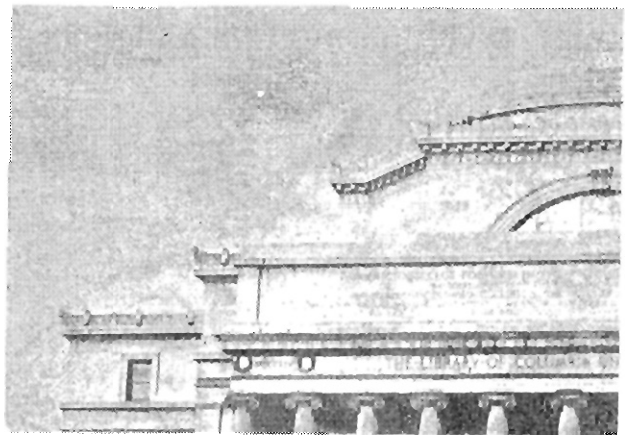
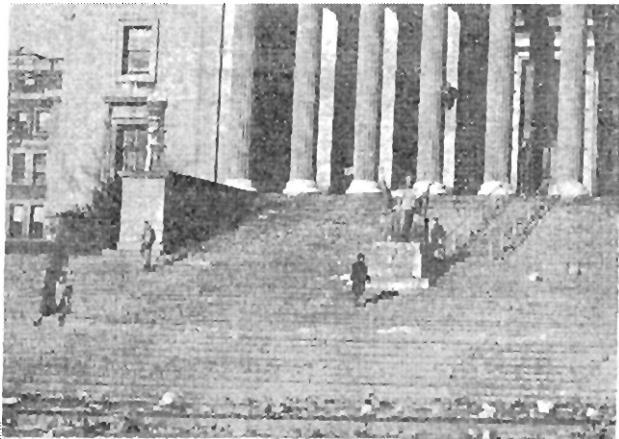


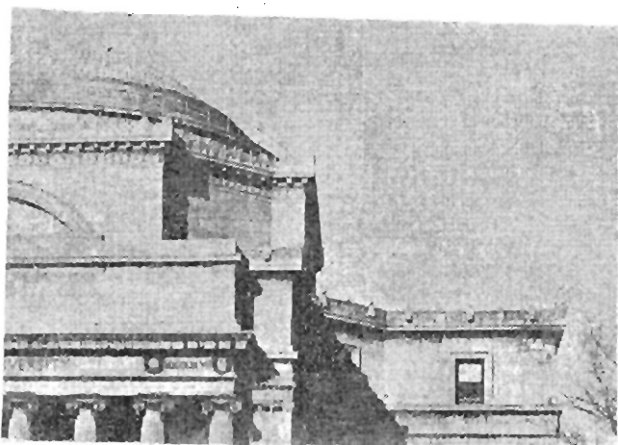
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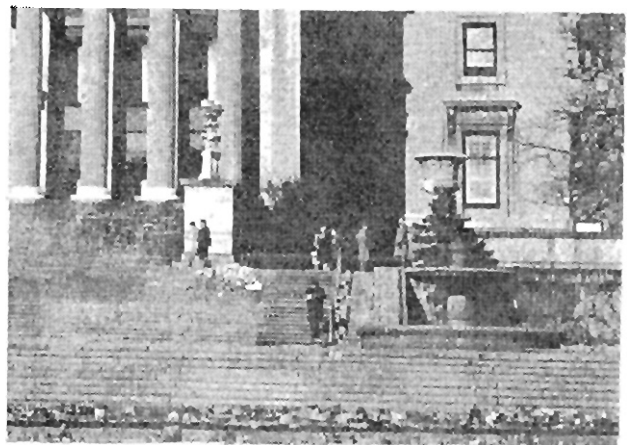


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In This Supplement:

This supplement is not meant to be read at a sitting. Included in it are the major reports that have been issued this summer and fall by campus groups and committees on the subject of University reform. Most of the reports are printed here in their entirety, gathered together for purposes of evaluation and comparison. It is hoped that this collection of proposals will serve students and faculty as a reference in the coming months as each report comes up for discussion before the Columbia community.

The order in which the reports are presented is a function of mechanical considerations, not an indication of priorities.

The interim report of the Special Committee of the Trustees, released on August 28, is the only statement the Trustees have issued on questions of institutional reform since the spring uprising. According to Alan H. Temple, committee chairman, who recently retired from the Board but continues on the committee, the trustees' final report is not expected for several months.

Two statements adopted by the student representatives to the Temple Committee during the summer follow the Trustee report. Although several individual students have broached restructuring plans to the Trustees, no plan has been accepted by the representatives as a group.

The most extensive plan for reform adopted by students is the work of the Students for a Restructured University, an organization whose ancestry reaches back to last spring's crisis, the period of birth of most of the groups concerned with restructuring. Members of SRU have emphasized that their pro-

posals on the University are not final, but will be continually subject to revision. (A report of SRU's plan in Spectator last week reflected some provisions of an earlier draft which have since been altered.)

The Executive Committee of the Faculty, another descendant of last spring's uprising, created two study groups in the wake of the crisis. The first, a fact-finding commission headed by Archibald Cox, released its report last Saturday; excerpts from its conclusions which are particularly relevant to matters of University reform have been printed at the end of the supplement.

The second study group, the Project on Columbia Structure, directed by Adjunct Professor of Law Frank P. Grad, issued its major recommendations on September 10, in time for a meeting of the Joint Faculties of Morningside two days later. No action has yet been taken on the staff proposal either by the faculty or by the Executive Committee, although the Executive Committee has commended the plan "to the University community as a serious proposal worthy of its earnest consideration." The Project on Columbia Structure will also issue a summary report on "the problems of governance of Columbia University" in the near future.

Early in the summer Vice President and Provost David B. Truman issued a letter which dealt with various issues involved in reorganizing the University. Vice Provost Herbert A. Deane, working with Assistant Professor of Government James Connor, wrote several essays during the summer on disciplinary questions and on the role of faculty and students in the University. Both the Vice President and Acting Presi-

dent Andrew Cordier have withheld comment on proposals for reform since that time. The essays issued by the Vice Provost's office are thus the main administration statements on restructuring.

During the week of October 21 hearings will begin on restructuring proposals under the joint auspices of the Executive Faculty Committee, SRU, the student representatives to the Trustees, the Columbia University Student Council, and the administration. A seven-man panel, with a rotating membership, will hear testimony on the proposals and will seek to establish areas of agreement and lines of disagreement on the main issues of reform. The ground rules of the hearings will be set by the panel once it is constituted. What will occur after the hearings also remains to be determined. It is expected, however, that after reformulation of the proposals, referenda may be taken among faculty and students on the various plans. If a plan is approved by both constituencies it will be submitted to the Trustees. But it may be several months before that will happen, and considerably longer before any changes actually take effect.

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Interim Report of the Temple Committee

To the Trustees of Columbia University:

The Special Committee of the Trustees of Columbia University was appointed at a meeting of the Trustees on May 1, 1968. The mandate given to the Committee was "to study and recommend changes in the basic structure of the University". The Committee was instructed to consult with representatives of the administration, faculty, students and alumni of the University concerning its basic structure.

At the same meeting the Trustees expressed their deep appreciation to the newly designated Executive Committee of the Faculty for its constructive efforts. They requested that the Executive Committee likewise make such a study and recommendations and consult with the Special Committee.

The Special Committee has resisted pressures to turn it into a vehicle for crash decisions. It has interpreted its mandate as requiring it to move with all possible speed, but with full consultation and research, and full evaluation of experience and opinions of interested people. The Committee has met regularly since its appointment. In order to create a representative body of students to work with it and to provide it "with a clear sense of the views and proposals of students in each school," the Committee asked the dean or director of each faculty or school to hold an election of student representatives. In these elections 26 students and 2 alternates representing 15 schools and faculties were chosen for this purpose. The Committee has held meetings with these students, with the Executive Committee of the Faculty, with President Kirk, Acting President Cordier and Vice President [redacted] the deans and directors of the various schools and faculties, with admissions officers, with representative alumni and others. Further group meetings are scheduled. In addition, there has been a great amount of informal and personal contact.

"The instrumentalities for formulating and eliciting (the faculty's) positions . . . have not functioned effectively."

The objective of these meetings was set forth at the beginning of the first meeting with students, when the Chairman made the following statement:

I am sure that I speak for all of us when I say that we are here to associate ourselves in 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 realizing the great purposes of our University. To this objective the Trustees wholeheartedly commit themselves. I define the word "structure" as signifying the organization through which the University pursues its ultimate educational goals. The word embraces the various bodies which have decision-making or advisory powers, their make-up, their spheres of responsibility, and very importantly their interrelations and the channels of communication between them and with the various groups which constitute the University.

Those who attended these meetings were requested to submit in writing statements of their views for detailed consideration. We express our appreciation to all those who have worked with us so cooperatively.

At several meetings the Committee

has had the benefit of the attendance of Dr. Herman B. Wells, the distinguished former President, now Chancellor and Acting President, of Indiana University, who accepted our invitation to assist us, insofar as his time permits, in an advisory capacity.

With financial assistance from the Robert Earl McConnell Foundation, which we gratefully acknowledge, the Committee has retained the management consultant firm of Cresap, McCormick and Paget to advise it on structural reorganization. The Educational Department of this firm has had wide experience in this field, and has done similar surveys for a large number of institutions.

Principles Agreed Upon

In the context of present problems the Committee has given the highest priority to study of the consultation and decision-making processes in the University with a view to providing increased participation in them by faculty and students. To this goal the Trustees are committed. Although hours and other studies which focused on these matters are not complete, and much more must be done before final decisions by the Trustees, the Special Committee expresses at this time its agreement with certain principles:

1. *Faculty* We recognize the crucial role which the faculty must play not only in maintaining academic excellence, but in building an atmosphere of harmony and cooperation in which all elements of the University can work together most successfully. The faculty of Columbia has and should continue to have major responsibility for selecting new members of the teaching staff and for designing the curriculum. It has played a significant role in the selection of key administrative officers, in the resolution of differences between the tenured faculty members and the administration, in departmental budgeting, in long-range planning, and in other critical aspects of the University's life. But its res-

ponsibilities in these and related areas have not been as well defined as they might have been; moreover, the instrumentalities for formulating and eliciting its positions on such matters have not functioned effectively. The reorganization now being studied will aim to specify clearly the range of faculty responsibilities and to provide appropriate legislative and executive organs through which the faculty will be able to discharge those responsibilities effectively.

2. *Students* Students should participate actively in the shaping of their own education. At Columbia they take part in varying ways in many aspects of decision-making in both academic and non-academic affairs; and as noted in our conclusion this participation is increasing. However, we think it important to broaden and clarify the major areas of their active participation. They should have appropriate roles in the decision-making process in matters of special concern to them, such as living arrangements, conduct and discipline; in matters of educational policy such as curriculum revision, course evaluation and work-study assignments; and in matters of career planning such as counseling, recruitment and job placement.

The extent to which students should participate in the decision-making pro-

The Special Committee of the Trustees, chaired by Alan H. Temple was created last May "to study and recommend changes in the basic structure of the University."

cess in wider areas, at the University level, has been the subject of differing viewpoints in the presentations before us. Relevant considerations are the areas concerned and the nature and scope of the mechanisms. There is no way to arrive at recommendations except through detailed study of concrete proposals as they are presented. The student representatives constitute a channel for receiving student opinions.

We commend the appointment of a Director for Student Interests which took effect on July 1 last.

3. *Other Groups* It is desirable to formulate policies and establish new mechanisms to insure that three additional groups be more fully integrated into University affairs so that their potential contributions can be fully realized: members of the instructional staff who are not voting members of the faculty; research personnel; and non-teaching staff. We have not yet had time to hear evidence and conduct studies, but we recognize this as an area for constructive action.

4. *Trustees* The structure and functioning of the Trustees are subject to restudy equally with all other parts of the University. This statement applies to such matters as criteria for selection, methods of nomination, and the structure and composition of the standing committees through which the ordinary business of the Board is conducted; and also to proposals for greater Trustee participation in University-wide standing or ad hoc committees, advisory councils and the like, in order to increase Trustee liaison with other University groups.

5. Community Relations

Columbia seeks to improve its relations with its neighbors through cooperative action. It is exploring various ways of making its special skills available to the community with coordinated participation by faculty, students, administrators and, hopefully, alumni; and it is committed to the fullest consideration of community needs and problems in its own development plans. These efforts have the full support of the Trustees, and the Committee recognizes that its mandate includes measures to strengthen them, such as the creation of an office headed by a Director for Community Relations to develop and coordinate activities and community consultation.

6. Alumni

The Alumni Federation has recommended that the alumni should expand their traditional functions in stated ways, including involvement in Columbia's community program. The alumni can help the University in very many ways. The Committee expresses its satisfaction that they are taking initiatives by proposing programs and accepting responsibilities. We look forward to continuing consultation on forms of participation.

7. Central Administration

The central administration of the University is over-burdened and understaffed for the demands that have been made upon it in recent years. This emerges as a particularly critical matter in view of the \$200,000,000 capital funds campaign, whose requirements have been superimposed upon the normal administrative tasks. There are important vacant spots in

the table of organization which need filling, and the table itself is a major subject for review. A related question is whether central administration burdens can be reduced through greater decentralization and delegation. The differing opinions expressed to us at our meetings show that this question is one of great complexity and we cannot yet make recommendations.

8. Communications

Communications in the University require improvement. "Communication" has become an almost mystical word in recent times, and definitions are in order. As applied to the University three levels may be considered.

One level of communication embraces the channels within the various divisions of instruction by which the student communicates on school and personal matters with deans and faculty. These channels are both formal and informal (including organized informality); and sensitivity, responsiveness, interest and consideration on both sides are probably more important than the exact nature of mechanisms provided, which properly vary from school to school and from department to department. In our view the deans, directors, department chairmen and members of the faculties concerned must be primarily and individually responsible for assuring that each student has adequate access to them on all matters. At this time we observe only that improvements can be made, and that there are examples of excellent communication in some parts of the University which can provide models. This is the area of greatest significance in day-to-day student problems.

The second level of communication is that which reaches into the higher authorities in administration and faculty, involving both vertical and horizontal channels. The greater part of the complaints about communication in the past few months have applied to this area. We are urged to consider whether interested people, from students to faculty heads, are sufficiently informed and consulted on matters of broad University policy (e.g. forward planning and community relations); whether channels for such communication are adequate; and whether coordination and policy execution are effective. Events have shown that communication with alumni needs improvement. We recognize the high priority of these questions.

Another level of communication is represented by publications and radio. Questions have been directed to us as to the adequacy of existing publications in covering University-wide needs, including such seemingly minor but practical necessities as calendars of coming events in all their enormous number and variety, as well as the reporting of these events and the provision of an adequate forum for opinion. This is part of our mandate.

9. Discipline

The disciplinary procedures which prevailed in the University prior to events last spring were modified by the creation of a Joint Committee on Disciplinary Affairs. Interim procedures are now in effect. Proposals for permanent changes in the system of discipline are being studied by at least three bodies, including the Joint Committee, the Office of the Vice President and Provost, and the Executive Com-

(Continued on Page S3)

Interim Report of the Temple Committee

(Continued from Page S-2)

mittee of the Faculty. We await the results of these studies in the hope that there will come out of them a workable mechanism for the enforcement of discipline which we can endorse. The Committee approves in principle the participation of students and faculty in disciplinary procedures; such procedures must include provisions for executive action to protect the University from mass disorders and in other emergencies.

The issues involved in restructuring are profound. Successful solutions of structural problems require not only fresh viewpoints and inventive thinking, but also a rigorous examination of proposed operating procedures in the light of experience at Columbia and elsewhere. Abstract considerations and practical questions both come into account. We must consider what effects restructuring in one area may have in other areas, and how far faculty and student participation in the operation of the University may be expanded without unacceptable diversion of effort and responsibility from the basic functions of teaching and learning, pursuing and extending knowledge, and contributing to the public good. Great care must be taken that changes cure weaknesses rather than create new ones, that excessive rigidity is not succeeded by impracticable dispersion of authority, and conversely that freedom to develop and experiment is not suppressed by impracticable rigidity.

It would be possible to design a University structure that would be superb for communication purposes, or one whose sole object would be to provide maximum participation. But whether such structures would provide for efficient and effective operation in the University, responding to all its needs and serving all its purposes, is another question.

A university structure, while necessarily complex because of the mix of

very different types of educational, administrative and financial functions, should be, like the structure of any successful operating organization, as simple as possible. A number of suggestions have been made to us which would result in a structure so cumbersome that the University would be unable to respond effectively to the problems and opportunities that it will continue to confront. In the end such an error would bring about a decline of the University just as certainly as divisiveness and disunity will. One of our major responsibilities therefore is to find a proper balance between changes that facilitate progress, on the one hand, and excessive restructuring that could interfere with the basic educational tasks of the University.

These are simply notations on the complexity of our task. The fact that the issues are so broad is one clear reason why a report at this time can only be of an interim nature. A related and compelling reason is that the reports being prepared by other study groups (particularly the extensive research studies being conducted by the Executive Committee of the Faculty and by student groups and the recommendations of Cresap, McCormick and Paget) are not complete at this writing, since they experience the same complexities. The Special Committee cannot properly undertake to present a definitive analysis and recommendations to the Trustees until it has received these reports and has had an opportunity to study them and to take their findings fully into account. The Committee again pledges itself to move ahead with all reasonable speed.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that, having thus far concentrated on the "input" stage of its work, the Committee approaches the "output" stage in a spirit not only of determination to

accomplish its formidable task successfully, but of high hope and confidence. We are impressed by many things. The expertise and skills that are being offered to help us are given unstintingly. They come partly from without but mainly from within. In the latter case they embody the experience of an institution of 214 years of honored history, of an eminence and with a record of contribution equaled by few educational institutions in the world, and equipped

to faculty and administrative bodies (as is, of course, the practice almost everywhere).

In this respect the present structure of Columbia, which it is our mandate to improve, facilitates innovation and experimentation in educational matters and embodies wide-ranging principles of autonomy. Orderly evolution within the delegated powers is wholly consistent with structural studies centered on overall reorganization and coordination. This

"We are impressed by the continuous demonstration that Columbia is not a monolithic institution but has within itself capacity for change."

with magnificent resources of personnel and facilities for scholarship. We are impressed by the availability of high quality experience in many areas of our mandate. To choose one simple illustration: while mechanisms for student evaluation of courses and teaching are being urged, such mechanisms are already operating well in several areas.

We are impressed by the continuous demonstration that Columbia is not a monolithic institution but has within itself capacity for change and responsiveness in a degree not always understood. An example has been given in recent months in numerous appointments of bi-partite, tri-partite, and quadri-partite committees (faculty, students, administration, and alumni) for various purposes in various divisions -- all without overhead directives, but made on the initiative of deans, directors, and faculty. This trend further illustrates the fact that the educational operations of the University were long ago delegated by the Trustees almost in toto

capacity for evolution should be cherished and supported.

Our final statement to the Trustees is that we find in the University an enormous spirit not only of good will and of respect for the greatness of Columbia's history and accomplishment but of determination to bring out of this crisis new initiatives to renew progress. One of the responsibilities of all concerned with Columbia is to harness this spirit and lead this effort. Past generations made the University great; future generations should be able to say the same of us.

If this task is to be done successfully it must be done in an atmosphere of calm, order, and good faith. We hope that any who might be tempted to exert pressure through disorderly action will decide that good results will be promoted by orderly consideration and joint effort and defeated by conflict and disturbance. Only thus can the rebuilding to which we are pledged achieve its high potential.

Temple Committee Students

Statement on Restructuring

We are convinced that the rebellion at Columbia last spring cannot be understood simply as the excesses of a minority of anarchist students; it can only be understood as the culmination of a long-festering dissatisfaction with the course the University was taking. The rebellion was not manufactured by a small group of nihilists; it was the response of many students and faculty to a series of decisions at the administrative level of the University which were seen as abuses of power and counter to the interests of Columbia as well as the community surrounding it.

We must now recognize and respond to

the need to restructure the decision-making processes at the University. The symptoms are these: students want to participate in decisions which affect them, the faculty wants to determine what external services are appropriate for the University to provide, and the surrounding community demands participation in University planning affecting itself. We believe that any reform of Columbia's structure must deal with causes, not symptoms, however, and we recommend the following guidelines for considering proposals for restructuring:

1. It should be the goal of any plan for restructuring to democratize the University; students and faculty must be

included in the decision-making process at all levels. The lack of participation in decisions which affect them has produced a feeling of powerlessness and disenfranchisement among Columbia students and faculty in recent years. We feel that the University, to be a true Community, must include all members of that community in decisions which affect them.

2. It should be the goal of the University to seek a positive relatedness to the community surrounding it. Residents of Morningside Heights and West Harlem have often felt that the interests of the University were antithetical to their own; wide dissemination of plans for expansion has seldom been attempted and decisions have been made without giving full weight to the needs of the community. We feel that the University must seek to respond to the needs of the majority of residents around it as much as it responds to its own needs.

3. In pursuance of the goal of an open society, it should be the policy of the University to allow free access to its plans for development, research, and investment wherever possible. We feel that University restructuring should embrace the ideal of a free University in a free society.

Adopted August 14, 1968

Proposal on Disciplinary Procedure

1. In the interests of our University, we recommend that all present disciplinary action be brought to an immediate halt;

2. We further recommend that all previous disciplinary action and decisions arising out of the April and May demonstrations be erased from the records of

The Student Representatives to the Trustees were elected last spring.

all students involved; all suspended students should be immediately reinstated; and the Trustees should recommend to the offices of the district attorney that all criminal charges be dropped.

3. We support a disciplinary mechanism modeled along the following lines: a) that five students, five faculty, one administrator and a director of student affairs be the duly constituted committee to create a new code of rules and regulations;

b) that all-student tribunals within each school hear and evaluate the cases of alleged student violators;

c) and that a university-wide appeal board with final authority be duly constituted of three students, three faculty members, and a fourth faculty member chosen by the students;

(It should be noted that the above model is taken from Professor Deane's proposal.)

4. And finally, we strongly recommend that the disciplinary mechanism described above be constituted as the proper and official disciplinary machinery; and that students who had been previously disciplined under the old mechanism now be called before the presently recommended disciplinary tribunals for all further disciplinary actions and decisions.

Adopted August 22, 1968



Alan H. Temple



Harold F. McGuire

Students for a Restructured University

Preliminary Remarks

In the process of its summer research SRU has constantly revised its view of the value of "restructuring", its possibilities and its limitations. We feel that restructuring alone cannot resolve adequately many of the issues of the Columbia rebellion, for these issues are not confined to the university, but permeate our entire society. Therefore a restructured university will necessarily be limited in an unstructured society. We cannot, for example, alleviate the sufferings of the ghetto poor or the Vietnamese peasants through any reform or even revolution at Columbia. We can, however, attack the issues of a more limited nature, and attempt to create a university which is an equal partner rather than an exploitive force within the community, which is a critic rather than a tool of American foreign policy, and which is internally democratic rather than authoritarian.

We are attempting with our proposals to promote a change in the attitudes and values of the University community toward the educational process, status distinctions, life style, and the role of the University in society. We hope that these proposals will lead to a never-ending revolution in the University—a constant innovative experiment with education.

We feel that a university, in order to be of value to all members of its community, must function openly at all times. Therefore, we propose that no secret research be conducted at Columbia, and that all meetings, minutes, and records, (except those of a personal nature), be accessible to all members of the University and the general public.

Because we see the educational process as something broader than the product of classroom learning, we sug-

"We hope that these proposals will lead to a never-ending revolution in the University—a constant innovative experiment with education."

gest that academic credit be given for community service (such as existing Cit Council programs). This concept of community service would include service on a major legislative committee or assembly; similar recognition should also be extended to faculty members in the form of a reduced course load.

These proposals have been prepared in such a manner as to not conflict with the University Charter of 1810. Revision of the 1810 Charter, would involve great legal and technical difficulties and give the State greater power over Columbia, a situation which we would prefer to avoid.

In our proposals, we do not create a university-wide student government, because we believe that the formation of such an organization would be redundant and useless in our restructured university. Also, our research into the student governments at other universities should that they are generally irrelevant tools of paternalistic administrators.

The disciplinary problem will be dealt with in detail in a later paper. We have limited the scope of this present working paper to the decision-making process, from which the judiciary process should be separate.

What follows is not meant to be SRU's final proposals, but only an initial draft

and presentation of our ideas. We plan to take our proposals to the people—in this case, the Columbia community—so that as many as possible may participate in the process as well as the product of restructuring.

Proposals

The Department

Since it is the principal aim of the new University to create institutions which most truly represent the interests of those they serve, the greater amount of decision-making power is centered within the Departments, and emanates from them to higher levels of legislation. The Departments are often the starting point for legislation dealing with University-wide policy.

There shall be Departmental constituencies within each division. Each constituency will form a Departmental Committee, with departmental decision-making powers to be shared equally by students and faculty. The Departmental Committee shall be empowered to form subcommittees to handle any relevant departmental matters. Representatives to the Departmental Committee shall be elected from their constituencies and be subject to recall by their constituencies. The term of office would be 12 months, no representative serving more than two consecutive terms.

"Student" shall be defined as any person registered to take courses in any division of the University. A member of the faculty is anyone with teaching responsibility. Anyone with both student and faculty functions shall have the option of voting either with the faculty or student constituency.

Departmental constituencies within each division will nominate members to the university-wide Joint Legislature and elect members (according to the size of the department) to the Divisional Coordinating Committee (which will have under its auspices a Committee on Instruction).

Departmental curriculum should be decided on by a Curriculum Committee. The Divisions' Committees on Instruction have authority over introductory courses which affect students outside the department. If an interdisciplinary course is requested within a department, it must be approved by the divisional COI.

Departmental Coordinating Committee

Each department would elect a committee to act as liaison and coordinating body of the various departmental committees. All members would be elected to twelve-month terms, subject to recall. No member shall serve more than two consecutive terms.

The departmental constituencies of each of the divisions shall elect representatives for interdivisional departmental affairs. The Interdivisional Departmental Committee shall coordinate

Students for a Restructured University, an offshoot of last spring's strike committee, estimates that it has between 15 and 4,000 adherents.

the workings of the whole department. A departmental chairman shall be elected by the faculty and students to a twelve-month term, subject to recall. No one shall serve more than two consecutive terms as department chairman.

The Division

The departmental constituencies within each division shall elect representatives to a Divisional Coordinating Committee (DCC). This body shall be empowered to establish subcommittees. The term of office in the Divisional Coordinating Committee shall be 12 months, subject to recall; no member of the DCC shall serve more than two consecutive terms. Committees of the DCC will do the following: draw up the divisional administrative budget; coordinate, in conjunction with the departments, the time schedules involved in setting up a convenient and integrated program; supervise divisional referenda and coordinate the nomination and election of representatives to the University Legislature; coordinate the election of members of the various necessary divisional committees and subcommittees. Divisional Committee on Instruction

Although departmental curriculum would be decided on by departmental committees, the DCOI establishes and revises introductory courses which affect students outside the department. If an interdisciplinary course is requested within a department, it must be approved by the DCOI. Any course which does not fit into the departmental curriculum may be included in a Free Department (see below).

Students and faculty in each division will share equally in the election of the Dean of that division to a three-year term. No Dean shall serve more than two consecutive terms. He shall be responsible for the administrative staff of the division and shall act as liaison between the division's administration and the university administration. The dean is also subject to recall by a 2/3 vote of the division.

Free Department

There shall be established in each division a Free Department. These departments will have the same powers and composition as any other department. Interdisciplinary courses which do not fit conveniently within the disciplinary confines of any given department shall be offered by a Free Department. A proposed course which is of interest to members of the University but unac-

ceptable to the appropriate department, may also be brought under the auspices of the Free Departments. Moreover, any 10 students, with the cooperation of a teaching member of the University, can institute a new course in the Free Department. Instructional staff for courses in the Free Department may be recruited from outside the University. Interdivisional departmental coordination and cooperation will be especially encouraged and fostered in the Free Departments.

The Joint Legislature

Composition: The Joint Legislature (JL) is composed of equal numbers of student and faculty representatives, each having one vote. A student is defined as any registered full- or part-time student in any division of the university, including Barnard (which under the 1952 agreement with the university must be included). The faculty includes any person at the University with teaching responsibility; members of the University community who have both student and faculty status shall opt, for voting purposes, into one or the other. The JL should ideally have about 100 members, elected to twelve month terms by divisions, based on the principle of proportional representation by size of division. All members would be subject to recall by their constituencies, and no member would serve more than two consecutive terms.

Powers: The JL would be the final authority in all University matters, and the final appeal body in all non-judicial matters. The Joint Legislature is empowered to change any and all University statutes. The JL is also empowered to elect the Provost and nominate candidates for University President, who then would be elected by the entire University community. The JL will supervise the Central Administration.

Provision for grass-roots action: Recall of any member may be instituted by vote of one-fifth of his divisional constituency. All meetings of the JL will be open, with provision for a gallery for spectators, and all proceedings of the meetings shall be published and available for examination. Proposed topics for discussion and/or legislation may be submitted to the JL by any individual constituency through its representative. Proposed legislation may also be introduced into the JL for consideration on petition by at least 100 members of the University community.

The Committees: All committee members are elected by majority vote of the JL. Committees may also include persons from outside the JL. The committees may create subcommittees. Committee chairmen must be members of the JL. The committees may create subcommittees. Committee members shall be elected to 12-month terms, subject to recall by the JL. No one shall serve on the same committee for more than two consecutive terms.

The functions of the committees shall include: 1) Overseeing the actions of the administration in their respective areas of responsibility; 2) Screening proposals in their respective areas of responsibility and forwarding recommended legislation to the JL; 3) Performing a liaison function between the administration and the JL, that is, keeping the JL informed about the activities of

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SRU Proposals

(Continued from Page S-4)

the administration; 4) Fact-finding for the JL; 5) Studying all relevant legislative proposals, including those arising from outside the committee; 6) Acting as the penultimate board of appeal in their respective areas of responsibility.

Kinds of Committees: The following committees are suggested.

1) Restructuring Committee. Because of the need for continuing change and flexibility in the University, this committee should solicit, receive, produce, and pass on to the JL proposals for revisions in the structure and/or functions of the University.

2) Academic Planning—to handle difficulties that may arise in curriculum planning, and supervise inter-divisional courses.

3) Labor relations—to coordinate activities involving labor policy decisions, act as a mediating body and grievance board, and maintain liaison with administration employees.

4) Research—to set guidelines for the acceptability of research contracts and to consider all proposals for research projects on the basis of established guidelines and open hearings, so that no outside agency can affect the direction of the University.

5) Projects and Grants—to set guidelines for the acceptability of projects and grants, insuring that the University is in no way controlled by outside forces.

6) Appropriations—this committee is essentially responsible for preparing the university budget. All divisional and departmental budgets are presented to this committee, which is responsible to the JL for assuring the equitable distribution of funds throughout the University. It also acts as liaison with central fund-raising personnel (including Trustees), recommends tuition and other fees to the JL, and helps to set guidelines for faculty and staff salaries.

7) Tenure Criteria and Review—to set up University-wide criteria for tenure appointments and to act as a penultimate appeal body.

8) Procedures and Credentials—to determine agenda and establish parliamentary procedures.

9) Committee on the Administration—members shall be members of the JL. This committee insures that the decisions of the JL vis-a-vis the administration are carried out. The Provost is a non-voting member.

10) Student Affairs—all members shall be students. Deals with dorms, extra-curricular activities, athletics, student agencies, etc. (The content of all communication media, such as publications and WKCR, shall be totally free from control by any committee.)

The Administration

The administration acts as a civil servant, carrying out as efficiently as possible the decisions of the JL. All administrative officers must be appointed by the JL. Administration personnel will, from time to time, be invited to sit with the committees and present any data or advice that may be of importance.

Divisional and departmental administrators shall implement the decisions of their respective legislative bodies. In case of conflicts, appeal may be made to the JL.

The President

A slate of candidates should be nominated by a student-faculty search committee instituted by the Joint Legislature. The President will then be elected from this slate by the University community, in a general election for a term of five years, with a maximum of two terms. The Trustees will then appoint the candidate elected by the University Community in order to conform with the stipulations of the Charter of 1810. The President shall act as the ceremonial leader of the University, as a fund-raiser, and as a member of the Board of Trustees. He is subject to impeachment by a 2/3 vote of the JL.

The Provost

Elected by the legislature to a three-year term, renewable indefinitely, and subject to recall, he shall act as coordinator of the University administration, in conjunction with the Committee on the Administration. He shall make the day-to-day decisions necessary in the operation of the university, subject to restrictions and guidelines set up by the Legislature.

The Trustees

The Trustees shall defer to the decisions of the Legislature, leading to their pro-forma ratification of the Legislature's decisions. The Trustees' main function shall be to act as fund-raisers for the University. They shall be elected alternately, as vacancies occur, by all University alumni (by written ballot) and all members of the University community. Their terms will be six years, renewable, and subject to recall.

Reasoning Behind the Proposals

The Composition of the University

In our view, the University consists of students and faculty. Therefore, it is these two groups which should govern the University. Since students and faculty

are, although not equal in numbers, equally affected by University decisions, we have provided for 50% student and 50% faculty composition on most University legislative bodies.

The administration, in our view, should serve to carry out the policies and goals of the University community. Therefore the administration is placed under the direction of student-faculty bodies. The Trustees are retained primarily so as not to abrogate the Charter of 1810, and thus give the State Legislature an opportunity



to increase its control over Columbia. Introducing this additional outside influence could in many ways hinder a meaningful and extremely valuable experiment in higher education.

Columbia and the Community

Our restructure proposals recognize that University policies affect the surrounding community and that Columbia policies of recent years have had the effect of decimating the community of Morningside Heights. Since we have found no feasible manner of selecting truly representative community delegates, and since the surrounding community varies in different decisions and divisions (e.g. Morningside campus or Washington Heights campus), we have provided for an Ombudsman as well as community-wide referenda to protect and represent community interests in any University expansion programs. It is hoped that these provisions will promote cooperation between the University and the surrounding community, and that Columbia will evolve into a working, equal partner, rather than an exploitive and dominant force over the people surrounding it.

Columbia and Outside Agencies

While no restructuring proposals will guarantee Columbia's complete freedom from outside control and influence, we have established mechanisms which subject external commitments to open consideration by a University-wide body.

We are also of the view that the University should be able to determine its own values and direction. Therefore, we suggest that no projects be undertaken in which any outside agency, including the Federal government has control over the process, personnel, or product in any way. Therefore we suggest that any project be undertaken only upon the initiative of a member of the University.

Columbia as an Educational Institution

We envision the University as the base for a new trend in American higher education. We hope that through student and faculty participation in the formulation of curriculum, the often arbitrary distinctions between disciplines will be broken down. We hope that more interdisciplinary courses and innovative programs will be initiated and so, we have provided for the institutionalization of a Free Department.

One of the most frequent complaints about Columbia's educational program is that the curriculum is not relevant to contemporary society. Hopefully, a revamped curriculum would result in a new stress on current problem solving and independent work, rather than emphasis on rote learning and large lectures.

The University as a Democratic Institution

One basic motivation of the SRU proposals is to transform Columbia from

an authoritarian to a democratic institution. This is reflected in several ways: 1) policies will be formulated by democratically elected student and faculty representatives voting in equal proportion; 2) new institutions will provide for grass-roots action, such as petition, recall, and referendum; 3) decision-making powers are initiated on the department level, and flow upwards to the higher level bodies. This was done to promote decentralization of decision-making and diffusion of power, and to bring the decisions as close as possible to those they affect. We would hope and expect that the decision-making bodies would create sufficient safeguards to insure the academic freedom of the entire University community, and not merely of the tenured faculty. Thus, minority rights and the individual's right of dissent would be protected. In the context of an increasingly repressive society, it is vital that the University be maintained as a center for free expression and unbridled creativity.

The University as a Political Institution

We reject the concept of the University as a "value-free" institution. We believe that what purports to be value-free is usually in essence pro-Establishment by its very failure to challenge the norms and values of our society. For example, when Columbia takes no stand on the Vietnam war, it is in effect guilty of complicity in the war; the presence of ROTC and military-related research on campus only contributes to this complicity.

Since we believe that the University is not and cannot be value-free, we propose that it serve as a critic of our society. The University should properly be a base for the democratization and humanization of our society; it should constantly criticize existing policies and propose more progressive ones; it should attempt to instill in its members the values of a humanistic, egalitarian society which they can in turn attempt to impart to the rest of American society. We believe that it would be through these functions that the University could best serve humanity.

ROBERT FRIEDMAN

Editor-in-Chief, Columbia Daily Spectator

PAUL STARR

Editor, Restructuring Supplement

This supplement was financed by the Executive Faculty Committee, the administration, and other groups involved in restructuring.

"We reject the concept of the University as a "value-free" institution. We believe that what purports to be value free is usually in essence pro-Establishment by its very failure to challenge the norms and values of our society."

11) Faculty Affairs Committee—All members shall be faculty. It will deal with faculty housing and other matters of concern only to the faculty.

12) Physical Planning and Community Relations—An Ombudsman will represent community interests. Any expansion must be approved by the committee, the Ombudsman, and the community at large through a referendum. The Ombudsman shall be empowered to halt evictions until such time as the matter can be brought to the Legislature.

Submission of Proposals

The staff proposal for the creation of a University Senate and a Student Assembly is presented with the recommendation from the study group that it be disseminated in the University community for study and discussion, in advance of its subsequent submission for hearings and other expressions of points of view, in accordance with the study group's procedural proposal on "Mechanism for Reform."

The present submission consists of several parts. First, a general introduction pointing to the need for a new University-wide legislative body; second a summary outline of the proposal; third, a detailed presentation of the proposal, including a discussion and explanation of its more significant features as well as some comparative materials from other universities; fourth, a proposed amendment of the University Statutes to effectuate the proposal.

(The fourth section of the report has been omitted here.)

In submitting these recommendations, we are fully aware of the need to relate proposals for structural reform to the nature and purposes of the University and to its changing role in society. The brief compass of this proposal makes it necessary to treat that relationship implicitly rather than explicitly. Practical considerations impress the need for change on all of us, and underline the validity of the conclusions of many other, earlier more deliberate and less pressured studies of the governance of universities. Their conclusions are 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. Other universities, too, have heeded the call for structural reform—some in consequence of disturbances that brought to light the flaws in their governing institutions, others in anticipation of troubles and with the avowed intention of avoiding them. We plan to explore some of these matters in our forthcoming report on the problems of governance of Columbia University. It is to the immediate interest of the University, however, that initial proposals for reform not be delayed un-

sen by design as the subject of our first proposal. How and by whom University policy is to be determined is a crucial element in any plan of structural reform. It also is the key issue that must be determined before other reforms can be undertaken. In a sense, the adoption of a plan for a strong central legislative power would conclude the first phase of any restructuring effort, because subsequent 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.

Introduction: The Need for a New University-wide Legislative Body

In a statement on Government of Colleges and Universities jointly issued on October 12, 1966, by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the American Council on Education, and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, the point was made that the government

of colleges and universities needs strengthening in order to respond properly to the pressures and needs of our day. The inadequacies of existing University-wide bodies for the governance of Columbia University and for the expression of the interests of the various components or constituencies of the institution have been clearly demonstrated. During the troublesome events of April and May of 1968, the absence of a mechanism for ascertaining the view of the faculty, let alone enabling it to react in a speedy and meaningful fashion, led first to the creation of ad hoc organizations of 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.

Executive Committee

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. An examination of the agenda of the University Council, for instance, will clearly demonstrate the inconsequential, not to say frivolous, nature of many of the items that were brought to it for consideration, and the virtual absence of any matters of major or far-reaching University policy.

Other components of the University have not fared any better in making their voices heard in the formulation of University policy. As the AAUP has said in its statement on Government of Colleges and Universities: "The variety and complexity of the tasks performed by institutions of higher education produce an inescapable interdependence among Governing Board, Administration, Faculty, Students and others. The relationship calls for adequate communication among these components, and full opportunity for appropriate joint planning and effort." 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, for junior faculty, for students or

Summary of Proposals

It is 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.

Columbia University is far behind other universities in not giving its tenured faculty a strong voice in its policy making processes at the University level, and it is also far behind other institutions in almost totally excluding junior faculty and students from any role in the affairs of the University. Most universities have strong faculty bodies that exercise a determinative voice in university affairs, and increasingly many allow some participation of junior faculty and students in university-wide bodies, or at least in committees of such bodies. Because Columbia University has neglected this increasingly sensitive area of university government, and because much of this neglect became evident during Columbia's difficulties earlier this year, there must be more than routine response to the demands for reform.

Committee of the Faculties be abolished.

The University Senate shall have a membership of not more than 92 members. Fifty seats in the University Senate shall be held by tenured faculty members (professor and associate professors) elected by the various faculties; about 20 seats shall be divided between assistant professors and so-called "junior faculty" members (defined as officers of instruction of the rank of instructor and below, not including persons who are either exclusively research personnel or who are also students at the University) elected respectively by the assistant professor or junior faculty members in those faculties that have more than 25 such officers of instruction. Ten members of the Senate shall be students elected by and from a newly established Student Assembly; 7 members shall be University administrators, including the President of the University; and 5 members shall be representative of, and elected from, the alumni. All members would serve for one-year terms, but could be re-elected or reappointed.

The University Senate shall be a policy-making and legislative body with full jurisdiction and power to deal with all matters of University-wide concern and of matters affecting more than one faculty or school. The University Senate's power shall include the power to pass University Statutes or to act by resolution on matters inappropriate for statutory action. All of the acts of the University shall be final, unless vetoed or overruled by the Board of Trustees.

The University Senate shall elect its own presiding officer, make its own rules, and have its own staff to serve the body as a whole as well as its committees. It shall establish and modify standing and special committees as it sees fit, but until modified, it is proposed that its structure include at least an Executive Committee, a Committee on Faculty Affairs (to consist of all the tenured faculty members of the Senate), and a Committee on Student Affairs (to consist of the entire student membership of the University Senate and five additional members, and to have a student as its co-chairman). Committee membership would not be restricted to members of the University Senate, but could include others.

Faculty and student service on the University Senate would be recognized by allowing a reduction in teaching load to

Staff Proposal

In our view, Columbia's greater needs, as evidenced 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.

Proposal for a University Senate Commentary and Discussion

Powers and Jurisdiction

The proposal is to establish a University Senate with a membership of some 92 representatives to act as a legislative and policy making body with power to deal with all matters of University-wide concern, and all matters that, though not of University-wide concern, affect or relate to the interests of more than one faculty or school, or that concern the University's relations with its affiliated institutions. This body would make rules for the governance of the University, and its powers would include the enactment, amendment, and repeal of University Statutes. The acts of the University Senate would be final unless vetoed or overruled by the Board of Trustees within 30 days of their enactment.

The jurisdiction of the University Senate is intentionally stated in the broadest possible terms, the intention being to provide the body with as great a freedom of action and as great a capacity for response to University needs as may be possible. In spite of the fact that such a broad statement of jurisdiction may occasionally create problems of drawing the line between administrative decision in response to specific situations and legislative responsibility for policy formulation and planning, the decision was made to rest on a broad statement of jurisdictional scope, rather than to try and draw that line in advance.

In our view it is preferable to take the risk of occasional conflicts and to allow them to be worked out between the administration and the University Senate as the need arises, rather than to hinder

(Continued on Next Five Pages)

The Executive Faculty Committee "commended" this staff proposal to the University community's attention when it was released September 12.

Until further studies are completed. This proposal represents one of the major efforts of the Project's ten weeks' work during the summer. It is put forth in advance of the beginning of the new academic year in the hope that its dissemination at this time will lend credibility to the University's avowed commitment to reform, and will give direction to the effort for structural reforms that is expected to continue for some time to come. In publishing the proposal at this time we make no claims for its finality, for we realize that it is likely to be reshaped in consequence of critical consideration and review by all of the campus constituencies in the months ahead.

It should be added, too, that the establishment of a new, central policy-making body for the University was cho-

sen by design as the subject of our first proposal. How and by whom University policy is to be determined is a crucial element in any plan of structural reform. It also is the key issue that must be determined before other reforms can be undertaken. In a sense, the adoption of a plan for a strong central legislative power would conclude the first phase of any restructuring effort, because subsequent 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.

Executive Committee Staff Proposal

(Continued from Page S-6)

the freedom of response of a policy making body by strict drawing of jurisdictional lines. Institutional experience in American governmental organization as well as in the organization of other policy making bodies furnishes convincing support for the position that it is better to take the risks that go with broad jurisdictional charters than to inhibit the development of institutions by rigidly delimiting powers in times of rapid change. The recommendation that the University Senate be granted broad powers is rendered the less troublesome because questions of competence between the University Senate and the University administration are likely to be worked out at an early stage, since the President of the University and leading members of the administration chosen by him are themselves to be members of the Senate.

Some question may be raised with respect to the broad powers of the University Senate by those who are particularly concerned with the fiscal management of University affairs. Nothing contained in the proposal is intended to interfere, nor will it interfere, with the administration's power and function of preparing the annual budget. An executive budget is so clearly an accepted procedure that it needs no further comment. That is not to say, however, that in the exercise of its proper legislative functions a University Senate could not or should not have a role in the budgetary process, just as the legislature has in governments in which budget making is clearly recognized as an executive function. If a role in the handling of fiscal matters for the University Senate proves unacceptable, fiscal controls could, of course, be made subject of an exception from Senate powers.

While clearly a University legislature of such broad power would require a different mode of operation from that to which Columbia's administration has been accustomed, the intention here is to create a flexible structure which will allow the different components of the University to work out their relationships freely and in manner which will best advance their own interests as well as

Membership and Election or Appointment of Members

The University Senate shall be a representative body, with representation from the faculty, students, administration and alumni. The Senate shall consist of the following members:

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 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.

The total membership of the Senate will therefore consist of a maximum of 92 members, depending on the exact number of assistant professor and junior faculty representatives. Members of the University Senate shall serve for a term of one year, and vacancies in the membership shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term in the manner in which the original incumbent was chosen. Faculty and student members of the Senate shall be elected in the following manner:

Election of Senior Faculty. Every school and every faculty of the Columbia Corporation, and Barnard College, shall have two senior (tenured) faculty representatives; and Teachers College, the School of Pharmacy, and Union Theo-

represented.

Election of Assistant Professors and Junior Faculty. In any faculty or school in the Columbia Corporation, and Barnard College, having 25 or more assistant professors, they shall elect one member of the Senate from among themselves. Similarly, in any such faculty or school having 25 or more "junior faculty members," they shall elect a member of the Senate from among themselves. A junior faculty member is here defined to be an officer of instruction of the rank of instructor, lecturer, associate or below; the term excludes persons who hold research appointments, and officers of instruction, such as preceptors, who are also students at the University. When a faculty or school has less than 25 assistant professors or 25 junior faculty members, but the aggregate number of such assistant professors and junior faculty members is 25 or more, then the combined group shall elect a member of the Senate. In any faculty or school in which the number of assistant professors is less than 25 and the number of junior faculty members exceeds 25, the assistant professors may choose to participate either in an election of the combined group, or in the election of senior faculty representatives.

The total representation of assistant professors and junior faculty shall never exceed 20. If there is an increase in the number of assistant professors or junior faculty in the several schools and faculties, the number that may elect a representative shall be so adjusted that their combined representation in the Senate remains at 20 members.

Election of Students. The ten student representatives to the University Senate will be elected by the Student Assembly. 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.

Election of Alumni. The manner in which the five alumni representatives are to be chosen has been left open. The available choices include election by all of the University's alumni, or election by existing alumni organizations.

Appointment of Administrative Members. The President of the University is to be member of the University Senate *ex officio*. The appointment of the other six administration representatives has been delegated to him because election of administrators to the University Senate was considered inappropriate. Administrators have no "constituencies" in the same sense as faculty representatives. Rather, they have the characteristics of a president's staff or cabinet—and this is more adequately reflected by their appointment.

Comments on Representation

The mode of selection of members of the University Senate is intended to fulfill two purposes: (1) to give numerical representation to the different constituencies and components of the University that reflects, to some extent, their relative weight in the policy making process, and (2) to give adequate representation in the University Senate to all the divisions of the University and its affiliated institutions. The scheme of representation clearly reflects the second purpose in that every school and faculty of Columbia University and its affiliated institutions will be represented. It is clear that, without increasing the number of members of the University Senate to a point where it could no longer function properly as a legislative body, it is impossible to give representation to the different divisions of the University in accordance with their size. Hence, the



Michael I. Sovern

"Federal" model has been followed to some extent in that all the different schools and faculties of the Columbia Corporation have at least two tenured representatives, and the affiliated institutions each have one tenured representative. Unless a scheme of this kind is followed, a particular school might have almost as large a representation in the University Senate as several other faculties and schools put together.

The fulfillment of the first purpose, namely, to reflect in the University Senate, at least to some extent, the different weights to be given to different components of the University in the policy making process is even more difficult. 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. The members of the administration, however, will not be able to dominate the University Senate in the same manner in which they have in practice dominated the University Council. Administration domination of the University Council—almost half of the members of the University Council are drawn from among University administrators—is generally cited as one of the main reasons for the failure of the University Council, and for the failure of the faculty voice to be heard in University-wide affairs.

The dominant role in the University Senate would clearly be that of senior faculty. With a representation of 50 out of a maximum of 92 seats, the senior faculty representatives, having the most permanent connection with the University by reason of their academic rank and tenure, would have the dominant voice in University planning and policy making. In our view, this places the burden of policy decisions on that component of the University than can most responsibly carry it. The faculty has primary responsibility for University policy making because by general consensus it has primary responsibility for what differentiates a university from other institutions. As the 1966 AAUP statement points out: "The faculty has primary responsibility for such fundamental areas as curriculum, subject matter and methods of instruction, research, faculty status, and those aspects of student life which relate to the educational process." Hence, whatever participation may be appropriate from other components of the University, it is the faculty that ought to concern itself with all matters of University government that create the conditions and the environment under which it must carry out its primary responsibilities.

"Members of the administration will not be able to dominate the University Senate in the same manner in which they have in practice dominated the University Council."

the interests of the University. The very flexibility of the structure will allow different relationships between the administration and the University Senate to develop depending on different areas of University activities or subjects of University concern. The relationship with respect to academic planning, for instance, need not necessarily be the same as that which might develop for the budgetary process or for University-community relations. So, too, the membership of the University Senate, consisting of representatives of senior and junior faculties, administration, students and alumni, need not all participate equally in each and every aspect of University business regulated by the University Senate. Since each of the constituencies has different priorities of interest, these can be readily reflected in the committee structure of the University Senate and in the membership of its standing committees. Finally, it should be clearly stated that nothing in this proposal for a University Senate would, or is intended to, restrict the jurisdiction or authority of existing bodies, or to interfere with established procedures, within the several schools or faculties.

logical Seminary shall each have one senior representative in the Senate. This will account for 37 out of the 50 senior faculty seats (Barnard is given parity with schools in the Columbia Corporation because of its special contractual relationship with the University.). The remaining 13 senior faculty seats shall be apportioned by the University Senate, prior to the holding of annual elections, among the Schools and Faculties of the Columbia Corporation, in proportion to their respective number of tenured full-time faculty members, but no faculty or school shall have more than four senior faculty representatives in the Senate.

The tenured faculty members (professors and associate professors) from each school or faculty shall elect the number of senior representatives to which each such school or faculty is entitled. Each faculty or school may, however, allow persons of full or associate professorial rank who are not full-time faculty members (e.g., adjunct professors, visiting professors, clinical professors, etc.) to vote for senior faculty representatives, and must allow assistant professors to participate in such a vote if they are not otherwise

Executive Committee Staff Proposal

The proposal for a University Senate also provides substantial membership to instructional personnel not of tenured rank, with 20 seats in the Senate to be shared between assistant professors and teachers of the rank of instructor and below. At present the scheme of representation would provide approximately equal division of the 20 seats among assistant professors and junior faculty members. There is a recognition that assistant professors and junior faculty members, while having less permanent a connection with the University than senior faculty, nonetheless should have a voice in determining instructional policies because they carry a very substantial portion of the teaching obligations of the institution. To deny them at least some part in the University policy making process would deny a voice to a group that has a major impact on the educational experience of students at the University and, by the same token, would deprive the University of the benefit of experience and counsel from a younger group that contributes

the most controversial aspect of the proposal. It may be expected that a substantial number of faculty members will consider the inclusion of students in a University Senate to be inappropriate. By the same token, it is to be expected that substantial numbers of students will regard a student representation of ten members in the University Senate of some 92 members to be a gross underrepresentation.

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, nor 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—and students are not the wards of the University. Just as it is impossible

to policy making faculty committees in many of the major institutions. If indeed most of the work of university governing bodies is done in committees, as is frequently asserted, then there is no reason why student participation should be limited to membership on policy making committees and not on the central policy making body itself. The entire logic of the development of student participation in university governance has moved in that direction, and there appears to be no reason why Columbia University should merely follow the trend rather than take a logical and principled step in the direction of recognition of student participation in university policy matters. The 1966 AAUP statement, while recognizing possible difficulties, urges student participation in policy making: "When students in American colleges and universities desire to participate responsibly in the government of the institution they attend, their wish should be recognized as a claim to opportunity, both for educational experience and for involvement in the affairs of their college or university. Ways should be found to permit significant student participation within the limits of attainable effectiveness."

Once student participation as members of a University Senate is recognized in principle, the size of their representation must be settled. The number of student representatives recommended for participation in the University Senate was set at ten because it allows meaningful participation by students in most University Senate committees—which would be difficult if a more token representation of two or three students had been recommended—while at the same time it does not allow students to exercise a role which might threaten or overwhelm other components of the University Senate. With a membership of ten out of some 92 members, the student voice would be clearly heard, but neither on their own, nor in combination with any other constituency could students adopt policies repugnant to the senior faculty. Moreover, it is not very likely that the ten student members will vote as a bloc. If student elections produce representative results, and if the election of student representatives by the Student Assembly reflect these results, as indeed they should, then the student representation on the University Senate will present almost as broad a spectrum of opinion as the senior faculty representatives. The political realities on the Columbia campus, moreover, make it desirable to reflect the principle of adequate student representation in any University reform at this time. If student representation on a University Senate is acceptable as a matter of principle, then the political needs ought to be recognized by giving students more than mere token representation. While political demands for very substantial student representation in the Senate would neither be acceptable to the senior faculty nor de-

fensible in principle, student demands for representation to the extent possible without threatening faculty prerogatives or giving an unduly large voice to a temporary component of the University community ought nevertheless to be heeded. On balance, then, we recommend both that the principle of student participation be recognized and that student membership in the Senate be set at a number which will provide a clear student voice without creating an imbalance in the university system of government.

The recommendation that five alumni representatives be chosen for membership in the Senate arose out of a considered judgment that communications with that important supporting element of the University community would thereby be enhanced. While alumni of the University have no obligations or functions in the day-to-day activities of the institution, their support is nonetheless necessary for its continuing effectiveness. Recent events have shown that alumni need to be informed of the vital and current concerns of the University, and need to have the facts necessary to interpret University events. In view of the fact that University planning greatly depends upon alumni support, and that the alumni themselves need to be kept in touch with the affairs of the University in order to assist the University meaningfully, a small representation from that important group should be included in the University Senate to facilitate effective communication between the University and this important constituency. The precise mode of election of alumni representatives remains to be considered and has been left open for discussion. Election

"It is to be expected that the inclusion of ten student members . . . will prove to be the most controversial aspect of the proposal."

vitality to the day-to-day academic operations of Columbia University.

A division in representation has been made between assistant professors and junior faculty members because their interests and experience, we have been persuaded, are somewhat different. Assistant professors hold a somewhat intermediate rank. Even though they have been given the recognition implicit in the title of professor, they nonetheless have a less permanent relation with the University than do persons of professorial rank with tenure. However, an assistant professorship appears to be viewed by many as the significant step of the academic ladder leading up to tenure. In many respects, therefore, assistant professors are likely to identify themselves with the senior faculty group, and in most departments of the University they vote in faculty meetings and are considered members of the faculty for departmental purposes. Persons of the rank of instructor and below are, generally speaking, less permanent and less committed to maintaining their connection with Columbia than are assistant professors, and although there are many exceptions, they do not necessarily consider their work at Columbia University a permanent commitment. They are usually closer in age to the students they teach than any other segment of the instructional personnel. The University Senate should have the benefit of participation by this distinctive group and the contribution of its distinctive point of view.

It should be noted that the definition of instructional personnel for purposes of representation in the University Senate excludes research personnel, and persons who, in addition to their duties as teachers, also have the status of students at the University. This excludes all preceptors and some teaching assistants. Since preceptors and teaching assistants who are students have only limited teaching obligations and have major obligations as students, they were characterized as falling into the student category and will be eligible to vote as students rather than as instructional personnel.

It is to be expected that the inclusion of ten student members, to be elected by a representative Student Assembly from its own membership, will prove to be

so delineate strictly what are solely faculty interests in University government, so is it impossible to delineate what are solely student interests to be left to "student government." The importance of students as a vital and necessary component of the University community is evident and requires recognition in the structure of the University. In its statement on the Government of Colleges and Universities, the AAUP remarks that "Students are referred to in this statement as an institutional component coordinate in importance with trustees, administrators and faculty." Elsewhere in its statement the AAUP refers to a joint effort by all components of colleges and universities in their effective governments and points out that in appropriate kinds of situations "a substantive contribution can be made when student leaders are responsibly involved in the process." As early as the mid-30's students served on faculty committees dealing with matters pertaining to student life in almost half of the colleges and universities. During the past several years student participation in the governance of universities has increased to an unprecedented degree. In a 1963 survey of 850 accredited colleges and universities, about 60% of the institutions reported student membership on policy making committees in areas other than matters of student life. In the last few years, student members have been added

"With ten out of some 92 members, the student voice would be clearly heard, but neither on their own, nor in combination with any other constituency could students adopt policies repugnant to the senior faculty."

of alumni trustees by all of the alumni is the practice in some universities. Election by alumni associations is another possible pattern.

Organization and Procedure; Staff

It is proposed that only minimal constraints be imposed on the procedures of the University Senate. Thus, the Senate shall choose its own presiding officer and such other officers as it may require. The President of the University is not to be the presiding officer of the Senate, as he is presently of the University Council, unless the University Senate decides to elect him to be its presiding officer. Normally, the Senate is unlikely to do so because it will give the Senate greater independence from the administration if it has its own presiding officer. The Senate should provide for its own rules of procedure, but there should be a requirement that one-half the membership of the Senate must be present to constitute a quorum for the conduct of its business. The Senate should prepare its own agenda. This is a matter of some importance, particularly at Columbia University, because for many years the agenda of the University Council

(Continued on Page S-9)



W. Max Wise



Frank P. Grad

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oil were, for all practical purposes, prepared by the administration, and any items of business which the administration did not choose to submit to the University Council rarely came before the faculty or any other body for discussion. Significantly, such matters as the construction of new University buildings, or the participation of the University in the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA) or other matters of major University research involvements were never brought before the University Council. The preparation of the Senate's agenda would normally be part of the business of its Executive Committee and the administration would undoubtedly play a part in the preparation of the agenda (because the President of the University and some other members of the administration would serve as members of the Executive Committee), though not a commanding role. Moreover, in order to prepare a meaningful agenda, the Executive Committee would have to draw on the knowledge of the administration as well as on the knowledge of its own members to determine what policy matters were either appropriate or ripe for discussion or action by the Senate.

The Senate should hold regular meetings once a month, except, possibly, during June, July and August, and the Senate should be empowered to meet more frequently either by decision of a majority vote of its members, or at the call of its Chairman, at the call of the President of the University, at the call of the Executive Committee, or at the call of one-third or more of its members. This would allow considerable flexibility in the calling of emergency sessions without, however, putting the University Senate at the possibly mercy of some small minority that might wish to call for frequent sessions for such reasons as political chicanery or harassment.

It is recommended that to carry out its functions in a meaningful fashion the University Senate provide itself with adequate research and secretarial and clerical staff. This it could do either by drawing on the resources of the administration or by establishing and maintaining a permanent staff of its own. This staff should be available for the University Senate as a whole as well as for the work of its committees.

Senate Committee Structure

The University Senate, as part of its power to make its own rules, should be empowered to establish its own standing or special committees and to determine the jurisdiction, functions, and duties of such committees. Committees of the University Senate may be composed in part of persons who are not members of the Senate, but the chairman of each committee and the majority of its membership should be composed of University Senate members. In this way it will be possible to give considerably broader representation in the day-to-day work of the University Senate to members of some constituencies than is reflected in their numerical representation.

It is recommended that the University Statutes not contain a detailed enumeration of committees of the University Senate nor that they in any way seek to determine the proper jurisdiction of such committees. To do so would tend to deprive the University Senate of the power to determine its own internal arrangements and would unnecessarily change the Senate to become rigid and inflexible in structure.

To enable a newly-created University Senate to begin functioning effectively, however, the creation of several essential committees (such as an executive committee, a committee on faculty affairs, and a committee on student

affairs) through their inclusion in the University Statutes is recommended, but the University Senate should be free to change the proposed committees in any respect it sees fit at any time. Thus, neither the proposal for committees to be formally incorporated in the University Statutes, nor as the suggestions for the creation of other, additional committees, are intended to bind the University Senate to any particular internal structure.

It is suggested, moreover, that the committee structure of the University Senate and of the Student Assembly be kept as closely parallel as possible. This would facilitate joint committee procedures and joint committee action. It would also provide an effective method of bridging the efforts of different policy making bodies of the University without a formal mechanism of liaison. From the point of view of student representation in particular, the joint committee device would afford a workable alternative to major representation by student representatives on committees of the University Senate. The use of this device would not, of course, exclude heavy student representation on committees of the University Senate that are primarily concerned with matters in which students have a special interest. The possibility of joint committee activities, taken in conjunction with the flexibility of membership on committees of the University Senate itself, will provide a broad range of possibilities for committee arrangements that are adaptable in each case to the special subject area to be considered.

It is recommended that the following three committees be reflected in the University Statutes (subject, however, to later modification by the University Senate itself):

Executive Committee. The Executive Committee should 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. The functions and power of such an Executive Committee should include the preparation of the Senate's agenda, the nomination of members to serve on standing or special committees, the right to call the Senate into extraordinary session, and the assumption of such tasks and powers, whether regular or emergency powers, as the Senate as a whole may delegate to the Committee during periods when the Senate is not in session.

Committee on Faculty Affairs. All 50 senior faculty representatives of the

a board of appeal on faculty grievances and making appropriate recommendations to the Faculty Senate or to the University administration. With the consent, or at the request, of the petitioner, such a committee should also be free to make public its recommendations and the reasons therefor.

The need for a body that would reflect primary faculty concerns and would concern itself with matters of faculty interest that require confidentiality, or that may require decisions free from interference by other components of the University has often been asserted.

The need for such an organ to deal primarily with faculty interests is also supported by the American Association of University Professors and the present proposal meets AAUP standards for such body. The importance of the

cerns in the community, and the like. Actions of the Student Assembly would normally be referred to the Student Affairs Committee before they were reported out to the entire University Senate for acceptance or rejection. The large student membership in the Committee on Student Affairs would thus assure the acts of the Student Assembly of sympathetic consideration before they were referred to the University Senate as a whole (See below, Acts of the Student Assembly are final unless vetoed or overruled by the University Senate).

Other Suggested Committees

As was previously stated, it is not the purpose of this proposal to limit or in any way hamper the University Senate in the ordering of its own affairs by imposing upon it a permanent com-

"All 50 senior faculty representatives of the University Senate should constitute themselves into a standing committee on faculty affairs."

Committee on Faculty Affairs within the entire University Senate can be gauged by the fact that any decision of the Committee, comprising as it does all the senior faculty members who are members of the University Senate, would usually assure its acceptance by the University Senate.

It is assumed that for many of its purposes, the Committee on Faculty Affairs, itself a rather large body, would work through sub-committees of its own choosing. The proposal accepts the view that neither students nor administrators have any decisive role to play in faculty decisions relating to tenure and academic freedom, to faculty grievances, and to other matters relating to academic perquisites. This will not limit administrators or students from taking up with the Committee on Faculty Affairs any matters which they wish to have brought to its attention. The Committee on Faculty Affairs, moreover, would invite the participation and involvement of junior faculty members in matters concerning them. While the proceedings of the Committee might be kept confidential, depending on the subject of discussion, other components of the University would not be kept entirely in the dark on the Committee's activities, because they would know what had been referred to the Committee and what reports had emerged from it. This should be sufficient to satisfy the demands of other components for full information on all aspects of Uni-

mittee structure. The three committees proposed for inclusion in the University Statutes as integral parts of the structure of the University Senate themselves are subject to modification by the Senate. The following additional committees are suggested here, not for inclusion in the University Statutes, but merely to point to a number of areas that will require the University Senate's action and concern in the near future.

Committee on Educational Planning and Policies.

This committee would be charged with the long-range and short-range development of University-wide academic plans, including such matters as the establishment of new schools, programs, and institutes.

Committee on Physical Planning and Community Relations.

This committee would deal with the approval or revision of a master plan for the physical development of the University, and would, in its planning activities, have to take into account the University's relations with the surrounding community and the impact of University expansion and building plans on the surrounding community's interests. In most instances the Committee on Physical Planning and Community Relations would have to collaborate closely with the Committee on Academic Planning, in view of the obvious fact that physical expansion or other modifications of the University's physical environment would often be dependent upon precedent determination of changes in the University's educational or research needs.

Committee on University Research

This committee would set the criteria and standards for University research policy, to provide a guide to the kind of research programs the University should undertake under contract or grant. The activities of this committee would largely follow the recommendations made in the Report of Committee on External Relations to the President of Columbia University earlier this year (the Henkin Committee). In addition to establishing general criteria and standards for sponsored University research, the committee would undertake to determine in specific cases whether or not the University should assume responsibility for particular research programs where a question as to their propriety for University research has been raised. In addition, such review of research programs by the committee may be appropriate in every instance where the proposed program entails annual expenditures in excess of \$200,000, regardless of the source of funds.

"Action of the Student Assembly would normally be referred to the Student Affairs Committee before going to the University Senate."

University Senate should constitute themselves into a standing committee on faculty affairs with jurisdiction—exercised as a committee or through sub-committees—over all matters that are of primary faculty concern, such as relate to tenure and academic freedom, faculty grievances, matters relating to terms and conditions of employment, academic advancement, leaves of absence and sabbatical leaves, faculty conduct and discipline, retirement, and such other matters as may particularly affect faculty perquisites and interests. Such a standing Committee on Faculty Affairs would also replace the present Committee on Conference, sitting as

versity affairs without, however, embarrassing the proceedings of the Committee itself.

Committee on Student Affairs. The Committee on Student Affairs, to deal with matters of special interest to students, should have a membership of 15 members, consisting of all of the student members of the University Senate, and of five other members. A student member should serve as co-chairman. The Committee's jurisdiction should include matters of student life on campus, including, but not limited to, matters of student organizations and student publications, student discipline, dormitory rules, extra-curricular activities, student con-

Executive Committee Staff Proposal

Recognition of University Senate Service

Conscientious service in the University Senate is a time-consuming matter. One of the problems of faculty participation in general University (as distinct from departmental) matters has always been that the best and busiest faculty members have frequently avoided it because it detracted from other, more dominant interests. To some extent this is true, also, of serious student participation. Accordingly, it is recommended that faculty members serving in the Senate be entitled to a reduction of their teaching load equivalent to one semester course per year [per semester?], and that students be granted credit equivalent to three points per semester [year?] towards their degree goal. In the case of students, the grant of point credit may be justified by the genuine educational experience afforded by serious service in the University Senate. The extent to which service should be rewarded and a calculation of the possible costs of the proposal to the University is a matter that requires further consideration.

Proposal for a Student Assembly Commentary and Discussion

The plan for a University Senate assumes the functioning of some form of active Student Assembly comprised of student representatives from all of the different branches of the University. The precise mode of composition of the Student Assembly is a matter on which student initiative and student expressions of opinion should be sought. Thus far, however, no clear indication has emerged that student groups have any one single workable plan for student representation. Without in any way seeking to deprive the student body of initiative in this area, the following is suggested as a possible basis for a plan.

The Student Assembly would be comprised of representatives from each of the undergraduate divisions of the University—including Barnard—and from each of the Graduate Faculties and professional schools, including Teachers College, Union Theological Seminary, and the School of Pharmacy. Representatives would be chosen separately from each school, either by the school's representative student organization or council, or by the school's student body. Schools not on Morningside Heights might be given the choice of whether or not to send representatives to the Assembly.

The term of office of representatives in the Assembly should be one year. The number of representatives from each division or school should be computed on the basis of the number of full-time students. The precise manner of holding elections will be dealt with in a separate memorandum on alternative methods of student representation.

There seems to be considerable agreement among students that "student government" in the traditional sense has been a failure largely because there has never been anything for students to govern. Instead, students appear to view a Student Assembly or similar body acceptable only if it provides a method whereby students are enabled to play a part in the government not only of students, but of the University as a whole. This aim is here served by providing student representation drawn from the Student Assembly in the University Senate and by suggesting the establishment of a parallel committee structure of the Student Assembly and the University Senate, so that members of the Student Assembly may readily participate in the actual deliberations on University affairs in joint session with their counterpart committees of the University Senate. Moreover, it is expected that the membership of the committees of the University Senate will itself draw on members of the

Student Assembly in carrying out the extended committee structure previously recommended.

To give additional meaning to the Student Assembly as a working part of University government, it is recommended that the Student Assembly, by a majority vote, may make binding requests on the University Senate to put a matter on the Senate agenda, and that the University Senate be obligated to respond to requests for information and requests for action made by a similar majority vote. In this manner the Student assembly will have an active voice in the formulation of the University Council's agenda and will be able to request in a binding fashion that the University Senate consider and take a stand on questions, problems, or programs presented by it. This would prevent the recurrence of such instances of failure to respond for protracted periods of time on student reports, such as in the case of the Student Life Report of recent memory.

In addition to these new and extended functions which would give the Student Assembly greater power and a fuller degree of participation than is presently afforded to any student assembly in the country, the Student Assembly would assume primary obligation to regulate such traditional areas of student affairs as affect the life of students on campus. This would include the making of dormitory rules and standards of individual conduct, student housing, extracurricular activities, student organizations and publications, and student involvement in community affairs. In all of these areas the Student Assembly regulations would become fully effective unless overruled by a majority of the University Senate.

Comparison of Proposed Organization With Other Patterns in American Universities

In dividing the proposal for a "unicameral" University Senate, with mixed representation from all components of the University, a variety of other organizational schemes were considered and discarded. Many universities have adopted something of a "bicameral" or sometimes even "tri-cameral" system of bodies whose membership is generally restricted to senior faculty or to senior faculty and middle-level instructional personnel. This appears to be the pattern favored in Columbia University's own administration proposals for reform. Commonly, a faculty senate of the "town meeting" variety is at the bottom of the pyramid, with every senior faculty member, and in some cases, also every assistant professor and instructor eligible to participate and vote. Usually, this puts the full membership of such a body into many hundreds; sometimes the membership exceeds one thousand. Such a body cannot effectively transact business, even if all of its members were to meet on a great plain or in the football stadium. Paradoxically, such a faculty senate can only work if most of its members pay no attention to it—and this is precisely the experience of universities that have such an organization. Attendance is normally at about 15 per cent of the membership, and may rise to about 25 per cent whenever issues of major faculty interest, or crisis issues, are up for discussion. At least one University, Cornell, is considering the modification of its faculty Senate to include representational aspects, such as the election of delegates from each department, and the additional use of university-wide mail polls to determine the view of the entire faculty on important issues. Aside from serving as a forum for discussion, such a faculty senate serves little other purpose than to provide a source for committee members of university-wide faculty committees, the actual working part of the system.

A proposal that would include a faculty senate of the type described was considered, all the more so since it seemed to be a natural successor to the special convocation of the Joint Faculties of Columbia University in response to the campus crisis. The idea was discarded, however, on the basis of experience with such bodies elsewhere. Moreover, the size and operation of such a body preclude and kind of meaningful participation with, or within, the Senate itself or other components of the University—whether by members of the administration, junior faculty or student body. A general convocation of the University is justified, when, as in unusual crisis situation, there is need to bring to bear its full influence as the true intellectual core of the University. When needed for this purpose, full attendance of members of the faculty can be relied upon—not just a 15-20 per cent attendance, as in ordinary sessions of most senates. There is no need, however, to provide in advance for such emergency calls of the entire faculty, for as recent events at Columbia have shown, effective means for the convocation of the entire faculty in emergency situations are at hand, even without special statutory authorization.

Oftentimes universities provide for some kind of faculty council above the faculty senate in the hierarchy. Such a body is usually much smaller than the faculty senate, and its members may either be chosen from the members of the senate, thus constituting in actuality a committee of the senate, or elected as representatives by the different schools and faculties that comprise the university. Commonly such a faculty council has jurisdiction over matters of academic policy and faculty interests. Sometimes such a body also includes a number of administrators, and if it does, its jurisdiction may be broadened to include other matters as well. If such a body is a "pure" faculty body, without administration or other representatives, its interests are likely to include major curricular matters that transcend the interests of any one department or faculty, but its main focus is likely to be on tenure matters, academic advancements, academic perquisites, and on matters of academic freedom.

It is largely because of this concentration on concerns of peculiar faculty interest that the exclusion of students and also of administrators from such faculty bodies has often been urged. The exclusion of non-faculty members from the consideration of such matters should certainly be protected. But such protection cannot be extended to justify the exclusion of non-faculty components of the university from the deliberative processes of such bodies when they impinge on concerns that are not the special and traditional preserve of the faculty.

It has often been suggested that a "pure" representative body, university-wide, or faculty members, should be provided for. A proposal to accomplish this purpose was considered in the course of this study. It was ultimately rejected, because the aim of securing confidentiality of discussion of faculty interests and perquisites can be readily accomplished without the necessity of creating a distinct and separate faculty body. This has been accomplished in this proposal by the provision for a Committee on Faculty Affairs within the University Senate, a committee whose membership would include, and be limited to, all of the tenured faculty members in the University Senate. The proposed arrangement seems preferable to a separate faculty council on a number of grounds.

In our view there is great need for the establishment of a central policy-making body of university-wide jurisdiction whose interests would extend

beyond the narrower concerns normally within the competence of a faculty council. Once the principle is established that there should be such a body of more general jurisdiction and that such a body ought to have a substantial majority senior faculty members in its composition, then it becomes apparent that a separate faculty council is duplicatory. The mere fact that the senior faculty has the dominant voice in the proposed University Senate and that a faculty council would do little more than reflect that dominant voice in another body makes such separation unnecessary. The creation of two separate bodies, one of general jurisdiction and one of jurisdiction that is limited to faculty affairs, creates a problem of line drawing, as to which are faculty concerns and which are matters of more general interest. For instance, the subject of long-range academic planning—which probably is a matter in which the faculty should have a predominant say—is closely tied into problems of physical planning for the future expansion of the university. It becomes immediately apparent that to leave one subject for determination by the faculty council and the other with a different body of university-wide jurisdiction and representation would involve an artificial division of responsibilities. The advantage of a Committee within a body of more general jurisdiction is that the relationship between faculty decisions on matters of special faculty concern and of the larger body's decisions on matters of broader concern may be more closely coordinated. This should give a more effective voice to faculty members in the University Senate than they would have if the decisions of a separate faculty council had to be transmitted to a different body, there to be considered anew. The circuitousness of such a course is readily apparent since the membership of the two bodies would so largely coincide that the two bodies might just as well be combined into one. The relationship of the proposed Committee on Faculty Affairs (which would take the place of a separate faculty council) with the University Senate of which it would be an integral part has been discussed in relation to the recommendation of the University Senate's committee structure.

In a number of universities a further body has been established either above the faculty council or instead of one. Usually this additional body is regarded as an executive board of executive committee. Commonly this body consists of a relatively small number of members of the senior faculty who sit with a number of university administrators, including members of the university central administration and deans of schools or faculties. The usual functions of such an executive body are difficult to categorize as either legislative or administrative. To some extent such a body may be involved in setting university-wide rules and standards of conduct. To some extent it may be involved in actually assisting the university administration in carrying out its functions, either in an advisory capacity or in a more directly involved fashion. While in a university setting, legislative and administrative functions become readily intertwined, and while a strict line of division may be very difficult to draw in specific instances, it is likely that bodies of this kind involve faculty members unduly in the administrative process and in a sense make them an arm of the university's administration. The proposal here presented visualizes the faculty's role in the University Senate as primarily legislative, and it should remain so as far as possible. To the extent that participation in an advisory capacity is desirable or necessary, such participation is possible both

Executive Committee

through the proposed University Senate's own Executive Committee which would, however, have primarily legislative functions, and through the present departmental structure of the University where faculty members do play and should continue to play an important role in the operation of their schools, faculties, and departments.

Other methods for University organization that have seen some application in other universities (and that may to some extent be combined with structural alternatives previously referred to) are based on a scheme of "parallel structures." A model which utilizes this approach has been suggested for consideration by Columbia University. It would be based on two parallel representative assemblies, one of them a faculty assembly, the other a student assembly. The faculty assembly would have primary jurisdiction over matters pertaining to faculty interests, tenure, perquisites, sabbaticals, etc., and to matters of academic policy, curriculum, degrees, honors, etc. The student assembly would have primary jurisdiction over the traditional areas of government such as student discipline, dormitory rules, parietal rules, extracurricular activities, etc. Both assemblies, faculty and student, would also concern them-

selves with matters of broader University interest, and both assemblies would endeavor to establish parallel committee systems so that, in areas in which their interests coincide or are closely related, joint meetings could be held and joint recommendations arrived at. In other areas where student interest is involved less directly, a small number of student members would be included as members of faculty committees and would be able to participate in the particular faculty committee's deliberations. In such a structure, the faculty assembly would then supply a small number of its own members to serve as members of some executive committee in which they would share in the decision making processes of the administration.

There are a number of obvious advantages in such a parallel system, just as there are a number of probably less apparent drawbacks. The proposal here presented does not reject the parallel structure concept, but seeks to use it and adapt it in such a way as to forego its less desirable features. Parallel structure assumes that there are entirely separate matters of faculty and of student concern, which each group ought to be free to deal with on its own. While this is true, it is clear that

the range of such matters is very limited. Curricular decisions, and standards affecting the granting of degrees, are matters that impinge most forcefully on students, and yet these areas would normally be considered as falling very directly under the aegis of the faculty. Decisions affecting extracurricular affairs are clearly considered to be matters of student concern, and yet where such extracurricular affairs involve the use of the name of the University or the use of University funds, the interests of the faculty and of the University at large are immediately engaged. If in such areas the policy-making process involves joint committee action, the question immediately arises as to whether the student part of the parallel structure is not in reality a mere appendage to the true decision-making part of the apparatus, namely the faculty assembly. This insight is reflected to a considerable extent in student rejection of any scheme of government which does not give them some share in the actual policy-making process. Student attitudes are reflected in the rejection in most major universities of the notion of "student government" as a sham because it does not really have anything to govern. Students wish to participate in some measure in University government, and a parallel structure gives them only a minimal amount of

assurance that their voice will be heard.

The present proposal accepts the utility of the parallel structure device, but combines it with meaningful representation of students in the ultimate policy-making body. It also gives the student assembly part of the parallel structure a real function in the process.

In sum, the proposal seeks the establishment of a strong policy-making body in which all of the components of the University would share without the polarization of interests implicit in a parallel structure which separates students and faculty in different parts of the organizational structure. Implicit in the recommendation for a University Senate with mixed representation from all segments of the University is the assumption that the different constituencies share basic common interests, and that the policy-making process for the University as a whole is a unitary process which should not be unnecessarily segmented and divided along imaginary interest group lines. The proposal accepts the necessity for some separate bodies to reflect the particular interests of the faculty and the students, but seeks to integrate these interests organizationally into the overall scheme by either making them a part of the University Senate or by tying parallel structures closely into the operations of the central policy-making organ.

Selection From Walsh Report

The basic government of Columbia follows that of most American and Canadian universities. The residual power with respect to the property and operation of the university is vested in a board of lay trustees. Faculty members are ineligible for appointment as trustees.

In reality, however, this board has delegated its executive power to the president. The curriculum of the various schools of the university is largely developed by the faculty of the individual school, subject to the approval of the president. Senior faculty appointments are made by the trustees but always upon the recommendation of the president who in turn is guided by the appropriate school and department. The university budget is prepared under the direction of the president and, except as to major new undertakings, is again subject only to nominal approval by the trustees. Thus, the classically important activities of the university are controlled by the faculty. The administrative affairs of the university are controlled by the president as its chief executive. Only in the event of some major disagreement or some major change in university operations or in the selection of a new president do the trustees intrude in the direct operations of the university.

The colleges and schools of the university operate relatively independently. There is, however, a University Council which consists of the deans of the various schools and colleges, the president and vice presidents of the university as well as two faculty representatives of each school or faculty. It advises the trustees with respect to the conduct of university officers of administration or instruction and matters of importance to more than one college or school.

Within each school or college, the dean is the principal administrative officer of that school, and in the first instance, the person responsible for discipline of students. However, the dean has limited powers as to faculty members since the teaching officers above the rank of assistant professor are appointees of the trustees and have tenure, that is, they hold their office at the pleasure of the trustees rather than that of the dean or their faculty colleagues.

As is usual, the trustees with certain exceptions elect their own successors. Of the 24 trustees, one is the university

president, six are term trustees elected by the alumni, and 17 are life trustees. Vacancies in these 17 offices are filled by the remaining trustees by election. The alumni trustees are elected on nomination by an alumni committee elected or appointed annually by the various alumni associations. Frequently life trustees are selected from alumni trustees. At present six former alumni trustees are serving as life trustees, including the present Chairman and his two predecessors.

We do not suggest any basic change in the structure of university government although we suggest consideration of several possible improvements. The residual power of the trustees should not be dissipated. By these powers it is able to act as the moderator of the principal components of the university.

Similarly, we do not believe the powers of the president should be weakened. The management of an institution as large and immensely complicated as the University cannot be left to a committee or a deliberative body. One man must take responsibility for its day-to-day management and the implementation of University policy in the various schools.

Although the faculty really controls the important work of the University and in a real sense is the University, we do not believe this control should be formalized by the creation of a faculty Senate as some universities have. We believe that such a large group (500 or more) would be unwieldy as an instrument of government. Actually the faculty is more effective acting through the individual schools and departments. Most questions are not university-wide in scope. As to those which are, the present University Council is well constituted as a representative body to handle them. If broader faculty representation is required, faculty representation on the Council can be expanded.

We do not believe faculty members should be added to the Trustees. Faculty views on university development should be imparted through the President, with special faculty committees upon particular questions and an executive committee of the Council to present its point of view in the event of conflict with the President. It may be, however, that in a University of the size and complexity of Columbia this puts too heavy a burden of communication on the President. If so, we suggest that there

be a regular procedure of liaison by joint committees of trustees and faculty members for each school and college.

As to students, they should have a more effective body for self-government than the present University Student Council. Their governing agencies should be organized within their respective schools with a university-wide federation for consideration of matters of university-wide import. After the University Student Council was organized in 1946, the agencies of student government in the individual colleges and schools dropped into disuse and were ultimately abandoned. We believe this was regrettable and that more effective instruments of student government should have been created to replace them in the individual colleges and schools.

The structure of student self-government should be determined by the students themselves subject to a definition of its outer limits by the trustees, after consultation with student representatives, the faculty and the administration. Although it is difficult for alumni to define these limits on an a priori basis we make the following suggestions:

1. As to the content of the curriculum and methods of instruction, students should be heard but ultimate power must rest with the faculty, subject to the residual power of the trustees.
2. As to matters which can damage the University financially or which can expose it to disgrace, the ultimate power must rest with the administration and as to particularly important matters with the trustees.
3. As to the discipline of students for acts conflicting with policies established in either of these two categories the ultimate power must rest with the administration.

4. As to other matters liberal powers of student self-government should be attempted.

Finally, the most important suggestion we make is the creation of a formal Board of Visitors for each school and college. We do not refer to the relatively large advisory groups many schools now have but a formal, relatively small board, perhaps 15, with specific duties of inspection and report. Each such board should be appointed by the Board of Trustees and should be composed equally of students, alumni, educators (preferably from outside institutions), representatives of present advisory councils, and distinguished non-alumni

leaders from fields appropriate to the particular school or college. Each Board should be committed to regular and frequent inspection including the auditing of courses and the hearing of student and faculty complaints. It should be required to report to the Trustees once each semester. The required reports should be made public within a reasonable period after submission. In addition, free private communication between board members and trustees should be accepted custom.

The most telling criticism of the present operation of the University is the difficulty in communication, difficulty in getting a hearing on complaints and grievances. Realistically, this is almost unavoidable in an institution as large and complex and as important as Columbia. Columbia cannot be compared with traditional colleges. Most large private universities are dwarfed by its comparison. Even Princeton and Yale have far fewer schools to coordinate and in fact only a handful of universities furnish helpful comparisons. Traditionally Columbia has eschewed the paternalistic pattern. We do not expect, we do not want a president whose day is spent mothering students or faculty. Columbia is great in part because it is, to a marked degree, impersonal. It assumes the intellectual maturity of its students. Those who understandably prefer a different atmosphere will find hundreds of other colleges available to them. They should not be permitted to convert Columbia.

We believe that a joint Board of Visitors having a function similar to a Harvard Visiting Committee offers the best possible agency of communication. The alumni and educators may be expected to sift out trivial grievances. Their support should greatly add to the likelihood of action on those which remain.

The present Advisory Councils should be continued. Their function would not in any way be impaired by the creation of the Boards we recommend. In fact with representatives of these Councils serving on each Board of Visitors, the functioning of the Councils should be enhanced.

We suggest also that each individual faculty department experiment with liaison committees of faculty members and students. The purpose of these committees would be to insure easier communications between students, junior faculty and senior faculty. Although these committees may take an inordinate amount of time in the beginning, we believe that they would probably settle down into very manageable procedures.

Administration Proposals

Faculty Organization

For some time a significant number of members of the Columbia faculty have expressed strong feelings about the need for a greater faculty role in the processes of shaping the policies and plans of the University and for greater faculty participation in discussions and decisions about University problems. Traditionally, the members of each separate faculty and their elected representatives on Committees on Instruction, etc., have had almost unlimited power over academic matters in the individual school, although they have not always chosen to exercise all these powers. At the university level, however, the only organized bodies with faculty representation have been the University Council and the Advisory Committee of the Faculties, and, for a variety of reasons, neither of these is an adequate vehicle for the kind of faculty participation that is now desired. New organizational forms are therefore required, especially at the university level and at intermediate levels between the university and the individual schools and faculties, if we are to achieve this kind of faculty participation and if the President and Provost of the University are to have the benefit of extensive faculty participation in the complicated processes of discussion, investigation, and decisionmaking that go on in a large complex university like Columbia.

The following suggestions for University-wide faculty organization, involving a faculty assembly, senate, and council, are set forth in outline form so that we can present to various groups in the University a draft memorandum that can be widely commented on, amended, and reformulated. We also hope that some of the suggestions outlined here will be helpful to the various trustee, faculty, and student groups which are wrestling with the difficult problem of faculty organization.

I. Representation

A. General assembly of all faculty members

B. Senate or representative body

C. Council or executive committee
Suggestion: An organization which involves all three bodies seems preferable to any one or two alone. This will permit a large number of individuals to participate in some form of university activity if they desire to do so.

A. Assembly

1. Composition

Suggestion: The assembly should be made up of all members of faculties and all full-time officers of instruction. It would meet at least once a year.

2. Powers

Suggestion: The assembly would provide a forum for discussion of issues of interest to the university community, it would receive annual reports from the President and the Senate, and it would have a role in electing a portion of the faculty senate and would provide a means of identifying manpower for senate committees.

B. Senate

1. Composition

Suggestion: 50-100 members, 2/3 of whom are elected by their respective faculties, 1/3 of whom are elected at large by the assembly from a roster of nominees provided by the Senate through its Committee on Nominations. Meetings two or three times a term. Three-year staggered terms of office. Presiding officer a faculty member elected annually by the Senate.

2. Powers

Suggestion: Senate empowered to:

- Elect the faculty council
- Elect the faculty members of a university-wide rulemaking body for

student conduct and of a university-wide appellate tribunal

c. Consider recommendations of the faculty council and recommend appropriate action to the President and Trustees in the following areas:

1. Proposals for changes and innovations in the educational policies of the university (e.g., establishment of new schools, programs, institutes, reorganization of departments, etc.)

2. Proposed research programs which entail annual expenditures in excess of \$100,000 regardless of source of funds.

3. Approval or revision of the master plan for University construction, and proposals for construction or demolition, prior to selection of architects.

d. Establish standing committees on matters of continuing interest to faculty members, e.g., nominations, housing, grievance and tenure, community relations, government-foundation relations, salary and fringe benefits, relationships with University bureaucracy, recommendations for honorary degrees, etc.

e. On the basis of its committees' proposals, issue reports and recommendations to the faculty council and to the President for transmittal to the Trustees.

f. Establish search committees to make recommendations to the President and Trustees on university-wide



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administrative appointments of educational significance.

Note: The Senate could also meet twice a term with the Deans and other administrative officers and with representatives of the affiliates, and this combined body could carry out the remaining functions of the University Council, e.g., passing on changes in degree and certificate requirements, relations with affiliates, etc.

C. Faculty council

1. Composition

Suggestion: A small body with no more than 12 members, serving for three-year staggered terms. Chaired by President and/or Provost. Members divided equally between arts and sciences departments and professional schools, chosen by and from Senate. Individuals elected to council to receive course-load reduction.

2. Powers

a. To investigate, evaluate, and make recommendations to the faculty senate on the matters covered in B 2c, 1, 2, 3.

b. To evaluate and pass upon reports and proposals of faculty senate committees.

c. To propose to the faculty senate the establishment of special committees to investigate and make recommendations on matters of university interest not falling within the purview of any standing committee.

d. To advise the Provost and President in the preparation of the annual budget of the university to be submitted to the Trustees, with special but not exclusive attention to the sections of the budget relating to instructional expenses.

II. Links to Other Groups

It would be inappropriate at this point to spell out specific links to student bodies, for example, which have not yet been designed. However, some principles can be suggested here:

1. In appointing standing committees, the senate should provide for representation from the faculty assembly and, where the matter under consideration is not one that is of concern only to the faculty, it should provide for student representation on the committee or for consultation and joint meetings with the analogous student committee.

2. The senate will wish to consider to what extent and in what manner student representation may be utilized by the faculty council (e.g., periodic joint meetings of the faculty council and a university-wide student council, inclusion of representatives of the student council at some sessions of the faculty council, etc.).

III. Since each Department in the arts and sciences is now responsible for instruction in the College, General Studies, and the graduate school, a similar structure is suggested for the arts and sciences divisions of the University—the College, General Studies, the three Graduate Faculties, and International Affairs. That is, we should have an assembly of all members of these faculties, a smaller "Senate" of 50-60 members, and a council of 10-12 members. These bodies would deal with problems and issues of concern to more than one of the constituent Faculties, and would be the forums in which questions which concerned all Departments in the Arts and Sciences would be discussed and evaluated. On matters affecting individual schools, the individual Faculties would make final decisions; on other matters, these Arts and Sciences bodies would be the places for discussion and decision, and on other matters, which also concerned other schools or divisions of the University as a whole, these bodies would make recommendations for action to the University-wide Assembly, Senate, or Council. The Arts and Sciences council would meet regularly with the four Deans involved in this area (the Dean of Columbia College, the Dean of General Studies, the Dean of the Graduate Faculties, and the Dean of International Affairs).

Future Role of Students, Part I

In the months since April 23, a new and significantly expanded role for students in Columbia University has begun to emerge. Not only are students participating in such organs as the JCDA, and the divisional tribunals, they are also actively striving to create new University structures by working with the JCC, SRU, and the Temple Committee and by assisting with the work of the Executive Committee of the Faculty. Many students who are not involved in a formal organization nevertheless have evinced great interest in the proposals for change and have contributed much in the way of substance to these proposals. The breakdown of long-standing Columbia student and faculty apathy and the new interest in the life of the University are the most positive signs on Morningside Heights in a long time and they are also the first prerequisites for a permanently meaningful role for students in the University. It might also be added that they are guarantees for a more vital

University in the future. They are not, however, the sole conditions for success. The aim of this memorandum is to suggest some further considerations that are necessary if the gains made since April are to be consolidated and enhanced.

There are two questions which are of primary importance. First, in what areas are students to be involved? Second, what organizational structure will be most likely to facilitate involvement and maximize effectiveness?

As far as the first question is concerned, it might be argued that students have a right to participate in all aspects of University life. But frankly such a formula is not particularly helpful, and it may, in fact, be nothing more than a rhetorical fig-leaf which covers a paucity of intellectual effort. This formula is so vague that it is of little use in identifying concrete roles or creating future structures. It is necessary, therefore, first to break down forms of student participation into relatively well-defined areas.

There are three areas which suggest themselves. First the academic, second the divisional, and third the university-wide. The academic area includes such matters as course offerings, requirements, and the balance between lecture courses, seminars, and colloquia. The extent of the students' role in this area is restricted only by that of the faculty, which exercises almost complete authority now through the departments and the committees on instruction in the various divisions of the University. No one can say precisely to what extent the faculty will be willing to share its authority, but it is extremely desirable that student involvement be increased substantially, that proposals be elicited from students on a regular basis, and that particularly close attention be paid to student evaluations of courses and instructors when departments and schools make decisions about staffing and promotion. Final decision on these matters will probably be retained by the faculty, but this should be no excuse for treating lightly or even for failing to consult student opinions.

Academic Area

In the academic area, organizational structures would, most conveniently, follow existing faculty structures. Students should be organized along departmental, as well as divisional, lines. This would permit the maximum number of students to involve themselves in the academic areas which most closely concern them.

Divisional Area

The second, or divisional, area covers matters of a rather different nature. Each of the schools in the University is a body with aims, standards, and traditions of its own. The concerns of law or medical students differ significantly from those of undergraduate liberal arts students. Questions of discipline, extracurricular activities, even problems of "identity crisis" do not concern the former as much as the latter. For that reason many of the concerns of student involvement must be decentralized on a divisional or a functional basis. For example, dormitory regulations, fraternity regulations, student activities, etc., play an important part in the lives of undergraduates but do not concern all students in the University. It should be possible therefore to establish new representative units or confirm and strengthen those presently existing in the College (e.g., Dorm Council) and the other divisions of the University to exercise considerable authority in the areas which most closely affect students in the division. Again

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using the College as an example, it is possible that students might assume complete control over extracurricular affairs including the BOM, Cit Council, Spectator and KCA. True independence, of course, entails financial autonomy and legal responsibility, which in turn presupposes independent sources of revenue. A student government on the divisional level might, therefore, be given taxing powers, to raise monies from students in order to finance student activities. Admittedly the present system has operated with a minimum of interference and only a modicum of tutelage, but this is no guarantee of future freedom, particularly since the bulk of student activities in the College are financed from University funds and alumni contributions. Financing these activities from student sources would eliminate threats of advertent or inadvertent interference, would increase the range of choice open to students, and might possibly result in a reduction of tuition (more likely in postponing an inevitable increase) or in increased funds for scholarships and other programs. The only control over the taxing power should be the approval of those taxed, either through representatives or by referendum on proposed budgets.

The specific organizational forms for divisional student governments will obviously vary from school to school, as will the scope of the governments. The students in the schools themselves are best qualified to determine the forms which suit their needs. Nevertheless some broad structural principles should always be kept in mind. In order to ensure that the groups effectively represent student opinion (and without such a real representative quality the bodies will have neither prestige nor power, regardless of statutes), at least 50% of the students in a division should participate to make valid the election of their representatives. The chosen representatives should receive a majority of the votes cast even if this entails run-off elections among top candidates.

University Level

At the University level the concerns of students differ from those at the divisional level. University relations with the community, with the government and foundations, University expansion and physical planning, these are the areas which have evoked most interest lately. On a more prosaic but perhaps equally important level in terms of the quality of life at Columbia, one must include concerns such as relations with the bureaucracy (Registrar and Bursar's Office), and the operation of service units such as the bookstore and dining halls. In all of these areas students have important roles to play but their power must be shared, particularly with the faculty (see the Draft Memorandum on Faculty Organization). In many areas joint faculty-student committees or joint meetings of separate faculty and student committees which will report to the faculty senate will probably prove the most effective procedure. The students who will serve on these committees might best be drawn from a University-wide student council, elected either directly from each school or by selection by the student representative body in each of the constituent schools. The number of representatives in either case ought to depend on the number of full-time students registered in the particular schools.

At the divisional, departmental, and the University level it is important to establish regular contacts between the student councils or governing bodies and those charged with responsibility in the Faculty and Administration. This

activity, which would be in addition to the committee work of these student groups, would entail scheduled meetings with Deans, Department Chairmen, Committees on Instruction or Executive Committees, as well as regular meetings with the President, Provost, Director for Student Interests, and other appropriate University administrators. Finally, student opinions ought to be conveyed directly to the Trustees and for that purpose provision should be made for regular meetings of student representatives with the Trustees or their committees.

Future Role of Students

Part II

In this proposal it is not our purpose to tell the students of the University what organizational forms their participation should take, but we felt that the mere suggestion of possible areas of student involvement (part I) would be insufficient without some indication of how the principles could be translated into concrete terms. We anticipate that similar proposals will be forthcoming from other groups, and our proposal should be considered only as one of many "working papers" that might be set before the University student community for consideration in the next few months.

Several other assumptions are implicit in this proposal. First, any joint faculty-student participation—especially in exclusively academic areas—demands the concurrence of the faculty. Second-

The administration, working through the office of the Vice Provost, issued four essays on University reform this summer.

ly, should there be any joint faculty-student participation in formal governing bodies (as we suggest), the faculty should enjoy majority status whenever the competence of the body includes subjects that are not of primarily student interest. This is to ensure that in the possibility of a faculty and student split over an issue, the ultimate power to resolve the question rests with the faculty, who have an overview and a continuing stake in the University that transcends the relatively limited stay of the student; though, of course, a student may voluntarily remain involved as an alumnus.

The third major assumption is namely that the student organizations should parallel faculty structures (see Draft Memorandum on Faculty Organization), and that, in any formula for student participation, there should be organizational recognition of the necessary federalism of a large and complex university like Columbia.

I. Departmental Participation

A. General Comments

The most basic units in academic decision-making are the University academic departments as broken down further into the divisional departments (graduate, College, General Studies). Please take note of Part I, for our general views. We are aware that several student groups—general and departmental—are working in this area, and we recognize that the several departments of the University may evolve different mechanisms with differing powers; this is to be expected, for each department is unique. We wish, however, to suggest what seems to us a few basic organizational minima to guarantee student participation in departmental decision-making.

"The faculty should enjoy majority status whenever the competence of the body includes subjects that are not of primarily student interest."

B. Consultative and Grievance Mechanism

In April of every year, all students within a divisional department should be convoked to elect four or five students within the department to consult regularly with the faculty on departmental business and convey any student grievances to the faculty. These elected students should be empowered (1) regularly to convoke all the departmental students in a division to discuss any departmental business and (2) to discuss with similarly elected students of the same department but from other divisions of the University matters of cross-cutting interest which are to be settled at an "arts and sciences" level.

C. Year-End Departmental Audits

One of the specific duties of these elected students should be to select, with the faculty of the divisional department, several graduating students to perform a year-end audit that summer. We suggest that the students chosen to participate in an audit meet a minimal academic ranking of B- or above. A graduating student will have greater personal experience in course offerings,

campus residents assigned to a residence hall for representational purposes.

The alternatives are, of course, general elections by either division or class, representation following "student activities" alignment, or the use of the petition system. A mix of systems is possible; a constituency system might be supplemented by either a divisional-wide or class-wide election of delegates-at-large. One should also note special academic groupings, e.g. pre-meds, that might have to be regarded as a separate constituency in the upper College.

We propose that where a department has a student enrollment fewer than ten, those students should be assigned to an allied department for representational purposes. Given a constituency system, only a rough approximation can be made to the principle of "one man—one vote." Our suggestion is one representative for a department of ten to fifty students, two representatives for fifty plus students, three representatives for one hundred plus students, etc. This would provide a sufficient pool of willing students to participate in both University and divisional level governance.

B. Powers and Functions of the Divisional Student Associations

1. Placement of student personnel on standing and ad hoc committees of a divisional faculty:

We believe that the divisional student association should assign either from its own body or from groups of specially qualified students the student personnel on committees of any divisional faculty, e.g., Committees on Instruction, Admission and Financial Aid, Honors, etc. (The College Committee on Instruction already has non-voting student personnel from the Academic Affairs Committee. The College Student Association may wish to perpetuate this select membership, with the Academic Affairs Students being given voting power and being responsible to the College Student Association by means of periodic reports.)

2. Executive committee of the divisional student association:

Each divisional student association will probably wish to elect an executive committee to co-ordinate its meeting agendas, etc. These executive committees should also periodically consult with their respective deans on general matters of divisional governance, calling special attention to any general feelings of student discontent over an issue.

3. Student activities and relationship to autonomous student activity groups:

a. Student-Activities Budget Committee: In the area of funded student activities, we suggest that a student activities budget committee be formed in each major division of the University. Using the College and the undergraduate engineers as an example we propose that the committee be composed of six members for the College Student Association, two from the Undergraduate Engineer Student Association, and six from the funded student activities, (two each from the KCA Fourth Floor Cabinet, the Citizenship Program, the Ferris Booth Hall Board of Managers, and one each from Spectator and WKCR). There might also be advisory personnel to this committee, composed of the two faculty and alumni

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be liberated from all constraints, and can be truly critical of the department's balances in course offerings and the teaching performances of the faculty. Course evaluations should be solicited by the audit students from all the students in the department, and the audit students should have full access to the chairman of the department or departmental representative or other members of the faculty for all information that they may require. A report should be issued with recommendations, including comments on tenure; please refer to our remarks earlier in part I. (In the College, copies of the departmental audit reports might be given to the Ted Kremer Society to aid that group in its course evaluation booklet.) The University should make all possible efforts to recompense the audit students for their labors.

II. Divisional Level Government

A. Constituencies and Divisional Student Associations

We suggest that each division of the University have a "divisional" student association drawn by representation from natural student groupings. This is to help guarantee full electoral participation and to allow the representatives to report back to easily convoked constituencies. For most divisions of the University, e.g. Graduate Faculties, the upper College, General Studies, Engineering (undergraduate and graduate), School of the Arts, etc., the department is the most "natural" unit. There are schools, e.g. Law, where departmental distinctions do not exist, and a breakdown by class is perhaps necessary. The lower College could either preserve the freshman/sophomore class breakdown or be further broken down by residence hall groupings, with off-

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now on the Fourth Floor Cabinet, and six administrators (Director for Student Interest, the College and Undergraduate Engineer Associate Deans for Student Affairs, the Director and Assistant Director of Student Activities, and the Director of the Citizenship Program). Only the students should have a vote, but we suggest that the Associate Director be the secretary of the of the committee, for he is best able to render technical budgetary advice. This committee should ascertain the total amount to go into student activities, the allocation to each activity, and the amount that must be taxed from the student body. Each year's proposed budget should be submitted by the Committee to the College and Undergraduate Engineer Student Associations (voting together) for approval, and, perhaps, then be submitted to general student referendum for further approval.

b. Other Specialized All Student Committees: We propose that, for example, the College Student Association take over the functions of the Elections Commission, the student membership on the College Committee on Student Organization Recognition, the Freshman Week Committee, and the like. It should also handle, through a committee, any questions of judicial disqualification in the discipline apparatus, should a lot system be used.

C. Relationship to autonomous Student Activities

Effective oversight of all student activities can be exercised by student association committees on activity recognition. The mixed faculty-student College Committee on Admissions and Financial Aid can exercise any desired oversight of the Secondary Schools Committee and the Student Agencies. Living unit and student activity center organizations, such as UDC, Pamphratia, and the Ferris Booth Hall Board of Managers, are best left independent to operate in their particular spheres. There might well be an exchange of non-voting representatives between three groups and the College Student Association for purposes of information and co-ordination. Exchanges between various student activity center governing boards, e.g. BOM and the Barnard group, should be encouraged in order to better utilize facilities. In the area of discipline, please see the suggestions in the Draft Memorandum on Discipline No. 2 on the way in which the UDC and Pamphratia are subject to legislative and appellate review.

B. Powers and Functions of the University Student Association

1. Placement of student personnel on standing and ad hoc committees of the faculty senate.

We argue that there should be interlocking committees between the Faculty Senate and the University Student Association, or, at the very least, that there should be parallel committees which hold joint consultations. As at the divisional level, we believe that joint participation by faculty and students on a committee would guarantee a definite student voice. Please see Part I for the competence of the committees where we believe the students should be placed.

2. Executive committee of the university student association.

The Executive Committee of any university student association should be empowered to consult regularly with the proposed faculty council (chaired by the President and/or Provost): see the Draft Memorandum on Faculty Organization. It may well be that the membership distribution on this university student executive committee should parallel that of the faculty council, namely, one-half from the "arts and sciences" divisions of the University and one-half from the professional schools. This student executive committee should, of course, have the right of independent access to the President and/or Provost. This Executive Committee should handle problems of agenda of the meetings of the University Student Association and could be empowered to propose agenda items for the Faculty Council and Senate.

3. Relationship to the Trustees

We suggest regular meetings of the University Student Executive Committee with the Trustees or their committees, plus discussions on appropriate matters between Trustees and committees of the Faculty Senate (including, if so decided, student representatives).

4. Discipline (See Draft Memorandum on Discipline No. 2)

We propose that it be a function of the university student association to choose from the pool of divisional tribunal student judges of the preceding year the members and alternates to the university-wide appellate body. We further propose that the university student association choose from its membership five of the eight student members of the permanent rule-making body to represent the interests of the graduate, professional, and General Studies students. Since any future code of student conduct will probably most immediately affect the resident undergraduates, we suggest that the College Student Association and

Draft Memorandum on Discipline No. 2

Topics

- I. Rule-making
- II. Determination of guilt or innocence
- III. Penalty imposition
- IV. Appeal

I. University-wide rule-making body

A. Composition

1. Who is concerned, in what proportions?
 - a. Faculty
 - b. Students
 - c. Administration

Suggestion: Since all three groups have legitimate stakes in the rule-making process, all three should have representation. We suggest a body of 21 members, eight students, eight faculty members, and five administrators (e.g., the Deans of Columbia College, General Studies, Engineering, and Graduate Faculties and the Director for Student Interests; the choice of the four Deans to serve in a given year might be left to all the Deans).

B. Organization

1. One-shot commission
2. Interim body
3. Permanent Body

Suggestion: A permanent body should be designed now. Further ad hoc or interim efforts increase the stakes of those who would stall or question the legitimacy of the body while hoping for a better deal from another forum.

C. Selection

1. Election
2. Appointment

Suggestion: Students should be elected, directly or through a university-wide student organization. Faculty members should be elected by a university-wide faculty body (Senate, etc.). The administrators are ex officio.

D. Scope

1. Behavior
 - a. Protest
 - b. Rowdism
 - c. Off-campus
2. Academic
 - a. Cheating
 - b. Plagiarism
 - c. Academic Standing

Suggestion: The behavior and academic issues are probably best separated. Rules concerning purely academic matters are best determined by the faculty. Questions of cheating and plagiarism are not matters of opinion, and a faculty committee should establish the standards and rules for the university. Each faculty should also establish a body to deal with individual infractions of these academic standards. The behavior question is more complex. One is tempted to draw a sharp line between protest and rowdy behavior, but the line is not that clear and may become even more blurred in the future. Therefore, it seems wise to establish general rules for behavior in the university community (no matter what the motivations of the behavior may be) and to draw up specific guidelines for acknowledged protest activity.

Presently existing rule-making bodies such as the dormitory councils should be retained; the rules that they draw up should be reviewed by the general university rule-making body rather than by the Dean as is the current practice.

II. Determination of guilt or innocence

A. Organization

1. Separate or part of rule-making
2. Size
3. Frequency of meetings

Suggestion: The body charged with determining guilt or innocence should be completely separate from all other bodies and from the rule-making body in particular. First, the time demands on those who would serve in both capacities would be excessive. Second, we should avoid the situation in which there might be a tendency to extend the rule-making process into the area of deciding

"Leave determination of guilt or innocence to students at the initial stage. The risks that may be involved can be minimized by narrow construction of the tribunal's mandate."

particular cases. Losers in rule-making should not be allowed to try to reverse the decision by judging particular cases in the light of their own policy preferences. The size of the trial body should be kept as small as possible. We suggest a tribunal of three members in each school or division; schools with a larger number of students and of cases could have two or three such three-man panels. A regular schedule of sittings should be determined for each tribunal, since this would tend to establish the permanency and legitimacy of these bodies.

B. Composition

1. Faculty
2. Students
3. Administration

Suggestion: Leave determination of guilt or innocence entirely to students at the initial stage. The risks that may be involved can be minimized by narrow construction of the tribunal's mandate. If the limits are repeatedly infringed, other methods may have to be tried. If, however, the system works, an important organ of student responsibility has been created.

C. Selection

1. Election
2. Appointment
3. Lot

Suggestion: Election places a premium on bloc voting in order to get one's friends elected to tribunals. Any method of appointment no matter who appoints, has an odor of packing. Selection by lot, which has behind it the precedents of the veniremen process as well as the JCDA's recommendations, seems preferable. Three, six, or nine (depending on the number of three-man panels desired in a given school) advanced students (juniors and seniors in the undergraduate divisions, second and third-year students in graduate and professional schools) should be selected by lot for one-year terms. A student-faculty body in each school might be set up to disqualify a student turned up by the lot who seemed unsuitable. In an individual case, a student may disqualify himself because of bias or involvement on his own motion or on the motion of either party. In the latter case, his refusal to disqualify himself should be part of the record on appeal.

D. Scope

1. Narrow
2. Broad

Suggestion: The scope of the panel in terms of authority should be broad; al-

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"There should be interlocking committees between the Faculty Senate and University Student Association, or at the very least, there should be parallel committees."

We also encourage any efforts to further control of student activity centers by their student governing boards. Any desired oversight of sports could be exercised by the placement of College and Undergraduate Engineer Student Associations personnel on the Undergraduate Athletic Advisory Council.

III. University level governance

A. Membership and University Student Association

We propose that the several divisional student associations send delegates to a university student association on the basis of one delegate for every two hundred students in a division, with the proviso that any division be guaranteed two delegates. This body would parallel the faculty senate proposed in our Draft Memorandum on Faculty

the Undergraduate Engineer Student Association directly send two members and one member respectively to the rule-making body.

5. Affiliated Schools

We feel that the affiliated schools (Barnard, T.C., Union Theological, and Pharmacy) should be empowered to send delegates to the University Student Association to discuss matters of mutual concern. The University Student Association will decide on what subjects the delegates from the affiliated schools will have voting rights. The same Barnard delegation (or a portion thereof) might also be empowered to meet with the College Student Association on matters of mutual undergraduate interest, as might the T.C. delegation with the Graduate Faculties Student Association.

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most all cases except academic offenses and offenses against dormitory rules, etc., should come before the tribunal. However, the tribunal should be concerned only with determining whether or not an infraction of the rules has been committed, and not with the merits of the rule or the aims of the student's action. The tribunals should also be allowed to suggest maximum penalties, and might well be empowered to make periodic reports to the rule-making body with observations and recommendations.

E. Public vs. private discipline

1. Definition in advance
2. Student choice
3. Choice by student and Dean

Suggestion: Hearings before school tribunals should normally be closed, but they can be open to members of the university if the student so requests. If disturbance occurs, the tribunals should be empowered to clear the hearing room. In tribunal and appellate hearings the student should have the right to be advised (but not represented) by an advisor of his own choosing, selected from the members of the university community.

In some cases, quite limited in number, infractions of the rules should be dealt with "privately" by the appropriate Dean and should not be referred to a tribunal. These would be cases in which the Dean agrees with the student that serious harm might be done to the student by "public" disciplinary proceedings before his fellow-students. To allow the student free choice between "private" and "public" discipline would mean, in the not-too-long run, that most students would probably choose "private" discipline by the Dean. To shift the balance fairly sharply toward "public" discipline by tribunals (except where the Dean was convinced by the student that the nature of the offense made such a public hearing completely undesirable) would involve taking a major step away from in loco parentis. Finally, the effectiveness of a judicial body, its view of itself, and the way in which students view it may well be functions of its activity. Bodies which meet infrequently may, in fact, be of little use when they are needed.

F. Standards of Judgment

1. Reasonable doubt
2. Weight of evidence

Suggestion: There will no doubt be some demands that the standard of "guilt beyond a reasonable doubt" be employable. In its least sophisticated form, this argument will be based on the vague notion that "this is what the courts do." More sophisticated proponents will argue that "due process" requires such a standard. To anticipate these objections, we must develop a counter-argument showing that the standard of "the weight of the evidence" or "substantial evidence" is perfectly equitable, far better suited to achieving due process in non-courtroom proceedings, and much more desirable for use in a community like the university.

Briefly the line of argument that we might take would be as follows. A university, even when discipline is at issue, is not in any way analogous to a court. Participants in proceedings here must live with each other and the rest of the community long after a case has been resolved. This living-together is not the mere coexistence of a civil society in which individuals pursue a vast array of different aims, but rather entails a cooperative effort toward the attainment of common goals, under the headings of teaching and research. In these circumstances, rea-

sonable doubt (and the advocate system which is designed to establish or eliminate reasonable doubt) seems an inappropriate standard. The size of a civil society, as well as the fact that the participants in a judicial proceeding disperse after the event and pursue innumerable different goals in different places usually allows the residue of bitterness following a proceeding to be dissipated. This, however, is not the case in a university community. We must continue to live in close proximity and pursue our common goals together. Our situation, therefore, is not analogous to a civil society. It resembles rather a closed regulatory system or a professional society. We wish impartial proceedings and fair findings as a matter of course, but our primary aim is to pursue the goals of the small community of which we are a part.

Professor Walter Gellhorn of the Law School agrees with this position and has written the following paragraph on the preferability of employing the standard of "substantial evidence" rather than that of "beyond a reasonable doubt":

I agree that proof of guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt" would be absurd in this setting. The quantum of proof required in governmental matters, sometimes of tremendous moment, decided by administrative tribunals is that the factual determinations must rest on "substantial evidence." This, said Chief Justice Hughes, "is more than a mere scintilla. It means such relevant evidence as a reasonable mind might accept as adequate to support a conclusion." "Consolidated Edison Co. v. National Labor Relations Board," 305 U.S. 197, 229 (1938). Substantial evidence, Judge Learned Hand declared, is simply "the kind of evidence on which responsible persons are accustomed to rely in serious affairs." "National Labor Relations Board v. Remington Rand, Inc.," 94 F. 2d 862, 873 (2d Cir., 1938). "It is only convincing, not lawyers' evidence, which is required," Justice Rutledge added. "The evidence must be such as a reasonable mind would accept, though other like minds would not do so." "International Association of Machinists v. National Labor Relations Board," 110 F. 2d 29, 35 (D.C. Cir., 1939), affirmed 311 U.S. 72 (1940). Of course, as Chief Judge Irving Lehman pointed out, "The evidence produced by one party must be considered in connection with the evidence produced by the other parties. Evidence which unexplained might be conclusive may lose all probative force when supplemented and explained by other testimony. The Board must consider and sift all the evidence... choice lies with the Board and its finding is supported by the evidence and is conclusive where others might reasonably make the same choice." "Stork Restaurant, Inc. v. Boland," 282 N.Y. 256 (1940). Essentially the same thought was expressed by Justice Frankfurter: "The substantiality of evidence must take into account whatever in the record fairly detracts from its weight." This does not mean that a court when reviewing an administrative finding of fact "may displace the Board's choice between two fairly conflicting views, even though the court would justifiably have made a different choice had the matter been before it 'de novo.'" What it does mean is that a court may set aside an administrative decision when the court "cannot conscientiously find that the evidence supporting that decision is substan-

tial, when viewed in the light that the record in its entirety furnishes, including the body of evidence opposed to the Board's view." "Universal Camera Corp. v. National Labor Relations Board," 340 U.S. 474 (1951).

III. Penalty imposition

A. Schedule of penalties

1. New list, new terms
2. Retain present schedules
3. Additions to present schedules

Suggestion: Retention of the present penalty schedules (warning through expulsion) seems advisable. Modifications of the present schedule which might well be added would be

- 1) probation for varying periods--from one semester to the entire period of registration at the university;
- 2) a request to the student to withdraw as a penalty just short of suspension--this would make it easier for the student to transfer to another school. Schedules must, of course, be broadly drawn to encompass classes of offenses.

B. Promulgation

1. Who?
2. How?

Suggestion: The rule-making body seems the logical choice to promulgate penalty schedules; it does this by making a rule and attaching a penalty or a maximum penalty for infringing the rule. Separate consideration must be given to multiple offenders, et al.

C. Application

1. Who?
2. How?

Suggestion: Upon determination of guilt by a tribunal the application of penalties should be left to the Dean. The tribunal can make recommendations about the maximum penalty to be imposed, but, within the limitations of the schedule of penalties laid down by the rule-making body, the Dean has discretion in imposing penalties.

D. Review

1. Circumstances
2. By whom?

Suggestion: The appeal body can review the penalty as well as the facts of the case and the procedures employed. (See IV, below). Any student subject to the penalty of expulsion from the university has the right to appeal his dismissal to the President of the University, who may exercise executive clemency to reduce the penalty if he believes that this mitigation is warranted. Reconsideration of all other penalties imposed by a Dean should remain at the Dean's level. Any student is free to request reconsideration, any Dean is free to refuse.

IV. Appeal

A. Scope

1. All-university or separate schools
2. All cases or some cases
3. Mandate

Suggestion: An all-university appeal board is desirable both because of recruitment problems (finding a sufficient number of individuals to serve on all the committees that are being created) and because of the need to establish some university-wide standards of treatment. The appeal board should be empowered to hear any case which has been dealt with in a school tribunal. Except in extraordinary circumstances, the appeal board would not entertain appeals from those students who initially were permitted to opt for "private" (Dean's) discipline rather than a tribunal hearing.

The appeal board may review the facts of the case, the procedures employed, and the clarity of the rule. It may not, however, consider the desirability of a rule, and it may not alter a sentence, except to modify the penalty imposed by the Dean within the range of penalties laid down by the rule-making body.

B. Process

1. Who can appeal?
2. Grounds
3. Time Limit
4. Appearance requirement

Suggestion: Either side should be allowed to appeal. The prosecution's right to appeal, however, should be restricted only to those cases in which it claims bias, disregard for the facts, or manifest disparity in the handling of similar cases on the part of the initial tribunal. The appeal board may also set specific standards for appeal and should be allowed the right to refuse an appeal. The defendant may request an appeal from a tribunal finding on any ground. All notices of request for appeal must be submitted no later than one week after the initial decision.

The Joint Committee on Disciplinary Affairs has proposed that appeal work be done only by transcript and other documents. This may be too rigid. Perhaps the appeal board itself can establish procedures which would not duplicate the work of the initial tribunal.

C. Size

1. Small or large body

Suggestion: An appeal board of seven members. The merits of a relatively small body seem considerable. It is more easily convened and it has greater ability to render rapid decisions. These advantages are great because penalties will obviously not be imposed while a case is being appealed.

D. Composition

1. Who?
2. Whence?

Suggestion: While it has been suggested here that students alone serve on the initial tribunals, faculty members should be drawn into the appeal process because of their prestige, maturity, and ostensible neutrality. The seven-member appeal board should be made up of three faculty members (one of whom should be a member of the Faculty of Law), three students, and a faculty chairman chosen by these six elected members.

E. Selection

1. Election
2. Appointment

Suggestion: The Faculty of the University or a body chosen by the Faculty would choose the three faculty members from nominees submitted by each faculty or school, one each, except for the Faculty of Law, which should nominate two candidates and allow the entire Faculty to choose one of these two. Rotation among other faculties with respect to the other two faculty members would be the usual practice.

Selection of students is a more difficult problem. Election of the three students from three categories of schools—undergraduate schools, graduate faculties, and professional schools—is extremely clumsy and unlikely to produce anything but a straight vote of each school in the category. Appointment by agreement among the student governments is perhaps more feasible but still runs into bargaining difficulties. Pure selection by lot seems inappropriate for the ultimate appeal body. The best suggestion seems to be to have each school tribunal nominate one of its members who will be at the university the following year to serve on the appeal body. Three of these nominees could then be selected by lot to serve as the student members of the appeal board. (During the first year of operation, each school could nominate a student who has served on one of the presently operating school tribunals or the Joint Committee on Disciplinary Affairs, and three of these nominees could be selected by lot to serve on the appeal board).

Excerpt From Cox Commission Report

Three among the purely internal causes of unrest especially impressed us.

1. At a time when the spirit of self-determination is running strongly, the administration of Columbia's affairs too often conveyed an attitude of authoritarianism and invited distrust. In part, the appearance resulted from style: for example, it gave affront to read that an influential University official was no more interested in student opinion on matters of intense concern to students than he was in their taste for strawberries. In part, the appearance reflected the true state of affairs. The machinery of student government had been allowed to deteriorate to a point where Columbia College had no student government. The Report on Student Life was not released for seven months until CUSC members threatened publication. The President was unwilling to surrender absolute disciplinary powers. In addition, government by improvisation seems to have been not an exception, but the rule.

2. The quality of student life was inferior in living conditions and personal association.

3. Columbia, like other universities, has scarcely faced the extraordinary difficulties that face black students in the transition from a society permeated by racial injustice to one of true equality of opportunity. We recognize, of course, the difficulty of immediately remedying such deficiencies as the paucity of black teaching and administrative personnel and of appropriate courses and counseling for all students, but the indisputable fact of alienation of our black students, with all that that fact entails, makes a more active and creative search for solutions particularly urgent.

The fabric of Columbia was twisted and torn by the forces of political and social revolution outside the University. Columbia's geographic situation symbolizes the relation between white and black, affluence and poverty, youthful reform and established order. The University's need for physical expansion in an urban center creates inescapable tensions but its relations with the community had further deteriorated because of its apparent indifference to the needs and aspirations of its poorer neighbors. The handling of the gymnasium controversy thus came, even somewhat unfairly, to epitomize the conflict between the spirit of the civil rights movement and the attack on poverty, on the one hand, and, on the other, the ways of an ancien regime. Energetic and idealistic students, alienated from the older generation by an extraordinarily wide gulf in manners and interests and offended by the plethora of human suffering, were drawn

to the side of change. Where they were frustrated by the massive anonymity of the government and the unmanageability of the social system, they could strike out at the more vulnerably University.

In like fashion, the University became the surrogate for all the tensions and frustrations of United States policy in Vietnam.

The desire for student power, while scarcely articulated as a cause for seizing the campus buildings, was a powerful element of the explosion. Discussion since the uprising has focused upon the methods by which students may exert more influence upon the government of an institution of which they are vital and integral parts. Participation in self-government is a natural human desire that today's students feel with greater urgency, particularly at institutions with highly selective admissions policies because they are much better educated than their predecessors, more sophisticated, in many respects more mature, and more interested in social problems than seeking out conventional careers. (Unfortunately, they are also much less disciplined.)

The hurricane of social unrest struck Columbia at a time when the University was deficient in the cement that binds an institution into a cohesive unit.

Again, geography is a factor. The competing attractions of the exciting metropolitan area, coupled with the housing problems that induce a majority of the faculty to live outside Manhattan, operate as centrifugal forces. Yet the dispirited quality of student life outside the classroom is not beyond the University's power of influence.

The formal organization of both the administrative offices and the faculties apparently tends to discourage the cohesiveness that comes from shared responsibility in matters of university concern. We were struck by the constant recital of an opposition between the Administration and the faculty as rival bodies with separate interests, for it would be essentially one. The lack of a University Senate and the division of the professors and other teachers into three or four faculties—quite apart from the professional schools—where other universities have a single Faculty of Arts and Sciences, apparently discourages faculty participation in the formulation of University policy and the improvement of student life. The central Administration to which the full burden of the quality of student life is left is not equipped for the duty. Far too few members of the University family are closely involved, outside the classroom, in the constant informal enterprises and dis-

cussions by which the values of an academic community are constantly reexamined and those which stand the test are passed on to the next generation.

Institutional coherence is also affected by the presence or lack of a spirit of institutional self-confidence. Unhappily, despite her inherent strengths, the spring crisis struck Columbia when her self-confidence was shaken by the decline in relative position in AAUP rankings of graduate departments, the exclusion from a Ford Foundation grant for improvement of graduate studies, the resignation of a number of senior professors, and the Strickman filter incident.

A university is essentially a free community of scholars dedicated to the pursuit of truth and knowledge solely through reason and civility.

A privately-endowed university depends upon the experienced guidance of wise counselors and managers both inside and outside academic ranks, and also upon the financial and moral support of a large, organized body of alumni and friends. But their vital contribution must never obscure the essential quality of the institution: the university is a community of scholars, both teachers and students. Any tendency to treat a university as business enterprise with faculty as employees and students as customers diminishes its vitality and communal cohesion.

Resort to violence or physical harassment or obstruction is never an acceptable tactic for influencing decisions in a university. This principle does not require notions of property or legality to sustain it. It derives from three considerations.

First, force, harassment, and physical obstruction contradict the essential postulate that the university is dedicated to the search for truth by reason and civility.

Second, resort to such physical coercion tends to set in motion an uncontrollable escalation of violence. This is the plainest lesson of the rising cycle of violence that began at Columbia with the Naval ROTC demonstration in 1965 and culminated in the brutality of April 30 and May 22. The sequence of steps was not inevitable but each was the readily predictable consequence of those that went before.

Third, the survival—literally the survival—of the free university depends upon the entire community's active rejection of disruptive demonstrations. Any sizeable group, left to pursue such tactics, can destroy either the university by repeatedly disrupting its normal activities

or the university's freedom by compelling the authorities to invoke overwhelming force in order that its activities may continue. The only alternative is for the entire community to reject the tactics of physical disruption with such overwhelming moral disapproval as to make them self-defeating.

This vital decision rests with the liberal and reform-minded students. They can save or destroy the institution.

The acceptability of the foregoing principle depends upon the organization of the scholarly community in ways that produce both loyalty and the relief of grievances. The government of a university depends, even more than that of a political community, upon the consent of all the governed to accept decisions reached by its constitutional processes. The consent of the dissenters depends partly upon their knowing that their views effectively entered into the process of consensus, even though they did not prevail. They must also be convinced that the opportunities for change are open and the goals and stance of the enterprise are sufficiently right for it to deserve their loyalty despite specific points of disagreement. Administrative intractability and resistance to change contribute to the breakdown of law and order.

The student body is a mature and essential part of the community of scholars. This principle has more validity today than ever before in history. It is felt more keenly by a wider number of students, perhaps because of the increasing democratization of human institutions. As with all human activities, the wise division of functions and responsibilities must take into account the special skills or limitations of particular groups, as well as efficiency of operation. The process of drawing students into more vital participation in the governance of the university is infinitely complex. It cannot be resolved by either abstractions or tables of organization. It does not mean that issues must be settled by referendum. We are convinced, however, that ways must be found, beginning now, by which students can meaningfully influence the education afforded them and other aspects of the university activities.

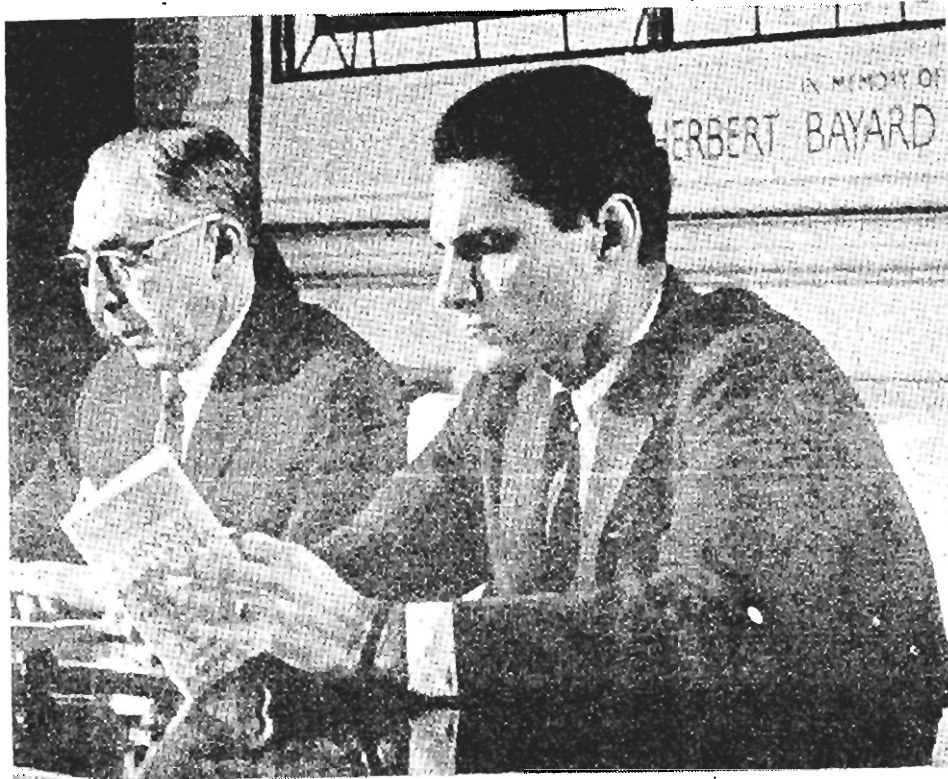
The activist supporters of reform who voiced the grievances pressed by the rebels included many of the natural leaders among students—both political and intellectual leaders. They were deeply hurt by statements treating them merely as disloyal trouble-makers aligned with a small band of rebels. While their own releases, for reasons of student politics, contributed to the polarization of opinion by their lack of civility, we have not the slightest doubt that the survival of Columbia as a leading university depends upon finding ways of drawing this very large and constructive segment of the student body, which supported the strike, back into the stream of university life where it can share in the process of rebuilding.

With participation, students will surely acquire a more sophisticated understanding of the universities' difficulties and complexities and of the necessary functions of the faculty and administration, the alumni, and the governing body. In the same process, the latter would come to an understanding they cannot otherwise acquire of the true needs and aspirations of students and values and shortcomings of current educational measures.

We add only that the success of those who must follow this difficult course will depend in no small measure upon the willingness of parents, alumni, and friends to recognize that the April crisis is thus being converted into a creative source of renewal.



Archibald Cox



Two members of the Commission: Simon Rifkind and Anthony Amsterdam