

1. 17. '69

The Phoenix

SUPPLEMENT

Jan. 16, 1969

FACULTY COMMUNICATIONS COMMITTEE-SASS CLARIFICATION

In a series of meetings between SASS representatives, faculty-SASS liaison Legesse, the faculty communications committee (Messrs. Piker, Urban, and Wood) and President Smith, lasting from Tuesday night to Wednesday night, these parties agreed that the following statement was an acceptable clarification of the current SASS position. This statement will be presented to the faculty meeting today. The document follows this format: 1) topic title 2) SASS position 3) amplification.

I. Description of Decision-making:

That a complete identification and description of the decision-making organs of the college on every level be made. Action taken by the faculty during the meeting of 12-13 January is as follows: '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.' SASS representatives accept this, with the specification that the report be complete, that it be written, and that the complete report be issued to the entire community.

II. Amnesty:

We interpret the faculty's amplified statement of amnesty as an acceptance of our original demand for amnesty. Amplification: we were assured that SASS accepts the faculty's amplified statement as sufficient.

III. Black Admissions Officer:

That there be hired 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. His primary responsibilities shall be in the area of Black Admissions. The Black Assistant Dean of Admissions shall be responsible for the application of Black admissions policy to Black applicants. Amplification: The Black Assistant Dean of Admissions shall be responsible for accepting and rejecting Black applicants in consultation with the rest of the Admissions staff, just as the present Dean of Admissions is responsible for accepting and rejecting white applicants in consultation with the rest of the Admissions staff. If this man is competent to teach in the area of Black studies, he may do this in light of the pressing need; but it is preferable that he not teach. Also, this is to be a full time position, not a part time position.

IV. Black Dean of Students:

There shall be hired a Black Dean of Black students who shall serve as counselor for Black students while having other administrative duties commensurate with that post by March 1, 1969. * It is to be understood that this counselor is not to be responsible to the other deans for providing them with any confidential, privileged information. Amplification: SASS wishes this dean to be as senior in rank as Dean Barr if at all possible so he won't have to be a junior partner among the school's deans. They put this forth as the ideal goal; but are willing to accept having the best man hired at whatever rank his professional experience justifies.

SASS does not feel this is a change of position, but only a more complete specification of the counseling they seek.

* Hired by this date; not necessarily on the job by this date.

V. Hiring of two aforementioned administrators:

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, of any outside organizations it deems necessary, and of the administration. Final approval of the two administrators shall be at the discretion of SASS. Amplification: SASS specifies that it envisages the following procedure: it will produce a list of candidates; the administration and/or others will produce a list (there shall be personal interviews of all candidates by SASS and the administration); there are discrepancies between the final candidates chosen by the various parties, SASS shall make the final recommendation to the President (Black people are more sensitive to the interests of Black people than white administrators).

VI. Admissions Policy

That the college strive to enroll at least 35 Black students into the freshman classes over the next three years so as to accommodate the goal of 100 Black students by 1972, and at least 40 Black students after three years so as to meet the goal of 150 Black students by 1975. Amplification: SASS understands that these figures represent goals toward the achievement of which the college will make a consistent and sustained effort.

VII. Transfer Students:

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

VIII. Ad Hoc Black Admissions Committee (AHBAC)

We accept the resolution with additions: that the committee for Black admissions be charged with:

- 1) the proposal of Black admissions policies, i.e., procedures and qualification criteria. This committee will also be charged with recommending the number of Black applicants to be enrolled under such policies. However, these numbers have already been determined for the next six years.
- 2) A review of the application of these policies by the college admissions staff and consideration of any problems resulting from such application.
- 3) The review of Black Admissions Policy in the future if the Committee sees fit.
- 4) The power to elect a chairman, form the committee and to increase its functions in making proposals pertaining to Black admissions (e.g., pre-enrollment programs) as it sees fit.
- 5) To prepare reports 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.

Further specifications:

- 1) In the event that Mr. Legesse decides not to be a member of this committee, he shall be replaced by an outside consultant chosen by SASS in consultation with the faculty, or by a fifth Black student.
- 2) Until the Black administrator arrives, one of the two remaining faculty members

shall be chosen by the faculty in consultation with SASS.

3) In the event that there be more than one Black faculty member from which to choose, the Black faculty representative, this shall be done in consultation with SASS.

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

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

Amplification: This is understood to mean that SASS shall exercise final judgment over the policies of the committee and that in this area the legislative function of the faculty is performed by SASS. By way of explaining their position, SASS members said: 'This is not minority coercion, but rather Black self-determination.' They ask that SASS have the final say only in areas pertaining to the special interests of Black people, since the Black perspective is the most relevant perspective in these areas. Our position implies that SASS shall encourage and respect perspectives and opinions from faculty, administrators, and students before reaching a final decision. Thus, it will be insured that SASS will not reach decisions which fail to take into account all the perspectives of the college community. Finally, SASS understands this to be a standing, not an ad hoc, committee.

IX. Support programs (pre- and post- matriculation)

It is understood that these resolutions which deal specifically with pre-matriculation and support programs are acceptable as appropriate for investigation by the Black Admissions Committee. Amplification: With regard to pre-registration enrichment or reinforcement programs, SASS feels that the Black Admissions Committee will study the types of programs available, determine the types of programs that are suitable, find out whether they exist on other campuses; and, if not, will determine how to set them up. At this point, the college will enter into the necessary negotiations for the implementation of said programs. SASS feels concerned about summer enrichment programs set up with a white perspective and are therefore not responsive to the Black perspective; it is necessary that Black people in such programs be exposed to Black perspective on Black problems.

X. Black Interest Committee:

The faculty has made NO resolutions about the Black Interest Committee demanded. Our position is: That the college publically recognize the existence of and encourage the use of a Black interest committee which shall be charged with:

- 1) Obtaining a delineation of the decision-making process as pertaining to cultural activities (SASS understands this to mean processes by which funds, time slots and what not are allocated).
- 2) Receiving funds and time slots for programs of a cultural done in the name of the entire college community from the Cooper Foundation, Collection Committee, Music Dept., LTC, and similar groups.
- 3) Reviewing cultural programs at the college which pertain to Black people BEFORE they are presented, if the party making the presentation so wishes. 'Reviewing' in no way implies censorship.
- 4) Recommending actions to the SASS membership should its offer of review not be utilized. This committee shall consist of Black people chosen by and responsible to SASS who shall be available for recommendations and consultation to the entire college community. Amplification: SASS in this regard does not wish to have separate funds for its programs, but rather wishes to be entitled to receive funds from such organizations as the Cooper Foundation and present programs under the auspices of such organizations, with time slots decided upon by the two parties involved. In amplification of no. 3, above, SASS hopes that it will be consulted

beforehand concerning presentations that may be offensive to the sensitivities of Black people. If its consultation is not sought and/or if its judgment is not heeded, then SASS preserves the right to protest. SASS wishes this committee to operate much as the Hamburg committee, but not with the censorship prerogatives of the Hamburg Committee. This committee would have no authority to prevent a program from occurring. In asking that the college publically recognize the committee, SASS wants all-college notification and notification of foundations and committees that are concerned with cultural programs. This committee would not address itself to specifically departmental programs, but only to programs that have college-wide scope.

XI. Black participation in Policy-making:

Black people shall participate in policy-shaping and decision-making processes on all levels of the college community relating to the special interests of Black people. Amplification: Policy-shaping and decision-making is intended to refer to all stages of the process, i.e., identification of the problem or issue, committee work on the problem, formulation of resolutions to deal with it, acting on resolutions, and implementing them as solutions. By levels SASS understands both: areas of operation (e.g., curriculum, admissions, or cultural) and hierarchical levels (e.g., students, faculty, and administration).

XII. Funding:

SASS sincerely appreciates the initiation of this resolution on the part of the faculty. However, we wish that the resolution be amended to insert the words: 'and 9 January' after the words '23 December' and to change 'communication' to 'communications'.

RADICAL CAUCUS MEETS AGAIN

The radical caucus met at 4:30 and 8 p.m. and discussed what steps should be taken concerning the faculty's scheduled meeting. By the end of the meeting it had been decided to continue personal contacts with faculty members and the planned statement at the honors meeting. The group considered a vigil outside the faculty meeting and deferred until its next meeting (set for 9:30 this morning) a decision on a statement to the faculty.

Subi Sahgal read the latest SASS clarification of its position on the Ad Hoc Black Admissions Committee. The group then discussed the question of "double veto" --or "bicamerality", under which both SASS and the faculty would have review of the committee's decisions before they went to the Board of Managers--versus a sole SASS review prior to final Board consideration.

Discussion on the substantive merits of the two methods (the latter is the clarified position of SASS; the former represents a position mentioned by several students and faculty members recently) centered on whether it was more important to recognize the legitimacy of the faculty as above the administration to receive and review committee reports, or, on the other hand, whether the important point was that the interested group have the final review.

Some students mentioned the tactical aspects of the issue--specifically, whether the faculty could be moved beyond the "double veto" position, and whether SASS could, on the basis of its statements, accept anything less than a single pre-Board veto. Subi stated that the SASS clarification meant to SASS that the

faculty's legislative function on matters of Black admissions policy would be replaced by SASS.

Others questioned whether it was right or advisable for the radical caucus to suggest positions or tactics to SASS. The discussion was dropped with no decision reached.

The planning of activities directed toward the Thursday faculty meeting began with mention of a possible vigil outside the meeting. A statement had been prepared to explain the vigil. The original statement urged the faculty to accept the clarified SASS position on the AHBAC, and affirmed that when this was done students would return immediately to academic business.

It was first agreed that there be no request for further postponement of exams--that such could be negotiated with individual professors, and that, ultimately, students would have to accept the possible costs of their active participation in the events of the crisis period.

Discussion then centered on the effect of a vigil or statement or both on the faculty's state of mind and decisions. After some discussion, the group committed the statement to a subcommittee for rewording and clarification. This morning's caucus will pass on the wording and decide how to present the statement. A discussion of the vigil ended in a 50-25 straw vote against vigil ing in the name of the radical caucus.

Members of the caucus were encouraged to discuss with faculty members the meaning and implications of the clarified SASS demands, and to assure them that the acceptance of SASS demands would be seen as an act of good faith on the part of the faculty, and not as an occasion for agitation on issues of general student power by the radical caucus--which group, it was reported, has aroused concern and suspicion in some faculty members.

It was mentioned that a further message to the faculty would be presented through a dignified expression of support for SASS by at least forty students at the honors meeting at 11 a.m. The meeting adjourned at 10 p.m. so that members could attend their dorm meetings.

LABOR COMMITTEE WORKSHOP

The Swarthmore Students for a Democratic Society Labor Committee, comprising a membership of 15 or so, sponsored a two-hour workshop Wednesday afternoon to discuss the broader implications of SASS actions. The meeting centered around discussion of a letter read by Vin Berg which wholeheartedly endorsed SASS' actions and included suggestions for future SASS consideration revolving around the broader issues which the current crisis has raised. The letter, which the committee has sent to SASS, specifically mentioned two areas--the Black High School Movement (a labor committee-Black Panther organized movement for 33 new schools in Philadelphia ghettos and the means to finance them) and the University City Science Center (of which the college is a member and which, according to SDS studies, has been responsible for the eviction of 200 Black families) as those which SASS in accordance with its concern for all Black Americans could address itself to. Literature on both areas is available. The labor committee emphasized that the letter was not written with the intention of intensifying the crisis but of adding substance to the political discussions that have evolved because of the crisis.

LETTERS

All members of the college community are encouraged to contribute letters to the editor on any aspect of the current "crisis" to the next regular issue of The Phoenix. Letters (no longer than 200 words) should be left on Sharples table for Jeff Spielberg or brought to the Phoenix office in Tarbles basement by 9 p.m. today.

THE PHOENIX SUPPLEMENT

Jeff Spielberg, Editor-in-chief

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE STUDENT BODY

The 600-700 students who have attended the student plenums feel that the resolutions passed by that group should be considered the expressions of the "student body", although a good number of individual students disagree with those resolutions. We realize that not all students are present at the meetings and that conservative ones are more likely to be absent, but we feel that this is also true of student referenda, which are accepted as the voice of the student body. We also hope that the faculty realizes that the amount of discussion of issues which occurred at the meetings does not reflect the amount of student consideration that has gone into the resolutions. (Amplification)

January 9

1) That we support SASS demands as proposals.

2) That we do not support SASS demands as demands.

Amplifications: We feel that these resolutions mean that the student body supports the substantive content of the demands, but not their presentation as demands.

3) We urge the faculty to decide immediately on implementation of the goals embodied in SASS demands and that "substantive implementation" is defined as the establishment of a committee for selection of a black administrator or counselor and of a committee to establish specifics of a new admissions procedure.

January 11

The actions of SASS have dramatized the inadequacies of the decision-making processes at Swarthmore, generating in the minds of many concerned members of the community the need for a probing re-evaluation of the procedures which Swarthmore has utilized for institutional change. The specific suggestions for the structure of future decision-making should be carefully and thoughtfully considered. Rather than a hasty and ill-conceived proposal for the restructuring of such decision-making processes, a commitment needs to be made now, on the part of the faculty, administration, and students, to the general theory of the methods of institutional change which would be more responsive to the needs of the community, i.e.,

That a legitimate process be established for decision-making, constituted such that it recognizes the right on the part of those groups which will be affected by the decision to take part in the process. Thus faculty, administration, and students would represent their respective constituencies in the decision-making body.

The importance of such an understanding of the process of institutional change is that it provides for the community a decision-making process which can be trusted, which is neither arbitrary nor obscure, and which provides channels for the legitimate expression of the various points of view of those who will be affected by the decision.

January 13

1) We support the inclusion of black people at all relevant levels of decision-making in the College. While in the future we feel that this SASS demand will be met by the appointment of black faculty, administrators, or counselors, until such time as there exists sufficient black representation in the faculty to accomplish adequate representation of black interests, this demand must be met by the inclusion of black students or outside resource people acceptable to black students. This is to ensure that no decision concerning black people can be made without black interest being represented in the process of reaching that decision.

STUDENT BODY RESOLUTIONS (CONT.)

Page 2

Amplification: This statement was passed partially to express the view that the question of student power is not involved explicitly in the present crisis. The students feel that consideration of this issue should be postponed until next semester.

2) Until the faculty has finished with the agenda of SASS demands to the faculty's satisfaction, and until SASS has responded to all the decisions made by the faculty, we propose a) that all academic business of the College be suspended and b) that at this time this body will decide whether academic College business should be resumed.

Amplification: The students realize that the plenum is in no position to enforce its viewpoint on the question of academic business. This resolution, therefore, should just be taken as a statement of the student body's feeling on the question of academic business and not as an attempt to dictate that classes not be held.

3) At this time the Ad Hoc Black Admissions Committee should be composed of four students elected by SASS, one student elected by the student body, one faculty member endorsed by SASS, two faculty members elected by the faculty, and two members of the administration.

Amplification: This composition was proposed so that the viewpoint of the student body would be represented without enabling the black perspective to be overruled by a 6-4 vote.

January 13

1) We understand, as the Vice-president of SASS has stated, that SASS now represents the interests of all members of the black Swarthmore community, and we also understand that black members of said community who are not members of SASS may vote on issues concerning their interests. In order to insure that in the future all black members of the Swarthmore community are represented in the decision-making processes, we ask SASS to guarantee that non-SASS black members of the community of Swarthmore be informed of all meetings of SASS, always be allowed to vote on issues decided at such meetings, and be informed of all decisions made at such meetings, without regard to the extent of their previous participation.

2) That all money won by the College Bowl Team (and that will be won) be used to implement the programs regarding black admissions adopted by the College.

3) The students believe that the injustice of barring student observers from faculty meetings has become particularly obvious in the recent crisis. We feel that this faculty action violates the stated desire to increase student-faculty communication on the issues. We therefore protest the faculty's decision in favor of closed meetings, and we urge that the faculty meetings in the future be open to observers, with student participation allowed by a majority vote of the faculty.

Amplification: We do not mean to deny the right of the faculty to hold closed meetings when necessary (e.g. when personalities are discussed), but merely wish to express our feeling that meetings should in general be open.

The following seven resolutions were considered together:

4a) We urge that the academic business of the College be suspended until SASS has voluntarily vacated the Admissions Office. (Defeated: 206 yes, 315 no, 27 abst.)

4b) Given the good faith shown by the faculty in acting promptly and completely in its eyes on the two sets of SASS demands, the student body endorses a return to classes Tuesday, since the faculty so desires. We feel that such problems as remain can best be solved through open discussion in a regular academic atmosphere. (Defeated: 201 yes, 355 no, 40 abst.)

STUDENT BODY RESOLUTIONS (CONT.)

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4c) We endorse the clarified demands of SASS. We consider that all academic business should continue to be suspended until these demands have been met to the satisfaction of SASS. We request the faculty to convene at their earliest convenience to consider and act upon these demands. (Passed: 306 yes, 264 no, 34 ab.)

4d) In order to reach a speedy solution to the crisis, the students will return to class unless a) SASS comes out of the Admissions Office to negotiate, and b) the administration does not re-enter the Admissions Office until negotiations are concluded. (Defeated: 117 yes, 346 no, 101 abst.)

4e) In the light of SASS' clarification of demands, we urge the faculty to meet tomorrow and in the light of this, that there be no classes tomorrow. We will meet again in plenary session to decide on further actions when the faculty and SASS have responded to these developments. (Defeated: 179 yes, 308 no, 75 abst.)

4f) Having already expressed support for SASS demands of 23 December and 9 January, we would like at this time to support the faculty's response to these proposals as representing a satisfactory attempt to act on these demands in the best interests of all parties.

If SASS continues to have objections to the faculty action and to present new demands, we urge that, in good faith, SASS open discussions of these points directly with the faculty, out side of the Admissions Office.

We cannot guarantee our continued support for the actions of SASS through suspension of academic business if such actions do not reflect good faith. (Passed: 281 yes, 280 no, 33 abst.)

4g) We recognize that the decision to hold a class is a personal matter between the faculty and the students involved in the class. We also recognize that an individual's decision to attend classes is a personal decision based on a number of criteria. However, we urge the faculty and students who do meet in classes to consider collectively whether or not they want to hold class in light of the present crisis situation. (Defeated: 208 yes, 305 no, 60 abst.)

Amplification: The voting procedure on these motions definitely needs clarification. After all seven proposals were presented, it was decided that the order in which they were voted on might prejudice the outcome (i.e. if from radical to conservative, the more radical would be favored). Therefore, it was decided that the proposals would be arranged in order along the continuum from radical to conservative and that voting would be from both ends inward (i.e. most radical first, most conservative second, next most radical third, etc.) Thus the voting did not indicate exact student support for each proposal, in that students who wanted strong statements one way or the other ceased to vote in favor of the more moderate positions, once an extreme had been passed.

It was decided to hold a run-off between the two positions winning majority support (c and f). The run-off was held twenty minutes after the voting on the first seven and some people may have left. The vote was 4c) 315, 4f) 230, abstain 31.

January 14

We propose that the money from the one fast allowed this year by Saga be devoted to black scholarship, support, etc.

General Amplification: Questions of good faith have also been raised. We feel that the vast majority of students have been acting in good faith in that they feel that what they have been doing since SASS entered the Admissions Office has been in the best interests of Swarthmore College. Furthermore, we know of no students who favor the destruction of the College and are acting toward that end. Two members of the student coordinating committee are willing to attend the faculty meeting to answer questions if the faculty so desires.