

The Phoenix

SUPPLEMENT

JANUARY 1st, 1969

FACULTY REPORTS TO MORNING PLENARY

Monday morning's plenary session consisted of faculty reports and announcements, as other business was postponed. First the delegation from the faculty meetings, Professors Urban, Piker and Wood, read and expanded upon Sunday's faculty decisions. The report consisted of the faculty's decisions on both sets of SASS demands, and was printed verbatim in Monday's Phoenix. When entertaining questions from the floor, the delegation affirmed that the faculty had not at that time reconsidered the role of the Ad Hoc Black Admissions Committee in the light of SASS objections. Previously the faculty had stated that the committee would act in the role of other Swarthmore committees, i.e., advisory to the faculty. They announced that the next faculty meeting was scheduled for Thursday; it could be called back into session at any time.

Also at the meeting, Professor Peter van de Kamp announced that since he would not allow himself to be pressured by any group, he would hold his classes that morning. Professor Frederick Pryor delivered a short speech concerning his views of the crisis. He said that student conduct during the last week indicated their "slave mentality." Questioning the validity of the student power proposals, he cited the lack of student initiative previously --their unwillingness to use the power they already now have to influence their curriculum. He said that he considered the students unwilling to consider their long-range implications of the demands for a student-faculty governing body.

Because the 490 students present did not represent a quorum of the student body and because SASS had not yet responded to the faculty proposals, the business of the meeting was postponed until an evening session.

PRESIDENT SMITH'S CLOTHIER ADDRESS

(Editor's note: President Courtney Smith's statement to the faculty and students of Swarthmore College presented at 1:45 P.M. on January 13, 1969 in Clothier Memorial Hall)

"Let me say just a few words about what I think we have been doing.

In my letter of December 31st to the faculty I asked our entire College community to consider conscientiously and imaginatively the best way to achieve what I believed to be the underlying concerns of SASS, and of the Admissions Policy Committee. I believe that we have been doing that.

Certainly the faculty, for which I can speak as its presiding officer, has responded in a way that has deepened, if that were possible, my pride in Swarthmore. The faculty met in long sessions-- last Tuesday afternoon, Thursday night, Friday afternoon, Friday night, Saturday morning, Saturday afternoon, Sunday morning from 10 a.m. to close to 2 p.m., and Sunday night from 8:30 p.m. to around 3:30 a.m. One faculty member reports that his youngest child did not recognize him when he got home for a quick meal. At about 3:20 a.m. this morning Professor Alburk Rosenberg rose to say that from his supply of three buttons he carries with him for his lapel he was going to change to a new one with three words on it. While he tried to find the button, the weary faculty nat ally

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speculated on the words, with "We Try Harder" a leading possibility. The button he actually put on had only two words--"Escalate Peace."

I strongly support the actions we have taken as a faculty, and I will strongly support them to the Board of Managers. I am confident that the Board shares the same values and concerns that have motivated the faculty in our actions. I feel so sure of the Board's feelings on these matters that I am ready to begin immediately to implement the actions we have taken.

What we have passed is clear to those of us who have passed it, and we believe it to be right. Details will have to be worked out as we go along, just as details of our Commission on Educational Policy actions have to be worked out every day, but I see no problems in that if, as I am assuming, we can work in a spirit of mutual trust. I hope, I pray, there will not be any who will seek to sow distrust. I am sure SASS will want to work in a spirit of mutual trust, and I call on all of us to seek and work through the good in each other.

It is possible to use our present problem to escalate real and fancied differences that exist in any community. But I would ask of all of us never to trade Swarthmore's excellence and fineness and readiness to hold itself open to new light, from whatever source it comes, never to trade these things for slogans and hate. It took no force to bring about comprehensive proposals for the development of Black Studies. It took no force to bring about our fundamental and comprehensive examination of ourselves in our Commission on Educational Policy. Students were involved, were urged to be involved, in all of those considerations. I realize that some now sneer at the CEP, but there was no sneering in the Danforth groups and no sneering in the referendum which students were urged to take in order to express themselves on every one of the recommendations.

We have lost something precious at Swarthmore-- the feeling that force and disruptiveness are just not our way. But maybe we can see to it that this one time is only the exception that proves the rule. For certainly if there are any who now think that direct action should eventually be used for Black Studies, or Student Week, or any proposals that might come out of a Student Week, or the Sex Rule, or Dormitory Autonomy, or the University City Science Center, or the Physical Education requirement, or beards, or on the question of institutional structure and the governance of higher education [let me digress to say that I am far from convinced that the prevailing system of governance of higher education in America is right for our times, though I am also far from convinced that it is wrong; and I am very conscious of the fact that the abstractions of the description of the governance of our own particular institution always obscure the basic humanity and warmth with which we have tried to proceed; but these matters of governance are in my opinion ones for deep and thoughtful consideration] then, to come back from my digression, I have to say that I seriously doubt their faith in education, and the educational process, and I would be saddened to see further acceptance of force as against those qualities of trust and tolerance and humility and anti-totalitarianism and willingness to seek the good in others-- those qualities that have made, and can make, Swarthmore especially "fine" as an institution."

RADICAL CAUCUS RESPONDS TO PRESIDENT

The radical caucus met twice in Tarbles Monday afternoon, first in preparation for President Smith's speech and then in reaction to it. In anticipation of the group's disagreement with the President's comments, Chairman Alan Feldman urged "absolute courtesy." The consensus of the caucus was that the "highest priority" should be given to questioning Mr. Smith after his speech. Several

possible questions were reviewed to clarify them and to insure that the important issues would be raised.

Reconvening after Mr. Smith's speech, radical reaction to it was largely negative. Some members felt that the speech represented all that they were fighting against. The radicals were upset that the President refused to answer questions. Joe Schoenfeld felt the group should emphasize at the plenary that Ellen Schall, SC president, asked President Smith to answer questions from the floor and he directly refused. Lennie Nakamura questioned whether the radicals should press Smith to answer questions. "Courtney Smith is an incredibly astute politician." Nakamura added that Smith has out-thought on his feet some very intelligent members of the student body. Tactics at the plenary that evening were considered. Hoping to have passed student demands before the meeting adjourned, the group believed it necessary that student power demands be considered before SASS demands are. Frank Ackerman '67, and Subi Sahgal were appointed to ask SASS not to speak to the plenary until after student power resolutions were voted on.

In previewing the proposals to be discussed at the plenary, the radicals were planning to postpone the interim senate resolution and concentrate on the student week resolution. Believing that students do not yet realize how much they do not know of what happens at faculty meetings, another priority will be a resolution in favor of student observers in those meetings.

A statement of the radical group was drawn up and read to the group. The reading was followed by loud applause. The statement follows:

"We do not question the values of trust, humility, tolerance or anti-totalitarianism but we question the practical meaning of trust at a time when effective communication has been hindered by the inability of students to observe faculty deliberations crucial to student interests. We fail to understand President Smith's refusal prior to his speech this afternoon, to entertain questions raised by that speech. Student plenaries have been open to all sections of the community and meetings of various student groups have been similarly open. In view of this, we question the accuracy of implying that student behaviour has defied a tradition of trust. Rather, the present crisis has created an unprecedented level of communication between students and faculty.

We feel that the present "breakdown of trust" is not an exception which proves the rule but a situation which has been building for some time. We regret that a crisis of this magnitude has been necessary in order to communicate the fact that SASS is but one of the elements of this community which does not feel that its interests have been represented within the decision-making structure of the college.

It is clear from the present crisis that there are real differences within the Swarthmore community. To pretend that a single group or person can define the interests of the entire community only exacerbates this crisis and makes future confrontations inevitable."

FOUR SASS MEMBERS INITIATE HUNGER STRIKE

At about 9:30 p.m. January 13, a SASS representative gave the following statement to Student Council president Ellen Schall, which she immediately read to the plenary session in Clothier (see full story below on Clothier meeting):

"We, the undersigned, believe that the faculty has NOT as yet met the

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SASS demands to the satisfaction of SASS. Therefore, as of 8 p.m. EST tonight, we will retire to Commons where we will fast until those demands have been met. We will only consume water and will communicate only through brothers and sisters. It is hoped that the administration, faculty and student body will realize the seriousness of our intent and that until Swarthmore makes an honest commitment to the entire Black Community by beginning to meet the needs, in terms of the SASS demands, of the Swarthmore Black Community, we will continue this protest.

Ruth Wilson, George Harrison, Bill Shorter, Pat Connell"

When asked as to the purpose of this new form of protest, Clinton Etheridge, chairman of SASS, commented that the action was intended "to further dramatize the issue at a time when careful and concerted attention needs to be focused on the policy-making aspects of the SASS demands." The fast began in Commons, a large meeting room on the second floor of Parrish directly above the Admissions Office, and the four protesters later moved to Parrish parlor, on the first floor. This was done for the convenience of officials in charge of the building, which is a girls' dormitory in addition to an administration building.

The reason, according to Clinton Etheridge, for the fact that the hunger strike is taking place in a location other than the Admissions Office, is that the action is a separate one. All the SASS members support their fellow members in their effort. As Etheridge stated, "They voluntarily undertook the protest, strictly on their own, but are working in conjunction with the main group in the Admissions Office."

EVENING PLENARY MEETING VOTES

In a five and one-half hour meeting last night, the student plenary session listened to a speech on the background of institutional racism, heard Don Mizell explain that SASS is still "committed to the occupation of the Admissions Office," approved statements to SASS and the faculty, and approved a motion to endorse the clarified SASS demands, to urge that college academic business continue in suspension and to request the faculty to reconvene "at their earliest convenience and consider and act upon these demands."

A second proposal addressing itself to the resumption of academic business also received majority endorsement. The proposal expressed support for the faculty response, terming it "a satisfactory attempt to act on [the SASS demands] in the best interests of all parties." SASS was urged to begin open discussion of its differences with the faculty "outside of the Admissions Office" and warned of possible withdrawal of support through suspension of academic business if SASS actions do not reflect "good faith." This proposal later lost in a run-off vote between the two statements.

The plenary session began at 7 p.m. with an address by Father James Woodruff, an Episcopal minister, giving background on Black history in an attempt to clarify the situation at Swarthmore. Father Woodruff explained that stereotypes about Afro-American history colored white perception of the current situation. He argued that higher education produces an unwillingness to examine analytically the common white perceptions of Blacks. Woodruff urged a rethinking of the theory of integration and in conclusion pointed out the need to investigate institutionalized racism as distinct from individual racism.

There followed a statement by SASS leaders of the organization's position on the faculty resolutions. A document read by Mike Graves gave a point by point consideration of SASS demands, faculty actions, and current SASS policy (see below). Terming the institutionalization of Black interests in the decision-making process the major unfinished business, Don Mizell called for the faculty to reconvene immediately to consider this problem.

During the question period, Mike Fields arose to read the following statement:

"We, the undersigned, while we feel that the College Community has moved in 'good faith,' it has not addressed itself to the central issue before us. The Swarthmore Afro-American Society has just made public the clarification presented to the faculty at the Sunday meeting. We do not feel that the crisis is over. In order to express our desire that the faculty continue to meet until this central issue has been dealt with to everyone's satisfaction, we have chosen this time to join our brothers and sisters in the admissions office. We also wish to take this opportunity to reiterate our belief that the Swarthmore Afro-American Society is advancing the cause of Black People."

The letter was signed by Mike Fields, Karen Johnson, Esther Mellon, Sherry Browne, Nancy Boyd, Fred Warren, Bridget Van Gronigen, Wilbert Greenhouse, Patrick Connell Jr., Sheryl Sebastian, Tralance Addy, Myra Rose, Phylis Caruth, and Gary Williams.

The meeting was called officially to order at 8 p.m. with 723 students present. A quorum was maintained throughout the meeting with 576 staying until the final vote. The first proposal to be considered and approved was a request of SASS that it guarantee inclusion of non-SASS members in all its deliberations and keep them informed of its actions. There followed discussion and passing of a motion to use all money won by the College Bowl team for implementation of Black admissions programs.

By a vote of 363 to 215, with 16 abstentions, the body approved a motion to protest the faculty's decision to close its meetings to students. Increased communication between students and faculty was cited as a justification for the request that future meetings be opened to student observers, and, at the faculty's option, participants.

After a motion to postpone the rest of the agenda, consideration turned to proposals dealing with the resumption or continuing suspension of College academic business. Voting on all six proposals, students attained majority support of two positions. The first, which passed 306-264, with 34 not voting, endorsed the clarified SASS demands, called for reconvening of the faculty sessions, and urged the continued suspension of academic business. A vote of 281 in favor, 280 opposed, and 33 abstaining achieved passage of the proposal supporting the faculty handling of the situation. The run-off vote between the two proposals endorsed the first proposal 315-230, with 31 abstentions.

A minor procedural crisis was engendered by the one-vote margin on the faculty support proposal. Parliamentarian Barry Wohl invoked Robert's ruling that abstentions are not considered in determining the number needed for majority. Calls for a revote were ruled out of order under the plenary session rules, the proper motion being to rescind, which would have required 2/3 approval. The motion to rescind was never advanced, and a run-off vote was approved, with the provision that both proposals would be sent to the faculty, with the votes enumerated.

Before adjourning until 7:30 p.m. tonight, students tendered a standing ovation to session chairman Ellen Schall. Phoenix representative Doug Blair read a statement issued by President Smith early yesterday morning concerning Drew Pearson's column about the Swarthmore crisis. The text of the response is as follows:

"Speaking for a community that has been trying to resolve a very complex human problem, I regret that the version I have seen of Drew Pearson's article on the Swarthmore Afro-American Students' Society fails to reflect the way in which this community is united in seeking solutions to this problem. The article is inaccurate in a number of respects and thus obscures the depth and seriousness of concern that all at Swarthmore feel for this problem.

Courtney Smith
President
Swarthmore College."

The statement was released to the wire services and to the Evening Bulletin at 7 a.m. yesterday.

SASS STATEMENT

Last night SASS presented "a concise statement of those resolutions which are satisfactory and those which are unsatisfactory to SASS:"

In this presentation of last night's statement, for the sake of perspective, the faculty resolutions and current SASS position are preceded by the SASS demand which prompted the faculty resolution. The order of the following sets of demands, faculty resolutions, and SASS positions (in this presentation) parallels the order in which they were presented by SASS (to the plenary session). Within each set, the statements of faculty-SASS interchanges are arranged chronologically.

The SASS quotations of Jan. 13 were taken from a xerox copy of the written statement read to the plenary session.

(E.n. S --- SASS
F --- Faculty)

S 1/9: "that a complete identification and description of the decision-making organs of the college on every level be made public."

F 1/12-13: "The President and faculty welcome an opportunity to provide any information they can that identifies and describes the decision-making organs of the college on every level, and will do so within a matter of days after the resumption of normal college activity."

S 1/13: "we accept this resolution... (make) the report public."

S 1/13: "The second set of resolutions deals with our second demand, to include Black people on policy-making levels. This is where the biggest discrepancy between faculty resolutions and our original demands lies."

S 1/9: "2) that Black people be participants in policy making on all levels outlined in compliance to the first demand."

S 10/16/68: "3) That the college actively recruit, subject to our review, a high-level Black administrator."

S 12/13: "c) that the college take steps to seek out and appoint an Assistant Dean of Admissions, subject to consultation with SASS, who shall be Black and who shall be directed to concentrate his efforts on recruitment, enrollment and post-enrollment support of Black students and other minority group students. This dean shall be installed no later than November 31, 1969.

d) that the college take immediate steps to recruit and appoint subject

to recruit and appoint subject to review by SASS a Black counselor available to all Black students for the purpose of providing confidential advice and guidance. It is to be understood that this counselor shall not be responsible to the Deans for providing them with any confidential, privileged information."

F 1/11: "3) That the college take immediate steps to recruit and appoint subject to review by SASS a Black counselor available to all Black students for the purpose of providing confidential advice and guidance. It is to be understood that this counselor is not to be responsible to the deans for providing them with any confidential, privileged information. (This corresponds exactly to SASS demand E d, page 2 of 23 December 1968 demands)."

F 1/11: "D) Among the responsibilities of the Ad Hoc Black Admissions Committee are the following: 1) To seek out and recommend appointment at the earliest possible date, of an Admissions Officer who shall be Black."

S 1/13: "Our position is:

That there be a Black dean of students who shall serve as the counsellor for Black students, while having other administrative duties commensurate with that post by March 1, 1969.

That there be an Assistant Dean of Admissions, who shall be Black, and who shall have the other administrative duties commensurate with that post by September 1, 1969.

That the hiring of the two aforementioned administrators shall be by Presidential appointment. A list of prospective candidates will be developed through the efforts of SASS and any outside organizations it deems necessary and the administration. Final approval of the two administrators shall be at the discretion of SASS."

S 1/13: "the part on the Black administrator (D₁) we have already deleted."

S 12/23: "a. the acceptance and enrollment of a significant number of so-called "risk" Black students for the academic year beginning September 1969. Significant defined here to fall between ten (10) and twenty (20)."

S 12/23: "a. that the College agree to increase the total number of Black students enrolled to one hundred (100) within the next three (3) years and to one hundred fifty (150) within the next six (6) years."

F 1/10: "That the College should set as its goal the enrollment of a significant number (approximately 10) of so-called risk Black students for the academic year 1969-70."

F 1/10: "The College will strive to enroll a minimum of 25 Black students in each freshman class. It is hoped that this number can be increased to 35 after a three-year period."

S 1/13: "That at least 35 Black students be admitted into the freshmen classes over the next three years so as to accommodate the goal of 100 Black students by 1972, and 40 over the next six years so as to meet the goal of 150 Black students by 1975.

It is understood that we accept the resolution to encourage enrollment of Black transfers with scholarships."

S 10/16: "2) That the faculty and administration form a committee to cooperate actively with the SASS College Relations Committee on an on-going basis. This Black Interest Committee would insure that Swarthmore in the future will be sensitive to the interests of Black people."

F: No Resolution

S 1/13: "The faculty has made NO resolutions about the Black Interest Committee originally demanded. .

Our position is:

That the college recognize a Black interest committee which shall be charged with!

- 1) obtaining a delineation of the decision-making process as pertains to cultural activities
- 2) Sharing in the initiation of programs of a cultural nature for the entire college community with the Cooper Foundation, Collection Committee, Music Department, LTC, and similar groups.
- 3) Reviewing cultural programs at the college which pertain to Black people BEFORE they are presented
- 4) Suggesting actions to the SASS membership should its right of review not be respected.

This committee shall consist of Black students responsible to SASS who shall be available for recommendations and consultation to the entire college community.?

S 12/23: "e. the review and revision of present admissions standards and practices involved in evaluating Black applicants by a group consisting of Admissions Committee members and SASS members. This group shall determine standards and practices to be applied to Black students seeking enrollment in September 1969."

F 1/11: "At its meeting on Saturday morning, 11 January, 1969, the faculty passed the following motion:

- A) To facilitate the establishment of this committee, the faculty recommends the prompt establishment of an Ad Hoc Black Admissions Committee.
- B) We propose that this Committee consist of 3 faculty members, 5 students including representation of SASS, 2 administrators; the representatives of each group to be chosen by that group.
- C) The chairman of this committee will be chosen from the committee by the committee.
- D) Among the responsibilities of the Ad Hoc Black Admissions Committee are the following:
 - 1) To seek out and recommend appointment at the earliest possible date, of an Admissions Officer who shall be Black.
 - 2) To review present admissions standards and procedures involved in evaluating Black applicants, to recommend standards and procedures to be applied to Black applicants, and in particular to propose means for implementing Black admissions policy.
 - 3) To consider changes in the membership of the standing Admissions Policy Committee.
 - 4) To prepare reports as it sees fit.

It is understood that this committee be free to make use of outside professional

consultants."

F 1/12: "the third change deleted the word professional from the AHRAC's final charge, to 'be free to make use of outside professional consultants.'"

S 1/13: "We accept the resolution with additions."

"That the Ad Hoc Committee for Black Admissions be charged with

- 1) The formulation of Black admissions policies, i.e. procedures and qualification criteria
- 2) A review of the implementation of these policies by the College Admissions Committee and consideration of any problems resulting from such implementation
- 3) The reformulation of Black admissions policy in the future as the committee sees fit.
- 4) The power to elect a chairman from the committee and to increase its functions pertaining to Black admissions (e.g. supportive programs) as it sees fit.

That the structure of said committee consist of the following:

- 4 Black students
- 1 white student
- 3 faculty members, one of whom shall be Black
- 2 administrators, one Black when he arrives

These members shall be chosen by their respective groups, in accord with the faculty resolution.

That the final approval or disapproval of said committee's policies are to rest with SASS."

S 12/23: "b. negotiations with institutions presently conducting summer enrichment or reinforcement programs for entering freshmen so that "risk" students accepted by Swarthmore for the academic year 1969-70 may attend such a program.
d. negotiations with several quality private secondary schools so as to arrange that "risk" students accepted by Swarthmore for the academic year beginning in September 1969 may have the option of attending such a school for one year prior to entering Swarthmore with the students total expenses for that year paid for by the College.
d. the designing and implementation in academic year 1969-70 of a pastenrollment 'support' program that would be available to Black students after enrollment and that would take special consideration of "risk" students mentioned above. Such a package shall be designed by the Admissions Policy Committee in consultation with SASS."

F 1/12: "1) It is resolved that the college enter into negotiations with institutions at present conducting summer reinforcement or enrichment programs for entering freshmen, so that students accepted by Swarthmore for the academic year 1969-1970 who need this preparation may attend such a program.

4) That immediate action should be taken to design and implement for the academic year 1969-70 a 'support' program that will be available to Black students as necessary. Such a program shall be designed by the curriculum committee in consultation with SASS. (This corresponds to demand d, page 1 of the 23 December SASS demands)."

S-1/13: "It is understood that those resolutions which deal specifically with supportive programs are acceptable as appropriate for investigation by the Ad Hoc Black Admissions Committee."

S 1/9: "4) that no disciplinary action whatsoever be taken against Black people, both students and employees, who have participated in this direct action."

F 1/12-13: "The College does not contemplate disciplinary action for the SASS actions that are presently known to it. While it does not anticipate cause for disciplinary action, it cannot guarantee amnesty for matters on which it has no information."

"Amplification:

1) With reference to resolution 7, concerning amnesty: By 'presently known to it,' the faculty refers to its knowledge of SASS' orderly occupation of the admissions office, and of the shutting off of windows and exits. The faculty is encouraged by the verbal assurances undertaken by representatives of SASS upon their first entering the admissions office--to wit, that property would not be harmed, files would not be rifled, and people not detained against their will. Assuming there are no other grounds for offense, SASS has no cause for concern."

S 1/13: "We interpret the faculty's amplified statement of amnesty as an acceptance of our original demand for amnesty."

S 1/9: "2) that Black people be participants in policy making on all levels outline, in compliance to the first demand."

F 1/12-13: "6) In the actions of the faculty responding to the SASS communication of 23 December and to the report of the Committee on Admissions Policy, the faculty has authorized the participation of Black people in shaping policies on matters relating directly to the special interests of Black students. The faculty is determined to adhere to this principle wherever it applies."

S 1/13: "That black people shall participate in decision-making processes relating to the special interests of black people."

Anyone wanting to submit material for a regular Phoenix should place articles in College Mail no later than tonite.

THE PHOENIX SUPPLEMENT

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