

SENATE FORUM

FALL, 1990

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 1

Election 1990

- * Republican or Democrat?
- * Feinstein or Wilson?
- * Rating the Orange County delegation

**A CONVERSATION
WITH MILTON
GORDON**

**PRESIDENT VS.
THE SENATE:
VETOES AT CSUF**

**THE LIBRARY IN
THE '90s**

What's ahead for the Senate this year

Stewart Long
Economics and Chair, Academic Senate

Since my election as Chair of the Academic Senate in May, people have asked me either what my plans for the Senate were or what major issues I thought the Senate would have to deal with this year. My answers relate to the long tradition of faculty governance here at Fullerton, and to the events of recent years. While I do not foresee any dramatic new actions by the Senate this year, I do believe that it will play an important role in the campus transition to the leadership of a new president. The activities of the Senate are a concrete example of the campus culture (sometimes referred to as the "Fullerton way") that President Gordon will find to be a stabilizing and constructive influence on the many changes that no doubt will be occurring over the next few years.

Most people probably do not realize that the Senate spends the majority of its time reviewing and amending University Policy Statements (UPS's) so that they reflect the changing attitudes and priorities of the faculty. Since the advent of collective bargaining, a good portion of these policy statement revisions have involved bringing campus policies into conformity with the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) negotiated systemwide. The language of the UPS's is an expression of the collective will of the faculty, and the Senate fashions it with care and diligence. With a new MOU scheduled to be negotiated by CFA and the Chancellor's Office this year, I expect that a new round of UPS revisions are in store for us. My hope is that we can continue preserve as much campus autonomy as possible in our policy documents thus reemphasizing that academic policies and practices at Fullerton are the result of a collegial governance process.

The more high profile issues the Senate should address this year are a function of what we as a campus have done in recent years and of where we seem likely to be heading in the future. The opening of the Mission Viejo Campus (MVC) is an example of a campus project that entails both promise and problems that will require the Senate's attention. The original Senate debate in 1986-87 that culminated in an endorsement of the establishment of a "south county campus" delineated the campus vision of what a high quality satellite center should be like. Last year a campus ad hoc committee established to examine MVC operations reported that our satellite center was among the best of those in the CSU system. But where do we go from here? The Senate should develop a comprehensive proposal for the future of MVC. We should be proactive and creative in fashioning a vision of what it would like the

MVC to be five or ten years from now, and then work with President Gordon to get it implemented. If successful, we may avoid the possibility of the CSU system imposing an unwelcome future on us. An example of the latter fate was that of SDSU's satellite center in North San Diego being effectively eliminated by the new CSU San Marcos Campus with none of the satellite's faculty being hired for the new campus. We should avoid serving as nothing more than an expensive marketing test for a new independent South Orange County CSU campus.

Meanwhile, we should not ignore the major changes happening on the main campus. Although we have nearly reached our enrollment cap here at "Fullerton North," over the next five years we are scheduled to add a number of new buildings to the campus. Although much of the space usage is prescribed by the building plans themselves (e.g., science labs, library stacks, etc.), significant planning remains to be done concerning the overall space usage now that we are nearly "built up." The Senate's Long Range Planning and Priorities committee (LRPPC) and its Facility Planning subcommittee will play a major role in this process. We must also realize that while buildings are important, planning does not end there. The LRPPC must also engage in a continuing planning process involving all aspects of the university in carrying out our missions and goals.

While I hope we have the time this year to address these future-oriented issues seriously, there are issues directly tied to the past that we will also have to deal with. Foremost is our endless budgetary problem. The Senate, primarily through its Budget Advisory Committee (BAC), has played a major consultative role in dealing with budget cutbacks over the past few years. In addition, the Senate as a whole made a unanimous recommendation to President Gordon this year concerning the use of funds that resulted from the one year suspension of faculty Meritorious Performance and Professional Promise awards (MPPP's) negotiated by CFA and the Chancellor's Office. Unfortunately our budget problems may not be over for this year if there is a mid year adjustment in state revenue projections or a decline in lottery revenues, or both. I expect the BAC and the Senate as a whole to continue to be consulted in a timely manner concerning budget issues, so that if adjustments must be made, they are done through collegial consensus rather than by administrative fiat as is often the case on some other CSU campuses.

Another ongoing issue is the question of the financial viability of our athletics program. This is not

Continued on next page

We asked two members of the History Department what faculty members should do on November 6th

Vote Democrat

Vote Republican

Dan Sailor
History, Emeritus

Ronald Rietveld
History

Academics should vote Democratic for the same reason as all Americans, and that is because in a world of unprecedented threats, the Democratic Party offers hope while the Republican Party offers the platitudes of pseudopatriotism. With terrifying swiftness the issue of survival itself has forced its way into our consciousness. Notwithstanding the changes in Russia and the presumed end of the Cold War, the threat of nuclear annihilation, intentional or accidental, will not go away. We receive daily new reports of environmental pollution and the exhaustion of our resources. Events in the Persian Gulf represent only the tip of the volcano of increasing economic and political instability.

Continued on page 4

During his presidential campaign, George Bush laid out in detail his future plans for education in a document called "Invest In Our Children." The Republican president is committed to be "the education President," and declares, "Our children are our future. The way we treat our children reflects our values as a nation and as a people...Children embody our respect for ourselves and for our future." This Republican president has promised a hands-on involvement with education policy every step of the way.

The challenge to the American educational system is greater now than ever before. Republican leadership in both

Continued on page 5

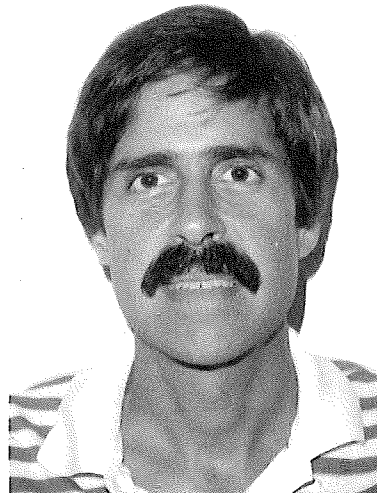


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a problem that is unique to Fullerton, but rather appears to be endemic to intercollegiate athletics today. Nevertheless, the Senate's faculty representatives to the University Athletics Council and I are keeping a close watch on the athletics budget and President Gordon is aware of our interest. We are especially concerned that unexpected deficits in the athletics budget do not suddenly appear, further exacerbating the overall budget crisis and requiring resolution at the expense of academic programs.

A final issue that the Senate eventually will have to grapple with is one partially of its own making. The very success of faculty governance at Fullerton has contributed to the growth in size and numbers of faculty committees. Every year it becomes more and more difficult to find willing and able members for all the standing, ad hoc, and search committees that exist. My own preference would be to reduce both the number of committees on campus and their size. Many of my colleagues have expressed their agreement with me in principle. I have found however, that cutting committees is rather like cutting the federal deficit - everyone favors cuts as long as they take place on someone

else's committee. So for the foreseeable future I would ask all my colleagues - when you receive a call from the Senate office and someone asks, "would you be willing to serve on the _____ committee this year?" Please — say yes!!§



Stewart Long joined CSUF's Economics Department in 1973. He was statewide president of the United Professors of California from 1981 to 1983, when that organization lost the election for bargaining agent to CFA by a handful of votes. He was elected to the Academic Senate in 1986, and served as treasurer and vice-chair of it before becoming chair in 1990.

Continued from page 3

throughout the world.

Republicans are fond of the old saw, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." The historic problem with Republican policy has been that they have steadfastly refused to see the things that are "broke", and when they can no longer ignore what is "broke" they rely heavily on slogans rather than real choices and action. Perhaps their most congenial response to real problems takes the military diversion, courageously attacking evildoers in Grenada, Panama, or the Persian Gulf. Though the Communist Menace may have paled slightly, the Republican Party seems to have a convenient new batch of "Hitlers" who serve to "distract giddy minds with foreign quarrels."

Conservatism certainly has its place but true conservatism is betrayed when a do-nothing policy fosters further deterioration of the environment, of constitutional liberties, and of economic and financial institutions. The Republican response to these problems has been deregulation either in the form of repeal of laws in the public interest or in non-enforcement of such laws. There have been the efforts to undermine auto safety laws. The record of Republican prosecution of environmental offenders is abysmal, and the costs of the deregulation of the Savings and Loan institutions are yet to be acknowledged in their immensity. In the crucial area of racial justice, Republicans in both Washington and Sacramento have failed to enforce adequately existing civil rights law while attacking efforts to sustain and expand constitutional guarantees. The result has been to enrich the few, to increase the gap between the rich and the poor and the tension between the races.

In his inaugural address in 1960 Democratic President John F. Kennedy said that "if a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich." The Democratic Party has been, in the truest sense, the people's party, fostering public interest and recognizing real problems and implementing real solutions to them. Along with desperately needed emergency measures, for the most dramatic example in the past century, the Rooseveltian New Deal brought basic reforms. Fundamental reforms in banking, in the selling of securities, and in labor relations were implemented. Social Security was provided and has withstood the efforts of recent Republican administrations to dismantle it. It has even survived Republican plundering of Social Security funds in order to disguise the enormity of their budgetary deficits.

Since the time of the New Deal, Democrats have waged the War on Poverty, and fought successfully for the Civil Rights Act and for such fundamental programs as Medicare. At the same time they have restrained Republican efforts to dismember Democrat-sponsored programs designed to provide aid for poor

families and programs for disadvantaged preschool children such as Head Start. The suggestion that the Democratic Party's concern for the underclasses means that it is anti-business is a Republican canard. Under Democratic administrations Americans enjoyed rising incomes and low levels of unemployment and homelessness. Peace and economic stability were maintained without unmanageable budget deficits. For Democrats the relationship between business and government is not adversarial but cooperative, creating a positive role for both the individual and government in a vital and productive society.

Whatever the record of the Republican party has been in other areas, its support of education has made a mockery of its campaign rhetoric. George Bush has been anything but an "Education President" and Governor Deukmejian has made a career of blue-penciling much needed items from education budgets. The office of governor is of crucial importance for us as academics, so the contest between Republican Pete Wilson and Democrat Dianne Feinstein in itself should decide our vote in favor of the latter. According to the rating system of the National Education Association Pete Wilson's record in four Congresses has ranged from zero to 57%. In the 98th Congress he received a 25% rating on his voting on 12 issues; in the 99th he received his zero rating, voting wrongly on 3 issues and characteristically not voting at all on 4 of them; in the 100th he improved to 57% on 7 issues; but slipped to 20% in the 101st Congress. Dianne Feinstein on the other hand has said plausibly that education is her first priority, and the California Teachers Association has given her their enthusiastic endorsement.

On the local level, Orange County legislators, who epitomize Republican values, have turned their backs on education. The California Faculty Association, which represents us in Sacramento and before our governing board, has compiled "Campus Incumbent Evaluations" of all legislators and the five whose districts surround us have received uniformly a grade of "F". In general, the grades of Republicans have been very low, those of Democrats high. Democrats support us; they deserve our vote. §

Coming in the next issue of the Forum:

- Jim Blackburn on whether we can recruit better students.
- Jack Coleman on the value of international exchanges for students and faculty.
- Sandra Sutphen on women's representation on the faculty and in the administration at CSUF.

Continued from page 3

the White House and the Congress hold firmly that the national government cannot afford the illusion that it has all the answers, or that it can prescribe solutions for the many diverse and unique problems that arise in an ethnically diverse, pluralistic, free and open society. Common principles and commitments must inform the choices made in Harlem as well as Houston, but their application may vary widely throughout the nation.

Early in his Administration, the President introduced his Educational Excellence Act which provides a legislative framework for Federal support of educational reform. This Act passed the Senate overwhelmingly in February, 1990, and Republicans are working to win House approval this year. President Bush recognizes that elementary and secondary education are primarily a state and local concern, and the Federal role was necessarily and properly limited. To galvanize national support for school reform across the country, the President convened the historic Education Summit in Charlottesville, Virginia in September, 1989.

President Bush and the governors agreed at the Summit to develop national educational goals, which were unveiled in his State of the Union Address. Both the President and the governors agreed to pursue needed educational reforms in a framework providing flexibility and guaranteeing state accountability. A joint statement issued at the Summit declared that "as a nation we must have an educated workforce, second to none, in order to succeed in an increasingly competitive world economy." Later, the National Governors' Association met in Washington and adopted the goals along with specific objectives for achieving them. The Summit made clear that these goals are not an attempt to impose a national curriculum, but an effort to identify needs which must in fact be addressed if we are to improve

America's educational performance. The goals outline what the nation must do, but don't dictate how to do it.

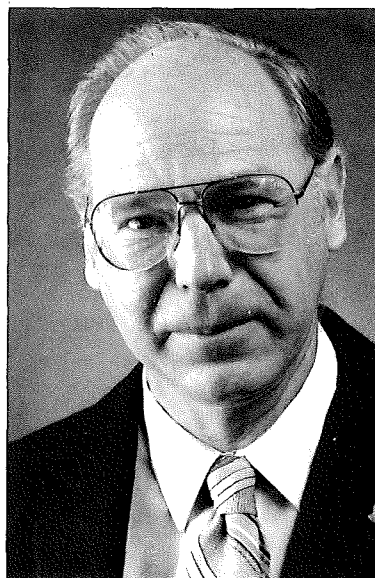
"This is a dramatic turning point for our country," Bush said in stamping his seal of approval on the National Governors' Association objectives. Critics will call the goals too lofty, Bush said, "But they fail to note our commitment to change the structure of American education." As a framework, the governors adopted the goals Bush had outlined: all children will start school ready to learn; 90 percent of high school students will graduate; students will be competent in basic subjects; U.S. students will be first in mathematics and science by 2000; every American adult will be literate; and schools will be drug-free and safe. To achieve these goals, the governors unanimously adopted 21 objectives which included increasing the number of college and graduate students in math, science and engineering, especially women and minorities; boosting the percentage of college students who complete their degrees; teaching more college students to think critically, communicate well and solve problems. "Our biggest obstacle will be selling these goals to the local education bureaucracy. That's no easy chore," observed South Carolina Governor Carroll Campbell. Republicans are loath to seek additional federal aid because of the regulatory strings it always brings.

This Republican president believes that the principle of academic choice and school-based management provide the most effective means for restructuring America's schools. While choice empowers parents, school-based management empowers teachers and administrators, rewarding educational excellence instead of compliance with bureaucratic mandates primarily. Restructuring is not an end but a process. Both the President and his Secretary of Education are strong supporters of federalism, and believe

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Danton Sailor has been teaching in the History Department since 1962. He has been campaign chair for a local Congressional candidate (1984), president of the North Orange County Democratic Club, a member of the party's County Central Committee, and, currently, a member of the State Central Committee.



Ronald Rietveld was the youngest person invited to President Eisenhower's inaugural. He has been a staunch Republican ever since, serving as academic consultant to President Reagan's speechwriters from 1981 to 1984. He has taught history here since 1969.

Continued from page 5

that matters such as these are for the states to decide, within the framework of the U.S. Constitution.

President Bush and Republican members of Congress have taken the position that money is clearly not the answer to the education deficit. Since 1981, aggregate U.S. spending on elementary and secondary education has grown from \$157 to \$199 billion, an increase of 27 percent after inflation. Yet student test scores improved little during the same period. The inability of our school systems to make effective use of an additional \$42 billion during the 1980's is not a good argument for even more funds in the 1990's. Furthermore, Republicans in both the executive and legislative branches of our government believe there is a wide body of research dispelling the notion that dollars equal educational excellence.

Those who insist that more money is the key to educational improvement may point to the recent report by the Economic Policy Institute, which claimed that the U.S. spends less than its top foreign economic competitors on elementary and secondary education. The EPI report was simply wrong: it has been refuted conclusively both by experts in the Department of Education and by independent analysts.

When an appropriate method for comparing per pupil expenditures is applied, according to Education Secretary Cavazos, the U.S. ranks second in the world in spending on elementary and secondary education, behind only Switzerland. This does not deny, of course, that some districts may need additional resources, but generally Republicans hold that the real answer lies in better utilization of existing resources. It is estimated, for example, that almost 60 percent of the dollars spent on education go to administration and not to the classroom. Clearly, the most important question that faces all of us is accountability.

Republican educational policy holds that academic choice, coupled with school-based management, is the cornerstone of efforts to restructure our school systems. Decisions over questions of staff selection, curriculum and budget allocation should be made at the school building level by principals, teachers and parents. [Perhaps, a principle worthy of consideration for reform in the CSU.]

If voters say "yes" this November, Oregon would replace its inefficient bureaucracy-bloated public school system with one that lets parents choose where to send their children. This would be similar to a system already instituted in Minnesota. Parents would get a \$2,500 tax credit for each child attending private, parochial, or home schools. Only state taxes would be affected. This second part is the most controversial and would inevitably be challenged in court. And after Oregon, California?

The choice movement in California is striding

ahead. Marian LaFollette has sponsored Assembly Constitutional Amendment 37, which would put a proposal on the ballot to institute school choice. Three tiers would be established. First, public schools, which would get 100 percent of current funding, based on average daily attendance (ADA), now about \$5,000. Second, so-called independent public schools, which would be freed from stultifying control by school bureaucrats, would get 90 percent of ADA. Third, private schools, which would get a maximum of 75 percent of ADA—though many great private schools currently operate on tuition of just \$2,000, or 40 percent of ADA. A victory for choice in Oregon this November would, no doubt, fuel the choice movement to the south in California. It is possible that Californians may soon choose if they want choice.

In 1990-91, spending at public and private colleges and universities will total an estimated \$152.5 billion, 6.5 percent above last year. For each full-time student, spending is projected at \$15,596, \$833 more per student than a year ago. It is expected that 13.6 million students will enroll across the nation in public and private colleges and universities this fall, an increase of more than \$100,000 since just a year ago. "We can take pride in our continuing investment in education, but money alone will not buy us superior schools or the wisdom and security that education can provide" declares Education Secretary Cavazos. "We must keep our attention focused on results," citing the national goals adopted earlier this year by President Bush and the nation's governors.

On July 24, 1990, President Bush made the Republican position quite clear for this election year: "If liberal Democrats should have learned anything, it is that you cannot reform an education system by throwing billions of dollars at it." Then he queried: "So when is it going to penetrate liberal thinking that we shouldn't throw money at an ineffective educational system that is already the most expensive in the entire industrialized world? When are they going to start demanding results and stop measuring the value of a program by the size of its price tag? And when are they going to stop blocking genuine, much-needed reform?"

As we go into the 1990 election season, the President further exhorts us to remember an adage from a great Republican governor of New York state, and a great American President. Theodore Roosevelt said: "In life, as in a football game, the principle to follow is: Hit the line hard." The choice is clear: Republican reform or the Democratic status quo. "And when we present the people with this stark choice," posits President Bush, "rest assured—we will hit the line hard in November."

Although I think I have fairly represented the current Republican view of educational reform, I wish to make it clear that my own personal opinions and positions differ in some instances. §

Feinstein vs. Wilson on education

Raphael Sonenshein
Political Science

There has been tremendous interest in this year's California gubernatorial campaign. Two elements have stood out - the impact the new governor will have on the next reapportionment, and the possible election of the first woman governor in California history.

But the voters rate neither of these issues as their concern. A recent survey conducted by the respected *Los Angeles Times* Poll (reported September 29th) found that both men and women ranked education as the main issue in California government. Those voters who make education their top priority tend to favor Feinstein; 60% of the voters consider her the best candidate for the schools. Feinstein's hold on the education issue is likely to be challenged strongly by Wilson.

The two candidates are rather moderate ideologically - Wilson more liberal and Feinstein more conservative than activists in their respective parties. Education is likely to be a key battleground between them. What can be said about the two candidates and their positions on education issues? Campaign literature for the two candidates and newspaper articles were examined to help answer that question.

Each is likely to be a far different governor than George Deukmejian, who has frequently feuded with the state's educational leadership and whose major priorities have been reduction of crime and taxes. Innovative ideas for improving education have not been the hallmark of the Deukmejian years.

By contrast, both of this year's candidates have proposed elaborate and ambitious programs. Wilson relies heavily on his proposal to integrate social services with education. He argues that the schools cannot cope alone with the task of education. He therefore calls for a major program of prenatal and neonatal care, and for the provision of preschooling to the widest number of children. He has pledged to spend \$1,200 in prenatal care for every pregnant woman.

Feinstein also focuses heavily on preschool. Her most specific proposal is called "California Jump Start." She promises that every child in the state will be given the opportunity to attend preschool. To pay for the program, she would increase the share of lottery funds going to education from 35% to 50%, comparable to the share received in New York State.

But even within areas of apparent agreement there are important differences that reflect the persist-

ing ideological divisions between the political parties. Both candidates strongly favor increased child care. Wilson would support it through tax credits, consistent with the national Republican position, while Feinstein favors the Democratic alternative in which government funds day care. She also promises to carry forth the program she started in San Francisco to require developers to fund child care.

Wilson and Feinstein differ strongly on Proposition 98, the controversial initiative passed in 1988 to guarantee funding to the public schools. Because of that proposition, \$17 billion out of the state's \$55.7 billion budget will go to K-12 this year. There have been major struggles between the governor and Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig about the implementation of Prop. 98. Honig holds it to be inviolate; the California Teachers Association and Feinstein agree with him. Wilson is open more open to flexible interpretations of the proposition.

Other issues divide the candidates. Like many Republicans, Wilson strongly favors the idea of creating a marketplace among public schools through parental choice. Like many Democrats, Feinstein is skeptical that schools in poor neighborhoods will fare well in such a system.

There is no doubt that either Wilson or Feinstein will be "friendly" to education and less confrontational than Governor Deukmejian (and, some might argue, his Democratic predecessor Jerry Brown). This is due partly to the characteristics of the two candidates, and perhaps just as much to the climate of the times.

If five years ago someone had predicted that the leading issues of the 1990's would be such liberal items as education and child care, who would have believed it? Today it is increasingly important that politicians have a commitment to making the schools work. No matter who wins, that is good news for education.

But when issues becomes as popular as education or the environment are today, we may forget that there are still crucial partisan and ideological contrasts between the candidates. Even such centrists as Feinstein and Wilson have important, enduring differences of approach that reflect their attitudes toward the free market and government. In the heat of the campaign, these differences may be submerged as each seeks the center - where elections are won - but the consequences are likely to show up after election day in the policies they adopt for the state of California. §

These people represent you

Orange County's legislators and higher education

Jon A. Yinger
Political Science

Orange County has a reputation as a hot-bed of kooky, right-wing politics. Past and current elected officials from Orange County are legendary. The late Congressman James Utt revealed that Fidel Castro was training "a large contingent of barefoot Africans...in guerrilla warfare," which could be expected to march through Georgia under the banner of the United Nations. Then State Senator John Schmitz referred to a well-known feminist leader as a "slick, butch lawyeress," and let the taxpayers pay the damages when she sued. Former State Assemblyman and current U.S. Congressman William Dannemeyer told CSUF students that AIDS was highly contagious because it was spread by "air-borne spores." The current Orange County delegation in the State Assembly includes some of the most reactionary Republicans in the entire legislature. Dennis Brown votes against all bills because government itself is evil. Gil Ferguson has made a crusade out of trying to oust Tom Hayden from the Assembly and recently introduced a resolution proclaiming that forcing Americans of Japanese ancestry into concentration camps during World War II was justified by military necessity. Nolan Frizzelle once opposed a resolution condemning apartheid, arguing that it had been misunderstood, it was really the South African government's plan to help the black population with economic and social programs. These people are not moderates or even conservatives in the true sense of the word.

But not all Orange County legislators are reactionary crackpots. Yes, they are all Republican, with the exception of Senator Cecil Green (D-Norwalk) whose district includes a portion of north Orange County. And they do tend to vote against most of the Democratic leadership's liberal legislative agenda. But the uniformity stops there. Looking at several recent studies of the ideological leanings and political records of state legislators, we find considerable diversity within the current Orange County delegation, as shown in a 1988 *California Journal* article, "Who's Conservative, Who's Liberal?"

There are also significant contrasts among the voting records of Orange County's legislators on issues affecting education. In recent years the California

Teachers Association (CTA) has conducted two studies on the voting records of legislators on education. The CTA ratings (the results for OC legislators are listed below) were based on 12 bills in 1986 and 24 bills in 1989 on which the CTA took a position. A rather complex formula was used, but essentially the more a legislator supported the CTA position in votes in committee and on the floor the higher his or her rating. Most of the 24 bills charted by the CTA in their 1989 "Mid-Term Progress Report on the Legislature" dealt with K-12 issues. Two, however, would have affected CSU faculty directly: ACA 1 would have undermined collective bargaining, and SB 555 would have allowed Gov. Deukmejian to appoint one more member to the Public Employment Relations Board without Senate confirmation. Three bills were designed to protect K-12's guaranteed share of the budget under Proposition 98, and it could be argued that our interests and theirs are different on that issue. Broadly speaking, however, legislators with the highest scores in the CTA ratings could be expected to favor legislation beneficial to the CSU system.

The range of voting records is greater among Orange County's senators than among our Assembly Members, partly due to the fact that senators vote less along party lines than do members of the Assembly and partly due to the presence of Democrat Cecil Green in the Senate delegation. Currently there is no Democrat who represents even a part of Orange County in the State Assembly. Among Orange County's legislators the record of Cecil Green stands out. He has supported virtually every position taken by the California Teachers Association (CTA), the CSU California Faculty Association (CFA) and lobbyists for the CSU and UC. In 1989 the CTA gave him an A+, 100% rating for his votes on CTA-backed legislation. Cecil Green voted "correctly" on all of these bills.

But, despite Cecil Green's top rating by the CTA, Republicans Marian Bergeson and John Seymour are regarded more highly by many educators. Bergeson and Seymour have involved themselves more in the details of legislation affecting all branches of public education, for example Bergeson's SB 824 promoting school-based management and Seymour's SB 1947 which deals with vocational education. Both of them have been involved in the negotiations over the revision to the Master Plan for Higher Education. Often their work comes in the form of talking fellow Republicans into supporting a bill, as Sen. Seymour did when marshalling Doris Allen's support for SB 1947, or in offering substitute language to assuage the governor.

*Bill Julius, a graduate student in political science, provided invaluable assistance conducting interviews and gathering information for this article.

Orange County Legislators in *California Journal's* 1987-88 Ideology Index

Senators

rank**		% conserv votes
19	Cecil Green	16%
29	William Campbell	65%
31	Marian Bergeson	71%
34	John Seymour	82%
37	Ed Royce	96%

Assembly Members

rank**		% conserv votes
56	Doris Allen	81%
64	Ross Johnson	88%
65*	Frank Hill	89%
68*	Nolan Frizzelle	90%
71	Dick Longshore***	92%
74	Gil Ferguson	95.5%
75*	Dennis Brown	96%
78*	John Lewis	98.5%

*tied with one or two other Assembly members

**for Senators, rank position out of 40; for Assembly member, rank position out of 79, one seat vacant.

***Curt Pringle now occupies the seat held by the late Richard Longshore in 1987-88.

Source: Elaine Guidoux, "Who's Conservative, Who's Liberal?" *California Journal*, June 1988, pp. 242-245.

Orange County Legislators in the CTA's 1986 and 1989 Ratings

Senators:

	1989 scores				1986 scores		
	rank	raw score	CTA grade		rank	raw score	CTA grade
Cecil Green	1*	1.000	A	Paul Carpenter**	18	.94	A
John Seymour	23	.931	A	William Campbell	28	.83	B
Marian Bergeson	25	.917	A	John Seymour	29	.82	B
William Campbell	35	.714	C	Marian Bergeson	34	.72	C
Ed Royce	38	.676	D	Ed Royce	38	.67	D

Assembly Members:

	1989 scores				1986 scores		
	rank	raw score	CTA grade		rank	raw score	CTA grade
Frank Hill	55	.658	D	Richard Robinson**	5	.98	A
John Lewis	58	.621	D	Doris Allen	53	.68	D
Doris Allen	62	.571	F	Frank Hill	63	.56	F
Curt Pringle	64	.563	F	Ross Johnson	64	.54	F
Ross Johnson	74	.520	F	Gil Ferguson	70	.43	F
Nolan Frizzelle	75	.519	F	Nolan Frizzelle	76	.30	F
Gil Ferguson	78	.500	F	John Lewis	77	.29	F
Dennis Brown	79	.490	F	Dennis Brown	78	.28	F

*tie; CTA gave nine senators perfect scores of 1.00 in their 1989 rating. Raw scores are based on the percentage of "correct" votes—supporting the CTA position.

**in 1986 Paul Carpenter held the Senate seat now held by Cecil Green; Richard Robinson held the Assembly seat now held by Curt Pringle.

Sources: "CTA's Legislative Report Card," *CTA Action*, December, 1986; and, "Mid-Term Progress Report on the Legislature," *Politics and Legislation*, November, 1989.

The Cast

SENATORS

William Campbell (R), Hacienda Heights—SD 31*
 Ed Royce (R), Fullerton—SD 32
 Cecil Green (D), Norwalk—SD 33*
 John Seymour (R), Anaheim—SD 35
 Marian Bergeson (R), Newport Beach—SD 37

ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

Frank Hill (R), Whittier—AD 52**
 Dennis Brown (R), Signal Hill—AD 58*
 Ross Johnson (R), La Habra—AD 64
 John Lewis (R), Orange—AD 67
 Nolan Frizzelle (R), Fountain Valley—AD 69
 Gil Ferguson (R), Newport Beach—AD 70
 Doris Allen (R), Cypress—AD 71
 Curt Pringle (R), Westminster—AD 72

*district includes portions of Orange and LA counties

**although AD 32 is in LA County Frank Hill is included in this study because he is the successor to William Campbell in SD 31 who resigned his seat 12/89.

These kinds of things don't show up in the rankings, which focus on the final floor vote or on committee action. In the CTA's 1989 ranking, for instance, Bergeson received a .917 rating and Seymour .931. Both were graded "A" but would appear on the basis of this ranking to be not quite as pro-education as Cecil Green with his 1.00 perfect record. Yet they are widely perceived as more effective legislators than Green.

In the *California Journal's* 1990 survey dealing with the character and abilities of state legislators, Cecil Green does not fare well. Bergeson and Seymour are ranked among the top ten overall, and both of them are rated highly in all of the categories evaluated. In the State Assembly, in contrast, most of Orange County's delegation is ranked near the bottom in most categories. Assembly members Nolan Frizzelle and Gil Ferguson are ranked 74th and 78th, respectively in intelligence, while Frizzelle, Pringle, Brown, Lewis, and Ferguson are judged to be the least effective members of the Assembly, ranking 74th, 75th, 78th, and 79th, respectively, in effectiveness. Even allowing for a possible liberal bias among the survey respondents, Orange County's Assembly delegation does not come out well. (Incidentally, the lowest ratings for intelligence and overall performance are both Democrats—Peter Chacon of South San Diego, and Willard Murray

of Paramount). And, as might be expected, the CTA's 1989 report gives the OC Assembly delegation failing ratings—all were graded "D" or "F" with Ross Johnson, Nolan Frizzelle, Gil Ferguson, and Dennis Brown ranked 74th, 75th, 78th, and 79th (last) respectively.

But the picture presented by the formal ratings is even more distorted for Assembly members than it was for senators because Assembly members vote with their party's leadership much more consistently than do senators. A particular Republican member of the Assembly may work very hard on behalf of K through 12 or higher education behind the scenes but come out with a bottom rating by the CTA because he or she supported the Republican leadership in the final floor vote.

Doris Allen (R-Fountain Valley) is a case in point. She was frequently mentioned as one of the more knowledgeable members on education matters, especially K-12, but was ranked 62nd by the CTA on the basis of her floor votes. She has served on the Education Committee in the past, and currently is a member of the Joint Committee on the Revision of the Master Plan for Higher Education. According to all accounts she was an active and a constructive member of the Education Committee from 1983 through 1985, and has played a responsible role on the Master Plan revision committee.

Currently there are no Orange County Assembly members on either the Assembly Education Committee or its Subcommittee on Higher Education, even though Orange County is the home of two large four-year public universities and seven community colleges. Several Republican staffers attributed the county's lack of representation to the leadership styles of Theresa Hughes, Chair of the Education Committee, and Tom Hayden, Chair of the Higher Education Subcommittee. Hughes and Hayden are seen by many Republicans as left-wing ideologues or toadies of the teachers' unions, particularly the CTA. According to these sources Hughes and Hayden run their respective committees as if they were their private fiefdoms, and are rude and abusive to Orange County Republicans. When our representatives have introduced bills, they have been pigeon-holed, killed, or worse yet, hijacked by Democrats and merged into legislation that they have authored.

The view of staff Democrats, needless to say, is different. They report that the county's Assembly Republicans are disinterested in higher education. The abysmal ratings given them by the CTA may be an indication of their lack of interest in or even hostility to all branches of education. Orange County's Assembly members do not serve on the Education Committee because they are not interested in the topic. There is probably some truth in both explanations. It probably is difficult for Orange County Republicans to work under Theresa Hughes or Tom Hayden. At the same time, most of the county's legislators have not made

Orange County Legislators' Ratings Based on *California Journal's* 1990 Survey

Senate

Assembly

Intelligence

	Rank*	Rating		Rank*	Rating
Seymour	8	7.48	Johnson	22	7.08
Bergeson	12	7.22	Hill	29	6.36
Campbell	19	6.79	Brown, D.	48	5.53
Royce	33	5.34	Lewis, John	52	5.43
Green, C.	40	3.73	Pringle	67	4.70
			Allen	72	4.31
			Frizzelle	74	4.05
			Ferguson	78	3.49

Effectiveness

Bergeson	7	7.06	Johnson	19	6.27
Seymour	8	6.90	Hill	42	5.05
Campbell	16	6.30	Allen	67	3.92
Royce	36	4.26	Frizzelle	74	3.52
Green, C.	37	3.96	Pringle	75	3.39
			Brown, D.	76	3.36
			Lewis, John	78	3.01
			Ferguson	79	2.76

Integrity

Bergeson	4	7.74	Allen	37	5.92
Seymour	18	6.36	Johnson	38	5.87
Royce	20	6.07	Brown, D.	44	5.73
Green, C.	32	4.95	Frizzelle	46	5.70
Campbell	38	3.39	Ferguson	56	5.41
			Pringle	70	4.48
			Hill	76	3.95
			Lewis, John	77	3.70

Overall

(integrity + intelligence + energy + effectiveness)/4

Bergeson	4	7.34	Johnson	21	6.54
Seymour	9	7.07	Hill	54	5.20
Campbell	31	5.52	Allen	64	4.86
Royce	34	5.18	Brown, D.	70	4.77
Green, C.	38	4.28	Pringle	72	4.43
			Frizzelle	74	4.42
			Ferguson	76	4.08
			Lewis, John	77	4.02

*rank position out of 40

**rank position out of 79

Source: Richard Zeiger, "Rating the Legislators," *California Journal*, March 1990, pp. 133-141. Data for these ratings was drawn from a survey of lobbyists, legislative staff, the Capitol press corps and legislators themselves. Of 1570 surveys distributed, 220 were returned. Respondents were asked to rate each legislator on a scale of 1 to 10 for integrity, intelligence, effectiveness, energy, flexibility, conviviality and potential. The top rating possible was 10 in each category.

NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

educational issues a high priority.

So, who are education's friends and foes within Orange County's state legislative delegation? The answer depends in part, of course, on how you stand on specific issues. If you dislike state-mandated bi-lingual education programs, then you will love Frank Hill. If you agree with the CTA stands on education issues, you will love Cecil Green. But whatever your politics, you will probably not love both Frank Hill and Cecil Green.

Based on the various ratings, a review of recent legislative records, and interviews with both Republican and Democratic staffers, I would categorize the Orange County legislative delegation as follows:

A. little or no involvement in education issues—K-14 or higher education—probably opposed to

most CTA and CFA positions; extremely conservative: *Ed Royce, Dennis Brown, Curt Pringle, Nolan Frizzelle, Gil Ferguson, John Lewis*

B. not highly involved in education issues, but has a great deal of influence generally over the legislative process as minority leader; conservative: *Ross Johnson*

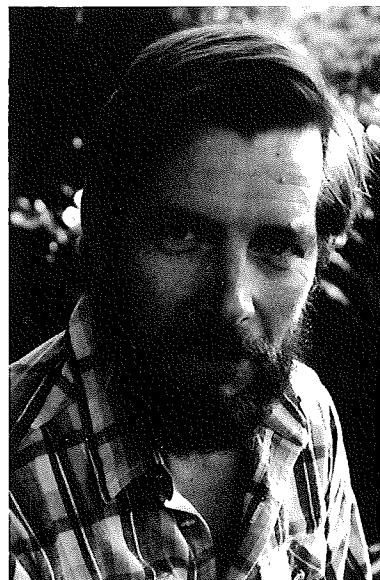
C. highly involved in only one education issue (opposes bilingual education); conservative: *Frank Hill*

D. involved, constructive; supportive of many CTA and CFA positions; endorsed by the Los Angeles Times; conservative to moderate: *Marian Bergeson, John Seymour, Doris Allen*

E. liberal—100% rating by the CTA; CFA depends on him as an ally; but not involved in shaping education policies: *Cecil Green*



Raphael Sonenshein got his Ph.D. from Yale and has been teaching political science here since 1982, specializing in urban and minority politics as well as campaigns and media. He is completing a book on Tom Bradley's biracial Los Angeles political coalition. He has been a staff member on numerous political campaigns.



Jon A. Yinger joined the Political Science Department in 1966. He is coauthor of a textbook on US government and politics and teaches US government, US foreign policy, and California government and politics. He has been a faculty adviser to both the Young Democrats and the Political Science Student Association.

And, just how well do you know the GE Program?

Here's a chance to test your knowledge of our General Education program and, as a result, improve your ability to advise students on GE matters.

1. How many different GE plans are in effect at CSUF?
1 2 3 4

2. About how many courses are approved for GE credit?
100 200 300 400

3. Approximately how many GE approved courses are offered each semester?
100 200 300 400

4. The number of GE units that must be completed "in residence", i.e. at CSUF is:
3 6 9 12

5. The number of upper division GE units that must be completed is:
3 6 9 12

6. How many courses must be taken to meet the "cultural diversity" requirement?
1 2 3 4

7. Does a student have to get a C or better to get GE credit under the current GE plan?
always never sometimes

8. May a student take a GE course on a credit/no credit

basis?
always never sometimes

9. May a student "double count" a course both for GE and Major credit?
always never sometimes

10. A student who is not exempt from and who has not passed the ELM (Entry Level Math) exam is prohibited from registering for: Liberal Arts Math (110) College Algebra (115) Precalculus (125) none of these any of these

11. A student who is not exempt from and who has not passed the EPT (English Placement Test) is prohibited from registering for: Engl 99 Engl 101 none of these either of these

12. The maximum number of units from single department a student can use for meeting GE requirements is:
3 6 9 12

13. Which of the following departments currently has the greatest number of approved GE courses? Which has the least?
Anthropology Biology History Sociology

Answers on page 19

Presidential vetoes at CSUF

Sharon Perry, Library, and
Julian Foster, Political Science

Both the flow of the decision-making and the residing place of ultimate authority on the campus are outlined in Article III, Section 2, of the Faculty Constitution:

The Academic Senate shall develop and formulate educational and professional policy which shall become University policy if approved by the President and in accord with... the rules and regulations of the Trustees. It shall also review such policy.

The phrase "educational and professional policy" is given the widest possible interpretation:

Educational and professional policy shall include, among other things: curricula; academic standards; criteria and standards for the selection and retention, and promotion of faculty members; academic and administrative policies concerning students; and allocation of resources.

Obviously the Academic Senate (known until 1986 as the Faculty Council) plays a key role in making the university's policies. However, the words "if approved by the president" should not be overlooked. It is common knowledge among the faculty that the great majority of Senate proposals do receive executive approval. The focus in this paper is on the exceptions: on exercises of the presidential veto.

At this point it might be of value to briefly describe the methodology used for this informal study. The entire collection of Faculty Council and Academic Senate documents from 1959-1989 were perused in the University Archives in Library 331. Particular attention was paid to the agendas, minutes, and the annual indexes for 1959-1986. A tally was made of all documents labeled "applications for approval"; "policy recommendations", or "recommendations"; "tentative proposals" or "proposals"; "requests" or "revisions". The minutes were also scanned to identify those documents which were "vetoed" or not approved by the president of the university after being forwarded by the Senate.

The number of such documents generated each year varied from a low of four in 1959 to a high of fifty-four in both 1962 and 1964 with an average of twenty-nine documents per year for the entire period. In all, 868 items were forwarded to the president. Of this total only 48 or approximately five percent were not approved by the university president. This ninety-five percent approval rate attests rather dramatically to the firm collegial relationship between the faculty and presidents at California State University, Fullerton.

The range of subjects of vetoed items is so broad that it is difficult to form generalizations about

clusters of issues. The topics of the disapproved documents included "Leaves of Absence" (FCD 66-7), "Travel Funds" (FCD 66-190), "Sabbatical Leaves" (FCD 68-176), "Appointment of Department Chairs" (FCD 72-57), "Rights of Temporary and Part-Time Faculty" (FCD 75-73), "Teaching Service Areas" (FCD 79-22, 80-7), "Research Grants" (FCD 85-46, FCD 86-75), and "Evaluation of Tenured Faculty" (ASD 88-93, ASD 89-17). All

President	Term	Items approved:	Items vetoed:	Pct. vetoed:
Langsdorf	1959-70	312	8	2.5%
Shields	1970-80	329	35	9.5%
McCarthy	1981	7	0	-
Cobb	1981-90	172	5	2.8%

our presidents have not been equally veto-prone, as is shown in the accompanying table.

Vetoes have seldom been intended to kill proposals outright; often they are a matter of the president wanting a particular sentence or provision modified. In 1972, a proposal for an Asian Studies program was terminated by President Shields; three years later he disposed of a plan to reduce the gpa required for honors at graduation. In a very few other instances the eventual outcome was not clearcut. But in more than forty of the forty-eight veto cases, the proposal was eventually approved, usually after some amendments had been made.

The President has always been an ex officio member of the Senate, and thus can express him/herself on proposals during the initial debates upon them. Presidents tend not to be defied for trivial or whimsical reasons, and doubtless on many occasions vetoes have been avoided by taking into account presidential contributions to debate. At other times, perhaps, presidents have listened to Senate deliberations and discovered merits in arguments presented by their faculty colleagues which they had not originally found persuasive. But for either of these means to collegial consensus to operate, the president has to be at Senate meetings, or at least to study the agenda closely enough that his/her concerns can be made known in timely fashion. Probably a number of vetoes occurred because the president did not think through the issue until Senate action was completed. In

PRESIDENTIAL VETOES

such instances, the Senate has sometimes conceded rather than enter into what can be prolonged and time consuming negotiations.

The Faculty Constitution (Article IX, 4) spells out what happens when the president refuses to approve a document:

If the President disapproves a Senate recommendation or wishes to have further consultation on the matter, the President shall notify the Senate. The reasons for presidential disapproval shall be recorded and publicized in such ways as the President or the Academic Senate shall deem necessary. In any case, the President shall respond within thirty days after the date of transmittal of a recommendation.

It may be mentioned in passing that the final sentence in this passage has proved entirely unenforceable; President Shields was particularly prone to sit on things for months if he did not much care for the look of them. The procedure spelled out above clearly contemplates continued communication between the Senate and the President, for the purpose of developing a policy acceptable to both. An example may illustrate how this works.

The years 1967-70 were fraught with protests against the Vietnam War, civil rights marches, teach-ins, sit-ins and other sources of controversy. An avant-garde play, *The Beard*, had recently been produced on campus, and was judged by some to be obscene. As might be expected, the Senate felt the need to spell out what kinds of advocacy were appropriate on the campus. It appointed an ad hoc Committee on Open Advocacy (this institutional title helps to convey the predisposition of Senate members on the question) which duly produced a rather liberal policy proposal on November 6th, 1967. This was debated at some length by the Senate before being approved and forwarded to President Langsdorf. The President, who had a strong antipathy to the abrasive and confrontational style adopted by some radicals, returned the document with proposed changes. The most important of these was his request for the insertion of the following wording:

Any act which uses means offensive to the college community when other less offensive but equally effective means are available shall not be permitted.

To many on the Senate, acceptance of this proposal would threaten freedom of speech on the campus. It would be the president alone who would in practice determine what was "offensive to the college community", whether other means would have been "equally effective", and what should be done if it was judged that an infraction had taken place. The proposed policy was revised on April 1, 1968, and again one month later, but the President's concerns were not met; when the revised proposal was sent to him, he again rejected it.

On May 28, a final effort at conciliation was made. A Senate member, the late Lee Granell (Speech

Communication) moved the following as a proposed amendment:

The very purposes of the academic community demand that advocates seek the less offensive means of accomplishing their purpose, and any deliberate effort to select more offensive means is incompatible with the educational objectives of the college.

Discussion followed. John Wagner (English) suggested that the following policy statement of the AAUP be used as a general guideline: "Faculty members should exercise restraint and avoid giving offense whenever possible". President Langsdorf and Mr. Granell indicated their acceptance of the AAUP wording.

Substitute MSP: Members of the academic community should exercise restraint and avoid giving offense whenever possible.

With this final change FCD 67-171 was once again forwarded to and finally approved by Dr. Langsdorf on June 11, 1968.

Perhaps both sides felt they had some of what they wanted. President Langsdorf got an exhortation towards the civility in which he strongly believed. Senate members could accept the language because it was hortatory only, and did not raise the specter of certain kinds of advocacy "not being permitted." The process of compromise had worked as intended.

While the Senate has usually tried to avoid courting a presidential veto, it has on several occasions done what it wants in the teeth of presidential opposition. An example of this occurred in September, 1988, when it was proposed to alter the criteria on which faculty were to be judged for personnel purposes. Whereas previously, teaching and scholarly creative activity had been accorded equal weight, the newly proposed language stated that:

...the most important criterion for retention, tenure and promotion shall be teaching performance. The second most important criterion shall be scholarly and creative activity.

President Cobb spoke strongly on the floor of the Senate against this proposal. The Senate nevertheless passed it, with some of its members doubtless expecting a veto. However, President Cobb later approved the change. President-prediction is an inexact science.

Sometimes the attainment of consensus is impossible. Layoffs of tenured and tenure track faculty seemed a real possibility during the budget crisis of 1979-80. It was required that junior faculty would be laid off before senior ones in any Teaching Service Area (a concept now defunct) where enrollments fall. The crucial question then became whether layoffs would follow the order of juniority in each department, or whether account would be taken of the specialities of faculty within departments, with the administration-free to manipulate the order of lay-off so that the least

"useful" professors were disposed of first. If each department was defined as a single TSA, the administration would not be able to pick and choose "victims".

If each sub-field within a department became a separate TSA, long-time faculty might find themselves laid off while more junior departmental colleagues survived.

The battle lines were drawn fairly early, when the Senate's Faculty Affairs Committee proposed (FCD 80-7) that if anyone had to go, it would be the least senior within departments. Presidential opposition to this "irresponsible" proposal was immediate and forceful. The Faculty Affairs Committee was encouraged to meet with Deans Schweitzer and Facione, which they did in a fruitless search for consensus. The proposed policy bounced back and forth between the Senate and the President. Discussions were so prolonged that Senate Chair Barbara Stone was moved to comment that they were becoming "lengthy, repetitive . . . counterproductive." After every possible compromise had been explored, the President presented his final position to the Senate on May 29th. After a brief rehash of the arguments a roll-call vote on the Shields proposal was called for, and the President was defeated (2 ayes, 30 noes and 3 abstentions).

According to the U.S. Constitution, a presidential veto can be overridden by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Congress. This was doubtless the inspiration for a proposal adopted by the Senate in 1967, which would have added the following language to the section of the Faculty Constitution dealing with presidential disapproval:

If the decision relates to curriculum or academic standards, the Council, by an affirmative vote of two-thirds

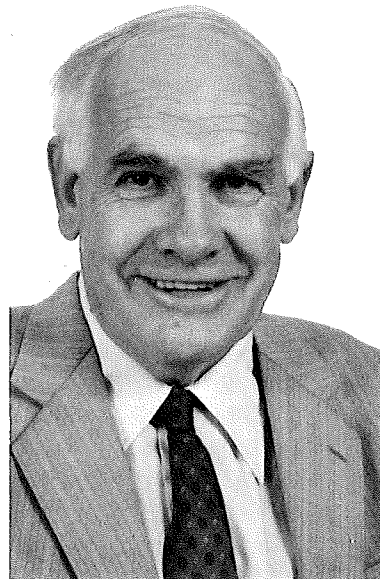
of its membership, may override the President's disapproval; the Chairman of the Faculty Council shall notify the President of this action, whereupon the decision shall become a policy of the College, to be recorded and publicized in such ways as the President or the Faculty Council shall deem necessary.

This proposal was not only passed by the Senate but approved by President Langsdorf, only to be struck down by the Chancellor's Office on the grounds that presidents must retain ultimate responsibility for what transpires on their campuses.

What then does happen when the president refuses to approve what the Senate has proposed? The legal answer is that the president has had the last word on the matter. In practice, there tends to be a period of negotiation, during which the two sides toss linguistic formulations to and fro until one of them tires of the game and decides to settle. If neither side is initially inclined to shift ground, the process often gets politicized. In 1988, for example, the Senate recommended banning smoking in campus buildings; President Cobb refused to approve this. The Senate therefore in 1989 sponsored a referendum on the question; the resulting vote persuaded Cobb to impose the ban. The fight over teaching service areas described above may have been a uniquely forceful confrontation; after the president's defeat in the Senate, the threat of layoffs declined, Don Shields found another job, and the statewide regulations which had been the context of the struggle were changed. The issue thus melted away. If something of the sort were ever to happen again, there is no way of predicting how the struggle would be resolved. One can only hope that the 'Fullerton Way' would somehow develop a solution. §



Sharon K. Perry came to CSUF in 1969. She served for 16 years as reference librarian. For the past five years, she has been University Archivist and Special Collections Librarian.



Julian Foster (Political Science) chaired the Academic Senate in 1966-67 and again in 1986-88. He was responsible for a number of the clashes between the Senate and the president with which this article deals.

A conversation with Milton Gordon

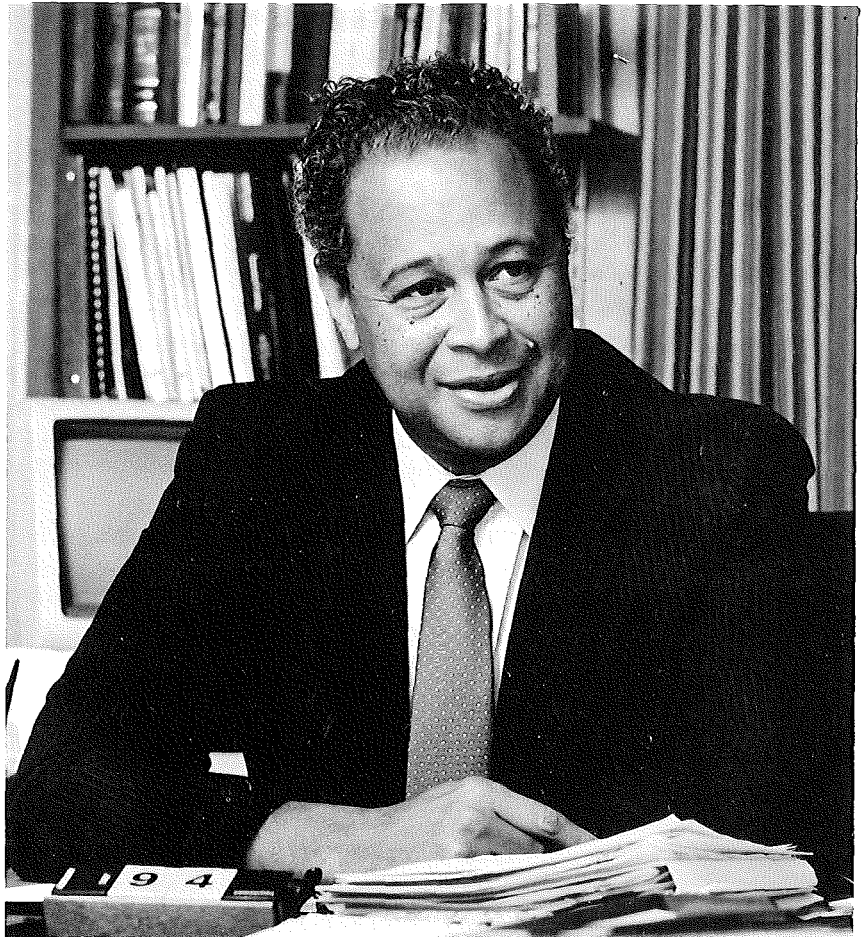
The Editors

Milton Gordon was born 55 years ago in a far from affluent section of Chicago, the youngest of five children. Not a promising starting point from which to become a college president, one might think. But the Gordon home was different from those of most of the neighbors in that the value of learning was made clear to all who grew up in it. Two of the President's sisters became school teachers. He never had any doubt that he would go to college.

His high school, which contained a mixture of races, was a technical one, and so more devoted than most to solid academic courses. He got three years of English classes, four years of math. Meanwhile, he became a star athlete (basketball, baseball and football) and in his spare time ran a paper route which encompassed Black, Anglo, Chinese and Italian communities — something which, as he says now, was a pretty good preparation for dealing with people from a variety of cultural backgrounds, as he has done throughout his career.

His college years began at Xavier University in Louisiana. Pre-season activities for the football squad involved running up and down the field in full uniform for long periods at a time, an exercise which, undertaken at the height of a New Orleans summer, convinced him that he should focus on basketball. He remained a member of the university's team until he came to find the incessant road trips too much of an interference with academic work.

He remains much interested in and strongly committed to intercollegiate athletics as beneficial both to the university as a whole and to the students who participate. It is too early for him to commit himself on the intricacies of the athletics budget, but plainly he would like to find a way out of the present difficulties without making draconian cuts. Unlike President Cobb, he has no objection to occasional 'body bag' games, as Gene Murphy calls those road trips when we can expect



to lose in front of very large crowds by a very large margin. Gordon travelled to Auburn with the football team, and what was expected to be a body bag game didn't did not turn out that way.

Gordon had a double major: math and education. He later specialized in mathematics, earning his master's degree at the University of Detroit and then his doctorate at the Illinois Institute of Technology. His interests were always in the applied and the practical rather than the theoretical, and his research activities have involved application of statistical methods to educational problems. His most recent publication, for example, was entitled "A Comparison of Males and Females in Higher Education Administration."

He has taught at the elementary, secondary and college levels, and enjoyed liked each one of them. He would like to teach a course here, as he did at his previous administrative posts, but is understandably unsure how possible this will be. Certainly, he wants to

avoid the situation where a busy administrator puts himself down to teach a course, and the students then see him only two or three times a semester, with hastily arranged substitutes filling in the rest of the time. "Still", he says gloomily, "if all I have to do is administer..." He wants to keep in closer touch with students than the remoteness of the ninth floor tends to allow.

He did some teaching at both the University of Detroit and the Illinois Institute of Technology while he was doing graduate work, but his first full-time teaching post came in 1966 at Loyola University of Chicago, where he remained for eleven years. His respect for academic senates dates from his service on one there; he served a term as Vice-President of it. While at Loyola, he helped to found and for six years directed the Afro-American Studies Program at that institution.

In 1978 he moved to Chicago State University as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Managing the 150 full-time faculty, 100 part-time faculty and the approximately 5000 students enrolled in the college gave him his first taste of administering in a large organization.

When he moved to Sonoma in 1986 to be Academic Vice-President, he found a campus shattered by maladministration. Most faculty had been forced to teach outside their disciplines. Mutual trust was almost non-existent. So was good morale. Gordon had to preside over a healing process; by all accounts he did this very successfully.

His publication record is probably not of the kind which sets the hearts of professional mathematicians beating wildly — it's too applied, insufficiently theoretical. But it does suggest that he has a firm sense of the connections between research and policy-making. "An Analysis of Enrollment Data for Black Students in Institutions of Higher Education, 1940-1972." "Correlation Between High School Performance and ACT and SAT Test Scores by Race and Sex." No one who has published studies like that is going to be content with making decisions on the basis of hunches or vague generalisations.

The President has also had considerable practical experience with the immediate problems confronting CSUF since joining the CSU. He served on the system's Task Force on "the Recruitment and Retention of a High Quality Faculty" — and given the combination of a wave of retirements and incredibly expensive real estate which we face, there is little doubt that he will need all his insights on that topic. His service on the Commission on the Older, Part-Time Student dovetails with the developments centered on the Gerontology Building. He has been deeply involved in the CSU's labyrinthine budget process ever since joining the system, and can be expected to have a ready grasp of fiscal

realities, which has not always been a presidential strength here.

As might be expected, he is deeply concerned with issues of ethnicity and diversity. He accepts the popular view that racially-motivated incidents have become more frequent in the past two or three years, and wants to the University take a proactive stance in tackling this problem.

Fraternities and sororities have not always been blameless in such matters. Gordon, however, does not see them that way. His own son is a fraternity member. "The residential experience can be particularly helpful to minorities." People often forget that home conditions may be anything but ideal for students— bedrooms shared with non-students, no place to study, perhaps no understanding of what is involved in attending college, and so on. He is prepared to support the Greek organizations as well as the building of new dormitories. But the bottom line must be that the organization contributes to the overall teaching and learning mission of the university. Any group which adapts its mores from Animal House has no business on this campus.

Dr. Gordon is, of course, in favor of excellence. (All university presidents are in favor of excellence.) To him, one part of what this means is that we should try to attract better students. This proposition may strike many faculty as a statement of the obvious, but such a view ignores the fact that the State of California has designated us as a place where the top one third of highschool graduates will be accepted, while UCC is to get the top 12.5 per cent. If we go in search of better students, some may claim we are trespassing on their turf. Another controversial way of promoting excellence is to select schools or departments which already outshine their neighbors and to funnel additional resources, reductions in teaching loads and other benefits to them in the hope that they will become renowned 'centers of excellence' which will enhance the university's reputation. This is not a strategy our new president favors. It seems to him more important to nurture and improve those areas which have not been so conspicuously successful so far. Diverting resources from them to the 'stars' would be only too likely to precipitate a decline in both quality and morale.

It appears that the key to the Gordon regime may be affable communication. He promises to consult with faculty, and his record at Sonoma confirms that he does this. He intends to be open to student input. He has worked harmoniously with unions for fourteen years, and anticipates doing so here. He will be actively looking for community support. Is he a good politician? "I don't know," he says.

Surely a sign that he is one. §

Running on empty. The Library in the '90s

Richard Pollard
University Librarian

The Library is going north—towards the Physical Education building. We are in the planning stage for an expanded facility that should be occupied early in 1994. The Library will then have almost doubled in size, and with shelving and seating projected to meet campus needs for the subsequent ten years. Architectural design is not yet complete, but the preliminary planning is for a new structure containing a basement and four floors attached to the existing building at the first and second levels. New east and west entrances will increase access to the combined Library complex.

It will include reference, periodicals, government documents, audio-visual materials, the text and curriculum center, inter-library loan, and the Chicano Resource Center. The circulating book collection will largely remain where it is, expanding downward to the fourth from its current location on the fifth and sixth floors. Part of the collection—probably older and less used materials—will occupy high-density shelving in the new basement. (Criteria for selecting the materials to be put there will be developed by the Library in consultation with the faculty.) Space-saving shelving is now mandated by the CSU system for a portion of the collection in new library facilities; the Library's preferred solution to this design requirement is movable-aisle shelving. Stack aisles are eliminated, or "saved," and an aisle is opened only when needed. We have still to determine if this high-density facility will be open for public browsing, or closed with paged access. In addition to most of the book collection, Circulation Services, Special Collections, processing activities, and the Library's administrative offices will stay where they are. Of those units remaining in the older building only the Reserve Book Room will be relocated. Access to this heavily used facility will be improved by moving it to the first floor space currently occupied by Reference. Since the \$20 million expansion project budget includes no money for renovating the existing structure, the Library will be limited in redeploying vacated space and will initially convert most of it to study hall seating.

The need for an expanded Library has been obvious for some time and it is thus gratifying to have reached the initial stage of the major capital outlay process. Much remains to be done. Those on the Library Building Committee and other internal planning groups are impressed with the architects, Albert C. Martin & Associates. They are responsive to our needs and desires and have shown creativity in the planning of a structure that will be highly functional

and yet be within the less-than-munificent project budget provided by the State.

Online Catalog

The Library's greatest recent success has been the procurement and installation of the Online Public Access Catalog (OPAC). While the name implies that this is only an electronic substitute for the manual card catalog, in reality it is much more. It allows the Library to record the results of most of its processing activities in one file and provide its users with faster access to enhanced information. No longer is bibliographic access restricted to controlled vocabularies of author, title and subject headings; a user can also search for a word anywhere in a catalog record. No longer must one come to the Library to consult its catalog; anyone with a computer connection to the campus can access OPAC. Now both the presence of an item within the library and its current circulation status is recorded in one file; a single online catalog search provides information on ownership and availability, including the date a volume is due to be returned. No longer need one consult a separate printout to determine the Library's holdings of a periodical or journal; OPAC supplies this information and informs users about the receipt or expected receipt date of the latest issue.

Campus reactions to OPAC have been positive and the Library is very satisfied with this acquisition, made possible by a combination of a special state appropriation and campus funding. Unfortunately, the Department of Finance still believes that automation saves dollars, and that an automated library system reduces staffing needs. The State's contribution to the OPAC procurement was therefore accompanied by a permanent budget reduction of approximately three staff positions. In reality, an automated system generates increased demand for information services, and staff reductions make it increasingly difficult for the Library to meet these expanding expectations. The growing popularity of OPAC also generates a need for additional communication ports and terminals, which must be provided from the Library's operating budget.

Library Collections

The quantity of publications relevant to a university library continues to grow and the cost of these publications, especially scholarly journals, grows at a rate considerably higher than the State-funded increase in the Library's materials budget. Even the largest and most prestigious academic libraries are caught between expectations and demands of their students and faculty for information in of print and electronic formats, and

the rising costs of these raw materials of research.

The CSUF Library materials budget is under severe stress. Even before the current year's budgetary crisis, in which the Trustees eliminated all library materials funds but allowed substitution at the campus level of lottery dollars, the Library's future was clouded by declining purchasing power. The State will not fund inflation and what growth exists in the materials budget is largely formula-driven by increases in student numbers. (If our campus had already reached its enrollment cap the Library would be in even more severe straits.) More student usage, together with growing pressures on the faculty publication, results in greater demand on resources at the very time that the Library is able to select a smaller percentage from the world's production of scholarly publications.

For almost four years the Library has ordered virtually no new subscriptions for periodicals or journals. We have asked the faculty to review the existing subscription list for cancellations. With luck, the dollar amount of the agreed-upon cancellations has equalled the increased cost of the remaining subscriptions. But the cancellations are not usually equal to rising costs, and so the percentage of the materials budget spent on serial publications has been increasing. This year it will probably exceed seventy percent. The need for journals and monographs differs among disciplines, but an expenditure of more than seventy percent for serials is perilous to the balance and health of the Library's collections.

Growth in the number and popularity of electronic information sources adds another level of complexity. Using lottery funds, the Library has acquired a significant amount of equipment to support electronic access. The initial subscriptions to CD-ROM databases were bought with lottery dollars, but in subsequent years these costs become another competing demand. Even when a CD-ROM database allows cancellation of the subscription to a corresponding print index or abstracting service, the net result is usually a higher cost to the Library. Users benefit greatly from the faster and enhanced access to information, but no value is placed upon this in the budgeting process.

The existence of electronic access and databases offers promise both for enhancing the bibliographic environment and for facilitating cooperative, cost containment arrangements with other libraries. Periodical indexes will eventually be attached to OPAC and direct access to online catalogs of other libraries will further increase access to information. More use of rapid FAX transmission from sources not owned by the Library should help reduce frustrations resulting from the loss of purchasing power. Using FAX capability, more libraries are entering into arrangements whereby one library obligates itself to retain certain subscriptions and share access to these increasingly expensive

resources with its partners. The Library will continue to pursue arrangements which both serve its users' needs and offer some prospect of budgetary relief.

An academic library is an integral and central part of the higher education experience. Over the past few years state support for higher education has diminished and consequently, academic libraries are also suffering. Many of the budgetary pressures affecting the CSUF Library are beyond the control of the campus and even the CSU system; relief will only come from a change in the willingness of the general public to make greater long-term investments in the education of its citizenry. §

Answers to General Education Quiz on page 12

1. There are 4 plans and it is very important in advising students to know which set of requirements the student must meet. This is determined in most cases by catalog year ; pre-plan A (pre-1981), plan A (81-85), interim plan B (85-87), and plan B (87-date). Only 24 letters of the alphabet to go !
2. There are more than 400 currently approved courses.
3. About 300 of these are offered any given semester. In the future we will use different type styles to distinguish offered from non-offered courses in the GE section of the Class Schedule to help students in course selection.
- 4-5. Even community college transfers who have completed the maximum of 39 GE units at the CC must still complete 9 units in residence at CSUF and 9 upper division GE units. If the residence units are all upper division courses, then the same 9 units can meet both requirements.
6. Only one course is needed to meet the cultural diversity requirement.
7. Sometimes. Plans A and B require C's in Basic Subjects and Math categories. Consult the Class Schedule for details.
8. Sometimes. GE may be taken Cr/Nc if that is the only way the course is offered.
9. Sometimes. It depends on the GE plan and the category within the plan. Consult the Class Schedule for details.
10. The ELM must be taken until it is passed, unless the student is exempt (exemptions are given in Class Schedule). Until the ELM requirement is met, the student may not enroll in any of the classes listed, not even Math 110, Liberal Arts Math.
11. The EPT, in contrast to the ELM, is taken only once. If a student is not exempt and has a low score on the ELM, he or she may not enroll in Engl 101 but is directed to Engl 99 instead.
12. Maximum number from any one department is nine units.
13. Anthropology 23, History 20, Biology 19, Sociology 15.

Letters . . . the Cobb review

Congratulations!

You have shown your true selves and true colors in both the publication of and the distribution date of the most recent Senate Forum. It is not often that we, as a community of scholars, are privileged to witness publicly such juvenile and petty behavior from our colleagues, whose grades, of course, are courageously anonymous. Such a display of ethics, values and human decency should not pass anonymously. In the future, please don't ask why young faculty are not participating in faculty governance at CSUF. The senile behavior displayed in this act reflects their views of the Academic Senate—"grown-ups playing children's games." Again, congratulations on your judicious use of academic freedom.

Diane Ross, HEPERA

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Prompted by Professor Ross's letter, I have just looked again at the Forum article, "The Cobb Years: An Assessment". It is possible, I think, that a case might be made against the article on grounds of civility—though not by Professor Ross, after her letter of June 1. Also not, in my opinion, by President Cobb herself, but that's another story. The main issue here, however, is not civility, but sound practice within a university, and there the article passes with flying colors.

Sound practices within a university maximize the ability of each member to make worthwhile contributions to the university's work. Pursuant to this ideal a number of traditional practices have grown up in the academic community. Central among these is consultation. Consultation implies that not only the consulter,

but also the consultee, is entitled to have and express an opinion. If a proposal won't fly when subjected to open discussion, the remedy is not to close the discussion. If a party to the process has comments or concerns about the result, those concerns can and often should be expressed. Comments on, and assessments of, the work of President Cobb by faculty—and in this case, by the faculty who were in the best position to be consulted by her—are appropriate in a real university, which, I am glad to say, we are. If the comments came as a surprise to the former president, this only shows how inadequately she had been listening before. In any case, the open discussions of the university must go on, for the university's own good.

John Cronquist, Philosophy

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I was bemused by Dr. Ross's rather violent letter about the evaluation of Dr. Cobb in the Summer edition of the Forum. It appears to Dr. Ross that the Senate Chairs are both juvenile and senile in their behavior, lacking in ethics, and with dubious values. The letter does deserve a response, however, and there are three major points:

Is an evaluation of a departing President appropriate? Extensive evaluations have appeared in the Register and the Times, among others. I doubt that Dr. Ross has objected to these. I believe that Dr. Salzstein has stated the reason for Senate evaluation quite well. The faculty's perspective on the changes during the Cobb Years" is of great interest, and can hardly be classified as "children's games."

Are the evaluators appropriately chosen? The Senate chairs have all worked closely with the President in a variety of situations. Whether you like their opinions or not, they certainly speak from experience.

Should the "report card" have been anonymous? This is consistent with the evaluations of faculty by Personnel Committees, the evaluation of faculty by students, and the evaluation procedures for administrators. The source of all this anonymity is the belief that evaluations will be more objective.

Finally, Dr. Ross implies that the Senate does not really represent faculty attitudes; therefore, younger faculty should avoid participation in faculty governance, a curious conclusion!

Herbert Rutenmiller, Management Science, Emeritus

SENATE FORUM

The Senate Forum is a publication of the Academic Senate at California State University, Fullerton. It is designed to stimulate discussion, debate, and understanding of a variety of important issues which the Senate addresses. Individuals are encouraged to respond to the materials contained in the Forum or to submit their own contributions.
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