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6. The 1960s

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6. The 1960s

Abstract

From David Moore – “I served as dean of the ILR School during the 1960s. This was a period that started in relative tranquility and ended in tumultuous disarray with students demonstrating, administrators trying to maintain control, and faculty worrying about traditional academic freedom and values.” Includes: Remembrances of Things Past – 1963-71; Creation of the Public Employment Relations Board; and Alumni Perspectives.

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Comments

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6.

THE 1960S

Remembrances of Things Past—1963-71

by David Moore

I served as dean of the ILR School during the 1960s. This was a period that started in relative tranquillity and ended in tumultuous disarray with students demonstrating, administrators trying to maintain control, and faculty worrying about traditional academic freedoms and values.

The Setting on My Arrival at Cornell

I was Deanne Malott's last deanly appointment. I can still remember his calling me to proclaim my appointment and welcoming me with a Malottic enthusiasm that fairly burst the telephone wires. "All Cornell awaits your arrival," he hyperbolized. Unfortunately, I was suffering from the last stages of the Asian flu and my response, while equally enthusiastic, was more like the last words of a dying man. Since President Malott was retiring, my tenure as dean actually started with the inauguration of a new president, James Perkins. By the time I arrived at Cornell, the new president was already aboard. I was able along with Ray Forester, the new dean of the Law School, to bask in the ceremonial glow that accompanied the inauguration of a new president, which was generously extended to the new deans. I remember in particular a welcoming cocktail party hosted by Frances Perkins at the Statler. She asked me what I would like to drink. When I answered, "Any soft drink will do," she announced in a surprised voice to all assembled, "Hey, everyone, we've got a dean who doesn't drink." I didn't realize in those early months that that was one of the requirements of the job.

By the time of my arrival at Cornell, the ILR School was already 18 years old and housed in a neat quadrangle made up of the old Veterinarian College, plus a new teaching and library wing. The dean's office was clearly designed for previous deans of distinction, including an outer office or two, an inner office, and an inner-inner office, presumably for deanly transcendental meditation. In the inner-inner office was a reclining chair left over by one of my predecessors. I must admit that several times I tried to use the recliner for an after-lunch siesta only to find that

pressing responsibilities in the outer office penetrated my inner-inner sanctuary. All together then, the previous deans had left the school in excellent shape. The one exception was the failure to air-condition the dean's office, a problem that I resolved during one very hot summer.

The Faculty

More important than buildings, the school had a well-established faculty that went back to its founding in 1945. The faculty had already lived through two or three deanships, depending on how you count them. They had learned that deans come and go while professors go on forever. As in all great universities, the ILR faculty had a major role in determining academic programs, admissions policy, and the hiring and promotion of professional colleagues. They reserved to the dean, however, the important function of allocating funds. As Duncan McIntyre said, "Dave, we let you do it because we'd rather fight with you than with each other."

The faculty was quite diverse, consisting of the varied disciplines required in an industrial relations curriculum. Yet they insisted on functioning as a single entity with economists passing judgment on sociologists, psychologists judging labor lawyers, and so on, when making important hiring, promotion, and tenure recommendations. As a result, only a Nobel prize winner could be assured of more than a simple majority vote when up for tenure or promotion.

Faculty meetings were conducted under strict rules of order, with motions, seconds, debate, and formal vote. With my background as a sociologist and a student of neo-Hegelian idealism, I was inclined to proceed more informally, seeking synthesis and general agreement. I think it was Alice Cook who took me aside after one session where I tried to get consensus and said, "Dave, surely you can learn Robert's Rules of Order." I could, did, and thereafter enjoyed listening to lively discourse and impassioned pleas on many deserving and undeserving topics.

The ILR faculty, while strongly subscribing to academic standards of teaching and research, was nonetheless oriented to practical concerns. It was after all a professional school whose mission was the training of experts in industrial and labor relations. Its teaching and extension faculty were familiar with diversity, advocacy, strikes and even violence, negotiation, and the settlement of disputes. It was not, therefore, a purely academic organization; it included persons with backgrounds in the labor movement, personnel and industrial relations, management, civil rights and labor law—even one former secretary of labor. Because of this wealth of experience, the ILR faculty was genuinely interesting by any standards.

This background of practical experience and judgment proved to be helpful later on in gaining an understanding of student protests. Demonstrations as such were not exactly new to ILR. While the faculty took varying views regarding the merit of some of the advocacy issues, nonetheless demonstrations, symbolic

protests, and even acts of violence were not particularly new experiences for them.

The faculty continued to be strengthened during the 1960s when a number of highly distinguished older and younger faculty members (including extension and research associates) were brought into the school. These included the present dean, David Lipsky; Walter Galenson, who came to the "peace and quiet" of the Cornell campus to get away from the tumult at Berkeley; William Wolf, who later served as president of the American Management Association; Howard Aldrich, who is now a distinguished sociologist at North Carolina; Marshall Meyer, equally distinguished at the Wharton School; extension and research associates like Betty Lall, Barbara Werthheimer, and Janice Beyer, who now holds a chair professorship at the University of Texas, William Fowler, and Dorothy Nelkin; visitors like Eliot Chapple, John Niland, Donald Roy, and Ben Aaron; and a number of others who contributed to the school's program and may even continue to do so.

The Role of the Dean

The job of the dean at the ILR School took on broader dimensions than deans in the private sector of Cornell. Like the other contract colleges, ILR was not only part of Cornell; it was also a unit of the State University of New York. The primary job of contract college deans, therefore, was to relate effectively to state university and state budget officers, and for that matter the governor's office and the legislature. In addition, the school's professional role required effective relations with both management and labor.

The multifaceted constituency of the school was clearly reflected in the composition of the school's council. On the academic side were distinguished professors like Frederick Harbison of Princeton and E. Wight Bakke of Yale. For labor, there were Raymond Corbett, head of the state AFL-CIO, Louis Hollander of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who was also a Cornell University trustee, and Nat Goldfinger, research director of the CIO. For state government, there were Ewald Nyquist and M. P. Catherwood. For business, there were Ralph C. Gross, Russell McCarthy, and Cliff Allanson. And for alumni there were Jacob Sheinkman, now president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Gerald Dorf, and George Fowler. Also included were Judge Groat, one of the founding fathers, and Theodore Kheel, a well-known New York labor lawyer. This partial list of the members of the council shows the diversity of interests represented.

I was best equipped because of my background in personnel administration and research in such companies as Western Electric and Sears, Roebuck to deal with the management and business side. However, my appointment didn't seem to bother the labor side. I remember being interviewed by one of the state university trustees. She had had a long and distinguished career in the labor movement and of course that was why she was assigned the task of reviewing my credentials. She asked me, "What do you know, young man, about the labor

movement?" My answer was something like, "Not very much," or maybe, "Not as much as I'd like." She thought a moment and then said, "Well, he sounds all right to me."

I spent a great deal of time while at the ILR School cultivating the school's relationship with labor. I attended most of the statewide meetings and became thoroughly acquainted with the groaning boards at Grossingers and the Concord and the evening entertainment—particularly baritones singing "Granada" and one-liner comics of the Catskill circuit. On one occasion, I was on the platform with dignitaries at a huge labor meeting at Madison Square Garden when I heard my name being called. I was living it up, in a relaxed mood, smoking a cigar. What does one do with a moist, partially chewed cigar at a time like that? Well, I handed it to my next-door neighbor and then proceeded to the rostrum to urge union members to send their sons and daughters to the "Labor" school at Cornell. Incidentally, I retrieved the cigar, still smoldering.

I felt it was important that faculty outside my own area of sociological and behavioral expertise have a representative at the dean's level. To achieve this, I appointed Vernon "Pete" Jensen as associate dean. He served during most of my tenure at Cornell. His calm demeanor and steady hand contributed a great deal to maintaining effective relations between the dean's office and the faculty.

The dean's office staff, led first by Izzie Thomas and later by Barbara Poole Stevens, was superb. It not only was responsible for whatever efficiency there was in the front office, it also served to bridge the hiatus created by one dean's exit and another's arrival. In this respect, it played an important educational role in bringing new deans up to speed.

It seems that every time there was heavy snowstorm, I was required to go to Albany to plead the school's case. One time I remember not being able to get by DeRuyter, Ezra Cornell's home town, because of snow squalls. Surely Cornell's abiding, mortal interest in securing state support should have manifested itself in a ghostly effort to give me the vision to carry on, but no such luck. I had to return, defeated, to Ithaca.

The New York Thruway rest stops during these periods were typically swarming with harassed truck drivers seeking coffee before heading back into the swirl, and amidst those boisterous teamsters were Cornell deans on their way to Albany to get support for their colleges. Each had his own special appeal. Dean Charlie Palm of the Agriculture College spoke impressively about golden nematodes and what the college was doing to get rid of those presumably elegant beasties that created havoc among the potato farmers on Long Island. Dean George Poppensieck of the Veterinary College talked about race horses. I can't remember what Dean Helen Conoyer, and later David Knapp, talked about; but typically I would begin my remarks by announcing that I was there to talk about people. I quickly learned that people were often outranked by golden nematodes and race horses.

Civil Rights, Civil Unrest, and Community Action

The ILR School, by its very nature, is a creature of economic, social, and political change. Industrial and labor relations reflect changes in the law governing business, industry, and labor unions; but more than these, they reflect changes in the ways businesses are managed, trends in labor force demographics, the emergence of new leadership styles, changing gender roles and technology, and the development of worldwide competition. In short, the orientation of the ILR School, in one way or another, involves all human relations, even though its primary focus is on management-employee relations.

Many of the things that happened at the school during my tenure reflected reactions and adjustments to the incredible changes taking place in America at that time: the civil rights movement, the counterculture and hippie movement, the challenge to established authority and institutions mounted by the New Left, the Black Liberation Front, and otherwise unaffiliated youth, and finally the unpopular Vietnam War. The school was directly affected both by events on campus and by federal programs developed to deal with civil rights and civil unrest.

By 1964, the civil rights movement was beginning to be felt even in Rochester, practically on the front doorstep of the ILR School. In connection with the Federal Community Action Program, a number of faculty members and students sought to empower inner-city communities through grass-roots organizations like tenant unions, storefront operations, and local community action agencies. Some faculty members responded to the call like old war horses. Examples I particularly remember include a research seminar conducted by Bill Whyte using graduate students, including his own daughter, as participant observers on the Rochester scene and Alice Grant's work with tenant unions. Alice would periodically report to me on the progress of one woman who had ten children and was living on welfare when she became president of a tenant union. As the woman developed more and more confidence in herself as leader of her local union, she began attending a community college; eventually she earned a degree and became self-supporting. One day Alice came into my office and announced, "Guess what she's doing now? She's decided to have her tubes tied. She has too many other interests!" Lots of money has been spent by sociologists to come up with insights that are no better than this.

Similar efforts were underway in New York City. The New York office, under Lois Gray, employed an extraordinarily capable staff including Betty Lall, Barbara Werthheimer, Matt Kelly, Wally Wohlking, and Lou Yagoda. Among those involved with the civil rights effort in New York was Anne Moody, a member of the staff who had gained considerable recognition for her book *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1968) in which she described her experiences sitting in at Woolworth's in Tougaloo in 1963.

At this time Cornell University undertook an effort to bring African Americans on the campus through special recruiting efforts. Prior to that few

blacks had found their way to Cornell and to the ILR School, and my primary recollections are of faculty members asking each year how many blacks were admitted to the freshman class. The answer was inevitably something like, "three, but two are from Africa." Ithaca was described by many as "the most centrally isolated community in America" and clearly outside the urban orbit without a well-established black community.

The school had no African-American professors and this disturbed many of us. Efforts to recruit black faculty members in the industrial relations field at this time, however, were fruitless. I sincerely believe that had the Federal Community Action Program continued, the school would have developed academic research and teaching in this area that would have opened many doors.

Disillusionment with U.S. Foreign Policy

As military action in Vietnam intensified, criticism of U.S. foreign policy increased. However, apparently in a long-standing relationship based on the idea that by exporting U.S.-style business unionism the school could diminish the likelihood of unions becoming the backbone of communist takeovers, the international programs of the ILR School were supported in part by CIA funds. I was uneasy with this relationship from the start. I felt that academic freedom could readily be compromised by funds designed to accomplish particular national goals even though the goals might be totally acceptable. Of particular concern to me was the financing of professorial foreign visits with CIA funds. I resolved, therefore, to get rid of this support and did so during my tenure.

New York's Public Employment Relations Act and the ILR School

In 1967 the New York Public Employment Relations Act was passed. Usually called the Taylor Law after the chairman of the committee that designed it, the act gave public employees in New York the right to organize and negotiate with management. They were denied the right to strike, however, which meant that a mechanism had to be set up to adjudicate disputes. There was little experience in these matters in the public sector. Robert Helsby, a Cornellian with a background in industrial relations at the ILR School, was plucked from his administrative post at SUNY-Albany and made chairman of the newly formed Public Employment Relations Board.

According to Helsby, who speaks for himself later in this chapter, the job simply could not have been accomplished without the ILR School. Through its faculty, he was able to adapt mediation, factfinding, and arbitration procedures from the industrial sector to public employment dispute settlement and to call upon faculty members to serve as experienced mediators, factfinders, and arbitrators. The school trained both management and employee representatives in the art of negotiation and dispute settlement and, aware that there were no black or female neutrals in public employment relations, offered training to blacks and women. Altogether, Helsby claimed, the school not only guided the

development of public employment relations in New York; it thus helped create the model for public employment relations around the country.

Campus Unrest

Student unrest pretty much dominated the campus environment toward the end of my tenure, disrupting classes and challenging the authority of both administration and faculty. As long as student protests were essentially symbolic and directed toward the administration, the faculty was concerned, to be sure, but not directly involved. When the revolt was directed at the faculty and its authority in the classroom, however, most faculty members saw this as a fundamental challenge to academic freedom that threatened the very life of a great university.

The ILR faculty stood strong throughout the difficult days of 1968 and 1969. One important characteristic of the faculty was its familiarity with organized advocacy, demonstrations, settlement of disputes, and the handling of grievances. At one point, I had some members of the faculty join me in holding a grievance session with all ILR students who wished to participate. The challenges seemed to be fundamentally that we (meaning the faculty and school administrators) were "old and out of touch."

One asked me directly: "What experience have you had in industrial and personnel relations?" I said, "Well, I spent a number of years in personnel staff activities at Western Electric and Sears, Roebuck. I was personnel manager in a high priority war plant where I integrated blacks into a previously all-white work force. I was also personnel manager of Sears, Roebuck's largest wholly owned factory where I had to deal and negotiate with three unions. More than this, I spent many years consulting with some of the largest corporations in America before coming to Cornell.

When my challenger answered with, "Well, that's fine, but that was years ago," I knew I had a problem. Experiences that were five or more years old were in the Dark Ages. One young man who made an impassioned speech (I can't remember the topic) was dressed in what appeared to be the clothes of a mountain man with a leather, flat-brimmed hat with thongs hanging down. My first reaction was that his whole performance was ludicrous until it dawned on me that the other students were listening to him. I was then aware that if there really was a leader in the room, it certainly wasn't the faculty; it was the mountain man.

There were many other events that could be described during those heady days as Cornell worked through its problems of campus unrest, but one in particular needs to be reported. It was the Convocation of 1969. The graduating seniors and faculty had marched into Barton Hall followed by the administration and Morris Bishop who, as University Marshall, was carrying the Mace—the symbol of university authority. The ceremony had barely started when a former

student leaped to the platform and seized the microphone. Professor Bishop, who truly had a keen sense of ceremony and historic symbolism, lifted the Mace from his shoulder and gently tapped the student in a bold, if somewhat effete, demonstration of authority. It didn't have much effect.

Amidst all this intense activism, however, some students retained their sense of humor. I am reminded in particular of a meeting of graduating ILR seniors at which Myron Roomkin, now a professor at Northwestern, in the manner of Mort Sahl, described a dream that he had. "I dreamed," he said, "that we were all ready to graduate when Dean Jensen announced that we would all have to take and pass a comprehensive test before graduating. Everyone was up in arms. 'Let's get Dean Moore,' they said. 'Let's sit in his office.' But no one knew where his office was. 'Well, then, let's hang him in effigy.' But no one knew what he looked like." They didn't know that the dean spent most of his time in a snowbank in DeRuyter.

Another Perspective

by William F. Whyte
(1994: 263)

Perhaps the most lasting damage was the polarization that occurred among faculty. I noted this within ILR. Before the crisis, I would go into faculty meetings without any fixed position on issues, expecting to listen to the discussion before making up my mind. After the crisis, many faculty came to meetings with what seemed like fixed positions and categorized their colleagues as liberals, radicals, or conservatives, or sound or unsound thinkers.

One Final Story

At that time, I tended to fatten up in the summer and fall and then go on a rigorous diet in the winter. I followed this cycle on my arrival at Cornell. About midway through the winter, Associate Dean of Cornell Steve Mueller noticed my considerably diminished girth and remarked, "You're just the kind of dean we like around here—one that arrives on the campus and then slowly disappears."

Creation of the Public Employment Relations Board

by Robert Helsby (GR '58)

Reflecting on the 28 years of public sector labor relations experience under New York's Taylor Law shows that the ILR School has played a crucial role.

When the law was passed in 1967 during the Rockefeller administration, it was dubbed the "RAT" Law (Rockefeller and Speaker of the Assembly Travia) and was passionately hated by organized labor. More than 18,000 unionists gathered in Madison Square Garden in a rousing pledge to repeal the law. They felt deeply

that without the right to strike, collective bargaining would be a meaningless exercise.

Given this climate, a major problem was to find someone to serve as the chairman of the Public Employment Relations Board (PERB), the state agency established to administer the law. No one wanted the seemingly impossible position, including me. How I came under consideration directly involved the ILR School.

In the 1950s I was a college administrator at SUNY-Oswego. I had done work on my doctorate at Ohio State, Indiana University, and Penn State. Having a wife and five children, and approaching 35 years of age while climbing a career ladder, I was looking for an opportunity to complete my degree. Someone suggested that I check with the ILR School where I could get a doctorate in education with a major in Education Administration. I checked; I was offered my chance with a graduate assistantship under Professor Robert Risley. I received the D.Ed. degree in 1958 with every intent of continuing my career in the university system.

In the process of getting the degree, I came to know the ILR dean, Martin P. Catherwood. When he was "drafted" by Governor Rockefeller to become the New York State industrial commissioner, he offered me the post of "executive deputy industrial commissioner." Armed with a leave of absence from Oswego, I worked with Catherwood in that position for more than six years, from 1959 through 1965. At that time, I returned to the state university system, accepting the newly created post of executive dean for continuing education in the central staff of the University of Albany. Again, I fully expected to finish my career in some university post.

Then came the passage of the Taylor Law in 1967. Since I had a doctorate from the ILR School, together with labor department experience, the governor asked if I might consider the PERB chairmanship. After looking at the law and taking "soundings," I said, "Thanks, but no thanks." Several days later, I received a call from the governor's secretary, Ann Whitman, asking me to join the governor and the chancellor of the state university, Sam Gould, in the governor's office. There I pleaded a lack of qualifications and suggested several other persons who should be considered. The governor replied, "Rightly or wrongly, we have decided that you should be the PERB chairman. Are you going to help us or not?" I felt I had no choice, particularly in light of the fact that he was trying to become the Republican nominee for the presidency of the United States.

It was at this point that I began to lean heavily on the outstanding resources of the ILR School for the help I so desperately needed. David Moore, the dean of the school at the time, and his successor, Bob McKersie, were equally cooperative. Their guidance, counsel, and assistance were of enormous help in those turbulent years. In drafting the initial rules and regulations of the Taylor Law, such faculty members as Kurt Hanslowe and Walter Oberer were of great help to my legal staff. I was not a labor relations specialist and I turned to the

ILR School for this expertise. Many of the faculty not only served as consultants, advisors, and part-time employees of the board, but very quickly became key components of the substantive elements of the law. As such, they pioneered in many difficult mediations, factfindings, arbitrations, and other dispute-resolution processes. Much of this activity was truly groundbreaking and experimental since there was little solid precedent at the time. The faculty performed with distinction, handling many of the most difficult cases in the state.

PERB Assistance

by Harold Newman

Among the ILR Faculty who performed invaluable service as mediators and/or arbitrators for PERB were Bob Aronson, John Burton, Don Chatman, Don Cullen, Rod Dennis, Bob Doherty, Ron Donovan, John Drotning, Ron Ehrenberg, Bob Ferguson, Phil Foltman, Alice Grant, Jim Gross, Fran Herman, Tom Kochan, Jean McKelvey, Maurice Neufeld, Bob Risley, Phil Ross, Ron Seeber, Bert Wilcox, Byron Yaffe, and the school's current dean, Dave Lipsky.

To properly appreciate the effort by the ILR School faculty, the national, state, and local governmental climate of the 1960s must be understood. Many large and disruptive strikes had been breaking out with increasing frequency since World War II: transit stoppages; large school systems, including New York City shutting down public education; sanitation strikes creating health hazards; and many other strikes causing disruption of government services. Governments were unsure how to deal with these stoppages.

Laws were passed that were punitive in nature and established various penalties for strikers (New York's Condon-Wadlin Law, for example). Most were not balanced labor relations laws and proved to be unworkable. State and local governments increasingly asked such questions as: What kind of labor relations system should there be in the public sector, if indeed there should be one? If there should be a system, should it be different from the private sector, and if so how? Should strikes be allowed or outlawed? Should strikes be allowed by some government employees but not by others? Could a wide variety of dispute resolution processes and techniques effectively be substituted for the strike? The Taylor Law sought to provide answers to these questions and many others. It is easy to understand why the law was so controversial!

In sum, the Taylor Law set out to establish the principle that collective bargaining does in fact belong in the public sector—with some distinctions from its application in the private sector. The law sought to substitute many types of mediation, factfinding, arbitration, and other dispute resolution mechanisms for private-sector strikes. The experiment still goes on, but the New York State

experience, with the ILR School's help, has made great progress toward these goals and has served as a model to other state and local governments.

The late Robert Helsby served as chairman of New York State's Public Employment Relations Board for its first 10 years. Known widely as the grandfather of public sector labor relations, he earned the respect of both labor and management, created the Society for Professionals in Dispute Resolution, and received the ILR School's Groat Award.

Another Perspective

by Harold Newman

When Bob Helsby resigned from New York PERB in late 1977, I took a moment to publicly evaluate his service, and appreciate his contributions. That evaluation went partly like this:

No individual has had more impact on the shape and philosophy and administration of public sector collective negotiations in the United States these past ten years than Robert Helsby. He has recently resigned as Chairman of the New York State PERB to undertake new challenges having to do with the training and utilization of neutrals in public sector bargaining disputes, and he is armed with a Carnegie grant that will enable him to do it.

Bob has earned our affection and our respect. Throughout his life, he has delineated a Norman Rockwell, *Saturday Evening Post* vision of the American male, carrying with it an unwillingness to be even mildly devious in his own best interest. Being straightforward, however, is only one of his primary characteristics.

Bob is bright enough to have been seriously considered for the chairmanship of the National Labor Relations Board. The responsibilities he has carried in academe and in state government attest to both his intelligence and the breadth of his knowledge and talent. But he appreciates both the simple and the complex. Let him pass a piece of machinery and he will stop to admire its design and try to understand how it works. He crows with delight over a birdie on the golf course and is simply euphoric if he is chewing a hot dog in the grandstand at a major league baseball game. He is fascinated with natural science and especially with space science. He is excited every time he thinks about the future yet never forgets his links and all of our links to the past. Perhaps this is why he is always happily coping with the present—which may be the most useful thing we can learn from him.

Alumni Perspectives

by Joan Greenspan ('64)

The ILR School and I are about the same age. My generation has had the unique experience of beginning in the leaky Quonset huts, graduating from Ives Hall, and watching it be razed for the school of the new century.

As the field progressed from post-World War II toward the electronic informational evolution of work, labor relations, labor law, labor economics, and human resource disciplines rapidly reinvented their basic tenets. Many of our graduates were at the forefront of these changes and carved the pathways of the future. The ILR School has produced skilled practitioners who can capably create workplace solutions and thereby fulfill the school's primary mission.

Now the ILR School has gone global in its scope. When I was an undergraduate, it required skilled negotiations to obtain the school's permission to study in Italy for one semester. Happily, progress can be made incrementally in that grand institution—Cornell.

Another Perspective

When asked what life was like as one of the very few trade union leaders who are women, Joan replied:

I have never felt that isolation that many women feel in their careers. I think it was never part of my consciousness. At the ILR School, Alice Cook, a woman who had made her mark in trade union leadership in the period of ferment in the late '30s, was one of my professors. Her career made it apparent to me that a woman could have a successful career in labor relations because Alice did it in the 1930s; sure I could accomplish something similar in the '60s. And then I'd be having a cup of coffee with Alice and Frances Perkins would sit down next to us. Of course, that wasn't a surprise; you would expect two people of that caliber to sit together. At that point I *listened*. So it never occurred to me that the field of labor relations on the trade union side wasn't open for women to reach leadership positions.

Joan Greenspan's ILR training and her innate interest in politics, economics, and business led her to become a facilitator and advocate. One of her first victories was in overcoming the school's objections to spending her spring semester in Italy.

by Richard Hoffman ('67)

Those of us who arrived at ILR in the early 1960s found an institution in the midst of adjusting to its second generation. The Quonset huts were gone and much of the fabled founding faculty was not filling many teaching slots in the undergraduate class schedule. But the plants we visited freshman year, especially the trip to Endicott-Johnson, remain the most memorable components of the first-year curriculum. Yet this remnant of "Bus-Riding 101" would soon vanish entirely.

Many of us at ILR in the '60s recall memorable professors from that tumultuous time. The brilliant historical insight of Gerd Korman, so piercingly illuminating in seminars or in individual project work, sometimes seemed shortchanged in the lecture hall. Duncan MacIntyre became the ILR professor best-known to the rest of the campus as he brought his extraordinary presence to the survey course for non-ILRs—not that anyone who had him for Social Security was likely to forget him.

William Friedland combined anthropology, sociology, and music to generate a sure feel for the culture of unions. Also marching to different drummers were the likes of Paul Breer and Jay Schulman. Years later Schulman virtually invented the new field of jury studies. In stark contrast stood the well-tailored and exceptionally skillful economist, George Hildebrand, destined to enjoy his love of the rails and to become deputy undersecretary of labor for international labor affairs.

No one is likely to forget M.G. Clark's cow ratio or his inimitable style. Or otherwise forgettable organizational behaviorists who described everything by drawing triangles on the chalkboard while exposing ILR students to the deficiencies of management theories that would win their 15 minutes of fame years later. I still encounter people who accept Taylorism and MBO as gospel.

The excitement of the decade and the ferment in the labor field in those years stirred the student body when truly major figures such as Walter Reuther and Frances Perkins spoke. Jimmy Hoffa had amazed the entire campus the year prior to my arrival. One also had the unusual chance to see and talk to figures who today are footnotes in labor history, such as Lemuel Boulware of General Electric.

Ferment there was, and not all came from the Cornell campus climate of the '60s. Public employment was where the action was on the labor front. And new faculty members who combined both idealistic hopes and experience-grounded realism excited many ILR students who explored this newer realm.

Until he wrapped his sports car around a tree, Eric Polisar led this thrust into the vibrant public sector. Leaders of traditional and innovative public employee unions, agency negotiators, and neutrals leading newly established tripartite bodies—all New Yorkers—flew onto campus, particularly for the

seminar Polisar and Kurt Hanslowe conducted on public sector bargaining: Albert Shanker, Arvid Anderson, Jerome Lefkowitz, CSEA leaders—the list went on and on.

Rarely had ILR been so tied into what was happening to labor relations of the state and city. Polisar probably had too optimistic an expectation of what the tripartite structure could accomplish; his total immersion in the workings of the public sector negotiation process may have obscured his perception of the greater forces affecting this bargaining sphere, forces beyond the city or state. Although deeply skeptical of the insinuation of the law into the bargaining process, Hanslowe nevertheless brought a needed dose of reality drawn from his legal background to Polisar's dream of a public bargaining process satisfying all needs.

Similarly, John Windmuller was encouraging students to pay more heed to what was happening to bargaining structures elsewhere in the world. Eqbal Ahmad—later prosecuted in one of the '60s political trials—made his students aware of the labor world beyond Europe and North America. He and some other faculty members encouraged their classes to consider the outlook of the Algerian Frantz Fanon. A few students battled the ILR hierarchy to study political thought with Hannah Arendt when she visited at Cornell, even though this singular opportunity conflicted with a required course. And a strong and valued tradition began of at least one student, and sometimes more, spending a junior year at the London School of Economics.

It's hard to realize that Ives Hall, spanking new to ILR in our day—not that anyone would ever claim it was architecturally distinguished—is about to be replaced. But we can remember when Ives had been a U.S. senator. In fact, some years after graduating, I encountered Judge Groat himself—he of the award and the omnipresent cigar—in a different context.

Despite the clamor of the '60s, reality intruded too infrequently at ILR itself: the importance of people like Polisar as impresarios and experiences like the freshman year factory trips cannot be overestimated. Nor, for that matter, can the exposure at Cornell to each of the gubernatorial candidates or to other denizens of New York politics, such as Judge Groat, be gainsaid.

Richard Hoffman has been drawing on what he learned at ILR in working—at the National Center for State Courts, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts—to improve courts at all levels. He was also a clerk of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals and now conducts management reviews of federal courts.

by Eileen Barkas Hoffman ('69)

The occasions of my 25th college reunion in June 1994 and of this 50th retrospective of the ILR School have prompted a series of memories, beginning with my admission acceptance in April 1965. I decided to go to ILR because it

stressed the social sciences and social movements, and those were the years of the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War protests, and social and cultural rebellion in music (The Beatles) and other fields. It was also a time when the Peace Corps and government service were considered a good thing. The labor movement was far from monolithic; it was buffeted by these changes as well. For me, having New York State Regents Scholarships awarded to my older brother, my younger sister, and me at the same time meant that we could all afford to attend colleges in New York State.

Entering Cornell in September 1965 gave me an opportunity to meet students from across the nation and the state. I roomed with a delightful ILR upstater from Syracuse, "Irish" Marie-Celeste Scully Abbott, who introduced herself as a graduate of the Convent School and a champion debater in high school, bound for the Cornell Debating Team as well. I joined the team too. It was the only way to survive living in the small Donlon dorm room and it helped to organize my thinking and logic and to perfect my public-speaking skills. I remember that the national issue one year was "Resolved that the United States Substantially Reduce its Foreign Policy Commitment." It became a basis for debating our involvement in the war in Vietnam, the draft, and our other foreign policies. Debate provided an organized way to handle these issues.

The campus in those years was the scene of demonstrations, rallies, speeches, and intense discussions. We in Debate, at least, had many "facts" at our fingertips. It was only later that we learned that some of these "facts" had some serious deficiencies. I also worked on the *ILR Forum* and dealt with such issues as the "non-stoppage strike" where the public continues to pay for a service (such as busses or trains) but the funds go, not to the public authority or the workers but to a common fund—this is an idea whose time has not yet come. My years at Cornell will forever be labelled by the takeover of Willard Straight Hall in April 1969 by black students in a protest of the university's treatment of them. This was followed by the cancellation of classes, later resumed with discussions of how to restructure the university. It was a very heady time when many of us felt we could make a difference at rallies in Barton Hall and elsewhere. These events also wrenched and divided the faculty and student body. Many in the Cornell Government Department left for Canada or other campuses.

I also remember that the ILR curriculum stressed two themes that continue to dominate the debate in American society and in employment relations today. The first was a concern for individualism, be it your own advancement as a student or how an individual employee is treated. The second was collective action, including labor union formation, collective bargaining theory and practice, team-building, and the community activism of Saul Alinsky. These themes have stayed with me as they permeate American society. How much is individual effort? How much from a team or community approach?

ILR also looked to a more global economy before it was fashionable. The areas of comparative labor relations, so well taught by John P. Windmuller, excited me, and I decided to spend my junior year at the London School of

Economics, looking at British and comparative labor relations, economics, and politics. The role of trade unions in Russia, so well depicted by M.G. Clark, also fascinated me. The careful look at dispute resolution as taught by Jean McKelvey was another important skill and subject area that caught my imagination. These professors, who were important role models for me in the 1960s, remain committed to their fields today.

A new development that I applaud is the development of an ILR Women's Network, which ILR Alumni Association President Carolyn Jacobson helped to form. In the mid-1960s, there were few women at the ILR School, about 10 for each class of 100 students. I still remember how women were discouraged in job interviews from pursuing industrial relations-type careers. Even law was not encouraged as enthusiastically for women as for men. Today, the ILR School has an equal number of men and women and more other diversity in the student body as well.

The tumultuous years of 1965-69, with the takeover of the Straight to protest university policy vis-à-vis blacks, or the war in Vietnam, have been replaced. Issues of the 1970s included investment in South Africa and civil rights and liberties for all groups. The 1990s have seen a new and integrated South Africa, the end of the cold war, a global economy, an accelerated rate of technological change, and the need for us to grapple with these changes and their impact on us.

I believe that the ILR School still has an important role to fulfill. The collective bargaining system still produces results, albeit for a smaller portion of the population. We need still to deal with the twin themes of individualism and collective action, protecting individual rights and abilities while affording collective bargaining and group activity. As one of the recipients of the Irving M. Ives awards in college, I'm particularly pleased to be a part of the ILR graduates and of this retrospective volume.

Eileen Barkas Hoffman is a mediator who currently serves as general counsel of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, where she has also been a district director. She has also served as national president of SPIDR and on the executive boards of the IRRA, SFRLP, and ILR's Alumni Association.

by Carolyn J. Jacobson ('72)

Attending the ILR School from 1968 to 1972 placed me at Cornell during some of the most turbulent years in the university's history. As it turned out, they were rather unsettling years in my personal life as well. The end of my freshman year saw the takeover of Willard Straight Hall and the unforgettable image of Cornell African-American students emerging from the building armed in self-defense.

My memories beyond the major events of that time are blurred because my father died suddenly the week before Thanksgiving vacation during my sophomore year. As a result, for most of my remaining Cornell years, my primary focus was on two things—"getting through" and dealing with my loss. I do remember returning after Thanksgiving that semester bewildered by the fact that life seemed to be going on as if nothing had happened (while something so dramatic had happened to me) and trying to figure out some way to get through finals (including Statistics).

Spring semester, which was an even more formidable challenge, came to an abrupt halt with the slaying of students at Kent State. It was a truly horrific event in history that made for a second tumultuous spring, the second one without finals.

ILR provided me with one of those rare, defining events in one's life—a summer internship (between sophomore and junior years) at the school's extension division in New York City. There I had the good fortune of working with Anne Nelson and Barbara Wertheimer, who were embarking on their landmark study of barriers to the participation of women in trade unions. I also worked with them on two programs for union counselors.

As a result of this internship experience, I returned to Cornell with a clear focus. My first publication on union women appeared in the *ILR Forum* in my junior year. The internship also helped point me in the direction of a career path to my professional life—first as an intern at the AFL-CIO and since 1973 at the Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union, where I now serve as Public Relations Director.

Cornell connections appear regularly in my life, sometimes in the most unusual places. Some fifteen years after the Straight takeover, I thought I saw a familiar face in a class of union activists from our tobacco sector. On a break, we sought each other out and my union brother turned out to be Ed Whitfield, one of the students who appeared on the cover of *Newsweek* in the famous photo of the students emerging from the Straight after the takeover. We have both come a long way from Cornell!

Carolyn Jacobson, currently director of public relations for the Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers, writes frequently on labor and women's issues. She has served as president of the ILR Alumni Association and as a board member on the ILR Advisory Council.

by Francine Blau ('66)

While economic models often deal in rational decisions made with full information, I regard my entry into the economics profession at least to some extent as the result of some happy coincidences and my good fortune to study at the ILR School. When I was a high school student in Queens, most of my friends

were planning to attend one of the city colleges; but I got the idea that I'd like to go away to school. Financial resources were not abundant and Cornell University came to my attention not only as an excellent school, but also as a university that had both public, low-tuition colleges and private, high-tuition ones. In exploring this, I learned of the ILR School.

In honesty, I wasn't sure exactly what industrial and labor relations was, initially, but with a little research I found out more about it and it sounded interesting. I was always very career oriented and not overly concerned, given the standards of the times, with what was considered appropriate for women. However, as I considered studying industrial relations, I was not altogether indifferent to whether a woman was likely to meet with success in this area. I had heard about Frances Perkins, Franklin D. Roosevelt's secretary of labor who was the first woman ever to serve in a Cabinet position. FDR was a larger-than-life figure in my family -- I was actually named after him, my initials being F. D. B. So taking Perkins as what we would today call my role model, I applied to the ILR School and was one of 15 women (out of 100 students) who were enrolled in the 1963 freshman class. The number of women admitted to the ILR School was determined by a quota (an upper boundary, not a lower one), allegedly due to limited space in the dormitories for women, though it may have crossed our minds that the limitation was suspiciously under the influence of the ILR School administration itself.

Despite these constraints on the admission of women, I did not find the ILR School to be a "sexist" place, although there was a bit of grousing on the part of some male students that the women were taking up positions at the head of the class and lowering their ranking. Most important, I found my professors at the school enormously supportive and encouraging of my evolving interest in economics and academia. In fact my first thought of going into economics dates from an honors section of introductory economics, which I took from George Hildebrand. Before handing back my mid-term he wrote on the top, "Excellent paper, you should major in Economics." From then on I think I began to look at economics differently, to think of it as something that perhaps I was especially well suited for. It didn't seem highly significant that it was an overwhelmingly male field in those days (and still to some extent today) in part because a respected professor had told me that I was good at it.

My interest in economics was further stimulated by Robert Ferguson's Labor Economics course and Gardner Clark's course on the Russian economy. My thoughts of actually entering the field and becoming an academic were carefully nurtured by Bob Ferguson, who became my mentor and who guided and supported me through the application process. Not one of these individuals ever for a moment scoffed at the idea of a woman becoming an economics professor or expressed any doubts about my ability to do this.

There were temptations along the way. I adored Kurt Hanslowe's Labor Law class and thought of following many of my colleagues to law school. And Gerd Korman's Labor History with its emphasis on social trends and developments fascinated me enough to make me consider history. But, in the end, I always

came back to economics. It was the right choice for me but it is not one that I can be sure that I would have made without the support and encouragement of my ILR professors.

Now that I have recently returned to the ILR School, I look at this process from the other side. I am enormously impressed with the calibre of the students and especially enjoy their willingness to speak out, question, and challenge. I think the faculty still has a special role to play in making students aware of careers in the social sciences. So many of the undergraduates are set on going into human resource management or law that those who are considering a different direction may feel a bit at sea. And, in any college setting, an academic career is likely to appeal to relatively few students. There is a delicate line between encouragement and interference, and I am very sensitive to the distinction. But when I think of my experience I am extremely glad that my professors were willing to reach out to me and at least acquaint me with my options. I hope that I can do the same for my students.

Francine D. Blau received her Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard. She taught for many years at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign before returning to Cornell as the first Frances Perkins Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations. She has recently become president elect of the Industrial Relations Research Association.

