

# PROTEM

VOLUME 12, NUMBER 14

## Glendon ends occupation, York hangs in

by MARILYN SMITH

**DOWNSVIEW** — At York university, one occupation is over and another continues. The struggles began at Glendon College Tuesday and spread the next day to the main campus over the university's refusal to release student award cheques without first deducting tuition fees.

This action blocked a potential 3,000 students out of 13,000 from taking part in the provincially organized fee strike against the government.

But today, in a complete reversal of its original stand, York administrators announced that all student award cheques will be released without first deducting tuition fees. York president David Slater also announced that fines for late payment have been waived for the term. At Glendon, students who were forced to pay their fees in order to get their grants will have the full sum of their cheques returned to them.

Delegates from Glendon said this satisfied their demands and Glendon students voted to end the occupation. But students at the main campus also asked the administration to endorse the programme of the Ontario Federation of Students in its cutbacks campaign.

Slater refused; "I strongly support improving the lot of students. But I will not commit myself and the administration to your package," he told 40 students occupying the awards office. The students later decided to stay as the demand had been ratified at a meeting of 250 students earlier in the afternoon.

A mass meeting is scheduled today to discuss further action. At present, the occupiers are asking other campuses to participate in solidarity with their action and in support of the OFS campaign. Glendon students said tonight in a press release that the administration's changed

policy was a "small victory in attempts to bring about major change in government policy. The occupation would never have been necessary if York had been a democratic institution. We shall now continue with the tuition fee strike and our fight in university financing and structures."

Slater claimed the reversal in policy on OSAP cheques came from new directions from the provincial government. Slater said Jack McNie, the minister of colleges and universities, told him in a telephone call this morning that the universities could release cheques "as if the students receiving cheques have, or will make arrangements for payment of their fees."

"This position differs greatly from directives we had as late as yesterday afternoon," Slater said. On Tuesday, Slater called the university "the innocent and sympathetic intermediaries in the OSAP relationship". He said York was following a 1969 government directive that said the "first call on the funds issued to students ... is the payment of outstanding fees owed to the institution."

Slater also asked McNie for assurances that after releasing the cheques, the university would not be forced to give out information on students who didn't pay their fees. Slater said McNie recommended withholding marks or de-registering students as penalties for unpaid fees. But a 1970 York resolution passed by Senate forbids academic penalties for non-academic offences in the university. Slater said this would not be changed.

At its final meeting before the first term ended, the senate endorsed the demands of the OFS which is pressing for a more equitable loan programme, a lower age of independence, and full and public discussion of government policy in post-secondary education.

## Glendon students pack up

by RICHARD HUNT

The occupation of the Glendon registrar's office ended at 6:15 pm last night following President Slater's announcement that the student demands had been met. Slater stated that OSAP grant cheques will now be distributed without students having to pay their second installment on the spot, and all late penalties have been suspended. In addition, the administration will return monies deducted from OSAP cheques released prior to the occupation.

Upon hearing this news the occupiers decided to clean up the office and remain there until their last press conference at 6:00 pm. Imme-

diately following this, students vacated the offices as promised on Tuesday.

Meanwhile, at the main campus occupiers are determined to stay until noon today when a mass meeting of students will be held in Central Square. At that time it will be decided whether or not to continue the occupation.

The main campus occupation demands are threefold. The first two are the same as Glendon's the third demand is that the administration support the OFS fees strike. Slater stated yesterday afternoon that he will definitively not support this proposal.

The main result of the occupation is that all students are now able to participate in the fees strike on the same



## ADMINISTRATION'S LEGAL POSITION INVALID

by LORNE PRINCE

The dual occupations at Glendon and York main campus had their roots in memos from N.S. Bethune, Director of Student Awards, Department of Colleges and Universities and John Becker, Vice-President of Student Affairs, York University.

Mr. Bethune stated in his

basis. Before the opportunity was open only to students not receiving OSAP cheques.

Since there are now neither financial penalties nor academic sanctions against students who withhold their fees, it is quite feasible to participate in the fees strike without worry of penalization.

However, in order to be re-admitted to the university next fall, all outstanding debts (such as unpaid tuition fees) to the university must be settled.

With such a good basis for the continuation of the fees strike, a general meeting has been called in the Old Dining Hall today at 1:00 pm. to discuss the results of the occupation and any further action which can be taken.

memo of April 15, 1969 that "Students are not to be issued the grant cheque ... unless arrangements satisfactory to the institution have been made for the payment of fees." Mr. Becker, in his memo of December 29, 1972, interpreted this to mean that students would be asked to sign over their cheques to the university for payment of fees or have their cheques returned to the ministry.

This was the position he re-stated on Tuesday night when he addressed the students occupying the Registrar's Office at Glendon. Mr. Becker went further to state that the withholding of fees would only serve to damage the fiscal position of the university.

Mr. Becker informed the York student paper on Tuesday that his memo was written, without obtaining a legal opinion on the matter.

On Wednesday, however, when John Theobald, President of C.Y.S.F., met with Dr. David Slater, Dr. Slater stated that a legal opinion had been obtained which verified the University's position. When asked who had prepared this opinion, however, Dr. Slater replied, "None of your business."

Meanwhile, Dr. Albert Tucker, Principal of Glendon Col-

lege, was stating that the entire issue of the release of grant cheques was a matter of interpretation. The legal firm of Cassils Brock, solicitors to the University of Toronto, had stated on October 27, 1972 that in their opinion "the University ... has no legal right to require, of its own accord, payment by the student of a debt due to the University as a condition of releasing the government OSAP cheque."

Jack McNie, the Minister of Colleges and Universities, made Dr. Slater's position further untenable when he was quoted in Thursday's GLOBE and MAIL as saying, "That as far as he was concerned, universities are free to release student award cheques as long as they make some arrangement for payment of fees."

Faced with this overwhelming barrage of criticism and contradictory statements, Dr. Slater conferred with the Minister Thursday afternoon and as a result of this conversation, capitulated to the demands of students, and also agreed to return second installment fees to those students who had been forced to sign over their cheques to the university on Monday and Tuesday.

# 300 STUDENTS BACK OCCUPATION

Over 300 students attended the general meeting called Wednesday following Tuesday's occupation of the Glendon Registrar's office. After listening to remarks of a number of speakers, including Student Union President David Moulton and Glendon Principal Albert Tucker, they voted unanimously that the occupation of the administrative offices should continue, and fully endorsed the student council's actions to force the York administration to distribute OSAP grant cheques without demanding that students first pay the second installment of their tuition fees. However, the decision to force students to pay outstanding tuition fees before giving them their OSAP cheques was

made on December 29 during the Christmas break. Slater and Vice-President of Student Affairs John Becker apparently consulted no other administrators or other members of the university in making the decision.

Moulton denounced what he described as an illegal and arbitrary decision by York President David Slater, in demanding tuition payment, an act he said was made without consultation with the university community as a whole. At the same time a much more liberal policy has been followed at the University of Toronto, where the registration office is giving out the government cheques without demanding that tuition be paid.

Moulton noted that "While we've been talking of a university with open decision making, here he is consulting no one. He has shown his true colours during a time when the university is in financial trouble. How are we to react — why should students pay for such incompetence?"

Principal Albert Tucker placed most of the blame for the current crisis on the provincial government, which he said has adopted a conscious university policy based on the assumption that the student enrollment must be lowered through higher fees. He castigated the government for

making such arbitrary decisions without consulting either students or university administrations.

Tucker stated that York's policy was based on a memorandum from the Department of Colleges and Universities, dated April of 1969, in which there were two significant clauses: students are not to be issued their cheques unless the financial arrangement regarding tuition payment has become satisfactory to the university; and in case a student refuses to pay his tuition, the cheque is to be returned to the provincial Department of University Affairs with an explanation for the non-payment.

As Dr. Tucker put it, the University of Toronto interpreted the clauses to mean that students can be issued cheques on the understanding that they will eventually pay their tuition — immediate payment of tuition is not demanded with the giving of the OSAP cheque. York on the other hand was following the stringency of the second clause stating that OSAP payments must be withheld when tuition is not forthcoming.

While wholeheartedly stating his support for the students, Tucker tempered his endorsement with a plea for students to choose the correct enemy. He stated that with-

holding tuition fees could seriously affect the financial position of the university, which he described as hard-pressed, and asked "Why must the university face the financial burden if it is really the government's fault?"

Moulton ridiculed Dr. Slater's administration as evasive and deceptive in what he described as off and on support by Slater toward the student fight against the cut-backs in post-secondary education financing.

In his outline of the history of the dispute, Moulton explained that he and York student president John Theobald had on two occasions visited Dr. Slater for a clarification of his position regarding students who are participating in the fee boycott and also must receive the OSAP grants. Moulton stated that during these encounters the president declined to make any firm promise to consult the university community before making a decision.

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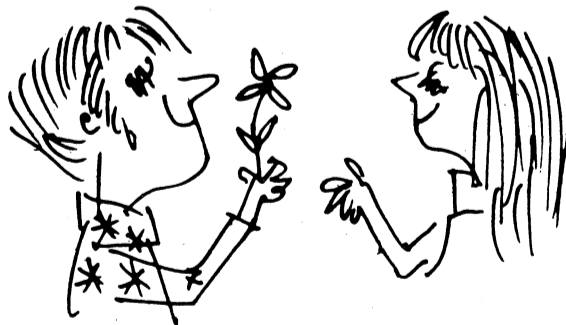


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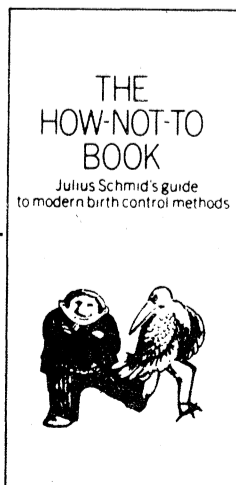


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YS-73

par MARC DUGUAY

Finalement, Glendon notre collège qui est national vient d'avoir un peu de publicité. Notre collège a jamais eu l'attention qu'il vient d'avoir ces derniers jours. Même radio mutuel au Québec a fait des rapports sur la situation qui regne ici.

Comme je l'ai dit mercredi, les Francophones qui travaillent pour le département de Français, les cheques ne seront point retenus. C'est à dire quand ils auront payé les frais de résidence, ils pourront recevoir le reste. Ils ne sont pas obligés de payer les frais de scolarité tout de suite. Mais les Anglophones qui reçoivent des cheques de OSAP sont obligés de payer leur scolarité immédiatement.

D'après cela je savais que les Francophones ne seraient pas directement impliqués dans l'occupation au bureau du Registrar. Mais je ne voyais pas cela juste que les Francophones s'en mêlent pas avec nos confrères Anglophones. Nous sommes tous du même collège, et nous devons ainsi être solidaires. Pourquoi ne pas leur donner un coup de main dans leur confrontation avec l'administration de York.

A l'assemblée générale d'une heure hier, nous avons vu

## L'union fait la force

les Francophones present et voter en faveur de la poursuite de l'occupation. C'était bien!

J'ai parlé avec quelques Anglophones après l'assemblée et ils étaient très fiers de l'appui qui leur a été donné. En continuant à leur aider moralement et activement nous aurons un collège plus uni.

Attention  
C'est fini!! L'occupation vient de se terminer. Les demandes qui ont été fait par les étudiants ont été acceptés par Dr. David Slater. Il aura plus de nouvelles à l'assemblée vendredi, le 13 janvier, a une heure.



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# PRO TEM

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# Accessibility battle still to be fought

Although there is obvious satisfaction about the success of the recent occupation, York students must remember that our larger dispute with the government of Ontario is still far from a resolution.

Students occupied the registrar's offices at Glendon and the student awards office at the main campus to protest a decision by the York administration not to give students the second installment of their student loans until they paid their tuition fees. The administration backed down.

In rescinding the earlier policy, president David Slater has now made it possible for students receiving this financial assistance to participate in the fee strike in protest against

the Ontario government's decision to raise tuition fees and reduce the amount of money available through the Ontario Student Awards Programme.

Glendon principal Albert Tucker has repeatedly stated he believes the Davis government has deliberately set out to reduce the enrollment at Ontario universities. If that's the government's aim it seems to be succeeding. Deficits as a result of enrollment short-falls may force some universities to cut back on academic and support staff, as well as the number of programmes offered.

In calling for a province-wide fee strike last fall, the member institutions of the Ontario Federation of Students asked students to en-

dorse and back up two major demands:

1) That the fee increases be rescinded until there has been full public debate on the Wright Report due to be published this month — thus a debate on the future of post-secondary education in Ontario;

2) That the loan ceiling of OSAP grants be lowered from \$800 to its original level of \$600.

The OFS position is quite clear. Stated simply, it is that the government should not impose further financial hardships on students — and thereby further discourage students from lower and middle class families from attending post-secondary institutions — until the intent and possible ramifications of its policy has been fully explained.

The government has always purported to support universal accessibility as a goal in education. Yet it is clear that its policies, designed to reduce post-secondary enrollment, belie any real commitment to this objective. The Ontario Federation of Students, along with university administrations and faculties, want to know why.

York student dependent on financial assistance from the government can now participate in the fee strike OFS has called. But all students concerned that our universities should become progressive institutions — or at the very least wanting the government to publicly justify its policy — should now withhold the second installment of their tuition fees.

# STAR and GLOBE ignore issues

by PAUL WEINBERG

The unfortunate distance in communication between the university community, the public and the press, was well demonstrated in yesterday's condescending editorials in THE STAR and the GLOBE and MAIL. While support on this campus seemed unanimous in sentiment regarding the sit-ins, it was quite a different story beyond the front gates. Each paper dealt with the issue in their own distinctively caustic way.

The general tenor of THE GLOBE's coverage and editorial pictured the protestors as childish brats bent upon usurping the administrative facilities away from the administrators and into the hands of kids whose sole interest appeared to be playing bridge and scrabble. It is surprising that THE GLOBE, which has had the propensity for coining snazzy new phrases, did not dub the students' legitimate demands as "the scrabble manifesto".

This whole phoney image of a party in the Glendon registrar's office denied the protestors the right to be taken seriously, when one considers their incomes and their livelihood were in jeopardy. Rather than try to debate the issue and the accusations of illegality intelligently, THE GLOBE squawked smugly from its gray offices on King Street and like some disgruntled private school master (the editorial's heading simply read "Enough"), it rapped their collective knuckles with its final solution for the whole crisis: "The remedy is simple. Remove the staff from the offices. Close the doors. Lock them from the outside. Let the students signal when they are ready to come out. Then send them home to their mothers and fathers, only pausing to make sure they have caused no damage to university property during their sit-ins."

THE STAR was much more scathing and bombastic in its editorial, in which reality was replaced with exaggeration. The choice of language fully attests to this: in contrast to THE STAR's other articles on the subject, where the sit-in was dealt with in a factual manner, its editorial instead conjured up images of rampaging guerillas indulging in spurts of terror and tyranny over a helpless and hapless campus population. Words



"Then send them home to their mothers and fathers..." Globe and Mail editorial, Thursday, Jan. 11

such as "trespassers", "small bands of students" and "cripple the university" reinforced this false impression. But the final paragraph was the clincher in pompous prose. "It's time to assert the control of responsible campus authorities over the tyranny of vociferous cliques. If the protestors wish to complain about something there are lots of ways to do so without occupying offices and infringing on other people's rights. That may be a quaint convention, but this irresponsible and undoubtedly unrepresentative minority of students might as well get used to it; they'll have to face the real world some day."

What THE STAR and THE GLOBE ignored, is that the sit-in at Glendon had virtually unanimous endorsement from all sectors of the college, from radicals to conservatives to the nor-

mally apathetic. THE GLOBE was closer to the truth in the sense that the atmosphere and the action, while firm and militant, remained nonetheless peaceful, non-violent and amiable among both students and faculty. THE STAR on the other hand distorted this week's events through ridiculous verbose sentences, full of sops to the middle-class stereotype of the student as spoiled long-haired bums who frolic from occupation to occupation.

Both news editorials made serious omissions. Administrative support, in Glendon at least, in the form of an active endorsement by Principal Albert Tucker, received no mention. The questionable legality of York President Slater's actions, the most significant point of contention with the students, received no mention

or reply, while both papers called the sit-in itself illegal. The word "trespass" that THE STAR used, was plainly fatuous at Glendon at least, where the administration supported the students' action through public statements.

Finally, both papers displayed utter ignorance toward the plight of the majority of young people in this province who are discouraged about university because of high tuition and social-cultural norms. The last words of THE STAR's editorial, "students might as well get used to it; they'll have to face the real world some day," are particularly galling when one considers that the real world involves a provincial government attempting to perpetuate an upper middle class elite in the university through the raising of tuition.

By WAYNE ROBERTS

In the course of the summer a number of graduate students were planning to donate blood to the Red Cross as they registered for the year. They thought a bleed-in was the most dramatic way of expressing their feelings of being bled dry by their \$100 share of the \$392 fee hike for graduate students. Undergraduates, whose fees are also going up more than \$100, might have considered similar actions. For if present trends continue, there won't be much left but solid stone in the years to come.

It is crucial to recognize that this year's fee increase is only the first of a series designed to turn students into hemophiliacs in a continual bloodletting ritual planned by the federal and provincial governments. The intention of government to force more and more of the burden of post-secondary costs onto students is made abundantly clear in two government-sponsored reports of major significance — the provincial Wright and the federal Peltchinis Reports.

The Wright Report, commissioned by the provincial government in April, 1969 to investigate the future of post-secondary education in Ontario, created widespread panic when its draft report was released last spring. The report is peppered throughout with a pastiche of clichés, sentimentalism, and expressions of high ideals. We read for instance:

*The paramount value which the commission has brought to its evaluation of post-secondary education is its commitment to the individual. The commission wants to emphasize the importance of the individual in education: the individual must be central... We must preserve and cherish the fragile, exquisite, special animal of this earth we call man.*

Similar phraseology tells us of their commitment to an educational process that lasts through a whole lifetime, to "universal accessibility to post-secondary education at all ages as our first principle, and to an educational process free from the scourge of beaureaucracy."

But as Star columnist and former NDP education critic Walter Pitman noted, they must have had a different person writing the actual recommendations. Verily, what they gave with the left hand in their posturing on principle, they took away with the right hand in actual policy formulation. Their dedication to lifelong education becomes concretized in a recommendation that employers permit their workers a six-month leave of absence from work every five years, paid out of a fund based on 10 per cent deferment of each worker's salary)

Their distaste for bureaucracy is transformed into a morass of need-test formulas for the individual and a government supervising body that would reduce autonomy in the university network to matters of administrative discretion. As a Treasury Board document leaked last January indicates, the techniques of this body will be blunt. Phyllis Grosskurth resigned from the Advisory Committee on University Affairs in protest against this Treasury Board document which was drawn up without consultation with CUA and was simply handed down to CUA with requests for advice on "constraint (re cutback) alternatives."

A citation illustrates how they plan to infringe on the essence of university autonomy while respecting its forms:

*A freeze on the Basic Income Unit value would constitute an important cost-saving technique since autonomy (the quotes are in the text) makes it difficult for the Government to pinpoint areas where possible savings should be made. Holding*

# The gateway to opportunity will become a tollgate



*down of grants would force (sic) the institutions to economize and improve their productivity.*

It is clear, then, that their concerns in regard to costs will not stop even with increased fees for students. On the contrary, the fee hikes are part of a coherent attack on the norms and values currently attached to education in this province.

In similar fashion, their devotion to that fragile animal man proves rather facile in the scramble for more scholar for the dollar. Educational investments are cynically placed in the marketplace where you pay to consume education just like you pay for stocks in a land company and where the social value of education is ultimately judged relative to manpower needs.

Meanwhile, the dedication to universal accessibility is translated to encompass correspondence courses and

part-time study. The older "open-door" policy whereby a student was supported to his level of competence is replaced by a more callous equation of competence with ability to pay and a more conscious direction toward profitable occupational training. Both the Treasury Report and the Wright Report are quite explicit on both points. On the latter point, the Treasury Board makes clear its intent to "shift their (the universities) emphasis":

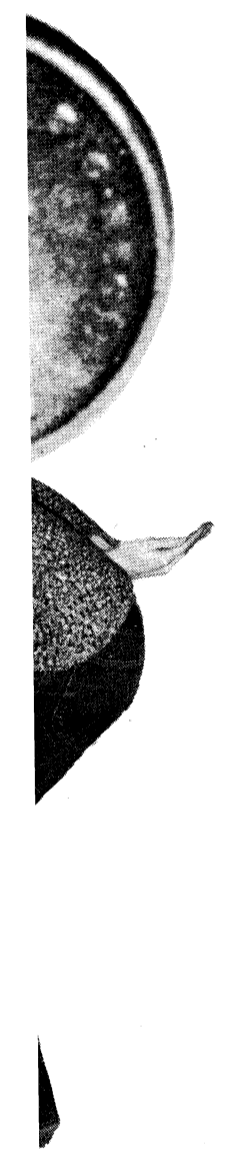
*De-emphasizing undergraduate, non-professional courses by reducing weighting would force universities either to reduce enrolment in these courses or selectively raise fees, thus putting*

Wayne Roberts is a graduate student at the university of Toronto. This article is reprinted from THE VARSITY.

*pressure on for reducing enrollment*

For the courses that are available, the Wright Report is shifting of public subsidies for costs from the institution to the individual. All students would be assigned a percentage of operating costs. (It is difficult to understand exactly how the 50 per cent figure was arrived at — one suggested they subtracted the number 7 from the number on a ketchup bottle). Then, a sliding scale of grants and loans would be made available to each student according to their parents' income. Apart from the child dependence on parental income, these recommendations have the feature of providing free education to the "quartile" of the population whose rental incomes generally removed from the educational system from the university.

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## pressure on for reducing enrollment.

For the courses that are still available, the Wright Report suggests shifting of public subsidies for operating costs from the institution to the individual. All students would be assigned 50 per cent of operating costs. (It is difficult to understand exactly how the 50 per cent figure was arrived at — one scholar suggested they subtracted the magic number 7 from the number on any Heinz ketchup bottle). Then, a sliding scale of grants and loans would be made available to each student according to both his parents income. Apart from enforcing child dependence on parental income, these recommendations have the added feature of providing free education to that "quartile" of the population whose parental incomes generally remove them from the educational system far before university.

It is a cheap gesture indeed!

Furthermore, while the reduction of grants to institutions are specific and eagerly anticipated, the increase of grants to needy individuals are yet to be witnessed.

Unless we become too anxious in anticipation, the Wright Report adds a necessary caveat: "There does not seem to be any way to achieve social mobility — except through the combination of public help and individual effort."

When it gets down to specifics, the Treasury Board once again saves us from undue speculation on the course charted by the Wright Report:

*Limiting enrollment will mainly affect those students entering the system who are the least employable of the 18-24 age group. In terms of the 1972-73 projection, this will reduce the freshman intake by 16,000, and may result in a shift to part-time education....*

*Increasing the loan portion will discourage poorly motivated students on the one hand but it will also affect students from lower income groups unless a contingent repayment feature is introduced....*

Their reverence to universal accessibility can be fairly easily measured: by their fees ye shall know them. Their words give little indication of what they are up to.

The more recently available Peitchinis Report, commissioned by the federal government for the 1971 Federal-Provincial Conference is, if anything, more ominous than the Wright Report. It recommends everything from the ending of all grant portions of loans after second year to the breaking up of 'conglomerate' post-secondary institutions into their constituent parts to save administrative and teaching costs. It concludes with the ringing declaration of recommendation 31:

*The general subsidization of post-secondary education should be terminated forthwith. To the extent that it is socially desirable to subsidize certain programs or some students, the subsidies should be made specific and should be related to the attainment of the social goals. When pursued as a consumer good, post-secondary education falls into the category of a luxury good. In this context, it is grossly inequitable to subsidize the consumption of luxuries when large segments of the population lack necessities.*

(Lest these reports seem to be outside of a national re-orientation, it is worth noting that the B.C. Socred government was preparing a similar one. The Worth Report in Alberta takes its stand in calling for an end to university expansion and an 11 per cent increase in costs assigned to students. Its charm is captured in such comments as "Students need to escape the shelter of irresponsibility that basic education presently provides" and "The proposed changes in education should allow a more rapid and precise adaption of schooling to the shifting demands of the labor market.")

Together, these reports constitute a sharp reversal in the received wisdom of the past decade on the value of education. In the sixties the popularity of Galbraith's Affluent Society and the first report of the Economic Council of Canada made the concept of education as a public investment virtual household coinage. From the Massey Commission to the Bladen Report, funding recommendations were based on the central importance of post-secondary education as a stimulator of Canadian cultural and economic growth. The Cold War helped, too. The Wright Report sums up the experience: *It was definitely the use of post-secondary*

*education as a social escalator and, for a time, as an indispensable tool in the race with the Russians that justified the unprecedented infusion of resources into post-secondary education both in the United States and in Canada.*

Claude Bissel, who presided over the University of Toronto to witness the results of this process, jubilantly noted the transparent importance of this new attitude at the turn of the decade. It injected a note of financial optimism in university circles that had previously only known despair. "Whereas the economic approach to an overhead cost always implies the question: 'Isn't it too much?'," Bissel rejoiced, "the economic approach to a capital investment always asks: 'Is it enough?'"

In fact, it was Bissel, voicing the concerns of the traditional meritocracy, that sounded one of the few notes of caution: "There must always be concern," he said piously, "lest accessibility turn into a super-highway that leads to an intellectual wasteland."

**'Too bad  
for those  
who are  
crushed  
in  
the  
braking  
process.'**

Now, suddenly, education has reverted not only to an "overhead cost" but a "luxury good". Both the Wright and Peitchinis Reports deny any meaningful relationship between education and society's manpower needs. Both — but particularly the Peitchinis Report use this definition of education to conjure up an image of students as a parasitic elite drawing off the wealth of society. *There is no other social, cultural or economic activity in which the haves are subsidized to a greater extent than in universities, and there is no other activity in which more public funds are spent on young people over the age of 18 years than in higher education. Considering that many of the participants in the process are able to pay the full cost of their education and considering further that the majority who participate would probably have participated even if they had to pay the full cost, public subsidization of their participation contributes to a serious distortion in the social and income structure....*

*It is suggested that it would be more rational to establish institutions and programs which will provide opportunities to the academically weak to develop their nonacademic talents. The general subsidization of the academically gifted at the expense of the academically weak, who are dispatched to the world of work at an early age to produce some of the subsidy, is exploitative, discriminatory and perpetuates a social bias in favor of the*

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It is a cheap gesture indeed!

Furthermore, while the reduction of grants to institutions are specific and eagerly anticipated, the increase of grants to needy individuals are yet to be witnessed.

Unless we become too anxious in anticipation, the Wright Report adds a necessary caveat: "There does not seem to be any way to achieve social mobility — except through the combination of public help and individual effort."

When it gets down to specifics, the Treasury Board once again saves us from undue speculation on the course charted by the Wright Report:

*Limiting enrollment will mainly affect those students entering the system who are the least employable of the 18-24 age group. In terms of the 1972-73 projection, this will reduce the freshman intake by 16,000, and may result in a shift to part-time education....*

*Increasing the loan portion will discourage poorly motivated students on the one hand but it will also affect students from lower income groups unless a contingent repayment feature is introduced....*

Their reverence to universal accessibility can be fairly easily measured: by their fees ye shall know them. Their words give little indication of what they are up to.

The more recently available Peitchinis Report, commissioned by the federal government for the 1971 Federal-Provincial Conference is, if anything, more ominous than the Wright Report. It recommends everything from the ending of all grant portions of loans after second year to the breaking up of 'conglomerate' post-secondary institutions into their constituent parts to save administrative and teaching costs. It concludes with the ringing declaration of recommendation 31:

*The general subsidization of post-secondary education should be terminated forthwith. To the extent that it is socially desirable to subsidize certain programs or some students, the subsidies should be made specific and should be related to the attainment of the social goals. When pursued as a consumer good, post-secondary education falls into the category of a luxury good. In this context, it is grossly inequitable to subsidize the consumption of luxuries when large segments of the population lack necessities.*

(Lest these reports seem to be outside of a national re-orientation, it is worth noting that the B.C. Socred government was preparing a similar one. The Worth Report in Alberta takes its stand in calling for an end to university expansion and an 11 per cent increase in costs assigned to students. Its charm is captured in such comments as "Students need to escape the shelter of irresponsibility that basic education presently provides" and "The proposed changes in education should allow a more rapid and precise adaption of schooling to the shifting demands of the labor market.")

Together, these reports constitute a sharp reversal in the received wisdom of the past decade on the value of education. In the sixties the popularity of Galbraith's *Affluent Society* and the first report of the Economic Council of Canada made the concept of education as a public investment virtual household coinage. From the Massey Commission to the Bladen Report, funding recommendations were based on the central importance of post-secondary education as a stimulator of Canadian cultural and economic growth. The Cold War helped, too. The Wright Report sums up the experience:

*It was definitely the use of post-secondary*

*education as a social escalator and, for a time, as an indispensable tool in the race with the Russians that justified the unprecedented infusion of resources into post-secondary education both in the United States and in Canada.*

Claude Bissel, who presided over the University of Toronto to witness the results of this process, jubilantly noted the transparent importance of this new attitude at the turn of the decade. It injected a note of financial optimism in university circles that had previously only known despair. "Whereas the economic approach to an overhead cost always implies the question: 'Isn't it too much?'," Bissel rejoiced, "the economic approach to a capital investment always asks: 'Is it enough?'"

In fact, it was Bissel, voicing the concerns of the traditional meritocracy, that sounded one of the few notes of caution: "There must always be concern," he said piously, "lest accessibility turn into a super-highway that leads to an intellectual wasteland."

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*academic process. This is the more disturbing when account is taken of the fact that the demand for semi-professional and technical workers the products of the technical colleges has been rising at a faster rate than the demand for those with general university education.*

The concept of higher education as a right was never accepted by higher government officials even in the heyday of university expansion. Now, it will become a privilege with all the dressings of a suitable privilege — its luxury cost will restrict its users to the wealthy. And, it will be a privilege with a vengeance from the point of view of government demagogues. For, they will be able to entertain themselves with self-images as fee-hiking Robin Hoods, redressing social balances by removing students in lower-middle incomes from their wanton educational pursuits.

Although some of the revisions in official government thinking began as early as 1969, an atmosphere of crisis and panic exudes from their documents now. With exclamation points galore, Peitchinis opens his study with statistics showing that enrollment had tripled and costs per student had doubled from 1960-61 to 1969-70!

One suspects that the motive here is panic-creation rather than presentation of startling new evidence. The fact is that these figures were anticipated with uncanny accuracy as far back as 1962.

The difference is that in 1962 people were trying to promote some kind of rational, long-term planning. Now, they are simply manoeuvring with statistics that will outrage and shock us into a passive rejection of previously valued social goals.

All of this is done with little documentation. You can count on your thumbs the number of references which attempt to disprove the relationship between education and future manpower needs. There is not even an attempt to refute the relationships between education and social benefit. There is no attempt at a critique of the Canadian economy's inability to fully utilize the skills developed at universities. There are not even projections on long-term manpower needs of the economy. We are merely jolting to a halt. Too bad for those who are crushed in the braking process.

One social group will have to pick up the tab — the students. Where is the alternative source for funding the universities? asks Peitchinis. "There is only one potential alternative source and that is the students."

We even have to bear the brunt of their liberalism on universal accessibility. Reasoning that since most lower income students are eliminated from the school process far before the university stage, they are reversing strategies to promote accessibility by getting at school children in the early years. While their utterances on this level are confined to innocuous gestures, they raise the most visible barrier to accessibility tuition. Perhaps, they would consider tuition for high school academic programmes which are also too late to engage minds already destroyed by poverty. They are capable of doing anything to avoid fighting for accessibility on the fronts where the war is being waged. For them universal accessibility becomes a cruel rhetorical gesture — a weapon in the fight for higher tuition.

Nowhere do they consider the potential for alternate sources of funding and alternate government priorities which could permit a coherent attack on a class-

**cont. on page 6**

## from page 5

biased educational system. The percentage of federal government revenues derived from corporations has decreased 6.4 per cent in the last three years. The net provincial revenues from taxable income in Ontario zoomed from \$151,844,000 to \$948,000,000 between 1962-63 and 1970-71. Meanwhile, corporations took a gentle slope from \$185,718,000 to \$457,000,000. A 70-million dollar grant to ITT highlights last years federal government subsidies to wealthy corporations. Last year's defence budget was \$1,946,000,000 or 600-million more than all government funds on education.

Conservative Minister George Kerr defended the raise in fees, speaking in the Ontario Legislature.

*It is simply one of the ways for this government to raise more revenue. You know, you can only increase taxes on gasoline and park fees and licence fees and booze and tobacco so much without generally increasing taxes in certain other areas such as corporations, because of the unemployment we have at the present time. It was felt that there could be some increase in tuition fees without discouraging or making it too difficult for those students who wished to go to university, regardless of their family income.*

A number of highlights emerge from a consideration of government policy on post-secondary education. First, apart from the conscious attempt to reduce enrolment and costs by raising fees, the whole system is chaotic and unplanned. Apart from the lack of long-term planning, short-term planning is a crude juggling act. Liberal critic Bullbrook asked George Kerr why the government was spending 21-million dollars on a student employment program and then exacting 23-million dollars in tuition. Government is running very fast to go backward.

Secondly, the scorched earth policy toward universities is likely to be an enduring one. Successive Canadian governments have shown a continuing inability to solve problems traditionally allocated to the public sector — particularly housing and education. Now, they have given up trying and are beginning a frontal attack on those who hold them responsible for high levels of social well-being.

Peitchinis rises to eloquence on this point:

*The interpretation given by many to the concept of the 'affluent society' has been misleading and illusory; it has resulted in an increase in economic and social expectations far beyond the capacity of the economy to meet. It would be instructive to all in society, therefore, if from time to time we were to face the real constraints of scarcity. This will cause us to realize that inasmuch as there may be a general affluence, it is not possible to satisfy all social and economic needs at the same time. Even if the economy were to operate close to its potential capacity, it would still be necessary to make choices amongst alternative social needs.*

Since governments are unwilling to solve the problems of financing the public sector by taxing corporations, they will follow the same policy as in welfare matters — tax the lower middle class level incomes of stably-employed workers and poorly paid professionals. Students fall perfectly into this category. Therefore, they will be assigned the brunt of their own costs plus the costs of government genuflections to those less fortunate than themselves.

The gateway to opportunity will become a tollgate. Students face the prospects of increased reliance on parents — an umbilical cord welded in gold is a useful social sanction in the government's war against student experimentation with different social ideals and practices, as well as a degradation for students of our age group.

Women will be the first to suffer. It should not be forgotten that it is women who have accounted for much of the percentage increase in university attendance. Any attack on increased enrollment must of necessity strike them first as the most vulnerable sector. And any of us who are responsible for our own fees will



It's up  
to us  
to  
fight  
back

partake in the Wright Report's dedication to the work-study concept of education — working as waitresses, clerks, or laborers throughout the year (rather than just the summer months) to pay for our initiation fee into privileged domain.

Finally, although the governments' steps backward are marked by chaos, they are decisive. The Wright Report argues firmly against the concept of free tuition as a completion of a historical trend toward equalizing opportunity through taxation. "The commission cannot accept the belief that we are helpless victims of linear projections of history. Surely, if we think a social trend undesirable we should be able to change it or, at least, to modify it."

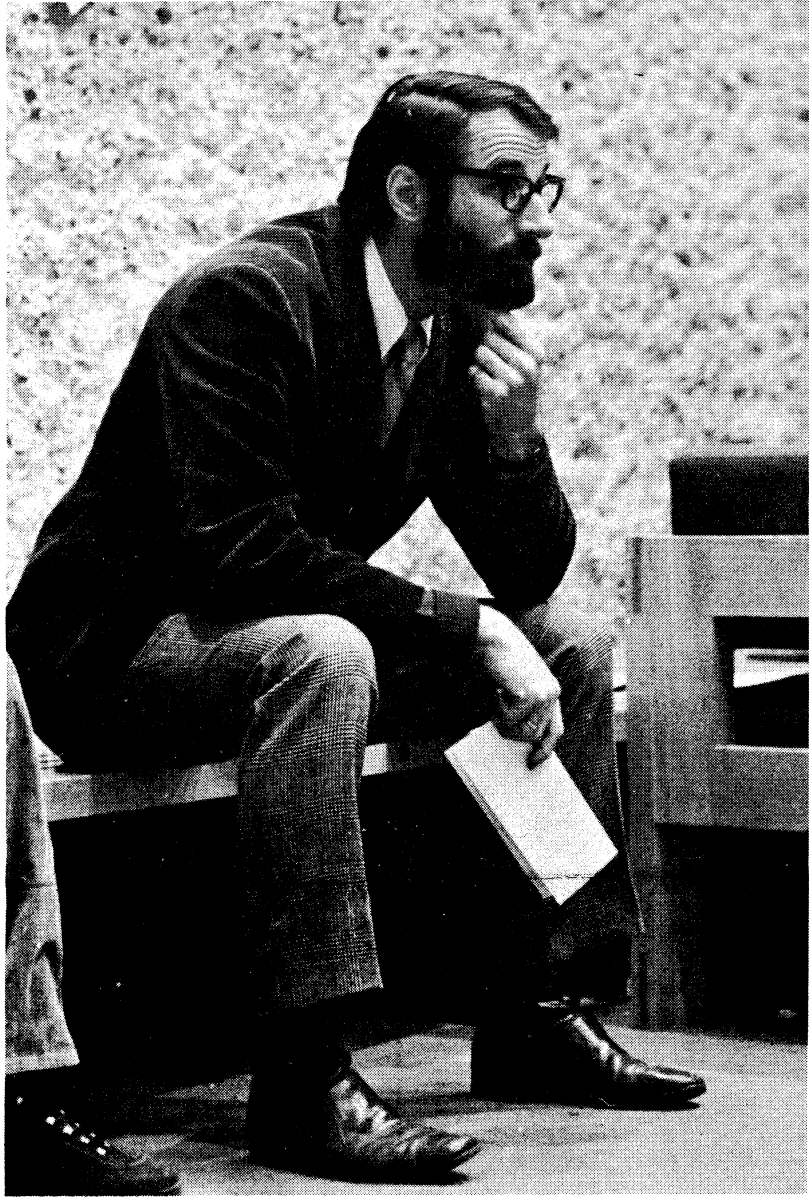
Governments are moving to take their stand against history. It is now up to students, who occupy a decisive sector of this society's economy and future, who are situated in the vortex of a government's all-out attack on the whole educational system, to begin to fight back.

Numbers and action are of the

essence. The commitment of the government to cut back on education and launch an attack on students will only be changed in the face of mass pressure. For those who delight in the apathy of the U of T campus, it is worth recognizing that apathy is an interesting and creative form of protest against student bureaucratic politics. But, it will not pay tuition fees.

Since last spring, students have engaged in a number of protest activities ranging from a graduate students strike, to demonstrations of 1000 in Ottawa and a demonstration of 1500 in Queen's Park. We are engaged in a long-term battle with federal and provincial governments on the rights of students and all that these might imply for a society geared to maximizing outlets for creative expression. The struggle ahead promises to be a long one. It will even have its dull and routine moments. But as the Wright Report noted, "our Commission was established in difficult and turbulent times for education." It is up to us, the students, to determine its future.

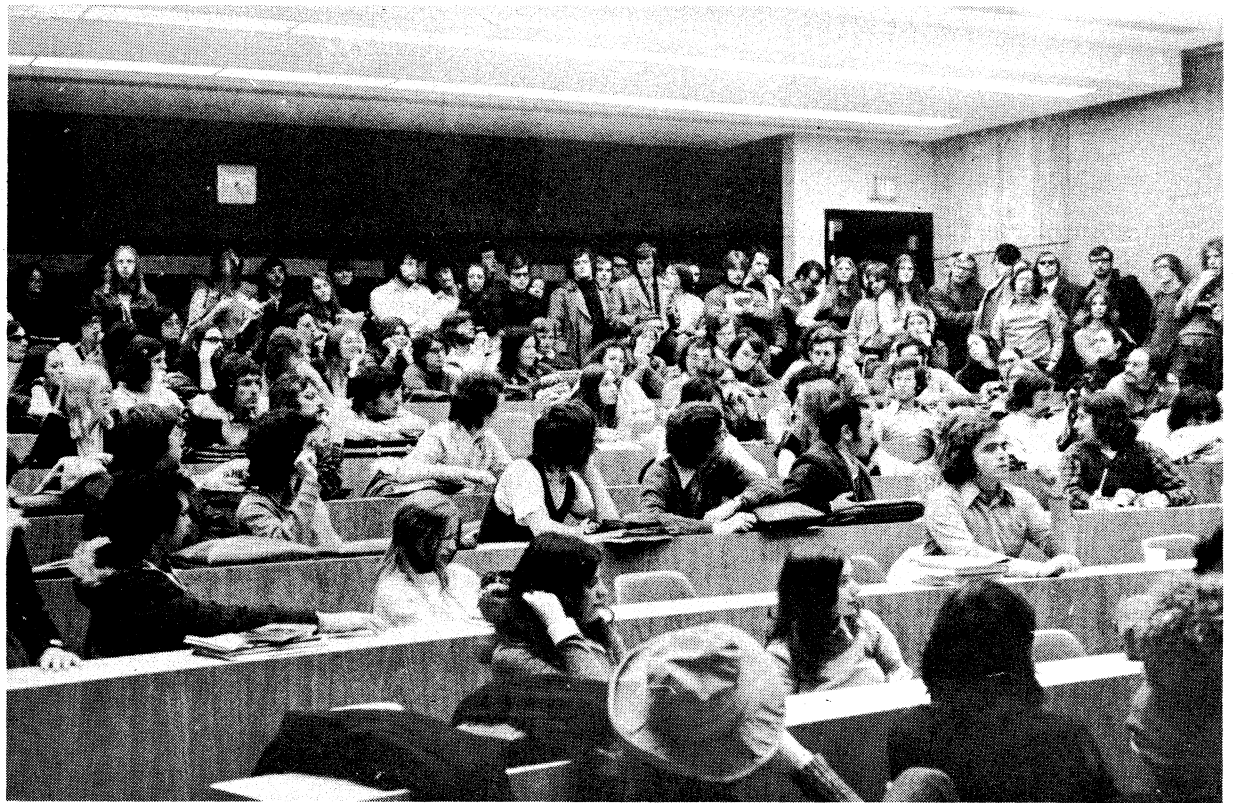
# THE OCCUPATION'S IN PICTURES



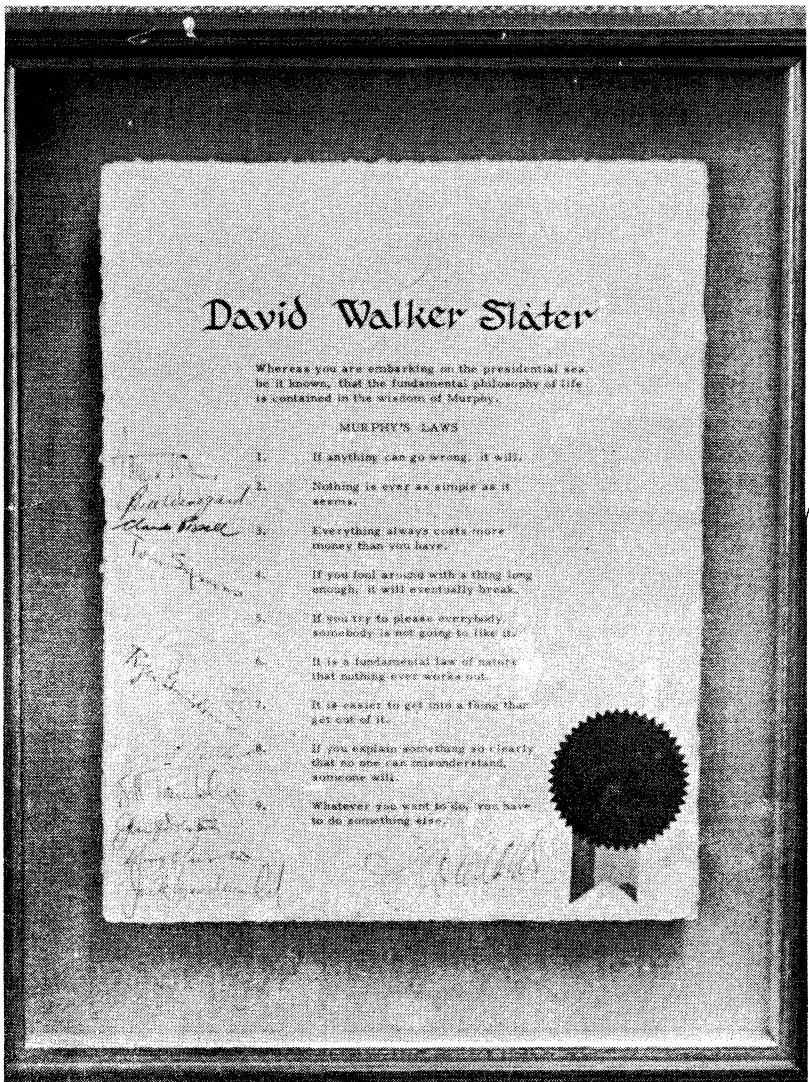
Student liaison officer John Becker



Marilyn Burnett, Steve Irwin, and Paul Dowling speak with David Slater and John Becker



Approximately 200 people at York heard John Becker explain the university's about face



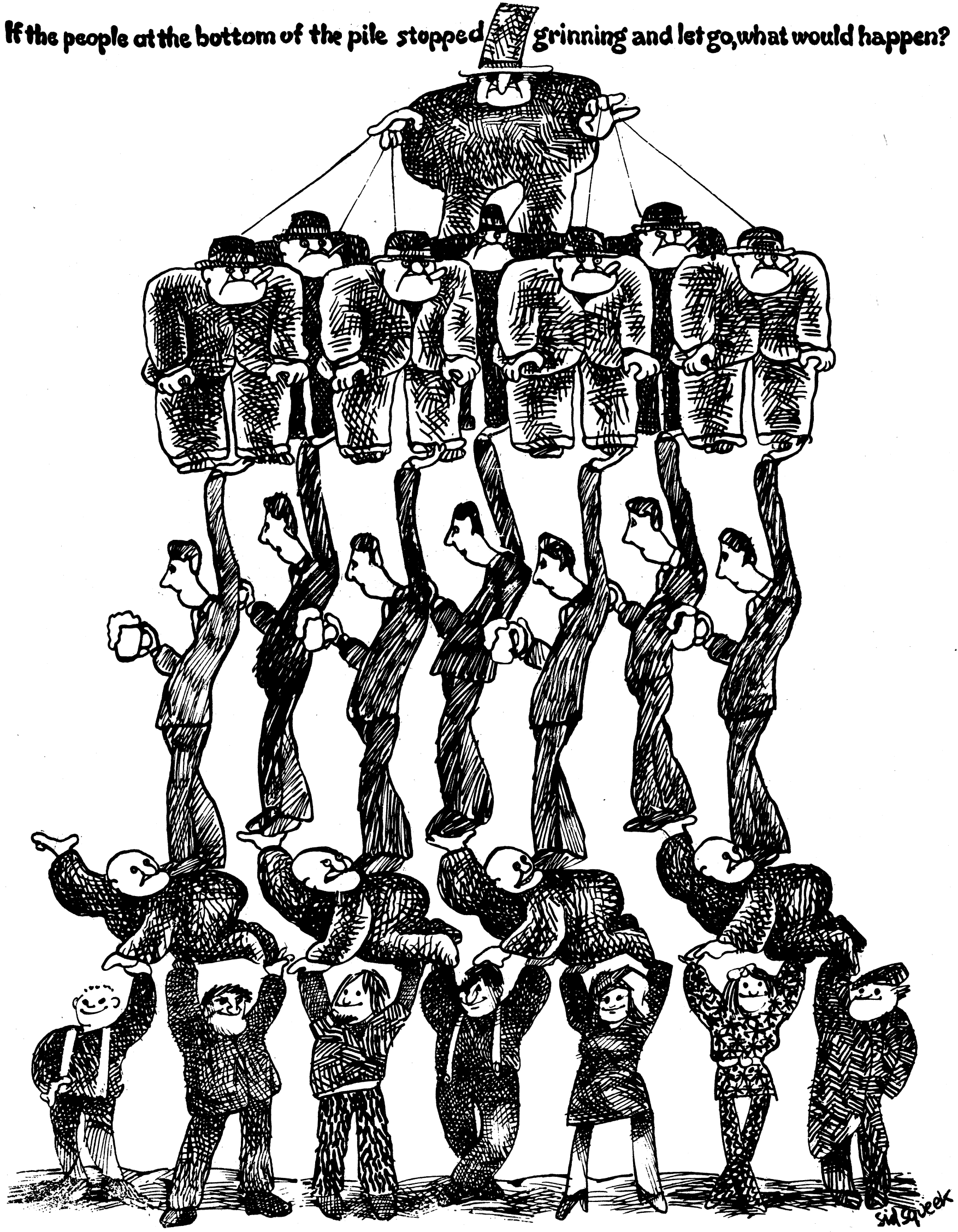
President David Slater's philosophy of life : If anything can go wrong it will.



The York occupation force discuss strategy.



If the people at the bottom of the pile stopped grinning and let go, what would happen?



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