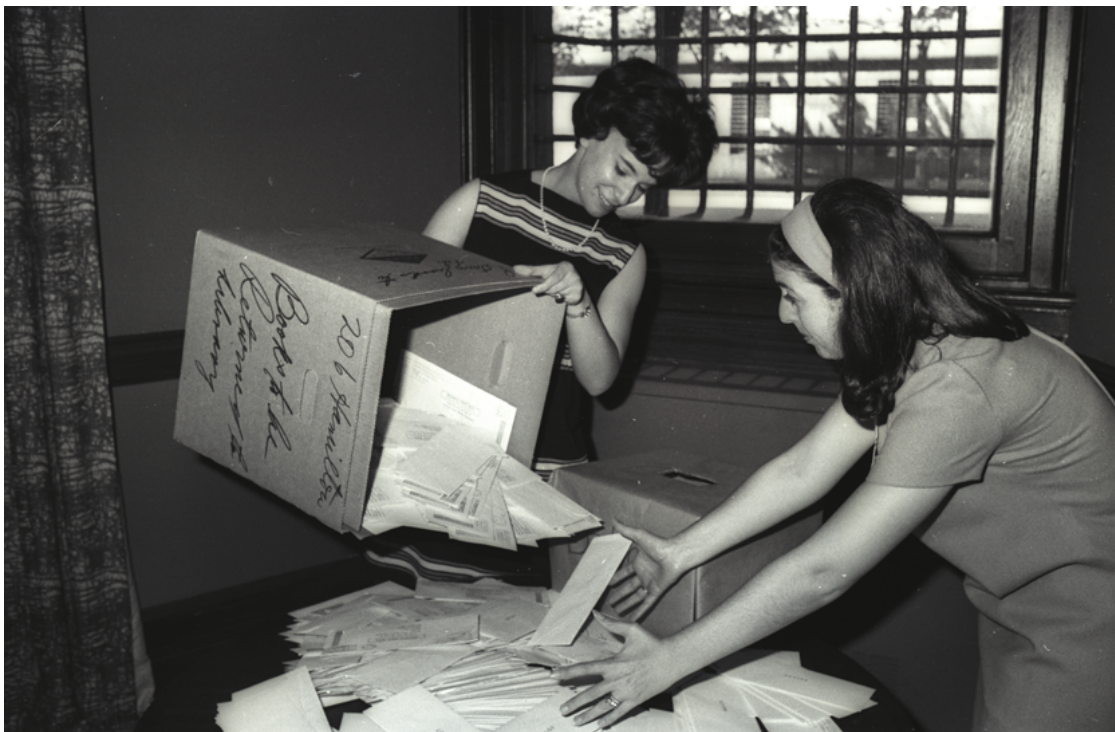
> Your actions within the next few days may help determine the quality and success of representative government at Columbia University. By the end of this month the University Senate should be functioning. Its deliberations

will guide the future of the University in virtually every important area of decision. The success of the Senate will depend upon its getting active support and the best possible representation from every constituency. If <u>you</u> have something to offer to the government of the University, become a candidate. Act quickly![77]

25,000 copies of the ECF proposal were distributed to all corners of the university, all containing a sample ballot. Voters were encouraged to "<u>Study these before voting!</u>" Classes were suspended between 11am and 2pm on March 24, 1969 "for a series of public discussions on the issues."[78] After all, "The future of the University depends substantially on <u>your</u> good citizenship in assuming a personal responsibility to vote."[79]

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March 2010

Ballot counting, 5 May 1969

Senate meeting, 26 September 1969

[1] 'Proposal for the Establishment of a University Senate at Columbia University by the Executive Committee of the Faculty,' January 5, 1969. Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 40, Folder 12, p.3.

[2] For good summaries of these events, see Friedman, Robert, et. al., *Up Against the Ivy Wall: A History of the Columbia Crisis* (1968) and Grant, Joanne, *Crisis at Columbia* (1969). The official university report of the events (*Crisis at Columbia*, 1968) contains much useful background information to the troubles.

[3] The events of the aftermath of the "police bust" are something of an unwritten history. Most of the substantial studies of what happened at Columbia in 1968 were written before the dust settled and/or focused on what happened in the years, months and days leading up to the summer of 1968.

[4] I am borrowing John J. Corson's definition of "governance": that art of process "with which scholars, students, teachers, administrators and trustees associated together in a college or in a university establish and carry out rules and regulations that minimize conflict, facilitate their collaboration, and preserve essential individual freedom." From Corson's *Governance of Colleges and Universities* (1960), pp.12-13, quoted Crane, Robert M., 'Student Governance and the Issue of Student Freedom,' in Vaccaro and Covert, *Student Freedom in American Higher Education* (1969), p.49.

[5] See Klopf, Gordon, *College Student Government* (1960). Clearly the issues of student participation in decision-making were very much alive in the years before 1968. In the foreword to Klopf's book, Samuel B. Gould, former President, Antioch College and Chancellor, University of California, Santa Barbara, writes: "College and university administrations, in the midst of their declarations of eagerness to give youth a proper sphere of campus activity, all too frequently interpret this "proper sphere" as one far removed from the serious and vital campus decisions. Furthermore, they are all too prone to show in their own administrative actions a disregard for the democratic process that must shake the faith of students who observe or are subject to them."

[6] See, for example, Barlow and Shapiro, *An End to Silence: The San Francisco State Student Movement in the 60s* (1970); Barzun, *The American University: How it Runs, Where it is Going*

(1968); Bell and Kristol (eds.), *Confrontation: The Student Rebellion and the Universities* (1969); and Forster and Long (eds.), *Protest! Student Activism in America* (1970). The volume of relevant material is staggering: a complete list would run to hundreds of books and, probably, thousands of articles. Crane, for example, cites three: Williamson and Cowan, *The American Student's Freedom of Expression* (1965), Gorovitz (ed.), *Freedom and Order in the University* (1967), Butz (ed.), *To Make a Difference* (1967) and Lloyd-Jones and Estrin, *The American Student and His College* (1967). There were at least two series of books published about the state of the American higher education system: The Jossey-Bass Series in Higher Education (which includes titles such as Altbach, Lauder and McVery (eds.), *Academic Supermarkets* (1971) and the mammoth Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, which is comprised of dozens of books and technical reports. Many authors seemed to focus on these issues exclusively. See, for example, Lewis B. Mayhew, who published nearly ten books about the academy starting in the mid-Sixties.

[7] From the foreword to Reisman, David and Stadtman, Verne A. (eds.), *Academic Transformation: Seventeen Institutions Under Pressure*, one of a series sponsored by The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973), p.xix.

[8] Crane (1969), p.51.

[9] Kerr, Clark, 'Governance and Functions,' Daedalus, Vol. 99, No. 1, p.112. Also in Graubard and Balloti (eds.), *The Embattled Univeristy* (1970).

[10] Stadtman, Verne A., 'Constellations in a Nebulous Gallaxy,' from Reisman and Stadtman, p.3.

[11] 'Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities,' October 12, 1966. The statement, which was jointly formulated by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the American Council on Education (ACE), and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (AGB), can be found on the website of the AAUP in a slightly different version to the one adopted in April 1967. Several changes to the text were made in April 1990 "in order to remove gender-specific references from the original text." (http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/governancestatement.htm)

[12] Wolff, *The Ideal of the University* (1969), p.133.

[13] See Ridgeway, James, *The Closed Corporation: American Universities in Crisis* (1968). From the book's back cover: "Has your university sold out to industry and the war machine? When you finish this book, you'll know!"

[14] 'The Governance of the Universities,' *Daedalus*, Vol, 98, No, 4 (Fall 1969), p.1033. See also Bell's *The Reforming of General Education: The Columbia College Experience in its National Setting* (1969): "As a new seat of power, as a source of technical and policy-making advice for those with political power, and as one of the chief means of obtaining place and preferment in other occupational sectors of society, the university will not be able to escape involvement, despite its ancient rank as realm of disinterested truth, in political storms and political wars.' (pp.312-312.) (Also in Graubard and Balloti.)

[15] See 'Why They Called It the Manhattan Project,' *The New York Times*, October 30, 2007.

[16] See, for example, Serge Lang's article 'The university and defense contracts,' *Columbia Spectator*, October 7, 1968. One could almost equally quote from Florini (2007): "After World War II, with the expansion of governmental bureaucracies in many countries and the emergence of multinational corporations and large intergovernmental organizations came new concentrations of power able to withhold information from people whose lives they affected. At the same time, the Cold War led to the rise of a highly secretive national security complex in the traditional bastion of transparency, the United States." (p.7).

[17] 'University Reform Revisited,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 40, Folder 1. See also Davidson's SDS pamphlet *The New Radicals in the Multiversity and Other SDS Writings on Student Syndicalism* (1967). See also 'Columbia's New Senate,' *Columbia Forum*, Fall 1969, an interview with a 'graduate student member of Students for a Democratic Society': "The new Senate is a procedural change and not a meaningful change. It does not address itself to some of the basic questions – what is the function of a university, and what is its relationship to society, and its responsibility to the community" (p.21).

[18] 'Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities,' October 12, 1966.

[19] 'Who Rules Columbia?' May 1968, North American Congress on Latin America. (http://www.utwatch.org/archives/whorulescolumbia.html)

[20] 'Who Rules Columbia?'

[21] See Reisman and Stadtman. See also Wallerstein and Starr (eds.), *The University Crisis Reader, Volume 1: The Liberal University Under Attack* (1971), which contains an important document issued by a joint committee of the American Association of University Professors, U.S. National Student Association, Association of American Colleges, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, and National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, in June 1967 (pp.405-414). See also 'Columbia's New Senate,' *Columbia Forum*, Fall 1969, a comment by Professor of Law Frank Grad, 'draftsman of the original plan of the Senate': "It's clear now that Columbia University's problems in the spring of 1968 were conditioned by its particular structure and organization, and yet all universities difficulties are very similar" (p.21).

[22] Ted Gold later became involved in the Weatherman organization and was killed in 1970 when a bomb he and his colleagues were making accidentally exploded in a Greenwich Village townhouse.

[23] Strike Coordinating Committee press conference, Columbia campus, April 1968.

[24] From an undated, untitled document, Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9. One could cite from any number of similar documents that make up this voluminous and extraordinarily fertile collection of material in the Columbia archive. The changes at Columbia in the months after the protests reflect Fung, Graham and Weil's analysis of the failure of recent transparency policies implemented by the Bush administration: "They represented compromises forged from conflict, as people and organizations with diverging interests and values battled over how much information should be made public and in what forms." (*Full Disclosure: The Perils and Promise of Transparency*.)

[25] Kunen, James Simon, *The Strawberry Statement: Notes of a College Revolutionary* (1969), p.121.

[26] 'Preliminary Proposals for the Creation of a University Senate and a Student Assembly,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 40, Folder 11, Series 13.1, pp.2-3. Echoing the American Association of University Professors' 1966 statement, the ECF add (pp.5-6) that "It should be candidly recognized and expressly stated, too, that the ineffectiveness of existing University bodies for the expression of faculty opinion, and for the effective assertion of the faculty's role in formulating University policy was evident even prior to the recent crisis." The document goes on to note that Columbia is by no means the only university that is currently implementing these kinds of changes. See also 'Proposal for the Establishment of a University Senate at Columbia University by the Executive Committee of the Faculty': "Adequate communication and the opportunity for 'appropriate joint planning' have been significantly lacking at Columbia University in the past, with little opportunity for the faculty, students and others to become informed or involved. Other universities have given their tenured faculty a far stronger voice in policy-making at the University level. Columbia is also far behind other institutions in almost totally excluding non-tenured faculty and students from any role in the University's affairs." (p.9).

[27] Columbia University Senate Bulletin: Report on the First Term of the Columbia University Senate, 1969-1971, p.1.

[28] Wolff, *The Ideal of the University*, 1969, p.123. Regarding "community control," see contemporaneous literature on the community action programs, for example Kramer and Specht (eds.), *Readings in Community Organization Practice* (1969) and Brager and Purcell (eds.), *Community Action Against Poverty* (1967).

[29] See Polletta, Francesca, *Freedom is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements* (2002). Polletta's book is a useful study of the formulation of a particular kind of "participatory democracy" that was seen within the New Left of that era.

[30] Starr, Paul, 'Plan Recommends University Senate,' *Columbia Spectator*, September 18, 1968, p.1. See a press release from Alan H. Temple, Chairman of the Special Committee of the Trustees of Columbia University (May 7, 1968): "At its special meeting on May 1, the Board of Trustees of Columbia University appointed a Special Committee, composed on Messrs. Luce, McGuire, Paley, Wein, and myself, to consult with representatives of the administration, faculty,

students, and alumni, and to study and recommend changes in the basic structure of the University." (Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 5.)

[31] 'Columbia's New Senate,' *Columbia Forum*, Fall 1969, p.23.

[32] Office of Public Information, Columbia University, press release, May 2, 1968, Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 40, Folder 5. A press release dated May 6, 1968 contains more ambiguous language: "The Trustees regard it as their duty and responsibility to make sure that all possible steps will be taken to correct any situation that may have made it possible for any group to paralyze and disrupt a great University." (Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 5.)

[33] Stern, Michael, 'Students, Trustees Find Barrier,' *Columbia Spectator*, September 27, 1968, p.1. On October 3, 1968, after two trustees stepped down from their posts, a *Spectator* editorial notes that "In the wave of restructuring that is imminent at Columbia, it is crucial that the board of Trustees be given a complete overhauling." The recommendation of Students for a Restructured University, as seen in their proposal released October 3 1968, is that of "the election of Trustees, as vacancies occur, alternatively by all alumni and all members of the University, for six-year terms." See *Spectator*, October 4, 1968: 'SRU Released Plan For Restructuring.'

[34] 'Interim Report of the Temple Committee,' *Columbia Spectator*, October 10, 1968, p.S-2.

[35] It is important to note that the notion of SDS "leading" the protests in April 1968 is a contentious one. It is generally acknowledged that that events on campus that month were spontaneous, led not necessarily by ideology or careful leadership, but rather fueled by a popular mass-movement.

[36] 'Reconstruction at Columbia,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9.

[37] 'Strike for a Vote, Not a Voice,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9.

[38] 'Students for a Restructured University,' May 15, 1968, Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9. One might conclude that this split between SDS (members of which were intimately involved in the Strike Coordinating Committee) and SRU took place because of the increasing radicalism of SDS leadership, something that continued throughout the summer and into the next academic year. Ultimately, the seeds of what became Weatherman can be seen to have been sowed in spring 1968. See a speech by John Thoms, Chairman of SRU, May 16, 1968 (Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9), where he notes that "the Strike Coordinating Committee has been split between the so-called 'moderates' and 'radicals.'" See also disparaging remarks made about "the prolonged use of 'confrontation politics,'" (SRU press release, May 22, 1968, Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9.)

[39] 'Projected Summer Work Program,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9.

[40] 'Columbia's New Senate,' *Columbia Forum*, Fall 1969, 23.

[41] Starr, Paul, 'Plan Recommends University Senate,' *Columbia Spectator*, September 18, 1968, p.1.

[42] 'Governance and Functions,' Daedalus, Vol. 99, No. 1, p.111.

[43] At least two individuals, both involved in Students for a Restructured University, told me in interviews, independently of each other, that one of the most important things they learned during the troubles of spring was that they were "Mensheviks, not Bolsheviks." As John Thoms, Chairman for SRU in May 1968, told me, he "played Kerensky to Mark Rudd's Lenin."

[44] See, for example, Kerr's article, which compares the North American campus system with university structures around the world, for example in Britain, where "the organized faculty has predominant influence," France, where "authority has resided until recently with the separate faculties and their deans and with the Ministry of Education," and Germany, where the system of governance "has rested with the individual full professor directing his area of scholarship and with the State government." Further on (p.117), Kerr writes that "students are in an advantageous position to share in the governance of general education (with the interested faculty) and of community life (with sympathetic administrators)." This might be the key to the SRU position: the presidents, boards and trustees might learn to appreciate that devolving some aspects of control

over issues that directly effect students might actually strengthen their moral authority over the student body, and in turn their power.

[45] 'Speech by John Thoms, Chairman of Students for a Restructured University, Delivered to a Meeting of Students in General Studies on May 16, 1968 in Wollman Auditorium,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9. It is interesting to note that as far as Students for a Restructured University was concerned, due to the close connections between a number of Columbia students and local community leaders in Harlem and Morningside Heights (not least because of programs such as Double Discovery and the Citizenship Council), the issue of transparency and participation in the decision-making process at Columbia, as reflected in the structure of the University Senate, stretches beyond the boundaries of the campus. During their summer-long research program, SRU was careful to include the views of the neighborhood community. (See 'Projected Summer Work Program,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9.) The Executive Committee of the Faculty deemed that the Senate need encompass a university community that goes no further than alumni. (See 'A Plan for Participation: Proposal for a University Senate with Faculty, Student, Administration and Other Membership,' March 20, 1969, p.24.)

[46] 'For Democracy in Universities,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 14, Folder 9.

[47] McCaughey, pp.470-474.

[48] The administration, it seems, was also able to put to one side the views of a group like the International Council on the Future of the University (the Columbia faculty members of which represented only the most reactionary professors), which insisted upon "the need for the assertion of administrative/executive authority, without necessarily supporting Kirk." (McCaughey, p.463.)

[49] McCaughey, Robert, Stand, *Columbia: A History of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004*, p.465. There is a book-length study to be written (indeed, there surely exist several) about the role of the faculty within America's system of higher education. Philosopher Robert Paul Wolff, present on the Columbia campus in spring 1968, has written of the 'Aristocracy of Competence as the Principle of Authority in the University': "[W]hen degree requirements are set, faculty are hired or promoted, examinations are graded, and students passed or failed, final authority should rest in the hands of the masters of each field whose proven competence equips them to pass judgment on the qualifications of prospective practitioners. What is more, the preponderance of authority belongs by right to the ablest members of the profession (regardless of age). In short, the slogan of the professional university is, All power to the senior faculty! The students, who have been chosen by competitive criteria of ability and preparation, are expected to submit to the authority of those men and women whose demonstrated competence defines the standards of the profession to which the students aspire to be admitted. The administration, insofar as one is required at all, ought to be a servant of the faculty, for *as* administration it lacks the knowledge to define or enforce professional standards in a university." (Wolff, *The Ideal of the University*, 1969, pp.113-114.)

[50] 'Preliminary Proposals for the Creation of a University Senate and a Student Assembly,' pp.4-5.

[51] ibid., cover page.

[52] ibid., p.3.

[53] ibid., p.4.

[54] ibid., p.7.

[55] ibid., p.13. The proposal goes on to detail how faculty and student members of the Senate are to be elected. Vice-President David Truman's comments on the September 10, 1968 proposal address the issue of alumni representation, and in turn question the fundamental structure of the ECF's suggestions. See 'Comment on "Preliminary Proposals for a University Senate and a Student Assembly" submitted to the Executive Committee of the Faculty, September 10, 1968' (Columbia University Archives, Central Files, University Senate Files, 1968-1971, Box 550, 1.1.855, 9/1968.) As regards the inclusion of alumni in the Senate, note that one of the earlier proposals issued was the Walsh Report, on August 12, 1968. Lawrence E. Walsh was a trustee and President of the Alumni Federation: "We do not suggest any basic change in the structure of University government although we suggest consideration of several possible improvements."

This includes "the creation of overseeing 'Boards of Visitors' for each division of the University, appointed by and responsible to the Trustees." ('Columbia's New Senate,' *Columbia Forum*, Fall 1969, p.23.)

[56] 'Preliminary Proposals for the Creation of a University Senate and a Student Assembly,', p.8. "When the trustees veto or disapprove any action of the Senate, they shall return the measure to the Senate with full information and explanation of the reasons for disapproval. ('Proposal for the Establishment of a University Senate at Columbia University by the Executive Committee of the Faculty,' p.34.)

[57] 'Preliminary Proposals for the Creation of a University Senate and a Student Assembly,', pp.8-9.

[58] ibid., p.15. A footnote states: "The evidence available to the staff of the Project indicates that such provisions have to date been confined to a small number of liberal arts colleges (Antioch, Bennington, George Williams, Talladega, etc.).

[59] ibid., pp.20-21.

[60] ibid., p.18.

[61] Florini, p.1.

[62] ibid., pp.1-2.

[63] 'Preliminary Proposals for the Creation of a University Senate and a Student Assembly,', pp.28-29.

[64] See Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 'A Governance Framework for Higher Education,' *Educational Record* (1983), quoted in Birnbaum, Roger, 'The Latent Organizational Functions of the Academic Senate: Why Senates Do Not Work But Will Not Go Away,' *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 60, No.4 (1989).

[65] Birnbaum (1989).

[66] 'Preliminary Proposals for the Creation of a University Senate and a Student Assembly,', p.9.

[67] 'Proposal for the Establishment of a University Senate at Columbia University by the Executive Committee of the Faculty,' p.7.

[68] ibid., pp.8-9.

[69] ibid., p.1.

[70] 'A Plan for Participation: Proposal for a University Senate with Faculty, Student, Administration and Other Membership,' March 20, 1969, p.II, Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 40, Folder 10. An original draft of the proposal was published in the Columbia *Spectator*, February 17, 1969.

[71] 'Concept of a University Senate Praised on Columbia Campus,' *The New York Times*, February 19, 1969.

[72] 'The University Senate,' *Columbia Spectator*, February 18, 1969. It is noted that the Special Committee of the Trustees adopted the ECF's initial proposal as the starting point for change, believing that it "provided the most useful framework for its own study." (Special Committee of the Trustees, Third Interim Report, May 12, 1969, Columbia University Archives, Central Files, University Senate Files, 1968-1971, Box 550, 1.1.855, 5/1969 (2 of 2).)

[73] 'A Plan for Participation: Proposal for a University Senate with Faculty, Student, Administration and Other Membership,' March 20, 1969, p.II.

[74] Changes include the total number of representatives raised by one: tenured faculty were given 42 rather than the previous 41.

[75] Special Committee of the Trustees, Third Interim Report, May 12, 1969, Columbia University Archives, Central Files, University Senate Files, 1968-1971, Box 550, 1.1.855, 5/1969 (2 of 2).

[76] 'The University Senate,' *Columbia Senate*, February 18, 1969.

[77] 'Nominations and elections to the new University Senate,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 41, Folder 22, Series 8.

[78] ibid.

[79] 'Don't Throw Your Vote Away,' Columbia University Archives, Protest and Activism Collection, Box 41, Folder 22, Series 8.