



State University of New York
State University Plaza
Albany, New York 12246

Office of the Chancellor

January 12, 1983

Hon. Donald M. Halperin
1303 Avenue Z
Brooklyn, New York 11235

Dear Don:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter concerning the issue of academic freedom and academic responsibility at the Stony Brook campus. TAP

As you know, a special Commission on Faculty Rights and Responsibilities, chaired by Professor C.N. Yang, a Nobel Laureate and an Einstein professor of physics, has been meeting to discuss this matter. Since the Commission is presently reviewing this matter, I am concerned that any intrusion by the Central Administration at this time might well inhibit its deliberations. Moreover, I would also note that procedural safeguards with regard to both academic rights and responsibilities traditionally evolve from discussions within the college faculty. Therefore, as an alternative, I am sharing a copy of your letter with the administration at Stony Brook for transmittal to the Commission so that it may have the benefit of your views and recommendations.

Thank you again for your letter and for your kind words about the manner in which the administration and faculty at Stony Brook are approaching this sensitive issue.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Clifton R. Wharton, Jr." with a stylized flourish.

Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.
Chancellor

cc: President Marburger

bc: SUNY Board of Trustees ✓



DONALD M. HALPERIN
18TH DISTRICT

1303 AVENUE Z
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THE SENATE
STATE OF NEW YORK

December 9, 1983

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AM 11:30 PM 12:45

Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.
Chancellor
State University of New York
State University Plaza
Office of the Chancellor
Albany, New York 12246

Dear Chancellor Wharton:

Thank you for responding to my letter of October 28th.

I recently met with administration and faculty members at Stony Brook and was impressed by the thoughtfulness with which they have been approaching the delicate issue of academic freedom. While I agree with your comment that "no individual or group could prepare a checklist delineating the boundary between academic responsibility and academic freedom," I do believe that the State University itself could be helpful by providing some guidance along these lines. I am not necessarily suggesting that the central administration insert itself into every question raised in this area, but that the central administration might provide some broad guidelines.

After having numerous discussions with individuals who are interested in preserving academic freedom as well as those who are concerned about the sensitivity of various groups and individuals, I would suggest that you consider the following broad guidelines. I also point to the fact that three of the four originate with the faculty committee at Stony Brook which looked into the Dube situation. These four guidelines are as follows:

1. That a professor not set forth as fact that which is solely his opinion.
2. That a professor not use his position in the classroom as a means for propagating a political or philosophical viewpoint.
3. That a professor not use his or her position to intimidate students or stifle free expression in the classroom.
4. That a professor take into consideration the sensibilities of groups and or individuals when setting forth propositions (it is not only what is said but is how it is said).

Chancellor Wharton

page 2

I believe it would be a service to all involved if this necessarily ambiguous area could be clarified somewhat. Perhaps you as Chancellor could call for such guidelines while making it clear that they are not the beginning and end of the issue.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Donald Halperin", written over the word "Sincerely,".

DONALD M. HALPERIN
Member of the Senate

DMH;pck

August 26, 1983

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY AT STONY BROOK

In a century distinguished for great lies, the United Nation's equation of Zionism with racism ranks second only to the myths of Nazism. In a lynch mob atmosphere, that lie was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1975. Senator Daniel Moynihan, then United States Ambassador to the United Nations, condemned the outrage in these words:

"The United States of America declares that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act."

Eight years later, the rhetoric of 1983, taught by a member of the SUNY at Stony Brook faculty once again equates Zionism with racism. It is a teaching which is, in my opinion, intellectually dishonest and pernicious because it is designed to serve as a justification for genocide in the form of a completion of the "final solution" through annihilation of the State of Israel.

It is reported that the faculty committee investigated the matter, conducted an inquiry and "exonerated" the faculty member involved. I am not sure what that means. If it means that teachers have the freedom to say or teach things which are controversial and by some people's lights objectionable and reprehensible, that is one thing. I endorse that freedom totally.

If it means that teachers have the right to be wrong, that is to be expected. Teachers like politicians and everyone else suffer from human frailty.

But if the report of the faculty committee is posited in such a way as to make it possible to construe its meaning as an endorsement of the doctrine or the soundness of its reasoning, then I reject that report.

I am disappointed that more of the faculty did not publicly disagree with the content of the statement.

Academic freedom protects the right to be wrong; it should not release anyone from the responsibility to express appropriate moral repugnance. It certainly does not restrict their freedom to do so, nor does it demand silence in the face of twisted logic that does damage.

There was a similar situation at Northwestern University several years ago. A professor of engineering published a book which branded the Holocaust as "The Hoax of the Twentieth Century." While his academic status was unaffected, neither university administration nor fellow faculty members felt constraint in the expression of moral condemnations which were justifiably heaped on the professor in question.

In comparison, the silence at Stony Brook is thunderous. Perhaps the faculty fears encroachment on the sacred soil of academic freedom. If so, then I offer another statement from our eloquent senior Senator from New York: "We Should Be Feared For The Truths We Will Tell."



STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
STATE UNIVERSITY PLAZA
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12246

DONALD M. BLINKEN
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES
277 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

August 31, 1983

Statement by Donald M. Blinken on Stony Brook Controversy

The recent controversy arising from the course taught by a Stony Brook faculty member has generated considerable concern. I have been assured by State University Central Administration that the State University of New York University Center at Stony Brook has not concluded its review of the controversy. Rather, the Executive Committee of the Stony Brook University Senate studied the case as a possible violation of academic freedom and concluded there had been no such violation. The Committee's work is presently being reviewed by the Stony Brook administration.

The Executive Committee's action, taken in mid-August and therefore in the absence of most of the Stony Brook faculty, was in no way intended to condone or provide support for the content of the faculty member's remarks, but solely to affirm his right to free expression in the classroom.

Any disagreement with the Stony Brook faculty member's course content is a matter totally separate from the academic freedom question. All individuals, of course, are free to take issue with the faculty member's views.

I personally would find that any attempt to equate Nazism with Zionism is to be ignorant of history and to tie Zionism with racism is a reprehensible distortion of reality. But the principles of academic freedom are essential to scholarship and I would defend the right of any professor to present controversial views.

In the present instance, the campus must be allowed to make the appropriate factual judgments and conclude its review under well-established procedures.

*

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
NEW YORK

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 31, 1983

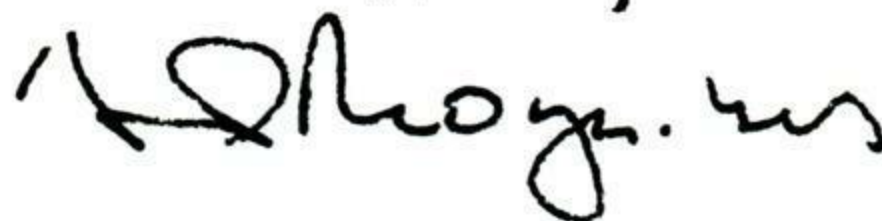
Dear Friend:

I enclose two items you may find of interest. The first is the text of a statement I issued on the occasion of the announcement by Prime Minister Begin of Israel of his intention to retire.

The second is my report that the State Department decided finally to take my suggestion that the U.S. should withhold a portion of our contribution to the United Nations in proportion to the amount spent by the U.N. on a recent forum devoted to the propagation of the lie that Zionism is a form of racism -- the "International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel".

As always, I would welcome your comments on these and other subjects.

Sincerely,



Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Enclosures

FROM THE OFFICE OF

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan

New York

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1983

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN ON
THE RESIGNATION OF PRIME MINISTER MENACHEM BEGIN OF ISRAEL

Prime Minister Menachem Begin's decision to step down marks the end of an era as he is the last of Israel's founding fathers to depart the political arena. Having labored mightily to help create the State of Israel, he played a key role in securing the first Treaty of Peace between Israel and an Arab neighbor.

For over half a century, he has served his people with selfless devotion and all friends of Israel must wish him a well-deserved respite from the rigors of national and party leadership.

The bonds that tie the United States and Israel are far too deep to be substantively affected by a change in either democracy's government. I am confident that the next government of Israel shall continue to develop the on-going relationship between our two great nations.

FROM THE OFFICE OF

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan

New York

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MONDAY, AUGUST 29, 1983

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D,NY) announced today that the State Department has decided to withhold a portion of the annual U.S. contribution to the United Nations, in proportion to the amount of money spent by the U.N. on a recent "International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel", held in Vienna July 11-13.

The Conference, organized by the U.N.'s Special Committee Against Apartheid in collaboration with three well-known Soviet front groups, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, the Organization of African Trade Union Unity and the World Peace Council, was held at the Vienna International Center, a U.N. facility.

Senator Moynihan had written a letter to Secretary of State George P. Shultz on June 14 urging that the funds be withheld because "the primary purpose of this conference is to provide political benefits to the Palestine Liberation Organization -- not only through the false allegation that an 'alliance' exists between these two countries, but also through the mendacious insinuation that there are doctrinal similarities between Zionism and Apartheid."

When he received in reply a letter dated June 23, from Assistant Secretary of State Powell A. Moore saying only that the State Department was "seeking information about the ultimate character and costs of the Conference," Senator Moynihan introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 50 declaring the view of Congress that the U.S. contribution to the U.N. should be reduced by the American share of what was spent on the Conference. At the time Congress began its summer recess August 5, 12 other senators had agreed to cosponsor S. Con. Res. 50.

Senator Moynihan said that news of the decision had been conveyed to him by telephone through aides, and that he had not seen a written statement or announcement from the State Department. He noted that his staff had been informed by an official of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs that the decision was made on Friday by Under Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger on the grounds that, as the conference was not an official U.N. conference, the expense was therefore not justifiable.

About the decision, Senator Moynihan had the following comment:

"Clearly the State Department has made the correct decision. The United States should not be financing propaganda fronts contrived by the Soviet Union and aimed at discrediting a democratic ally, the State of Israel. I feel certain that many, if not all members of the Senate would want to join me in expressing appreciation to Under Secretary Eagleburger."

Cuomo Hits Faculty In Racism Dispute

By Michael D'Antonio

Declaring that "the silence at Stony Brook is thunderous," Gov. Mario Cuomo yesterday criticized the faculty of the State University at Stony Brook for not openly opposing a professor's teachings linking Zionism and racism.

Cuomo said in a statement that the teachings of Ernest Dube were "intellectually dishonest" and "twisted logic." The governor commented after members of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith met with his staff in New York City. The Anti-Defamation League had been monitoring a dispute over Dube's teachings that began in July when a visiting professor at Stony Brook criticized Dube.

Dube was exonerated on Aug. 17 by the executive committee of the university's faculty senate, which ruled that the South African-born professor had not breached academic ethics or the bounds of academic freedom in his course titled *The Politics of Race*. A report on the matter will be made to the full senate on Sept. 12, and action against Dube is still possible, according to Professor Ronald Douglas, chairman of the faculty senate's executive committee.

While insisting that professors enjoy academic freedom of expression, Cuomo said that freedom "certainly does not release anyone from the responsibility to express appropriate moral repugnance. I am disappointed that more of the faculty did not publicly disagree with the content" of Dube's teachings.

A spokesman for the Anti-Defamation

League, Rabbi Arthur Seltzer, praised Cuomo's statement. He called for Stony Brook administrators to acknowledge that "the classroom has been used for teaching racism" and publicly admonish Dube.

Dube could not be reached for comment.

Stony Brook President John Marburger is working on a statement on the controversy, Douglas said. Marburger was unavailable for comment.

Cuomo's statement brought Donald Blinken, chairman of the State University of New York board of trustees, into the controversy. Blinken also said that Dube's comparison of Zionism — the movement behind creation of a Jewish state — with Nazism and racism was "ignorant of history" and "a reprehensible distortion of reality." He said the "executive committee's action . . . was in no way intended to condone or provide support for the content of the faculty member's remarks, but solely to reaffirm his right to free expression in the classroom."

The faculty committee investigated Dube after a visiting Israeli professor, Selwyn Troen, wrote university officials to complain that "Dr. Dube employed his position for the propagation of personal ideology and racist biases." Troen has returned to the Ben Gurion University of the Negev.

Dube, at Stony Brook since 1977, responded that he does teach that some Zionist groups practice what he calls "reactive racism," or racist actions by victims of racism, and that he compares such practices with Nazism. He denied Troen's accusations that he is anti-Semitic or irresponsible.

File

John Marburger, September 6, 1983

It is by now well-known that one of our professors has drawn heavy criticism by describing Zionism as a type of racism in a course on "The Politics of Race". In urging his students to draw comparisons with other forms of racism, the professor also suggested, as one of a list of titles for term papers, "Zionism is as Racist as Nazism", a juxtaposition that the professor has described as deliberately provocative, as were the other titles on the list.

These plain facts have been cited by many people both within and outside our university as justification for officially censuring the professor as irresponsible. I strongly disagree and feel obliged to state in this public fashion my distress that the cardinal principle of our existence may be undermined.

Each University office or body that has examined the context of these facts has concluded that the professor has not violated the admonition of the Trustees of the State University of New York that "The principle of academic freedom shall be accompanied by a corresponding principle of responsibility..." Many individuals who concur with this judgment nevertheless disagree strongly with the ideas expressed by the professor and are uneasy about the manner of their presentation. The articulation of such disagreements is accomplished as a matter of course in the various forums of the University, and it is indeed to foster the airing of such issues that we exist as an institution.

Provost Neal has advised me in a compelling statement attached herewith that "the recommendations of Dean Neuberger and the University Senate Executive Committee represent the appropriate University position on this delicate matter." I concur, and endorse all three documents as University policy. Provost Neal also recommends means by which subsequent treatment of controversial issues can be encouraged to take place in a suitable atmosphere. We should move quickly to implement those means.

Nearly one year ago, I issued a general message on the unacceptability of racism at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. In that context, racism refers to the denigration of others on the basis of race or ethnicity. That message, which I am reissuing today, was not intended to suppress legitimate and possibly controversial discussion about racism. It was and is directed toward behavior that destroys the atmosphere of mutual respect and intellectual integrity that is essential for our mission.

I personally find the concept of a linkage between Zionism, racism and Nazism an abhorrent one, and urge that such topics be discussed with the utmost circumspection and attention to the sensitivities of groups that will be offended by them. Let us learn from this incident how to structure our free discussion so that all who should participate will be encouraged and not repelled from doing so.

Stony Brook Head Disputes Cuomo Charge on 'Silence'

By Michael D'Antonio

The president of the State University at Stony Brook took issue yesterday with a statement by Gov. Mario Cuomo that the Stony Brook faculty had been silent in a controversy over a professor's course on politics and race.

University President John Marburger said that "some people have overreacted" to the controversy over the teachings of Ernest Dube, who linked Zionism and racism in his course, *The Politics of Race*. Marburger said the case is now in his hands, and that he will issue a final statement on Dube's conduct next week.

Cuomo criticized the Stony Brook faculty on Tuesday for not speaking out against Dube's lectures comparing Zionism, the movement behind creation of a Jewish state, to racism and Nazism. "The silence at Stony Brook is thunderous," Cuomo said.

While Marburger said he did not want to debate the governor, he objected to Cuomo's remark about a "thunderous" silence. "There is no thunderous silence at Stony Brook," Marburger said, adding that adminis-

trators and faculty members have been actively reviewing the case since a visiting Israeli professor lodged a complaint against Dube in July.

"We are sensitive to these issues and we believe we are dealing with them in a responsible way," Marburger said. "People have attached their own emotional symbolism to the words being used."

Professors on the faculty senate executive committee also declined to debate Cuomo. "I don't want to get into a war of memos with the governor," said Ronald Douglas, chairman of the committee that ruled two weeks ago that Dube's teaching were within the bounds of academic freedom. Despite Marburger's statement that he would make a final report on the Dube matter, Douglas said the full faculty senate still could act when it considers the issue on Sept. 12.

Marburger met with Stony Brook officials yesterday to discuss the Dube matter and plans to meet Tuesday with officials of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which has called for a public rebuke of Dube.

LONG ISLAND Jewish World

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Rosh Hashanah 5744

לשנה טובה תכתבו



An original paper-cut by Tsirl Waletzky. See page 4.

Cuomo responds to Stony Brook faculty ruling

By WALTER RUBY

Gov. Mario Cuomo has reacted unfavorably to the decision of a faculty committee at the State University at Stony Brook not to censure Ernest Dube, the controversial professor who taught his class that "Zionism is a form of racism." The governor said he was also disappointed that few members of the Stony Brook faculty have taken issue with the committee's decision.

In a statement released last night, Cuomo said, "I am disappointed that more of the Stony Brook faculty did not publicly disagree with the content of the statement" of the faculty committee.

That committee ruled about two weeks ago that there were no grounds for taking action against Dube because "the bounds of academic freedom have not been crossed in this case."

Cuomo pointed out that when a professor of engineering at Northwestern University published a book several years ago branding the Holocaust the hoax of the 20th Century, "neither the university administration nor fellow faculty members felt constrained in their expression of moral condemnations, which were justifiably heaped on the professor in question. In comparison, the silence at Stony Brook is overwhelming."

In the statement, Cuomo suggested, "Perhaps the faculty fears encroachment on the sacred soil of academic freedom,"

and expressed his view that "Academic freedom protects the right to be wrong; it should not release anyone from the responsibility to express appropriate moral repugnance. It certainly does not restrict their freedom to do so, nor does it demand silence in the face of twisted logic that does damage."

Cuomo termed the doctrine that Zionism is racism "intellectually dishonest and pernicious, because it is designed to serve as a justification for genocide in the form of a completion of the 'Final Solution' through the annihilation of the State of Israel."

Commenting on the decision of the Faculty Senate Executive Committee to "exonerate" Dube, Cuomo said, "I am not sure what that (exoneration) means. If it means that teachers have the freedom to say or teach things which are controversial, and by some people's lights objectionable and reprehensible, that is one thing. I endorse that freedom totally. If it means teachers have the right to be wrong, that is to be expected . . . But if the report of the faculty committee is posited in such a way as to make it possible to construe its meaning as an endorsement of the doctrine, or the soundness of its reasoning, then I reject that report."

Responding to Cuomo's statement, Stony Brook President John Marburger said, "The governor spoke somewhat hypothetically, saying he rejects the



Governor Mario Cuomo: "The silence at Stony Brook is overwhelming."

(Faculty Senate Executive Committee's) report if 'it is posited in such a way as to make it possible to construe its meaning as an endorsement of the doctrine of Zionism is racism.' This the report certainly does not."

Marburger continued, "The fact that the governor says he is disappointed that more faculty members did not protest the faculty's decision leads me to suspect

that the governor made his statement before he read the faculty report, or before he was aware of how they came to their decision. This part of the statement does not sound like the governor, and I am sorry it has been included."

Marburger added, "I believe the governor's reaction to the situation is an honest one, and that his statement was not issued out of any desire to pander to the Jewish community. I certainly feel uncomfortable with the (governor's) statement. We will carefully consider the governor's remarks, but I do not believe the governor has any intent to impinge on academic freedom."

Marburger said he met with Michael Del Giudice, secretary to Cuomo, on Thursday, August 18. The following day, the Stony Brook administration announced that Provost Homer Neal and Marburger would review the unanimous ruling in favor of Dube by the university's Faculty Senate Executive Committee.

Keeping Posted

In an interview last week, Marburger explained that during their meeting, Del Giudice told him that the governor had heard about the case and wanted to be kept posted on it.

Marburger added, "Both the governor's office and the central administration of SUNY have informed us that they see this as a faculty matter, but they want to be assured that the case is properly examined. That is our concern as well."



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Marburger also said that the Stony Brook administration had intended to review the faculty ruling on the Dube case all along. "The interest shown by the governor's office had little impact on how we have handled the issue," he said.

He continued, "The fact that so much outside interest has been manifested in this case by the press and outside agencies may have prompted our Faculty Senate to decide to treat the Dube case right away and to resolve the issue rapidly. I am not sure that was a good idea."

He added, "I feel that the university should not be so influenced in its deliberations by outside pressure, especially since this controversy erupted in August when there were not many people around the university. I think,

however, that there might have been more discussion of underlying issues (in the Faculty Senate committee's deliberations) to make it clear to the external world that this case was taken very seriously by the university and that all was done as it should be."

Definitive Announcement

Marburger said that he will possibly make an announcement on the Dube case during the first few days of September, which will represent the definitive position of the Stony Brook administration on the issue. Marburger's statement will be based on reviews of the Faculty Senate Executive Committee's ruling carried out by Neal and Egon Neuberger, dean of Stony Brook University's College of Arts and Sciences and, according to Marburger, "will address the issue of academic responsibility as well as

question the process by which the university should handle cases like this."

Marburger said, however, that he has still not decided on the question of whether Dube had done anything for which he should be censured. "If what Dube did was not inappropriate, then, of course, he ought to be free to do it again," he said. "Issues such as this one are so emotional. Some people are saying that this guy (Dube) is the devil, but I suspect that is not true. The Faculty Senate Executive Committee, which includes several Jewish members, felt that what Dube taught was in the realm of academic freedom. We need to be very sensitive to the opinion of the faculty and do not want it to appear that we are yielding to pressure, and are being pushed into riding roughshod over the Faculty Senate."

Marburger conceded that there was at least one aspect of the case — the fact that the university bulletin gave an inaccurate description of the course Dube taught — "where criticism is certainly justified and valid." He added, "This is an area that has to be cleaned up."

Rabbi Arthur Seltzer, director of the Long Island regional office of the Anti-Defamation League, said that he expects to meet with Marburger soon. Last week, Seltzer met with Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz, assistant to the governor on community affairs, and Ellen Conovitz, director of the governor's New York City office.

"The efforts of the governor's office in this case have been marvelous," Seltzer said. "I believe that the interest shown

by the governor's office was the main factor that caused the Stony Brook administration to reconsider the decision of the Faculty Senate Executive Committee."

Seltzer voiced concern that the central issue might get lost in all the discussion. "We are concerned that the discussions about academic freedom and academic responsibility could get so rarified that it might be almost forgotten that there is a professor here who was linking Zionism with racism and Nazism in his classroom," he said.

"We are certainly not trying to have Mr. Dube fired," Seltzer continued. "We believe that there should be a statement from the university that what Dube did was wrong and that such a thing should not be allowed to happen again. We are concerned that if the issue gets lost, and clear guidelines are not established, Dube will be free to continue in the same manner as before."

Stems From Accusations

The Dube case began with accusations by Selwyn Troen, a visiting professor at Stony Brook from Israel's Ben Gurion University of the Negev.

In a letter to Stony Brook administrators in July, Troen charged that Dube was teaching a course different from the one listed in the university undergraduate bulletin concerning the black experience in America.

Troen reported that Dube invited students to write term papers comparing Zionism to racism. Dube's course syllabus listed the final week of the class as "Three Forms of Racism: Nazism, Zionism in Israel, and Apartheid." □

Governor protests Syracuse Rosh Hashanah registration

The governor's office last week released the text of a letter sent by Governor Cuomo to Melvin Eggers, the chancellor of Syracuse University, to protest the fact that Syracuse is holding its registration this year on Rosh Hashanah.

In his letter, Cuomo stated, "This violates the religious sensitivities and rights of the large Jewish population of the university. I personally received quite a few letters protesting this lack of concern for the religious beliefs of your Jewish students. May I respectfully suggest that if at all possible, the date of registration be changed."

In remarks to the *Long Island Jewish World*, Jim Gies, assistant to the chancellor, said, "We plan our registration dates through a complicated

process several years in advance, so that by the time we discovered that this year's registration fell on Rosh Hashanah it was too late to change the date."

He added, "Instead, we have asked students who wish to observe Rosh Hashanah to submit their list of class preferences and alternatives to the administration ahead of time, and the registration of these students will be carried out through alternative registrars. We believe this system offers the best we could do under the circumstances."

Gies refused to comment on the Cuomo letter, except to say, "I do not know what prompted the governor to write his letter."

— Walter Ruby

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Senator Al D'Amato

E D I T O R I A L

Putting academic integrity to the test

Academic freedom is a foundation of this country's university system. Yet without concomitant academic responsibility, that freedom can degenerate into the abuse of the college classroom for the purposes of the promotion of propaganda or perpetuation of prejudice.

That, we believe, is the case in the Stony Brook University classroom of Ernest Dube, a professor who, in his course on "The Politics of Race," taught that "Zionism is a form of racism" and suggested for term papers the theme that "Zionism is as much racism as Nazism is racism."

In drawing the analogy between Zionism, the liberation movement of the Jewish people, and Nazism, Dube removed the examination of Zionism from the realm of legitimate intellectual debate and abused his position by disseminating misinformation to his students.

And the Faculty Senate Executive Committee which studied the case displayed extraordinary naivete in its exoneration of Dube. Stating that, "... what Dube taught fell within the traditional confines of academic freedom," the committee went on to add, "Dube did not force students to take his point of view, and certainly did not punish students who disagreed with him."

Surely these esteemed educators are aware that the authority inherent in the position of university professor confers on any teacher's ideas and perspectives a weight and respectability that cannot be offset by the possible dissent, if any, of a student.

This naivete of the university faculty has been matched by reactions of representatives of the Jewish community. One spokesman for the American Jewish Congress, for example, expressed the concern that protests by the Jewish community "would only put the professor in the position of being a martyr for academic freedom," while another AJCongress

spokesman noted that, "Because Dube is black, there is a danger this could become a black-Jewish confrontation, which we definitely do not want. The question the Jewish community must ask itself is, even if one assumes the worst about Dube, is it a good tactical move to attack him?"

While we agree that the principle of academic freedom should not be impinged upon, we do not believe the Jewish community should be inhibited from taking action or voicing protest when Zionism, a basic tenet of Jewish peoplehood, is being slandered.

And while we also agree that a black-Jewish confrontation is undesirable, we believe that it is even more undesirable that young men and women are being taught that Zionism is akin to Nazism, thereby justifying anti-Israel sentiment and activities. And we suggest that the appropriate question for the Jewish community is not one of "good tactical moves," but rather of responsible reaction to the content and intent of Dube's teachings.

For responsible reaction, the Jewish community is indebted to Governor Mario Cuomo and Rabbi Arthur Seltzer, director of the Long Island region of the Anti-Defamation League. It is Seltzer who, throughout the controversy about Dube, has insisted that the debate about academic freedom not obscure the fact that "there is a professor here who was linking Zionism with racism and Nazism in his classroom."

And it is Governor Cuomo who noted that the Zionism-is-racism doctrine taught by Dube serves "as justification for genocide in the form of . . . the annihilation of the State of Israel" and pointed to the overwhelming silence of the university faculty and administration. At the State University of Stony Brook, silence is not golden.

L E T T E R S

Dear Editor:

On behalf of the Jewish community of the Lower East Side, I want to thank you for your excellent series of articles on our neighborhood (August 5).

To many Jews, the Lower East Side is a historical Jewish community reminding them of their roots, the portal to America where the Jewish immigrant found freedom from the tyranny of Europe and Asia. This is all true. However, to those of us who live here, it represents, as your articles so vividly point out, a dynamic, vibrant and flourishing Jewish neighborhood in the city of New York.

The Lower East Side is truly a treasure of history, both past and present, for all people to share. Our neighborhood represents many of the Jewish community's finest achievements and we are proud to say that we still remain in the forefront. Your articles on the "Silver Bills" are about Sheldon Silver who represents the Lower East Side. Need I say more?

Douglas Balin
United Jewish Council of the East Side

Dear Editor:

The proposals from Orthodox rabbis to use the ante-nuptial agreement route in an attempt to solve the *agunah* problem are remarkably similar to the suggestions made by the late Professor Saul Lieberman of the Jewish Theological Seminary and adopted by the Conservative movement.

At the time, the Orthodox establishment, including some of those who are proposing that ante-nuptial agreements be made, viciously and unfairly attacked the great talmudist for his proposal. Articles appeared in the Orthodox press castigating the Conservative movement for the *Takana*. I believe an apology is due (if that is possible posthumously). The whole episode is illustrative of the Orthodox propensity to judge religious acts (like conversion and ante-nuptial agreements) on *who* does it, not on *what* is being done. Is this an example of "Torah true" ethics which we are admonished to adopt?

Seymour Siegel
Jewish Theological Seminary

About the cover

The original paper-cut created for this week's cover by Tsirl Waletzky utilizes several symbols of Rosh Hashanah. These include: the shofar, which is sounded on the new year to commemorate the creation of the world; the dove, a traditional symbol of peace; and the menorah, with its center core design rooted in the ancient Judaic menorah with its almond blossom and seed. The almond is a symbol of watchfulness and deep-rooted perseverance and it is drawn with the contemporary symbol of peace within it.

Tsirl Waletzky's acclaimed paper-cuts and other works will be on view in several local galleries and shows in upcoming months:

• There will be an exhibit and demonstration at

the Long Island Jewish Arts Festival on September 5, at the Usdan Center for the Creative and Performing Arts, 185 Colonial Springs Road, Wheatley Heights, L.I.

• On September 4, a complete show of Tsirl Waletzky's "Fine Judaica Paper-Cuts" will open at Gallery Judaica, North Shore Jewish Community Center, Norwood Avenue, at Old Town Road, Port Jefferson Station, N.Y. The show runs until September 25. For information, call 516/928-3737.

• "A New Light," a stained glass exhibit by Tsirl Waletzky and David Nulman, will reopen on October 4 at the Yeshiva University Museum, 2520 Amsterdam Ave., NYC. The exhibit continues until December 31.

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CAND LIGHT

Fri., Sept. 2
7:08 p.m.
Parshat 'Nit
Vayeylech'
Shabbat end
8:14 p.m.

President's Statement on the Controversy Surrounding
AFS/POL, 319 "The Politics of Race"
State University of New York at Stony Brook

John Marburger, September 6, 1983

It is by now well-known that one of our professors has drawn heavy criticism by describing Zionism as a type of racism in a course on "The Politics of Race". In urging his students to draw comparisons with other forms of racism, the professor also suggested, as one of a list of titles for term papers, "Zionism is as Racist as Nazism", a juxtaposition that the professor has described as deliberately provocative, as were the other titles on the list.

These plain facts have been cited by many people both within and outside our university as justification for officially censuring the professor as irresponsible. I strongly disagree and feel obliged to state in this public fashion my distress that the cardinal principle of our existence may be undermined.


Each University office or body that has examined the context of these facts has concluded that the professor has not violated the admonition of the Trustees of the State University of New York that "The principle of academic freedom shall be accompanied by a corresponding principle of responsibility..." Many individuals who concur with this judgment nevertheless disagree strongly with the ideas expressed by the professor and are uneasy about the manner of their presentation. The articulation of such disagreements is accomplished as a matter of course in the various forums of the University, and it is indeed to foster the airing of such issues that we exist as an institution.

Provost Neal has advised me in a compelling statement attached herewith that "the recommendations of Dean Neuberger and the University Senate Executive Committee represent the appropriate University position on this delicate matter." I concur, and endorse all three documents as University policy. Provost Neal also recommends means by which subsequent treatment of controversial issues can be encouraged to take place in a suitable atmosphere. We should move quickly to implement those means.

Nearly one year ago, I issued a general message on the unacceptability of racism at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. In that context, racism refers to the denigration of others on the basis of race or ethnicity. That message, which I am reissuing today, was not intended to suppress legitimate and possibly controversial discussion about racism. It was and is directed toward behavior that destroys the atmosphere of mutual respect and intellectual integrity that is essential for our mission.

I personally find the concept of a linkage between Zionism, racism and Nazism an abhorrent one, and urge that such topics be discussed with the utmost circumspection and attention to the sensitivities of groups that will be offended by them. Let us learn from this incident how to structure our free discussion so that all who should participate will be encouraged and not repelled from doing so.

MEMORANDUM

To: President John H. Marburger
From: Homer A. Neal, Provost 
Subject: Report on AFS/POL 319, Summer Session I
Date: September 2, 1983

I have reviewed the information assembled by Dean Neuberger pertinent to the concerns raised by Professor Troen regarding Professor Dube's handling of course AFS/POL 319 in Summer Session I. In addition, I have studied the recommendations of the Senate Executive Committee, as well as the process it used in reaching its decision.

It is my conclusion that the recommendations of Dean Neuberger and the University Senate Executive Committee represent the appropriate University position on this delicate matter. I will elaborate below on the details supporting this decision and suggest steps that should be taken to address some of the very important issues that have been raised by this case.

Academic freedom is a critical underpinning of higher education, a concept even antedating the freedom of speech provision in the U.S. Constitution. As defined in a AAUP article on the subject "...academic freedom consists in the absence of, or protection from such restraints and pressures...as are designed to create in the minds of academic scholars fears and anxieties that may inhibit them from freely studying and investigating whatever they are interested in, and from freely discussing, teaching, or publishing whatever opinions they have reached." The concept of academic freedom is embraced by the policies of the SUNY Board of Trustees, which state:

" It is the policy of the University to maintain and encourage full freedom, within the law, of inquiry, teaching and research. In the exercise of this freedom the faculty member may, without limitation, discuss his own subject in the classroom; he may not, however, claim as his right the privilege of discussing in his classroom controversial matter which has no relation to his subject. The principle of academic freedom shall be accompanied by a corresponding principle of

responsibility....."

In analyzing the case at hand one must first make a preliminary determination as to whether the purported action was clearly within the academic freedom rights of Professor Dube. If the answer is yes, then the formal phase of the inquiry should be terminated, with advice being given regarding the future structure of the course. If the answer is no, then very extensive proceedings should be invoked to assure that all elements of the charges are evaluated in great detail, with appropriate administrative action being initiated following such a review. It was the conclusion of the Executive Committee of the Senate and Dean Neuberger that there was sufficient evidence to show that the actions of Professor Dube were within the traditional bounds of academic freedom and that further detailed investigations were not required. I have found nothing to bring this position into question.

I wish to immediately draw a sharp distinction between whether the actions of Professor Dube are covered by the tenets of academic freedom, and whether you, I, or other members of the faculty believe, or do not believe, that the handling of the course was in the most sensitive, humane, and appropriate manner. The latter is not an issue for public analysis, though it is an issue that is clearly within the purview of the normal curriculum oversight of the department, dean, the curriculum committee, and the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Studies. Those who confuse academic freedom provisions with institutional endorsement of the actions of a professor miss the central meaning of academic freedom, and will run the risk of grossly misunderstanding actions of the University in highly charged cases such as the one in question. We, as administrators, have a clear responsibility to see that the academic freedom rights of our faculty are protected, even if we personally disagree with the theses they may be advancing. This point is forcefully made in the quote from a former President of the University of Buffalo, S. Capen:

"....If those who control a professor's employment attempt to place any metes and bounds whatsoever to academic freedom there is no academic freedom. Within the limits placed by the laws of the land it is absolute, or it is non-existent. Therefore trustees and presidents must interpose themselves between a justly outraged community and individuals whom they do not respect. They must at least condone platform behavior which fills them with disgust. They must allow their institutions to be disgraced and derided. These things they must do for the sake of a cause which often seems very remote and abstract, and which the public does not understand. It is a hard assignment."

I can find no evidence that Professor Dube undertook actions

that would have removed his handling of AFS/POL 319 from the coverage of the principle of academic freedom. There is no prima facie evidence of incompetence, and the charges that the course description was misleading because it specified that race relations in America were to be studied, rather than international racial topics, ignores the global interconnectedness of the topic. That is, there is no pedagogically sound way to totally separate what is occurring in the U.S. from what is occurring in the world. The implied connection between Zionism and racism is indeed viewed by many of us as highly objectionable, but it is hardly an original postulate, with, as an example, the UN passing a controversial resolution in 1975 claiming precisely this connection. This resolution, strongly opposed by our government, was clearly steeped in the politics of the time; nevertheless, we must preserve the opportunity for such issues to be openly discussed within our universities, which, after all, exist to bring the talents of world scholars to bear on the study and resolution of issues of extreme controversy, whether they be in physics, the social sciences, or other branches of knowledge.

There is indeed the concept of academic responsibility which applies to cases such as this. We must be very careful, however, in interpreting what is and what is not responsible. That is, each challenge to academic freedom will likely claim irresponsibility. The obverse is that only very infrequently will there be claims of improper action when it is felt that the professor behaved responsibly. Thus, we cannot admit as an acceptable decisive claim that a professor is irresponsible, and thus unprotected by academic freedom, because he promulgated controversial views that are supposed to be protected by academic freedom in the first place. I do believe, however, that responsibility does encompass the need to provide students with the opportunity to benefit from an objective analysis of all prevailing points of view. In my review of the facts of the case, within the above context, I have found no evidence for formally assessing that a degree of irresponsibility existed that would set aside the protection of academic freedom.

The following excerpt from the letter submitted by Prof. Dube to Dean Neuberger addresses his views regarding the controversy, and contains a description by him of the instructional approach utilized:

"...there are twelve topics and students are not only at liberty to choose one of these topics but they also have the right to come up with their own topics. The suggested topics were deliberately made to be provocative and the students in my class were at liberty to support or contradict the topic. All that was required of them was to show that they have at least used five sources for the material in the papers. I make no apologies for the inclusion of this topic

among the others. My classes are not for indoctrination nor are my students regarded by me as receptacles to be funneled into by me. They are not sponges that are required to be mere absorbers of information, but as I always say to them, being a student means learning not only new information but also learning to be critical of what you read and what you hear from professors, including me. My students are told that social scientists, including professors, are a product of their societies and their acquired experiences and they therefore, notwithstanding their attempts to be objective, cannot be totally objective, hence the students should be critical...."

I have above devoted a considerable amount of space making the case that the recommendations of the Senate Executive Committee and Dean Neuberger are the only rational ones that could have been reached in this case. However, I have no reluctance in stating that there are several elements of the case that I find disturbing. Indeed, as a result of academic freedom, I am able to openly state these concerns without fear of unduly infringing upon the rights of Prof. Dube.

Any good course on racism will inevitably touch upon several issues of extreme sensitivity. Such courses require an extraordinary degree of careful construction by the faculty member, by the department, and by the curriculum oversight structure of the University. The need for this additional degree of attention and sensitivity is dramatically displayed by the putative implication of parallels between Zionism and Nazism in one of the optional papers in AFS/POL 319. In my view, other more sensitive pedagogical approaches should have been used to elicit and highlight general comparisons between the oppressed and their oppressors, even though there is published literature with titles similar in character to those in Prof. Dube's assignment. Even the most remote association of Nazism with Zionism in such terms can be highly offensive, and can be especially painful to those who have themselves suffered, either directly or indirectly, as a result of the Holocaust. This example, and several others that have been called to my attention where, in totally different areas of the campus, the special cultural sensitivities of segments of our university family have been unnecessarily transgressed, should serve to remind us all of the need not only to do an outstanding job of delivering instruction, but to create an environment in which learning is a pleasurable experience for all of our students as well.

Thus, on the one hand, I am advocating a vigorous defense of the concept of academic freedom, and on the other, vigorously urging that all faculty and academic administrators give very special care to the preparation, review and delivery of instruction on delicate and sensitive topics.

I now wish to offer my recommendations concerning what steps

need to be taken next. In addition to the meeting we have had involving you, the Chair of the Africana Studies Program, Dean Neuberger, Professor Dube and myself to discuss what has transpired in this case, I suggest that similar meetings should be scheduled for representatives of the external groups that have expressed a genuine interest in the outcome of the case. Also, I believe we should proceed with the previous plans I had advanced for a campus symposium on racial and religious concerns, as one of several initiatives to increase the campus sensitivity to the needs and views of our various student and faculty groups. Furthermore, there should be a review by Undergraduate Studies of all sensitive courses on race, sex, and religion to make sure that the course descriptions are up-to-date and that they are being offered in a manner consistent with the approval of the appropriate curriculum committee. Indeed, I have already requested that such a review for AFS/POL 319 should commence immediately, since it is being offered this semester. In addition, in view of the extreme difficulty in defining the limits of academic responsibility and academic freedom, I propose that the Office of the Provost and the Executive Committee of the Senate commission a review and analysis by a select faculty committee of the adequacy of the existing pertinent campus guidelines and procedures, with a mandate to report its recommendations no later than December 15, 1983. Finally, I recommend that you issue a statement, with broad distribution on and off campus, expressing the University position on this matter.

In my view, Professor Dube, the Africana Studies Program, and the faculty in general have responded to the external pressures generated by this incident with dignity, restraint and objectivity. It has not been easy having the entire matter extensively debated in the public media at precisely the same time the University was attempting to gather the real facts of the case. Moreover, I wish to commend Dean Neuberger and the Executive Committee of the Senate for their careful and expeditious handling of this matter.

Please let me know if there is more you wish for me to do in connection with the resolution of this issue.

cc: A. Baraka
R. Douglas
E. Dube
E. Neuberger
J. Rosenthal
G. Spanier

Office of the President
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, New York 11794
telephone: (516) 246-5940

Stony Brook

TO: University Community

DATE: November 1, 1982

FROM: John Marburger

SUBJECT: The unacceptability of racism and antisemitism at Stony Brook

My administrative colleagues and I are alarmed at the frequency of incidents of harassment among students in which racism or antisemitism is alleged to be a motive. We wish to make it clear that racism and antisemitism are not acceptable in a university community, and that verifiable acts of such nature will evoke strong sanctions upon the perpetrators.

Equally alarming is the frequency with which non-racially motivated acts are assigned racial significance by individuals or groups who are rightly concerned but imperfectly informed about the facts of such incidents. Inflammatory action based upon incomplete or misleading information is irresponsible, and is itself an unpleasant form of racism. We understand that we have a responsibility to make facts regarding such incidents rapidly available to appropriate representatives of university constituencies, and we are taking steps to improve the lines of communication.

We are a large and diverse community. Most of us are mature and responsible citizens who are sensitive to the rights and needs of others. A very small number are not. It is our collective task to create an environment in which desirable changes in the behavior of these few are likely to occur. We ask your active assistance in this crucial task.

John Marburger

August 22, 1983

Dean's Statement on AFS/POL 319

I accept the Provost's August 16 statement as representing fully my own views on the general issues of academic freedom, academic responsibility and racism. I also believe that the University Senate Executive Committee's unanimous August 17 statement represents an appropriate view of the dispute over AFS/POL 319.

Both of these statements deal effectively with the key issues involved in the dispute. I believe that it is important to learn as much as we can from such unhappy events and I present here some of my own views as a basis for further exploration of these important issues by the University community.

There is no disagreement at Stony Brook that racism and racial or religious intolerance are unacceptable, and the Provost's statement on this topic is clear, unambiguous and definitive.

Both the Provost's and the Executive Committee's statements define fully the meaning of academic freedom and explain its crucial role in higher education. I strongly support the importance of academic freedom and agree that its crucial test comes when someone uses the classroom to expound views that are considered heretical, controversial, or "dangerous" by some individuals or groups. It is precisely to make it possible to explore such views that academic freedom is so important. Both statements also stress the fact that

academic freedom must be exercised responsibly. While everyone agrees that academic freedom requires the exercise of academic responsibility, just as is true of political freedom, there is much less agreement on the precise nature of this responsibility. This may be a good time to initiate a discussion of the various aspects of academic responsibility and of procedures that would serve to promote such responsibility.


In my opinion, the key element of academic responsibility is "the need to present to students an objective analysis of all prevailing points of view," as stated by the Provost. Let me specify this as meaning that an instructor should differentiate clearly between his/her own views and factual statements, should provide students with guidance to readings representing the important differing views on any controversial topic, and should encourage class discussion of such topics so that various approaches can be analyzed by the students. The instructor should make it clear to students that they are free to develop their own points of view and that the grades are to be based on the quality of the work and not the ideological position taken by the student. I urge the University Senate and my colleagues in the Administration to develop guidelines for academic responsibility.

Two other aspects of academic responsibility are highlighted by this controversy. While it is very important that controversial topics be discussed freely in the classroom, there is

a need for extreme sensitivity by the instructor in the coverage of such topics. The second is the need for the instructor and the Department to assure reasonable correspondence between a course description and course content. Procedures have already been introduced to improve the way in which we meet this obligation.

Furthermore, we should perfect our procedures for dealing with issues of academic freedom and academic responsibility, racism, sexism or discrimination of any other type. The basic approach taken in the case of AFS/POL 319 represents one of several possible models for such procedures. The complaint came to the Dean, who made some preliminary investigations to determine whether the case was serious enough to be pursued further, and then asked the University Senate Executive Committee, as representatives of the faculty, to explore the case and make a recommendation. The Dean then accepted the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

The Provost and the President are reviewing this case in order to determine whether the decision-making process and the decision itself succeeded in protecting the important values of academic freedom and academic responsibility.


Egon Neuberger, Dean
Social & Behavioral Sciences

Stony Brook

University Senate
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, New York 11794
telephone: (516) 246-3438

MEMORANDUM

To Egon Neuberger, Dean of Social and Behavioral Sciences
From Joel Rosenthal, ^{JTR} President Pro Tem of University Senate
Subject Attached statement
Date August 17, 1983

The Executive Committee met today and unanimously endorsed this statement:

The intellectual purposes of the University are best served when the traditional definition and exercise of academic freedom are seen to cover the exchange of any and all ideas. Academic freedom means the right to teach controversial issues and ideas, the right to disagree with authority, and the right to free expression. It also carries the corresponding responsibility to be especially sensitive to controversial issues that require access to differing views.

The controversy surrounding AFS/POL 319, as taught in Summer Session I, 1983, focuses attention on the problems of teaching and doing research in controversial areas. Moreover, it raises concern that questions about the handling of sensitive issues be considered within the traditional boundaries of academic disputation.

In the considered judgment of the Executive Committee of the University Senate, the bounds of academic freedom have not been crossed in this case.

JTR jv
CC President Marburger
Provost Neal
University Senate Executive Committee
Director of Africana Studies
Professor Dube
Professor Troen



The American Jewish Committee

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copy to Blumberg
CAF 9/16

September 13, 1983

Arnold B. Gardner, Esq.
Member, Board of Trustees
State University of New York
120 Delaware Avenue
Buffalo, New York 14202

Dear Arnold:

Marilyn Braveman has asked me to respond to your letter to her of September 1 concerning the controversy over Prof. Ernest Dube at Stony Brook. AJC is indeed familiar with this matter. In response to the finding of the Executive Committee of the University Senate that there had been no violation of academic freedom in this instance, on September 1, David Peirez, speaking as president of our Long Island Chapter, called for further inquiry into Prof. Dube's conduct. David stated:

"We are deeply concerned about the charges raised against Professor Dube and urge that further investigation be done concerning his professional behavior. While we strongly support the principle of academic freedom, we believe it must be tempered with professional ethics. One charged with teaching responsibility and authority should not manipulate his position to create a platform for the propagation of subjective political views to a captive student audience."

On September 15, our Long Island area director, Joan Silverman, will be meeting with other Jewish representatives to consider the matter further. I will ask Joan to share with you whatever views and recommendations may emerge from this meeting.

Cordially,

Samuel Rabinove

Samuel Rabinove
Director, Discrimination Division

SR:lk
cc: Marilyn Braveman

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State University of New York
State University Plaza
Albany, New York 12246

Office of the Executive Vice Chancellor

September 13, 1983

Hon. Stanley Steingut
220 East 42nd Street, 20th Floor
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Steingut:

It was a pleasure to have an opportunity to talk with you and to review some of the controversial events of last month at Stony Brook. I am enclosing herewith several statements concerning the Stony Brook issue which have originated from University personnel. I am sure that President Marburger at Stony Brook would be pleased to talk to you and to give detailed information about the way in which the campus is dealing with the problem. I know that there is a lot of internal discussion of the issue among faculty and students at Stony Brook.

I appreciate your comments on the origins of the State University. I hope that some day I may have an opportunity to talk with you at length concerning SUNY's birth. Please feel free to call if I can be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Donald D. O'Dowd
Executive Vice Chancellor

Enclosure

DDO'D:mak

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September 15, 1983

Governor Mario Cuomo
Executive Chamber
Albany, New York

Dear Governor Cuomo:

We wish to heartily commend your statements regarding Professor Ernest Dube's course at Stony Brook, SUNY.

Although the principle of academic freedom is one that must be upheld, there is a great responsibility inherent in that freedom, especially when one is dealing with ripening minds.

Most unfortunately, the full meeting of the Senate faculty committee, only confirmed the exoneration rendered earlier by an abbreviated meeting of that committee.

Needless to say, we were most disappointed with the outcome, although statements were made regarding a mechanism for proper administrative review of courses and syllabi. The course in question is still being taught (AFS/POL 319) and the course description refers outright to Zionism as a form of racism.

The very principle of academic freedom espoused by the supporters of Mr. Dube, is indeed subverted when opinion is presented as unqualified statement of fact, when no opposing point of view is included in the reading list and when there is absolute omission by the presenter of opposing point of view.

We must express our moral indignation and outrage that under the guise of academic freedom an institution of higher learning is free to help internalize and perpetuate the great lie created by the United Nations. That infamous Zionism/Racism resolution was resoundingly denounced by men of good will at that time, including the then U.S. Representative to the U.N., Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Can we, in New York State, afford to set a precedent for universities across the nation in allowing the legitimization of this vile myth?


Governor, we thank you for your strong words that addressed this situation at Stony Brook. We trust all our legislators will continue to speak out and act to bring moral responsibility back into the realm of academic freedom.

We would hope that this not end with the necessary and appropriate expressions of repugnance by our official leaders, but will lead to the establishment of some mechanism that will prevent the future abuse of academic freedom.

Sincerely,



Jo Amer
President



Tobie Newman
Executive Director

C/C: Ellen Conovitz
Donald Blinken

JTA daily news bulletin

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Friday, September 2, 1983

No. 168

BEGIN REFUSES TO NAME HIS SUCCESSOR

By Gil Sedan and Hugh Orgel

JERUSALEM, Sept. 1 (JTA) -- Efforts to nominate a successor to Premier Menachem Begin continued in high gear today as Begin rejected requests by Herut Party leaders that he personally nominate his successor to avoid a bitter contest between Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and

From the desk of . . .

ARNOLD B. GARDNER
ATTORNEY
120 DELAWARE AVENUE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14202
716-856-9234

9/15/83

Don:

A friend sent this to me. Now, I have heard from AJC, which has similarly interventionist ideas.

Arnold

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there are serious tears in the Likud camp that he might face difficulties in keeping the old coalition intact. One obstacle which has already surfaced was the announcement by five Likud Knesset members that they would not join the new coalition government unless it pledged to form a government of national unity with the Labor Alignment.

The five are Yitzhak Berman, Dror Seigeman and Menachem Savidor of the Liberal Party wing, and Yigael Hurwitz and Mordechai Ben-Porat of Tel Aviv.

Should these five defect, the new Likud government would have only 59 seats in the 120-member Knesset, two short of a majority. The possible de-

fection of these five MKs is not being taken lightly in view of the defection last year by two other Likud MKs, Amnon Lin and Yitzhak Peretz. They joined the Labor Alignment and thus made Labor the largest party in the Knesset.

If the outgoing Likud administration cannot agree on a new list of at least 61 Knesset members to form a new government, Herzog might very well give the Alignment a chance to form the new government. Even if the Likud manages to keep its present component factions intact, there may still be a need to renegotiate a new agreement within the coalition.

Demands By Other Parties

The Aguda has already indicated that it wants firm assurances that the old coalition would remain, now that Begin is no longer at its helm. The Tami Party, whose secretariat last week voted to quit the government unless the economic policies were geared more closely to meet the needs of low income groups, might continue to insist on those changes as the price for remaining in the new coalition.

The Liberal Party might demand a redistribution of Cabinet portfolios, starting with the post of Deputy Premier, which belonged to the late Simcha Ehrlich. Several Liberal Party members have already contacted the Labor Alignment to discuss switching allegiances. Alignment sources said this was not really a form of defection from the Likud but merely the result of "some Liberals having second thoughts about where they belong, in the wake of the war in Lebanon and concessions made by the Likud to the religious parties."

Hopes for a government of national unity have not been ruled out by the National Religious Party and Tami. The NRP, despite its allegiance to the coalition, has set an overall goal of bringing the Alignment into the coalition after it is formed by the Likud.

However, there is little enthusiasm for a national unity government in Alignment ranks. Younger elements in Mapam, an Alignment partner, have threatened to leave the Alignment if it agrees to a national unity government. The small Shinui movement has also ridiculed such an idea, saying it would be a national paralysis government.

Bitterness In The Campaign

Meanwhile, during the day today some bitterness developed in the Shamir-Levy campaign. Maariv quoted Ariel Sharon, the former Defense Minister who is now Minister Without Portfolio, as saying he would not serve in a government led by Levy. He reportedly said he would rather ally himself with the ultra-nationalist Tehiya Party.

All the seven Herut Cabinet ministers reportedly support Shamir. Both he and Levy have been close to Begin over the years. The friendship between Begin and Shamir goes back to the pre-State days, despite the fact that Shamir was a leader of the Stern Group and Begin led the Irgun. Although the two men parted ways during those underground days, their views have remained similar on foreign and defense issues.

The real split between Begin and Shamir occurred when Shamir abstained on the vote to approve the Camp David accords. But this did not hinder Begin

ORTHODOX JEWS, POLISH GOVERNMENT IN ACCORD ON JEWISH CEMETERIES

NEW YORK, Sept. 1 (JTA) -- A leadership delegation of Orthodox Jews returned from Warsaw last week with a signed agreement from the Polish government granting Orthodox communities outside of Poland control in the preservation of Jewish cemeteries in Poland. The agreement includes the establishment of a joint committee which will have the responsibility of restoring some of the 434 cemeteries which still exist in what was the largest Jewish community in pre-war Europe.

The report of the agreement was disclosed by Dr. Isaac Lewin and Rabbi Chaskel Besser, who headed the American delegation to the Warsaw talks. Other members of the delegation included Rabbi Chaim David Halberstam of the U.S., Rabbi Yehuda Meir Abramowitz of Israel, chairman of the Agudath Israel World Organization, I. M. Zimmelman of England, and Sholom David Horowitz of Belgium. The Polish government was represented by several ministers and representatives of the Prime Minister.

According to Besser, the delegation was accorded a royal welcome almost from the moment they arrived at Warsaw's International Airport, where they were greeted by a high level Polish delegation. The Orthodox leaders had traveled to Poland at the request of leading Torah authorities from around the world.

In their report, Lewin and Besser noted that there were over 800 cemeteries in Poland before the war. Currently, only 434 remain, of which only 22 can be classified as in decent condition. The Polish government itself concedes that 68 are "half damaged" and a further 73 are over 60 percent ruined.

There are 136 burial grounds in which only a few tombstones remain, and 129 of which there are no signs of graves or tombstones, but the areas and boundaries are still known by local inhabitants. All have no fences, with the result that they are increasingly vandalized and often used as recreational grounds.

The worst condition involves some 250 burial grounds in the smaller towns and villages of which not only is there no trace of graves but it is difficult to establish the proximity of their former existence, the report added.

Permanent Commission Established

The permanent commission that was established as a result of the agreement will include the Polish Ministries of Religion, Finance, Home and Culture. The Polish Jewish community will be represented by their President, Moshe Finkelstein, and Orthodox communities outside Poland will be represented by delegates from Israel, the United States, England, Belgium and Switzerland. The next plenary session is to be convened in November, at which time a comprehensive plan will be available for implementation, according to Lewin and Besser.

During their visit, the delegation also visited the former concentration camp in Auschwitz. Two members of the delegation were former inmates of the camp. In the report, Besser noted that there are still a number of synagogues in Warsaw, Cracow, Lodz and Wroclaw, but that they can only muster a quorum on the Sabbath. Those attending are

mostly elderly and there is little sign of youth. No Jewish marriages take place.

In their discussions with Polish government officials, the Orthodox leaders raised the issue of the preservation of synagogues in Poland, including such historic sites as the huge Beth Hamedrash of the Gerer Rebbe. Also under discussion was a plan to provide kosher food in several locations throughout Poland for visitors.

CUOMO RAPS UNIVERSITY FACULTY FOR NOT OPPOSING TEACHINGS OF PROFESSOR WHO LINKED ZIONISM WITH RACISM

By Ben Gallob

NEW YORK, Sept. 1 (JTA) -- Governor Mario Cuomo issued a denunciation yesterday of the faculty of the State University (SUNY) at Stony Brook for failing to openly oppose the teachings of a faculty member linking Zionism and racism.

Cuomo also said, in a statement, that the teaching of Prof. Ernest Dube was "intellectually dishonest and pernicious because it is designed to serve as a justification for genocide in the form of a completion of the 'final solution' through annihilation of the State of Israel."

A spokesperson told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that the Governor issued the statement after members of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith met with the Governor's staff in New York City, but stressed that he had issued the statement independently of that meeting because "he feels very strongly" about the development.

Dube was exonerated on August 17 by the executive committee of the university Faculty Senate, which ruled that the South African-born professor had not breached academic ethics or the bounds of academic freedom in his teaching of a course on "The Politics of Race."

A university official said a report will be made on September 12 to the full Faculty Senate and action against Dube was still possible. Dube is away on vacation.

Declaring he was not certain what the exoneration of Dube by the faculty committee meant, Cuomo said that if the report of that committee "is posited in such a way as to make it possible to construe its meaning as an endorsement of the doctrine" equating Zionism with racism "or the soundness of its reasoning, then I reject that report."

Governor Cites 'Twisted Logic'

Cuomo then declared he was "disappointed" that more faculty members at Stony Brook "did not publicly disagree with the content of the statement" exonerating Dube. The Governor said academic freedom "should not release anyone from the responsibility to express appropriate moral repugnance." He added that academic freedom "certainly does not restrict their freedom to do so, nor does it demand silence in the face of twisted logic that does damage."

The faculty investigation followed a charge by Selwyn Troen, a visiting professor from the Ben Gurion University in the Negev, who sent a letter to university officials asserting that Dube "employed his position for the propagation of personal ideology and racist biases."

In his letter asking for a formal investigation of Dr. Dube's teaching on race, Troen said he was acting on a complaint from a student and submitted Dube's course materials as evidence. Troen has since returned to Israel.



State University of New York

State University Plaza
Albany, New York 12246

Office of the Chancellor

September 26, 1983

Mr. Harold L. Drimmer
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Hartford Hall
Westchester Community College
75 Grasslands Road
Valhalla, New York 10595

Dear Mr. Drimmer:

Thank you for your letter of August 30. The rights and responsibilities that accompany academic freedom, particularly in the presentation of controversial subjects, must be of major concern to all of us involved in higher education.

The accusations made about Professor Dube's teachings have been reviewed by the administration at Stony Brook, as well as by members of Stony Brook's University Senate. The responsible campus officers and the Senate Committee that explored the issues concluded that Professor Dube did not exceed the limits of academic freedom. This finding does not relate to the substance of Professor Dube's teachings or his approach to the topic. Rather, the finding only recognizes the right to present disputable material and that Professor Dube did not exceed the discretion faculty have in the presentation of subject matter.

Attached are two statements concerning the matter that will be of interest to you. One was issued by Mr. Donald M. Blinken, Chairman, SUNY Board of Trustees, and the other by Dr. John Marburger, President of the State University at Stony Brook. Both statements clearly distinguish between two questions: first, the freedom to present controversial views; second, the merit -- or lack of merit -- of a particular view. We believe these statements speak for most of us who are affiliated with SUNY.

If you have any further questions about the matter, please be in touch.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.
Chancellor

Attachments

bc: ✓ Mr. Blinken - w/copy of corres.
Dr. Komisar - w/corres.



State University of New York
State University Plaza
Albany, New York 12246

Office of the Vice Chancellor for
University Affairs and Development

August 31, 1983

Following is a statement by Donald M. Blinken, chairman of the Board of Trustees, State University of New York:

"The recent controversy arising from the course taught by a Stony Brook faculty member has generated considerable concern. I have been assured by SUNY Central Administration that the State University of New York University Center at Stony Brook has not concluded its review of the controversy. Rather, the Executive Committee of the Stony Brook University Senate studied the case as a possible violation of academic freedom and concluded there had been no such violation. The Committee's work is presently being reviewed by the Stony Brook administration.

"The Executive Committee's action, taken in mid-August and therefore in the absence of most of the Stony Brook faculty, was in no way intended to condone or provide support for the content of the faculty member's remarks, but solely to affirm his right to free expression in the classroom.

"Any disagreement with the Stony Brook faculty member's course content is a matter totally separate from the academic freedom question. All individuals, of course, are free to take issue with the faculty member's views.

"I personally would find that any attempt to equate Nazism with Zionism is to be ignorant of history and to tie Zionism with racism is a reprehensible distortion of reality. But the principles of academic freedom are essential to scholarship and I would defend the right of any professor to present controversial views.

"In the present instance, the campus must be allowed to make the appropriate factual judgments and conclude its review under well-established procedures."

John Harburger, September 6, 1983

It is by now well-known that one of our professors has drawn heavy criticism by describing Zionism as a type of racism in a course on "The Politics of Race". In urging his students to draw comparisons with other forms of racism, the professor also suggested, as one of a list of titles for term papers, "Zionism is as Fascist as Nazism", a juxtaposition that the professor has described as deliberately provocative, as were the other titles on the list.

These plain facts have been cited by many people both within and outside our university as justification for officially censuring the professor as irresponsible. I strongly disagree and feel obliged to state in this public fashion my distress that the cardinal principle of our existence may be undermined.

Each University office or body that has examined the context of these facts has concluded that the professor has not violated the admonition of the Trustees of the State University of New York that "The principle of academic freedom shall be accompanied by a corresponding principle of responsibility..." Many individuals who concur with this judgment nevertheless disagree strongly with the ideas expressed by the professor and are uneasy about the manner of their presentation. The articulation of such disagreements is accomplished as a matter of course in the various forums of the University, and it is indeed to foster the airing of such issues that we exist as an institution.

Provost Neal has advised me in a compelling statement attached herewith that "the recommendations of Dean Neuberger and the University Senate Executive Committee represent the appropriate University position on this delicate matter." I concur, and endorse all three documents as University policy. Provost Neal also recommends means by which subsequent treatment of controversial issues can be encouraged to take place in a suitable atmosphere. We should move quickly to implement those means.

Nearly one year ago, I issued a general message on the unacceptability of racism at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. In that context, racism refers to the denigration of others on the basis of race or ethnicity. That message, which I am reissuing today, was not intended to suppress legitimate and possibly controversial discussion about racism. It was and is directed toward behavior that destroys the atmosphere of mutual respect and intellectual integrity that is essential for our mission.

I personally find the concept of a linkage between Zionism, racism and Nazism an abhorrent one, and urge that such topics be discussed with the utmost circumspection and attention to the sensitivities of groups that will be offended by them. Let us learn from this incident how to structure our free discussion so that all who should participate will be encouraged and not repelled from doing so.

The Stony Brook Rift: Racism and Zionism

By MICHAEL WINERIP

ON Aug. 17, five faculty members at the State University of New York at Stony Brook met to review the evidence against Prof. Ernest Dube.

It was skimpy evidence, those five executive committee members agreed — certainly nothing they ever dreamed would attract the attention of the Governor.

In a two-page letter, a visiting professor from Israel had charged Professor Dube with using the classroom for "the kind of sloganeering that is practiced by the anti-Semite," including teaching that Zionism is racist.

The Israeli professor, Selwyn K. Troen, had never been to Professor Dube's class nor made an attempt to talk with Professor Dube. He based his letter on conversations with a single student and a copy of the course syllabus and shortly afterward flew back to Israel.

"Frankly, I thought what Professor Troen said was bull," said Joel Rosenthal, a Stony Brook history professor and head of the committee. That same day, after reviewing the evidence available, the committee decided that Professor Dube was within the bounds of academic freedom and had not acted improperly.

The committee members were not inclined to look deeper. They feared an extensive investigation of Professor Dube's classroom behavior would look like a McCarthy-style witchhunt. "Most of us felt if we did investigate, it would be a major accusation of Professor Dube," said Egon Neuberger, a committee member and dean of social and behavioral sciences.

But if, as the committee decided, the evidence was flimsy, could the charges still be true? Had Professor Dube imposed his political point of view on his students, as the Israeli professor charged?

The committee chose not to find out. "There was an attempt to contain this," said Dean Neuberger. "Obviously it was unsuccessful."

Local Jewish groups were notified and pressed the issue with one of the Governor's aides who specializes in Jewish affairs. Within two weeks the Governor issued a statement singling out Professor Dube and condemning anyone who linked Zionism and racism.

That set off a flurry of countercharges on campus from the student newspaper and some faculty members that the Governor was playing to his Jewish constituency. The chairman of the board of the the State University of New York got into it, the president of Stony Brook did, too, and then the Africana studies program put out a statement that, in turn, prompted 43 senior faculty members to fire back a new counterstatement.

Every few days now, there is a revived charge from one group or another. As Professor Rosenthal remarked: "I don't know what's going on next."

The 54-year-old Professor Dube is a black native of South Africa who spent four years in prisons there for his opposition to the white government. After getting his Ph.D. at Cornell, he went to Stony Brook in 1977, and he has been there since, serving as chairman of the Africana studies program at one point.

As an assistant professor he has taught the Politics of Race course for three years. According to Dean Neuberger, the complaint filed against him last summer was the first.

In his course, Professor Dube discusses overt, covert and reactive racism.



Mr. Goldsmith was asked this week by a reporter to read Professor Troen's letter. He said he agreed with it except for two things — he did not think from his experience that Professor Dube was either a racist or anti-Semite.

Everything moved very quickly after Professor Troen's July 15 letter was mailed. He sent it to the Stony Brook provost and to several of his friends on the faculty, and within a week a copy of it had been mailed, anonymously, to the Anti-Defamation League in New York.

Rabbi Arthur Seltzer, regional director of the league on Long Island, said he felt the letter, syllabus and course topics were damning. "I'm very sure from the syllabus this was raised in a propagandistic way," he said. "We know in international parlance that anti-Zionism is a code word for anti-Semitism."

When the faculty executive committee decided the evidence was too flimsy to investigate further, Rabbi Seltzer asked for a meeting with Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz, a human-affairs aide to the Governor and got it the next day. Rabbi Mowshowitz said the Governor decided on his own to make a statement after seeing news accounts of the dispute, the syllabus and paper topics. "He has always had strong feelings about the Jewish people and Israel," the rabbi said.

Governor Cuomo's statement raised the whole issue to a new level, giving it national attention. He said — as several State University leaders would say after him — that while he defends academic freedom and the right to be controversial, he personally abhorred the linking of Zionism and racism. "It is a teaching, which is in my opinion intellectually dishonest," the Governor said.

He criticized the Stony Brook faculty for its "thunderous silence," and in particular raised questions about the faculty committee. "If the report of the faculty committee is posited in such a way to construe its means as an endorsement of the [Zionism/racism] doctrine or the soundness of its reasoning, then I reject that report."

In fact, says Professor Rosenthal, the faculty committee document said nothing about supporting Professor Dube's ideas, focusing instead on the right to express controversial ideas in the class. As for the "thunderous silence," said Professor Rosenthal, classes had started two days earlier and much of the faculty had been away and unaware of the issue.

"I felt the Governor's statement was very unfortunate and very unnecessary," Professor Rosenthal said. "I think he did it to help himself politically."

Higher officials of the State University of New York were more circumspect. "Was the Governor's action politically motivated? Oh I don't have any feelings about that at all," said Dr. Jerome Komisar, provost of the State University system.

On Sept. 12, a full meeting of the university senate supported the executive committee's conclusions by a 54-14 vote. The administration also promised to review all courses that could be considered religiously, ethnically or racially sensitive.

And that is how the matter stands officially right now.

Virtually no one seems pleased. Professor Dube feels he was unfairly singled out for political rather than legitimate academic reasons. He worries that it could affect bid for tenure next year. "Yes, I think it could," he said. "It makes me angry because it could bring things into play that are extraneous to the decision."

Professor Troen says he feels that the whole thing was a whitewash and that the Stony Brook administration screamed "academic freedom," because it was afraid of what a thorough investigation might show.

The Anti-Defamation League visited the campus for the third time last week to restate its complaints that Professor Dube should be investigated more vigorously.

And the Africana studies department has issued a statement criticizing the administration for not defending Professor Dube vigorously enough.

The Stony Brook president, Dr. John Marburger 3d, thinks the whole thing was blown way out of proportion. He found the Governor's language "overly strong." He worries about the review of "sensitive" courses. "How do you decide what course is sensitive? Very cautiously," he says.

On the one hand he feels that because the faculty committee did not investigate more deeply, unresolved questions will continue to fester. And on the other hand, he feels that a complete investigation might have been more damaging than the cursory investigation and yielded no different answers.

What has been lost sight of, he believes, is that while every course must be taught in a fair manner, no one professor is going to be objective and that a university's job is to provide courses taught from different points of view.

For a different point of view of Zionism from Professor Dube's, a Stony Brook student could take "Zionism 1848 to 1948," an offering by the Judaic studies and history departments.

"It's a good, solid objective view of Zionism as a movement for national liberation," said Prof. Ruben Weltsch, the instructor.

At the moment, said Professor Weltsch, "I'd say the great majority who take my course are Jewish — sympathetic to the movement. Students have a tendency to seek out courses for their biases."

And that, Professor Weltsch said, might not make them too different from anyone else. ■

Stony Brook Rift Splits the Faculty

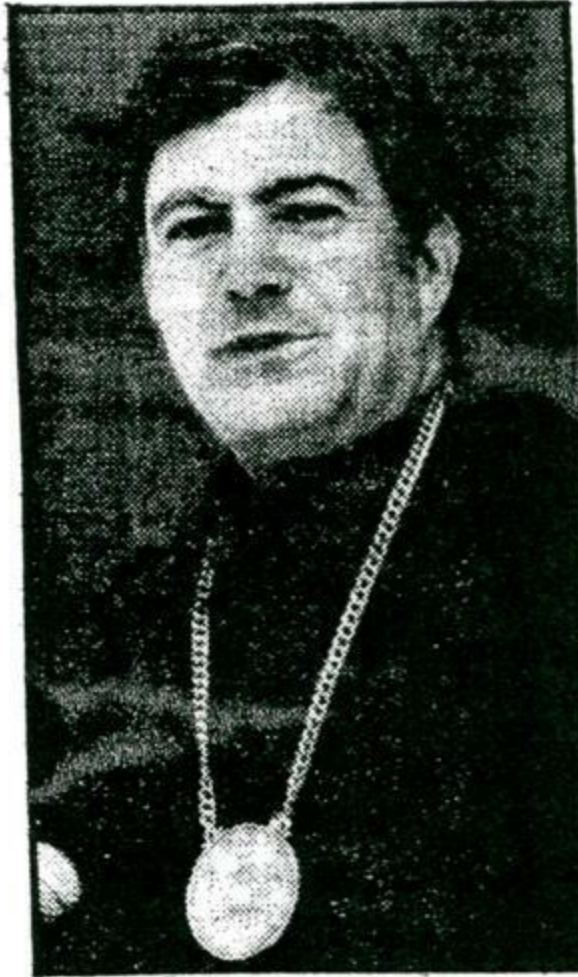
Continued From Page 1

with the South African Government. Covert racism includes readings on racism in the United States. And reactive racism — the tendency of a people victimized to victimize others — includes a discussion of Israeli Jews' attitudes toward Arabs. He teaches that Jews were victims of Nazi racism and that many have, in turn, developed some of those same racist attitudes toward Arabs.

Professor Dube estimates that his linking of Zionism — the Jewish nationalist movement that brought about the state of Israel — and racism typically takes up half a lecture in a semester of about 24 lectures. He estimates he spends roughly the same amount of time discussing reactive racism among black pan-Africans who want whites expelled from the African continent.

Professor Dube cites a United Nations resolution of 1975 to support his inclusion of Zionism in the racism course. That resolution — widely condemned in the United States, Western Europe and Israel, but widely supported by third world countries — declared that Zionism was a form of racism.

Each semester Professor Dube gives out topics for term papers for those students who do not come up with ideas of their own. Some of the suggested topics Professor Dube agrees with, some he does not. "The suggested topics are deliberately



The New York Times / John Sotomayor

John H. Marburger 3d

made to be provocative," he says.

One topic on last summer's list is partly responsible for the recent commotion: "Zionism is as much racism as Nazism was racism."

The student who complained about Professor Dube, Robert Goldsmith, 23, of Levittown, was not particularly upset by the views the professor presented in the course last summer. While Mr. Goldsmith says he is considerably more pro-Israel than Professor Dube, he characterizes the professor's view as the typical third world view he has heard often before.

Nor did Mr. Goldsmith feel he was graded down for differing with the professor. He got a "pass" in the course, but estimates that if he had taken it for a grade he would have received a "B" or a "B plus."

What bothered the student was Professor Dube's attitude during lectures. He felt the professor advanced an ideology without encouraging debate and bullied those who disagreed. In particular, he says, at the start of the course last summer, he disagreed with a statement the professor made on Israel, which led the two to a discussion of world politics.

"He screamed at me, 'This is a class about racism, not morality,' and after that he dismissed the class," said Mr. Goldsmith. "He was not the most encouraging of open debate. I haven't been screamed at by too many professors." Professor Dube says he has no recollection of such an argument.

No one — not the faculty committee nor the Jewish groups nor the Governor's office nor the press — has done large-scale, systematic interviews with students who have taken Professor Dube's course, but it is clear even from limited interviews that many did not share Mr. Goldsmith's feelings. For example, David Vesel, 24, a history major, and Geoffrey Reiss, 23, a political science major, both said in interviews that they felt it was a good course, and that while Professor Dube had a strong point of view, he allowed for disagreement.

And Holly Fierce, 22, who just graduated, said she took the course last year and wrote a paper disagree-

ing with the suggested term-paper topic on Nazism and Zionism. "I argued on the final that Zionism was not a form of racism as the majority of people see racism being." She did well on the paper, she said, getting a B in the course, which was a bit better than her overall C plus average at Stony Brook.

Professor Troen, who is a dean at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, was a visiting professor at Stony Brook for two years, ending last summer. During the summer Professor Troen met Mr. Goldsmith and the two discussed the course, at first casually, then more seriously. Eventually, Professor Troen decided to write his letter based on their discussions.

Professor Troen was particularly upset by the term-paper topic on Nazism and Zionism, and by a part of the syllabus, which said: "Fifth week: The three forms of racism and how they have manifested themselves: 1. Nazism in Germany. 2. Apartheid in South Africa. 3. Zionism in Israel."

"That was primarily what I went on," said Professor Troen in a telephone interview from Israel last week. "I absolutely did not attempt to contact Dube. I was leaving and I didn't want a personal confrontation with Dube. I didn't feel I should be in a position as a personal accuser. I had a problem whether to write the letter when I was leaving, but I thought the situation was so dramatic, I had to take action."

Professor Troen, who was born and educated in the United States and moved to Israel about a decade ago, points out that by Israeli standards he is more moderate than average, a supporter of the Labor Party, rather than the right-of-center Likud. With his colleagues, he said, he is working to build a college for blacks in South Africa. "What I'm saying is, I'm a good fellow," he said. "I'm in the right."

Was he aware, he was asked, that several students remember the Zionist discussion as less than half a lecture? "No, I'm not aware of that, but that doesn't speak to me at all. The syllabus said three forms of racism and included Zionism. That's a very large statement. The real question is whether that kind of statement is to be made at the university. I don't care, if it's 5, 10 or 25 minutes."

"Associating Zionism with racism is designed to incite people. That's what I found objectionable. Jews are not to be compared with Nazis. In fact, no one is to be compared with Nazis."

"In some ways all nationalistic movements are exclusive," Professor Troen continued. "If you want to talk about Jewish nationalism as being racist, we can do it without the inflammatory labels."

"I think there are certain things beyond debate. If someone gave a course saying blacks were inferior, it would just not be an appropriate thing to say. If he used words like 'injustice' or 'invalid claims of Jews to Palestine,' but the use of the word 'Nazi' is to my mind the act of a hater. It has emotional weight. If he had said there is racism in Israel in the way some Jews treat Arabs, I'd agree."

Professor Troen was asked if it would be possible to know such subtle points without direct contact with Professor Dube.

"It is not possible I could have jumped to conclusions," Professor Troen said. "I felt I had enough information. I think it was there in blacks and whites. What he did was anti-Semitic. It doesn't matter that I don't know the man or never met him personally."

For his part, Professor Dube denies being an anti-Semite. "If you grow up in South Africa," he said, "you generally find among whites, the people who treat you like human beings will invariably be Jews."

October 19, 1983

In view of the continuing concern regarding the position of the administration of the State University of New York at Stony Brook with respect to the course "The Politics of Race" taught by Professor Dube, I wish to clarify and reiterate that position so there will be no doubts about it.

The Stony Brook administration, for which I speak officially here, absolutely divorces itself from the views expressed in this course, and from any view that links Zionism with racism or nazism. Furthermore, I personally find such linkages morally abhorrent.

Several events have occurred subsequent to the incident that drew attention to Professor Dube's course that some have interpreted as implying a pattern of antisemitic behavior at Stony Brook. These events are each of them unfortunate, but in my opinion are unrelated to each other and to the course taught by Professor Dube. I have already criticized the publication of a poem entitled "Godless Jew" in a campus literary magazine as insensitive. I deplore the letter written by the Chair of the Africana Studies Department to its Dean for introducing irrelevant political issues into the sensitive discussion of the handling of the Dube course. Earlier last summer, Polity, the student government organization, acted to cut student fee support of Hillel, an action that, whatever its explanation, resulted in an injustice to Hillel on our campus. I believe our approach to these incidents has been sensitive, fair and effective, and that they are anomalies, not the norm, for our campus.

As the Provost and I have promised, and I now reconfirm, a variety of initiatives have been undertaken to review courses and programs including sensitive material, and to bring to our campus a higher degree of understanding of behavior likely to be offensive to one or another of our constituencies. Among other things, the relationship between published course descriptions and actual course offerings is being reviewed. A new campus-wide program of intensive review of undergraduate departments, planned over a year ago, is scheduled for implementation during the Spring 1984 semester. Provost Neal has appointed the select faculty committee described in his statement of September 2, and the committee has begun to meet. It is chaired by Professor C. N. Yang, and includes faculty members of great distinction. The Provost has also appointed a committee, chaired by Dean Neville, to plan and initiate a series of campus events to increase campus awareness of and sensitivity to the issues which underlie the current controversy. Dean Neville's committee will include community representatives to ensure that we take advantage of valuable human resources in our region.

It is clear from the widespread public reaction to our handling of these incidents that we need more positive and closer ties with our community constituencies. To strengthen those ties, I am developing plans for a permanent committee including community members to advise me and my colleagues on such sensitive issues at Stony Brook.

October 23, 1983

Stony Brook Rift: Zionism and Racism

The article "The Stony Brook Rift: Racism and Zionism" [Long Island Weekly, Oct. 2], missed the mark in an essential aspect. This is embodied in the statement by Robert Goldsmith, a student of Professor Dube, as he recounted the professor's remarks during a class discussion on Israel: "He screamed at me, This is a class about racism, not morality."

This position which Professor Dube takes towards Zionism vis-a-vis racism and Nazism, is the root of his bigotry.

To associate Zionism with racism and Nazism under the guise of provoking students' minds is the height of immorality. Once a professor poses as a subject for a term paper a comparison between two philosophies, whether it be between apples and oranges or Zionism and Nazism, there is always the strong implication in the students' minds that there is a large element of similarity between the two.

I am certain that at no time since the inception of Zionism and the State of Israel was there any thought of a "final solution" for the Arab-Israeli problem. May I cite an example: Should a professor suggest to his class a topic for a term paper as follows: "In view of the racial census of the New York State prison population, should blacks be categorized as inclined towards rape and homicide?" — this too would be a height of immorality.

Professor Dube cannot hide his bias against Jews under the cloak of Zionism and academic freedom. He must not be allowed to do so!

RABBI JULIUS GOLDBERG
Plainview Jewish Center

In the controversy about Professor Dube's course in The Politics of Racism, academic freedom is a false issue; and the faculty committee that

dismissed without investigation the allegations of impropriety on the part of Professor Dube came to an irrelevant and short-sighted conclusion in declaring that the professor was within the bounds of academic freedom.

The canons of good journalism require separating editorial opinion from the reporting of facts. University professors should be held to the same standard. If Dube's published syllabus lists as a topic to be discussed, "Fifth Week: The three forms of racism and how they have manifested themselves: 1. Nazism in Germany. 2. Apartheid in South Africa. 3. Zionism in Israel.", he is listing as factual material to be discussed a matter that is merely opinion.

Even in a representative anti-Zionist group many — perhaps a majority — would argue against classifying Zionism as a form of racism, although they would decry individual occurrences in Zionist Israel that they might consider racist. The faculty committee should be concerned to ascertain whether Dube is using his privileged position in the classroom to present his personal views as fact.

The committee should also be concerned about the insensitive, provocative form of the topic listing in the syllabus. A device often used by propagandists to inflame public opinion against a given group in society is to place the name of the target group in close proximity to that of a group despised by decent people. The listing in Dube's syllabus is likely to have such an inflammatory effect, inducing in young, unsophisticated minds the association, Israelis/Nazis, and in the minds of the more immature, by extension, Jews/Nazis.

Governor Cuomo is to be congratulated for his intervention. It is regrettable that it was necessary.

JEROME ZAUDERER
Forest Hills

The issues raised by the controversy evoke strong reactions and painful memories. A mere 40 years ago the Nazi campaign to dehumanize and deligitimize the Jewish people resulted in the genocide of European Jewry. It is impossible to disassociate that tragedy from contemporary statements which deligitimize Israel. The comparison of Zionism with Nazism implies that Israel's enemies have the right to destroy her as the Allies once sought the eradication of Nazism.

I do not expect the Stony Brook administration or faculty to become the spokespeople for Jewish sensitivities. Most tragic in this unfortunate controversy is the failure of university leaders to defend those values of the university community which exist alongside academic freedom.

It is a university's responsibility to encourage open discussion, to foster understanding among the disparate groups which it brings together, and to convey to the next generation civilization's acquired store of knowledge about the complexity of the world.

Propagandistic slogans asserting that Zionism is akin to racism and Nazism stifle dialogue, spawn hate and suspicion, and falsely suggest simplistic responses to situations which defy solutions.

The failure of the administration and faculty at Stony Brook to disassociate themselves from statements which exacerbate prejudice and mistrust has tarnished the moral stature of Stony Brook. The university's inability to define clearly the desirable boundaries of discourse at Stony Brook bespeaks confusion about the fundamental purposes of a university.

RABBI NEIL KURSHAN
Port Washington

The writer of the following letter was a student in Professor Dube's class and discussed his complaints with Professor Troen.

The Stony Brook Rift: Zionism and Racism was not a textbook case of objective reporting. Some points were

omitted completely; others were simply misleading. The following is a partial list.

1. A central part of the complaint against Professor Dube was that he used his classroom to disperse PLO propaganda rather than a merely biased viewpoint based on his personal experience and convictions. While equating Zionism to Nazism, the professor repeatedly quoted statements and assertions damaging to Israel from books and other sources unavailable to the students. In fact, of nine books on the required and recommended reading lists for the summer course, none were about Israel, Arabs or Zionism.

Professor Dube frequently vilified Israel for its weapons sales to South Africa while neglecting to mention the numerous military and commercial connections between many other African countries and South Africa. He took great care throughout the course (not just during the Zionism lecture) to make sure the students knew just how monstrous Israel was. When asked by a student why Israel and South Africa were such good friends, the professor said, "Because they are just as bad as each other."

2. The article depicts Professor Troen's argument as centering on the legitimacy of calling Professor Dube a racist. This was not the gist of the complaint; considering the inflammatory nature of Professor Dube's remarks about Israel and its people, it's clear that Professor Troen and various Jewish groups had every reason to be upset.

3. The story quotes students defending Dube's course but it doesn't state that those students didn't take the class in the summer session from which the complaint arose.

4. In the summer course, Professor Dube spent one out of nine three-hour lectures tagging Zionism as racism, so his memory of devoting only half of one of 24 classes to that issue is obviously inaccurate.

ROBERT GOLDSMITH
Levittown

LONG ISLAND

Jewish World

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FIFTY CENTS



In aftermath of bombing:

Lebanese ambassador urges U.S.: Stand up to Syria

By WALTER RUBY

In the wake of the bombing of the headquarters of the U.S. Marines in Beirut with heavy loss of American lives, the Lebanese Ambassador to the United States, Abdallah Bouhabib, told the *Long Island Jewish World*, that, "Despite this terrible event, I still believe that the United States should not pull its Marines out of Lebanon. On the contrary, the United States should take a more confrontational approach vis-a-vis the Syrians, who are occupying more than half of our country."

Ambassador Bouhabib's latest statement on the necessity of retaining U.S. troops in Lebanon reconfirmed the thrust of remarks he made earlier in the week in an appearance at the Hewlett-East Rockaway Jewish Center. In that speech, the first the Lebanese ambassador had ever delivered before an American Jewish audience, Bouhabib said, "The United States is a superpower and can do a lot to induce the Syrians to withdraw from Lebanon. If the U.S. has all the power, and then says it is not

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Stony Brook President Marburger: New statement reflects desire 'to do the right thing'

By WALTER RUBY

John H. Marburger III, president of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, said last week that his recent decision to "absolutely divorce" the Stony Brook administration from the teachings of a Stony Brook professor that Zionism is a form of racism evolved out of his personal desire "to do the right thing on this issue by taking a positive action which would be responsive to the needs of the Jewish community, while not violating . . . academic freedom." Marburger added, "The characterization that I made this decision because of pressure from the Jewish community is completely incorrect."

Marburger made his comments in an exclusive interview with the *Jewish World* one day after he issued his latest statement on the course "The Politics of Race," taught by Professor Ernest Dube of Stony Brook's Africana Studies Department.

In his statement, which was issued last Wednesday after Marburger met with representatives of 35 local and national Jewish groups in a Westbury hotel room, the Stony Brook president reiterated that he personally found linkages between Zionism, racism and Nazism to be "morally abhorrent" and confirmed that the university planned "a variety of initiatives . . . to review courses and programs including sensitive material, and to bring to our campus a higher degree of understanding of behavior likely to be offensive to one or another of our constituencies." Among these undertakings is the appointment of a select faculty committee to undertake a campus-wide review of undergraduate departments.

Marburger also announced that Dean of Humanities and Fine Arts Robert Neville will chair a permanent

committee that will "plan and initiate a series of campus events to increase campus awareness of and sensitivity to the issues that underlie the present controversy . . . the committee will include community representatives to ensure that we take advantage of valuable human resources in our region."

Clarification of Earlier Statements

In his remarks to the *Jewish World*, Marburger stressed that his new position represents "a clarification of my earlier statements, which were often badly worded . . . and not a reversal of what I said before."

Marburger commented that in his opinion, "some of the questions concerning the limits of academic freedom that have arisen (in the Dube case) have not yet been fully answered," and expressed the hope that future discussions on academic freedom would take place largely within the university.

Marburger also acknowledged that he was concerned that his recent statement might be seen in some quarters as a capitulation on the issue of academic freedom and stated, "I want to give Prof. Dube every opportunity to be properly understood."

Marburger's latest statement in what has become known as the "Dube Affair" drew some widely varied responses. The statement was praised as "a candid and statesmanlike response to community concerns" in a statement issued by all of the Jewish organizations participating in the meeting with Marburger, and the president was also lauded in separate releases by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, all of which also participated in the community statement.



Stony Brook President John Marburger: "The characterization that I made this decision because of pressure from the Jewish community is completely incorrect."

Rabbi Arthur Seltzer, director of the Long Island Regional Office of the ADL, stated, "President Marburger's statement has seriously and satisfactorily responded to the concerns of the Jewish community and more than met all of the requests ADL had made of him in order to resolve this matter. Now that the president is on record as having said what needed to be said, we are pleased to put the public rancor of this affair behind us."

Pressured Into Distortion

Dube, on the other hand, said, "The president has been pressured into a distortion." Dube vowed not to change his teaching of the course and noted that black

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groups like the NAACP and the National Conference of Black Lawyers have contacted him expressing an interest in the case.

Amiri Baraka, chairman of the Africana Studies Department at Stony Brook, termed the controversy over Dube's teaching of "The Politics of Race" as "part of an overall effort to get rid of Africana Studies at Stony Brook." Baraka challenged those critical of Dube to a "series of debates and forums" and said, "We are ready to show the relationship between Zionism and racism."

The sequence of events that led to last Tuesday's dramatic meeting in Westbury between Marburger and representatives of the Long Island Jewish community began with a meeting four days earlier at the Manhattan offices of the American Jewish Committee. Participants in that meeting included Marburger, Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz, Gov. Cuomo's assistant for community affairs, Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York (JCRC), Leonard Eichenholtz, a member of the Stony Brook Council, and leaders of the American Jewish Committee. A few days later, Marburger met separately with Seltzer, at which time he confirmed that he was ready to issue a statement that satisfied the various conditions put forward by the ADL.

After the Westbury meeting, the Jewish organizations issued a joint statement under the aegis of the two umbrella groups that represent virtually all Jewish groups on the Island, the Conference of Jewish Organizations of Nassau County and the Suffolk Jewish Communal Planning Council. The statement read, in part, "With Dr. Marburger's statement the SUNY at Stony Brook administration has committed itself to a series of measures that we are hopeful will address and prevent similar situations. We look forward to the implementation of these steps."

ADL Issues Own Statement

The day after the Westbury meeting, the ADL issued its own statement, which said the organization was "gratified that the university has forthrightly disassociated itself from Professor Dube's repugnant equation and has committed itself to internal procedures to prevent any future injection of racist and anti-Semitic teachings at Stony Brook."

The ADL statement elicited off-the-record expressions of consternation from representatives of some of the other organizations who claimed that ADL had broken an understanding that there would be only one joint statement from the entire Jewish community.

Seltzer, however, said, "I made it clear at the Westbury meeting that ADL would issue its own statement no matter what the other groups decided to do. We felt that it has been ADL, of all the Jewish organizations, that has most fully addressed this matter and that has carried out the intensive public and private discussions on this. We felt, therefore, that it was our responsibility to close it. We were pleased that there was so much intensive Jewish community interest in this affair — especially in its final stages."

Soon after the ADL issued its statement, the American Jewish Committee and American Jewish Congress came out with statements of their own. The AJCommittee statement praised Marburger's "sincerity and good will" and added, "Perhaps the best thing to come out of this situation is that this is a case where academic freedom worked to safeguard the truth. The University worked to heal itself." The American Jewish Congress also praised Marburger for responding "with sensitivity and understanding" to

the Jewish community's concern over Dube's course.

Political Leaders Praise Settlement

Several key New York political figures expressed satisfaction over the settlement between Marburger and the Jewish community.

Mowshowitz said, "After our meeting with President Marburger, I think he became more aware of how hurt and frightened the Jewish community was that there was a course at his university equating Zionism and Nazism. Once the president fully understood the significance of this teaching for the Jewish community, he acted on his own, with decency, forthrightness and courage, to issue a very beautiful statement."

Mowshowitz stressed, "I told Marburger I was speaking as a private citizen and not as a representative of the governor. I do think that my presence and what I had to say helped to better clarify the issue for Marburger." Mowshowitz said he believes that Governor Cuomo, who issued an earlier statement condemning the "thunderous silence" of the Stony Brook faculty and administration, "helped to under-



WALTER RUBY

Amiri Baraka: "The scapegoat (in the Dube affair) is black people."

score the seriousness of the issue, which regrettably the University Senate and the faculty did not realize."

Assemblyman Arthur Kremer (D-Long Beach), who is chairman of the Assembly's Ways and Means Committee, which controls appropriations for the SUNY system, revealed last week that he wrote a letter to Marburger urging him to disassociate the university from Dube's teaching and to appoint a campus committee to look into course content on the campus.

In his letter, Kremer warned the president that "many suggestions are being made about legislative actions which if followed would be harmful to the campus in general," and that while he personally opposed the threat of cutting State funding to Stony Brook advanced by Assemblyman Lewis Yevoli (D-Old Bethpage), he did favor "a more forthright response from the president."

Kremer added, "I think John Marburger had not fully grasped the strength of feeling on this issue in the outside community. Happily, his statement has come out and it satisfies me as well as the groups that met with him. I believe he has fully laid this issue to rest."

Hempstead Presiding Supervisor Thomas S. Gulotta commended Marburger for "issuing a statement that clarifies the position of the university" and added, "I would hope that, in the future, the administration at Stony Brook would move swiftly to ensure that such radical teachings do not receive endorsements of any kind, whether directly or indirectly expressed."

Mixed Reaction on Campus

Initial reaction to the president's statement on the campus was mixed. Norman Goodman, a professor of sociology and a member of the University Senate Executive Committee when it determined in a unanimous vote that Dube had not exceeded the bounds of academic freedom, commented, "I believe that what President Marburger said this week represents a further specification of what he had said before and not a reversal of position. I do not believe he is saying that Dube cannot teach his course the way he likes. If the university were to tell Dube he had to change certain aspects of his course, then I would be much more concerned."

Geoffrey Reiss, 23, a senior at Stony Brook and editor

of the editorial page of the Stony Brook student newspaper *The Statesman*, commented, "Frankly, I was disappointed that the president issued his statement to an off-campus group, and only the next day released it at the university. It gives the impression that special interest groups are dictating university policy."

Charles Branham, a 24-year-old sociology major, commented, "For me, this situation has parallels to the Ray Bradbury novel *Fahrenheit 451* in which books were always being burned. If we allow outside interest groups to overshadow the honest pursuit of the truth no one will be safe to say anything."

Responded Valery, a Jewish student originally from the Soviet Union, "In Russia, the government spoke about anti-Zionism but carried out an anti-Semitic policy. Now, I believe it is essential to resist this idea whenever it appears."

Bernard Tunik, a professor of biology, expressed ambivalent feelings on the Dube issue. "I certainly would not want anyone from the outside telling me what I can and cannot teach in my class," he said. "I do believe, though, that the professor has a responsibility to discuss his personal point of view as a question to be examined, and not as a statement of fact. In this case we might ask whether or not Dube taught the students about other opinions of Zionism, and whether he discussed any other forms of reactive racism."

Dube Plans No Changes

In comments to the *Jewish World*, Dube said that the president's statement had not changed his own perception of the case. "The fact that Marburger divorces himself from my course has no meaning, since he was never a part of the course, and has no first-hand knowledge of it," he said. "In fact, Marburger has divorced himself from something that was never in the course. I did not directly link Nazism, apartheid and Zionism, but discussed each of them separately."

Dube stated, "I do not plan to change how I teach my course because of what outside people are saying." Informed that Marburger had said he wanted to give Dube "an opportunity to be properly understood," Dube replied, "I have already described what I teach in my course to the president and the provost and in the meeting with the University Senate. If people deliberately choose to ignore what I have told them, it means they have a different agenda."

Dube asserted, "I believe this (the outcry against his teachings) is racism. If you are going to fabricate something, simply because it comes from someone who is black, that is certainly racism."

Affirming that representatives of the NAACP and the National Conference of Black Lawyers had contacted him, Dube said, "I have not sought the help of these groups, but if they want to participate I won't deny them that right. I think this thing is getting to the point where a lot of black groups are getting concerned."

Africana Studies Department Chairman Baraka sounded an even angrier and more defiant note. Said Baraka, "The president's first priority should be to protect the integrity of the institution. Instead the University has buckled in to heavy pressure from outside forces."

Baraka commented, "The Africana Studies Department has been very restrained in this affair. But from now on we intend to respond to these attacks and character assassinations in a more vigorous manner. We would like to challenge to open debates on this issue everyone who has attacked Dube, including Cuomo, President Marburger, the State legislators, and B'nai B'rith and the other Jewish organizations. We did not initiate this confrontation, but we are not afraid to have open discussions. We believe we have the correct line."

Baraka rejected the idea that such debates would lead to greater polarization on campus. "The campus is already polarized, but not between blacks and Jews," he said. "The polarization is between progressive and reactionaries."

Baraka asserted, "Fred Dube's intellectual integrity was upheld by the University Senate. The rest has been political shenanigans and demagoguery, and as usual, the scapegoat is black people."

Terming the Africana Studies Department "an extension of the Afro-American community," Baraka said, "We believe this campaign is a catalyst for an attack on black studies at Stony Brook. If so, we do not intend to go quietly. We intend to reach out to other groups on campus who are likely to be sympathetic to our cause. We intend to mobilize to fight back."

Baraka added, "There is a basic question here concerning the nature of the university. If the university can be swayed by outside groups to the extent that the president is made to look scandalized by

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academic freedom, then we are clearly on the road to McCarthyism."

Comfortable With 'Clarifying' Statement

Marburger spoke with me in his office on the Stony Brook campus. Seated on a comfortable couch under an enormous aerial photograph of Long Island, Marburger seemed at ease about his decision to issue his "clarifying" statement on the Dube case, but appeared concerned about possible reactions on the campus.

Marburger said his decision to make the statement was based upon several primary considerations. "I found that there was still a lot of misunderstanding about the university's position on this, and that many people I respect told me they were upset about the position I had articulated," he said. "I realized I needed to learn more about the sensitivities of the Jewish community."

Another factor in the decision, Marburger explained, were the additional recent incidents at the university, including the Student Polity's initial refusal to fund the Hillel Student Club and the publication in a university literary magazine of an allegedly anti-Semitic poem, "which encouraged people to think that there is an atmosphere of anti-Semitism at Stony Brook." Marburger added, "I felt I needed to say something to make clear that no such atmosphere exists."

Marburger felt that a clarification was needed of the original University Senate Executive Committee decision because, "I felt the Executive Committee decision was rather colorless, lacking content and moral punch. As time went on, I became more persuaded of the necessity of expressing my personal views, to provide a context for the public to understand the university's position."

Difference Between 'Divorce' and 'Condemn'

Marburger said that he still holds to the position that it is not right for the university administration to take a position on material in university courses. "If you look carefully at the wording of my new statement, it says that the university absolutely divorces itself from the views expressed in the course. It does not say 'condemn' or 'condone.' That is certainly the farthest the university can go officially."

Asked to explain the difference between the use of

the word "divorce" and using "condemn," Marburger replied, "You can divorce your wife without condemning her." He quickly added, however, "The administration is divorcing itself from (Dube's) views, not from Prof. Dube himself."

Marburger added, "I think there are questions concerning the dividing line between academic freedom and academic responsibility which have not yet been answered in this case. We hope these questions will be resolved in the various committees we have set up."

"The university must constantly struggle to allow free speech and free expression of ideas, but to avoid the harmful side effects of the advocacy of ideas that tend to destroy individuals and groups of people, and ultimately society itself." He added, "We need to assure ourselves that anti-Semitism and racism do not occur in the classroom."

Some Criticism Was 'Inappropriate'

Marburger said he found some of the statements of state legislators and other public figures who criticized him "often inappropriate, but these statements were symptoms of a lack of understanding I realized I had to address." Marburger affirmed however, that, "it would certainly be incorrect to say that I was moved by outside pressure. I was never concerned that the university's budget would be cut or that someone would get me fired and my career would be ruined. In general, the role of university president is open to the most extraordinary pressure. This is something you live with when you take this job."

Marburger added, "It is also untrue to say that the governor's office applied pressure. Gov. Cuomo has not contacted me on this since I issued my original statement (in early September). It is true that I met Rabbi Mowshowitz last week, but there was no message or pressure from the governor. The rabbi informed me that he was speaking for himself and not as a messenger for the governor."

Marburger, who was appointed chairman of the New York State Fact Finding Panel on the Shoreham Nuclear Facility by Cuomo, said that he believed there was no ill-will between himself and the governor as a result of the Dube affair. "I felt that some of the language in the governor's statement was a little strong, such as the

remark about the 'thunderous silence,' and did not represent a correct characterization of the situation. Beyond that, I thought his statement was heartfelt and honest. I respect the governor, and I believe he has respect for me and my colleagues."

Marburger commented, "I felt very fortunate in the people I dealt with in the Jewish community, who really wanted to help to resolve this. The closest I came to confrontation was with Rabbi Seltzer, who represents an organization (the ADL) that tends to apply pressure. However, my conversations with Rabbi Seltzer have been very cordial and intellectual."

Dube's Language Inhibits Understanding

Informed of Dube's insistence that his views have been misunderstood, Marburger commented, "I agree that Dube's views may well have been misunderstood. One problem is that Dube uses language that inhibits the understanding he wants to impart. What has to be done next is for Dube to couch his views in language that allows them to be better understood."

Marburger added, "I hope that in ensuing discussions we can agree how to describe what is being taught in Dube's class." Asked if his statement might affect deliberations next year on whether to grant tenure to Prof. Dube, Marburger replied, "I certainly hope not."

Asked if his decision to reach a settlement with the organized Jewish community on the Dube case might be related to possible long-term political aspirations on his part, Marburger smiled and replied, "I started out in academic life as a physicist and was very happy as a professor of physics. Although I later moved into administration, I can tell you honestly that I would be happy to become a professor of physics again."

He added, "I have not sought to expand the political side of this job, because I honestly do not enjoy the political aspect of being president of Stony Brook. The recent events in this case are an example of the responsibilities of this job I do not enjoy."

Marburger added quickly, however that, "I do enjoy the job of being president of Stony Brook, because Stony Brook is an extraordinary institution, a university with a lot of heart and class. I want to keep it that way." □

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Stony Brook President Marburger: New statement reflects desire 'to do the right thing'

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Marburger also announced that Dean of Humanities and Fine Arts Robert Neville will chair a permanent

committee that will "plan and initiate a series of campus events to increase campus awareness of and sensitivity to the issues that underlie the present controversy . . . the committee will include community representatives to ensure that we take advantage of valuable human resources in our region."

Clarification of Earlier Statements

In his remarks to the *Jewish World*, Marburger stressed that his new position represents "a clarification of my earlier statements, which were often badly worded . . . and not a reversal of what I said before."

Marburger commented that in his opinion, "some of the questions concerning the limits of academic freedom that have arisen (in the Dube case) have not yet been fully answered," and expressed the hope that future discussions on academic freedom would take place largely within the university.

Marburger also acknowledged that he was concerned that his recent statement might be seen in some quarters as a capitulation on the issue of academic freedom and stated, "I want to give Prof. Dube every opportunity to be properly understood."

Marburger's latest statement in what has become known as the "Dube Affair" drew some widely varied responses. The statement was praised as "a candid and statesmanlike response to community concerns" in a statement issued by all of the Jewish organizations participating in the meeting with Marburger, and the president was also lauded in separate releases by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, all of which also participated in the community statement.



Stony Brook President John Marburger: "The characterization that I made this decision because of pressure from the Jewish community is completely incorrect."

Rabbi Arthur Seltzer, director of the Long Island Regional Office of the ADL, stated, "President Marburger's statement has seriously and satisfactorily responded to the concerns of the Jewish community and more than met all of the requests ADL had made of him in order to resolve this matter. Now that the president is on record as having said what needed to be said, we are pleased to put the public rancor of this affair behind us."

Pressured Into Distortion

Dube, on the other hand, said, "The president has been pressured into a distortion." Dube vowed not to change his teaching of the course and noted that black

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Stony Brook controversy

continued from page 3

groups like the NAACP and the National Conference of Black Lawyers have contacted him expressing an interest in the case.

Amiri Baraka, chairman of the Africana Studies Department at Stony Brook, termed the controversy over Dube's teaching of "The Politics of Race" as "part of an overall effort to get rid of Africana Studies at Stony Brook." Baraka challenged those critical of Dube to a "series of debates and forums" and said, "We are ready to show the relationship between Zionism and racism."

The sequence of events that led to last Tuesday's dramatic meeting in Westbury between Marburger and representatives of the Long Island Jewish community began with a meeting four days earlier at the Manhattan offices of the American Jewish Committee. Participants in that meeting included Marburger, Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz, Gov. Cuomo's assistant for community affairs, Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York (JCRC), Leonard Eichenholtz, a member of the Stony Brook Council, and leaders of the American Jewish Committee. A few days later, Marburger met separately with Seltzer, at which time he confirmed that he was ready to issue a statement that satisfied the various conditions put forward by the ADL.

After the Westbury meeting, the Jewish organizations issued a joint statement under the aegis of the two umbrella groups that represent virtually all Jewish groups on the Island, the Conference of Jewish Organizations of Nassau County and the Suffolk Jewish Communal Planning Council. The statement read, in part, "With Dr. Marburger's statement the SUNY at Stony Brook administration has committed itself to a series of measures that we are hopeful will address and prevent similar situations. We look forward to the implementation of these steps."

ADL Issues Own Statement

The day after the Westbury meeting, the ADL issued its own statement, which said the organization was "gratified that the university has forthrightly disassociated itself from Professor Dube's repugnant equation and has committed itself to internal procedures to prevent any future injection of racist and anti-Semitic teachings at Stony Brook."

The ADL statement elicited off-the-record expressions of consternation from representatives of some of the other organizations who claimed that ADL had broken an understanding that there would be only one joint statement from the entire Jewish community.

Seltzer, however, said, "I made it clear at the Westbury meeting that ADL would issue its own statement no matter what the other groups decided to do. We felt that it has been ADL, of all the Jewish organizations, that has most fully addressed this matter and that has carried out the intensive public and private discussions on this. We felt, therefore, that it was our responsibility to close it. We were pleased that there was so much intensive Jewish community interest in this affair — especially in its final stages."

Soon after the ADL issued its statement, the American Jewish Committee and American Jewish Congress came out with statements of their own. The AJCommittee statement praised Marburger's "sincerity and good will" and added, "Perhaps the best thing to come out of this situation is that this is a case where academic freedom worked to safeguard the truth. The University worked to heal itself." The American Jewish Congress also praised Marburger for responding "with sensitivity and understanding" to

the Jewish community's concern over Dube's course.

Political Leaders Praise Settlement

Several key New York political figures expressed satisfaction over the settlement between Marburger and the Jewish community.

Mowshowitz said, "After our meeting with President Marburger, I think he became more aware of how hurt and frightened the Jewish community was that there was a course at his university equating Zionism and Nazism. Once the president fully understood the significance of this teaching for the Jewish community, he acted on his own, with decency, forthrightness and courage, to issue a very beautiful statement."

Mowshowitz stressed, "I told Marburger I was speaking as a private citizen and not as a representative of the governor. I do think that my presence and what I had to say helped to better clarify the issue for Marburger." Mowshowitz said he believes that Governor Cuomo, who issued an earlier statement condemning the "thunderous silence" of the Stony Brook faculty and administration, "helped to under-



WALTER RUBY

Amiri Baraka: "The scapegoat (in the Dube affair) is black people."

score the seriousness of the issue, which regrettably the University Senate and the faculty did not realize."

Assemblyman Arthur Kremer (D-Long Beach), who is chairman of the Assembly's Ways and Means Committee, which controls appropriations for the SUNY system, revealed last week that he wrote a letter to Marburger urging him to disassociate the university from Dube's teaching and to appoint a campus committee to look into course content on the campus.

In his letter, Kremer warned the president that "many suggestions are being made about legislative actions which if followed would be harmful to the campus in general," and that while he personally opposed the threat of cutting State funding to Stony Brook advanced by Assemblyman Lewis Yevoli (D-Old Bethpage), he did favor "a more forthright response from the president."

Kremer added, "I think John Marburger had not fully grasped the strength of feeling on this issue in the outside community. Happily, his statement has come out and it satisfies me as well as the groups that met with him. I believe he has fully laid this issue to rest."

Hempstead Presiding Supervisor Thomas S. Gulotta commended Marburger for "issuing a statement that clarifies the position of the university" and added, "I would hope that, in the future, the administration at Stony Brook would move swiftly to ensure that such radical teachings do not receive endorsements of any kind, whether directly or indirectly expressed."

Mixed Reaction on Campus

Initial reaction to the president's statement on the campus was mixed. Norman Goodman, a professor of sociology and a member of the University Senate Executive Committee when it determined in a unanimous vote that Dube had not exceeded the bounds of academic freedom, commented, "I believe that what President Marburger said this week represents a further specification of what he had said before and not a reversal of position. I do not believe he is saying that Dube cannot teach his course the way he likes. If the university were to tell Dube he had to change certain aspects of his course, then I would be much more concerned."

Geoffrey Reiss, 23, a senior at Stony Brook and editor

of the editorial page of the Stony Brook student newspaper *The Statesman*, commented, "Frankly, I was disappointed that the president issued his statement to an off-campus group, and only the next day released it at the university. It gives the impression that special interest groups are dictating university policy."

Charles Branham, a 24-year-old sociology major, commented, "For me, this situation has parallels to the Ray Bradbury novel *Fahrenheit 451* in which books were always being burned. If we allow outside interest groups to overshadow the honest pursuit of the truth no one will be safe to say anything."

Responded Valery, a Jewish student originally from the Soviet Union, "In Russia, the government spoke about anti-Zionism but carried out an anti-Semitic policy. Now, I believe it is essential to resist this idea whenever it appears."

Bernard Tunik, a professor of biology, expressed ambivalent feelings on the Dube issue. "I certainly would not want anyone from the outside telling me what I can and cannot teach in my class," he said. "I do believe, though, that the professor has a responsibility to discuss his personal point of view as a question to be examined, and not as a statement of fact. In this case we might ask whether or not Dube taught the students about other opinions of Zionism, and whether he discussed any other forms of reactive racism."

Dube Plans No Changes

In comments to the *Jewish World*, Dube said that the president's statement had not changed his own perception of the case. "The fact that Marburger divorces himself from my course has no meaning, since he was never a part of the course, and has no first-hand knowledge of it," he said. "In fact, Marburger has divorced himself from something that was never in the course. I did not directly link Nazism, apartheid and Zionism, but discussed each of them separately."

Dube stated, "I do not plan to change how I teach my course because of what outside people are saying." Informed that Marburger had said he wanted to give Dube "an opportunity to be properly understood," Dube replied, "I have already described what I teach in my course to the president and the provost and in the meeting with the University Senate. If people deliberately choose to ignore what I have told them, it means they have a different agenda."

Dube asserted, "I believe this (the outcry against his teachings) is racism. If you are going to fabricate something, simply because it comes from someone who is black, that is certainly racism."

Affirming that representatives of the NAACP and the National Conference of Black Lawyers had contacted him, Dube said, "I have not sought the help of these groups, but if they want to participate I won't deny them that right. I think this thing is getting to the point where a lot of black groups are getting concerned."

Africana Studies Department Chairman Baraka sounded an even angrier and more defiant note. Said Baraka, "The president's first priority should be to protect the integrity of the institution. Instead the University has buckled in to heavy pressure from outside forces."

Baraka commented, "The Africana Studies Department has been very restrained in this affair. But from now on we intend to respond to these attacks and character assassinations in a more vigorous manner. We would like to challenge to open debates on this issue everyone who has attacked Dube, including Cuomo, President Marburger, the State legislators, and B'nai B'rith and the other Jewish organizations. We did not initiate this confrontation, but we are not afraid to have open discussions. We believe we have the correct line."

Baraka rejected the idea that such debates would lead to greater polarization on campus. "The campus is already polarized, but not between blacks and Jews," he said. "The polarization is between progressive and reactionaries."

Baraka asserted, "Fred Dube's intellectual integrity was upheld by the University Senate. The rest has been political shenanigans and demagoguery, and as usual, the scapegoat is black people."

Terming the Africana Studies Department "an extension of the Afro-American community," Baraka said, "We believe this campaign is a catalyst for an attack on black studies at Stony Brook. If so, we do not intend to go quietly. We intend to reach out to other groups on campus who are likely to be sympathetic to our cause. We intend to mobilize to fight back."

Baraka added, "There is a basic question here concerning the nature of the university. If the university can be swayed by outside groups to the extent that the president is made to look scandalized by

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academic freedom, then we are clearly on the road to McCarthyism."

Comfortable With 'Clarifying' Statement

Marburger spoke with me in his office on the Stony Brook campus. Seated on a comfortable couch under an enormous aerial photograph of Long Island, Marburger seemed at ease about his decision to issue his "clarifying" statement on the Dube case, but appeared concerned about possible reactions on the campus.

Marburger said his decision to make the statement was based upon several primary considerations. "I found that there was still a lot of misunderstanding about the university's position on this, and that many people I respect told me they were upset about the position I had articulated," he said. "I realized I needed to learn more about the sensitivities of the Jewish community."

Another factor in the decision, Marburger explained, were the additional recent incidents at the university, including the Student Polity's initial refusal to fund the Hillel Student Club and the publication in a university literary magazine of an allegedly anti-Semitic poem, "which encouraged people to think that there is an atmosphere of anti-Semitism at Stony Brook." Marburger added, "I felt I needed to say something to make clear that no such atmosphere exists."

Marburger felt that a clarification was needed of the original University Senate Executive Committee decision because, "I felt the Executive Committee decision was rather colorless, lacking content and moral punch. As time went on, I became more persuaded of the necessity of expressing my personal views, to provide a context for the public to understand the university's position."

Difference Between 'Divorce' and 'Condemn'

Marburger said that he still holds to the position that it is not right for the university administration to take a position on material in university courses. "If you look carefully at the wording of my new statement, it says that the university absolutely divorces itself from the views expressed in the course. It does not say 'condemn' or 'condone.' That is certainly the farthest the university can go officially."

Asked to explain the difference between the use of

the word "divorce" and using "condemn," Marburger replied, "You can divorce your wife without condemning her." He quickly added, however, "The administration is divorcing itself from (Dube's) views, not from Prof. Dube himself."

Marburger added, "I think there are questions concerning the dividing line between academic freedom and academic responsibility which have not yet been answered in this case. We hope these questions will be resolved in the various committees we have set up."

"The university must constantly struggle to allow free speech and free expression of ideas, but to avoid the harmful side effects of the advocacy of ideas that tend to destroy individuals and groups of people, and ultimately society itself." He added, "We need to assure ourselves that anti-Semitism and racism do not occur in the classroom."

Some Criticism Was 'Inappropriate'

Marburger said he found some of the statements of state legislators and other public figures who criticized him "often inappropriate, but these statements were symptoms of a lack of understanding I realized I had to address." Marburger affirmed however, that, "it would certainly be incorrect to say that I was moved by outside pressure. I was never concerned that the university's budget would be cut or that someone would get me fired and my career would be ruined. In general, the role of university president is open to the most extraordinary pressure. This is something you live with when you take this job."

Marburger added, "It is also untrue to say that the governor's office applied pressure. Gov. Cuomo has not contacted me on this since I issued my original statement (in early September). It is true that I met Rabbi Mowshowitz last week, but there was no message or pressure from the governor. The rabbi informed me that he was speaking for himself and not as a messenger for the governor."

Marburger, who was appointed chairman of the New York State Fact Finding Panel on the Shoreham Nuclear Facility by Cuomo, said that he believed there was no ill-will between himself and the governor as a result of the Dube affair. "I felt that some of the language in the governor's statement was a little strong, such as the

remark about the 'thunderous silence,' and did not represent a correct characterization of the situation. Beyond that, I thought his statement was heartfelt and honest. I respect the governor, and I believe he has respect for me and my colleagues."

Marburger commented, "I felt very fortunate in the people I dealt with in the Jewish community, who really wanted to help to resolve this. The closest I came to confrontation was with Rabbi Seltzer, who represents an organization (the ADL) that tends to apply pressure. However, my conversations with Rabbi Seltzer have been very cordial and intellectual."

Dube's Language Inhibits Understanding

Informed of Dube's insistence that his views have been misunderstood, Marburger commented, "I agree that Dube's views may well have been misunderstood. One problem is that Dube uses language that inhibits the understanding he wants to impart. What has to be done next is for Dube to couch his views in language that allows them to be better understood."

Marburger added, "I hope that in ensuing discussions we can agree how to describe what is being taught in Dube's class." Asked if his statement might affect deliberations next year on whether to grant tenure to Prof. Dube, Marburger replied, "I certainly hope not."

Asked if his decision to reach a settlement with the organized Jewish community on the Dube case might be related to possible long-term political aspirations on his part, Marburger smiled and replied, "I started out in academic life as a physicist and was very happy as a professor of physics. Although I later moved into administration, I can tell you honestly that I would be happy to become a professor of physics again."

He added, "I have not sought to expand the political side of this job, because I honestly do not enjoy the political aspect of being president of Stony Brook. The recent events in this case are an example of the responsibilities of this job I do not enjoy."

Marburger added quickly, however that, "I do enjoy the job of being president of Stony Brook, because Stony Brook is an extraordinary institution, a university with a lot of heart and class. I want to keep it that way." □

Nov. 9, 1983

"THE DUBE CONTROVERSY: A BLACK PERSPECTIVE"

A Response by Professor Selwyn Troen

The article by Professor Leslie Owens on the Dube Controversy is based on numerous misrepresentations, untruths and innuendos which contribute not only to misunderstanding of the real issues in the controversy, but may engender hostility between Blacks and Jews. Specifically, the article insinuates the contemptible canard of a Jewish international conspiracy that seeks to injure and oppress other peoples. In this way, Professor Owens makes his contribution to the literature of anti-Semitism.

In the course of this article, there are numerous misstatements which involve me personally. It is to these instances that I address myself here. I expect that others, who have been similarly abused, will make their views known separately.

The article by Prof. Owens, who is a member of the Stony Brook History Department and immediate past chairperson of Africana Studies, has appeared in two forms. It was originally written as a 26-page essay that is dated October 26, 1983. It has since been condensed into a feature article in Blackworld (Vol. XII No. 14) which is published at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. My comments are directed to the larger essay although nearly all points apply to the Blackworld article.

Statement: "A Jewish student in Professor E. Fred Dube's summer course, "The Politics of Race," complained to the wife of Professor Selwyn Troen, a visiting scholar from Israel, about an optional term paper topic: "Zionism is as much racism as Nazism was racism."

Fact: (1) The student was born in Alaska to an Aleutian mother and a Russian father, grew up in Aleutian culture and the Russian Orthodox Church. (2) The "wife" was the student's instructor in a course in linguistics which met directly after Dube's course. (3) The student's complaints were not limited

to the topic of an optional term paper. They involved the fairness, competence and bias of the instructor on a wide range of issues. The specific issue raised by me addressed the possible propagandistic character of organized instruction in the classroom as reflected in Professor Dube's syllabus which reads:

"The three forms of racism and how they manifested themselves:--
 1) Nazism in Germany
 2) Apartheid in South Africa
 3) Zionism in Israel

The problem was compounded by the misrepresentation of the course which, according to the University Bulletin, was to have dealt with racial issues in the United States.

Statement: "Professor Troen was in turn outraged by his now third-hand account."

Fact: Appropriate efforts were made to understand the problems raised by the course. There were extensive conversations between myself and the student concerning the anti-Zionist accusations made by Prof. Dube. Bibliography was suggested to compensate for the instructor's failure to provide basic materials or balance. The student was also interviewed by another senior and highly-regarded Professor at Stony Brook. The student provided notes, the syllabus and other course materials. In conversation with experienced and senior faculty, it was suggested that the appropriate address to bring forward the student's complaints was the Dean responsible for Dube's instruction. Rather than form a one-man vigilante committee, I transmitted the materials to the relevant university official with one request:--that there be a proper investigation. Moreover, I repeatedly offered to provide information and to return to the campus for such a purpose.

Statement: "But who is Professor Troen anyway?...no one really clarified what his work responsibilities were....Prof. Troen, it turns out, has close ties with the Government of South Africa. He does, in fact, make several trips a year between Israel and South Africa.

Fact: On what basis does Prof. Owens challenge my credentials and deduce

nefarious purposes in my activities? I have never been to South Africa nor has any member of my family. I have no relatives or friends there. I have never so much as received or sent a postcard to that country.

My relation to Stony Brook has been as a member of the Research Group in Human Development and Educational Policy. The invitation by the Stony Brook administration was made in recognition of my scholarly work on education and of my experience in academic organizations both in the United States and abroad. Should anyone actually seek clarification, the Director of the Research Group in Human Development and Educational Policy would be happy to respond. To date, no such inquiry has ever been made.

Statement: "Professor Selwyn Troen sent another letter (Sept. 2) from his residence in Israel to selected members of the Stony Brook University community.... Yet, in his letter, Prof. Troen touches upon the biological inferiority of Blacks in an incorrect reference to physicist Benjamin Shockley."

Fact: 1) The September 2 letter was addressed to the campus newspaper, The Statesman, in response to a request from the paper for Professor Troen's views. Professor Dube was copied as were administration officials and those copied on the original July 15 letter. It was hardly a secret Jewish document. (2) In another case of mistaken identity, Professor Owens incorrectly gives Professor Shockley's first name as "Benjamin" rather than the proper one, William. (3) Owen's statement is a total misrepresentation. The September 2 letter reads as follows:

"The 'traditional definition and exercise of academic freedom' invoked by the statement (of the University Senate's Executive Committee) can be variously interpreted. Several years ago, for example, a Stanford professor endeavored to teach in the context of a course in genetics that Blacks are inferior. At present, the Stanford faculty apparently still enjoys academic freedom, although the university does not offer instruction in such a socially obnoxious and destructive doctrine... One can think of any number of ideas concerning religion, politics, social values and personal behavior that largely through an informal consensus are held to be inappropriate to a university classroom and therefore not disseminated in that public setting. Rights are usually accompanied by responsibilities. Freedom is not license."

Statement: "Still, there is a great deal of irony about a member of the Jewish community with its ties to the Holocaust attacking the teachings of a Black South African, a member of the most oppressed group in our contemporary world."

Fact: (1) I never raised the problems of Professor Dube's course in the framework of a Black-Jewish issue. Prof. Dube's race was not mentioned by me in any correspondence or statement. Courses in Africana Studies have been taught by Whites as well as Blacks. I have even published and lectured at national (U.S.) professional meetings on the history of black education in the United States. Race and religion should be irrelevant to scholarly activity and to the issue at hand.

The injection of racial and religious characterizations in the controversy is the result of statements made by members of the Africana Studies Program at Stony Brook. Typically, Professor Owens refers to people as Jews or Blacks. In the dichotomy he creates, even non-Jews, as we have seen, are made to fit this mold. There is hardly a page of the 26-page essay that does not contain a negative reference to Jews, Judaism and Zionists. Through direct accusation and innuendo, Prof. Owens' essay invents the image of an international Jewish conspiracy that extends from the United States to Israel and South Africa and that attempts to stifle and oppress Blacks everywhere. This is but another instance of classic anti-Semitism.

Professor Owens concludes his essay with expressing an interest in dialogue. Unfortunately, his departure from fact and truth and his use of innuendo do not contribute to understanding and reasoned discussion. I hope that partners to genuine dialogue will emerge so that group tensions will be mitigated and the issues raised by Dube's course will be addressed.

Selwyn K. Traer

Letters

We welcome letters from readers for publication, but ask that they be legible and brief. Writers should be prepared to have their letters abridged for publication and should understand that we cannot publish all letters if they are repetitive of others already published or selected. Unsigned letters will not be considered, but signatures may be withheld on request.

Shenanigans at Stony Brook

Dear Editor:

The controversy over the African Studies Department at the Stony Brook campus of the State University of New York has taken a serious turn.

A meeting was held earlier this month under that department's auspices for the ostensible purpose of providing Prof. Ernest Dube with a forum to explain or defend his course dealing with "Zionism is racism."

Following a short, earnest discourse by Dube, the chairman turned the meeting into an anti-Zionist, anti-Israel tirade and propaganda forum.

It became clear to me that the department chairman, Imamu Amiri Baraka (formerly known as LeRoi Jones), is directing a coalition on campus of "progressive and PLO forces."

Dube and the concerned black student body are pawns in a political power game manipulated by an able and experienced master of political theater and provocation, none other than Baraka.

It was certainly legitimate to call the meeting to defend Dube's right to academic freedom. But it is not legitimate to entrap an audience for that purpose, then proceed to present a bitter and dishonest harangue on Israel which most students would have no way of knowing was false.

Once again we are witness to "progressive" forces posing as defenders of op-

pressed minorities. But in actuality they are using their legitimate grievances in an attempt to overthrow legitimate authority and impose their special brand of authoritarianism on their own people in the name of revolutionary justice.

Baraka made grotesque, misleading and dishonest statements. He said that after the UN resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, Israel attacked the Arab states. He could not acknowledge that the Arabs had sworn to "throw Israel into the sea." Even Arabs do not deny this.

Without giving the slightest indication that the books he recommended on Zionism were authored by pro-PLO persons, he matter-of-factly offered such books. For an alleged academic to offer such sources on Zionism to an unsuspecting black student body is indefensible.

The topping of the evening, and the revelation that this was solely an anti-Zionist meeting called to further the ends of Baraka's progressive forces, was a speaker from an organization called the November 29 Coalition (after the 1947 UN resolution legitimizing Israel).

This is an organization of pedagogues defending academic freedom? A civil rights organization? No! It was organized in 1981 and is a pro-PLO alliance of approximately 100 organizations, including left-wing groups, pro-Arab and Arab-American organizations and individuals.

If Baraka chooses to advocate his brand of politics, that's his business. But when he uses his position as department chairman to purvey PLO propaganda, invites an outright PLO propagandist and dishonestly fails to disclose he is recommending pro-PLO textbooks, he has passed from the role of pedagogue to that of political provocateur — a role he relishes.

Is this an appropriate purpose for Stony Brook?

**Seymour Gross
Manhasset, L.I**

Thursday, December 1, 1983

THE FIVE TOWNS JOURNAL

Teaching Racism At Stony Brook

SUNY at Stony Brook offers a course of study that concludes with, "There are three forms of racism: Naziism, Apartheid, and Zionism." Professor Dube, the teacher of that course, has the right to teach his beliefs under the rubric of academic freedom. However, there is a serious question of the moral perceptions of an academic community that accepts such teaching.

Another professor at another school and a whole movement teaches that the Holocaust never happened and is all a Jewish fabrication. A professor does indeed have the right to say such things, but the university that gives him a forum is reduced and shamed. Such teachings are an attempt to delegitimize the whole of the Jewish people and draw the whole world a bit closer to a mass Jewish lynching.

The First Amendment to the Constitution allows Nazis to march at Skokie, Illinois and obligates the police to protect Nazis from outraged citizens. But it is the duty of citizens to express their outrage, to be vocal and come to the streets to demonstrate their outrage. The law that protects everyone's rights cannot protect us from Naziism. The First Amendment is a right of all citizens. The law cannot distinguish who can be allowed to exercise that right. Only the citizens rising up in

public, in indignation, in protest, can decide if a doctrine is acceptable. And so it is our duty to demonstrate that we will not sit quietly and allow SUNY at Stony Brook to teach racism.

Seventeen million soldiers died in battle, eighteen million civilians were killed and twelve million were murdered in Hitler's death camps; all in the name of Naziism. This course at SUNY at Stony Brook that equates Zionism with Naziism, the greatest of all holocausts, destroys the meaning of the defeat of Hitler. It trivializes all those deaths and all that horror. It destroys the usefulness of language to describe events of enormous difference in degree and kind. That is exactly what George Orwell wrote about in his mind-shaking book, *1984*. It is no accident that the obscenity "Zionism is Racism" originated with the Soviet bloc and the Arab bloc of nations, the only groups that voluntarily joined Hitler's war against humanity.

SUNY at Stony Brook has the right to offer such a course and a professor has the right to teach it. But the people of the U.S. have the right to be offended, and the Jews have an obligation to expose this example of racism at Stony Brook so long as it continues.

by Herbert Jaffe

12/15/83. Acc 598K.

Daniel P. Moynihan
New York

United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

November 28, 1983

Dear President Marburger:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me the papers on the course "The Politics of Race." The equation of Zionism with Nazism -- i.e. as in the suggested term paper topic, "Zionism is as much racism as Naziism was racism" (for what it is worth, Nazism with one "i" is the preferred spelling) first appeared in a two-part article in Pravda in 1971 entitled Anti-Sovietism -- Profession of Zionists by Vladimir Viktorovich Bolshakov. A sustained Soviet campaign thus commenced and has made its way about the world with remarkable success.

At the risk of interfering in what is not my business, might I ask if it was made clear to the students in AFS/POL 319 that Pravda was the source of the proposition they were asked to expound. If they did not know that, it seems to me that they could not adequately deal with the subject. The facts may be obscure, but are accessible. I spelled it out at some length in my memoir A Dangerous Place (1978). Bernard Lewis has discussed the general theme in a long essay in Foreign Affairs.

I am sure there are other sources, and of course, there is Pravda itself. Did anyone on the faculty raise this subject?

I talk about these things with Don Blinken a good deal and take the liberty of sending him a copy of this letter.

I hugely enjoyed the festschrift for my old colleague.

Sincerely,



Dr. John H. Marburger
State University of New York
at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794

✓CC: Donald M. Blinken

Stony Brook

AFS/POL 319 - Politics of Race

Summer I 1983

Course Description - This course, because of time constraints, is a compressed one. In order to do well, you as students are expected to do a great deal of independent reading. There will be no mid-term exam; but your term paper will be more important, accounting for 50% of the final grade. Your term paper, which has to be typed, should not exceed ten pages (double spaced) and should not be less than seven pages. You have to demonstrate in the paper that you read by having at least five references. The final exam will be the essay type of an exam and will cover the whole field.

Topics to be discussed - The following topics will be discussed, not necessarily in the order in which they appear here

First Week: a) Politics as a concept, what it is usually understood to stand for and the different perceptions of it in different political systems. A brief discussion of the two opposing political systems (Capitalism and Communism), by no means meaning they are the only two existing possible political systems.
b) The concept of Dissonance as first proposed by Leon Festinger in 1956, its meaning and its importance in understanding racism.

Second Week: a) A discussion of the concept of race as understood by Western Anthropologists and raciologists.
b) An attempt will be made to trace the history of the concept of race and how it has changed from what its originators intended it to mean to its present biological basis..

Third Week: a) What is the nature of the evidence which supports the biological concept of race?

Fourth Week: a) The mystification of education and the politics involved.
b) The I.Q. tests and the abuses.

Fifth Week: a) The three forms of racism and how they have manifested themselves:
1) Naziism in Germany
2) Apartheid in South Africa
3) Zionism in Israel.

Suggested Topics

The following topics are suggested for a term paper. Students who wish to write their term papers on different topics may only do so after they have gained my permission. Your term paper should be typed (double spaced) and should be no more than 10 pages and no less than 7 pages. All term papers are to be in by July 7.

- 1) Racism is an important tool used for exploitation and oppression.
- 2) The concept of "race" as a biological reality was invented to rationalize colonization and oppression.
- 3) People are genetically divided into identifiable "races."
- 4) Reactive racism is as bad as any other form of racism.
- 5) Zionism is as much racism as Naziism was racism.
- 6) The personality of an individual dictates the political ideology she/he will follow.
- 7) There is no nation in the world that can claim the monopoly of being a democracy.
- 8) To suggest that a given society is a pluralistic society is to rationalize racism.
- 9) Compare and contrast the approaches to the discussion of racism as a natural category and racism as a social category.
- 10) Do politicians manipulate the voters? If so, how?
- 11) I.Q. tests are a means for blaming the victim.
- 12) Can a Christian or a democrat be a racist? If so, how does he resolve the problem of cognitive dissonance?

Stony Brook

AFS/POL 319 - The Politics of Race

Fall, 1983
E. F. Dube

The content of this course which appears in the Bulletin has been judged by me as narrow, therefore requiring expansion. For that reason in this course, there will be a slight departure from what you see in the Bulletin. In this course, we will discuss first what the concept of politics means and then we will discuss some of the concepts often used in association with racism.

We will then jump from there and discuss concepts such as dissonance and the theory of dissonance and its role in racism. Thereafter we will discuss the concept of race and its changing history and also its relationship to racism. (As you can see, we are just not merely confining ourselves to the American scene but to the whole world.)

We will then end up by discussing the three main forms of racism: overt racism, covert racism, and reactive racism. Examples of all three forms of racism will be discussed for comparative purposes; e.g., Nazism, apartheid, and Zionism. Of necessity, there will be a discussion of the characteristic features which mark off racism from other forms of prejudice.

The basic requirements of the course are as follows:

a) a term paper typed with double spacing of no less than ten pages and no more than 12 pages to be handed in the first week of April; b) a mid-term examination; and c) a final examination.

Required Readings:

1. Greenberg, S., Race and State in Capitalist Development, Yale University Press, 1980.
2. Mzimela, S., Apartheid: South African Nazism, Vantage, 1983.
3. Ogbu, John, Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective, Academic Press.
4. Goldsby, Race and Races.

Optional Readings:

Because there are many and consist of either single chapters or papers, they will be made known to you in due course.

STATEMENT by PRESIDENT JOHN H. MARBURGER on "THE POLITICS OF RACE"

October 19, 1983

In view of the continuing concern regarding the position of the administration of the State University of New York at Stony Brook with respect to the course "The Politics of Race" taught by Professor Dube, I wish to clarify and reiterate that position so there will be no doubts about it.

The Stony Brook administration, for which I speak officially here, absolutely divorces itself from the views expressed in this course, and from any view that links Zionism with racism or nazism. Furthermore, I personally find such linkages morally abhorrent.

Several events have occurred subsequent to the incident that drew attention to Professor Dube's course that some have interpreted as implying a pattern of antisemitic behavior at Stony Brook. These events are each of them unfortunate, but in my opinion are unrelated to each other and to the course taught by Professor Dube. I have already criticized the publication of a poem entitled "Godless Jew" in a campus literary magazine as insensitive. I deplore the letter written by the Chair of the Africana Studies Department to its Dean for introducing irrelevant political issues into the sensitive discussion of the handling of the Dube course. Earlier last summer, Polity, the student government organization, acted to cut student fee support of Hillel, an action that, whatever its explanation, resulted in an injustice to Hillel on our campus. I believe our approach to these incidents has been sensitive, fair and effective, and that they are anomalies, not the norm, for our campus.

As the Provost and I have promised, and I now reconfirm, a variety of initiatives have been undertaken to review courses and programs including sensitive material, and to bring to our campus a higher degree of understanding of behavior likely to be offensive to one or another of our constituencies. Among other things, the relationship between published course descriptions and actual course offerings is being reviewed. A new campus-wide program of intensive review of undergraduate departments, planned over a year ago, is scheduled for implementation during the Spring 1984 semester. Provost Neal has appointed the select faculty committee described in his statement of September 2, and the committee has begun to meet. It is chaired by Professor C. N. Yang, and includes faculty members of great distinction. The Provost has also appointed a committee, chaired by Dean Neville, to plan and initiate a series of campus events to increase campus awareness of and sensitivity to the issues which underlie the current controversy. Dean Neville's committee will include community representatives to ensure that we take advantage of valuable human resources in our region.

It is clear from the widespread public reaction to our handling of these incidents that we need more positive and closer ties with our community constituencies. To strengthen those ties, I am developing plans for a permanent committee including community members to advise me and my colleagues on such sensitive issues at Stony Brook.

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PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE CUBA / COMITE CENTRAL

SECRET

COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE PLAN BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
CUBA AND THE NEW JEWEL MOVEMENT OF GRENADA, FOR THE 1983 PE-
RIOD.

INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of Cuba and the New Jewel Movement, brotherly united by the same ideals of struggle in their respective countries, as well as of active solidarity in favor of the peoples that struggle for national liberation, and likewise, sharing the same convictions against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, and racism, become aware of the need to unite efforts and coordinate actions of cooperation in the different activities within their scope.

Both Parties, on agreeing that the many-sided relations of cooperation be governed by the widest and justest spirit of cooperation, solidarity, and internationalism, reach agreement on the following:

CHAPTER I

- a) The CPC and the NJM will exchange delegations for the mutual study of the experiences in the different fields of Party work, according to agreements and needs that will be established between the parties. To this end, they will carry out regular meetings and exchange of experiences between the different departments and secretaries of both Parties, whose agreements and commitments will be annexed to this protocol.

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- 2.
- b) The CPC expresses its willingness to send, according to the requests formulated by the NJM in this sense, technical advisers for the organization of public meetings and propaganda of the Party in Grenada.
 - c) Regarding the political upgrading and professional assistance, the NJM and the CPC express their willingness to receive, at the "Nico López" School, the NJM cadres that will be decided on mutual agreement.
 - d) The CPC and the NJM of Grenada will exchange information of mutual interest, both on the field of the development of the two revolutions and their experiences, as well as on the international situation and, fundamentally, that of the Caribbean in its struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism and Zionism. Likewise, they will exchange information on the liberation movements as well as coordinate actions and positions of mutual interest to be adopted at events, conferences, and other Party activities of an international character, with special emphasis on the problems in the Caribbean.
 - e) Both organizations, vanguard of the peoples of Cuba and Grenada, express their mutual solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, and they are committed to struggle and make sure that they develop to the utmost the mutual solidarity and understanding of the International Revolutionary Movement regarding both revolutions.
 - f) Both Parties will exchange information and join efforts in strengthening their relationship with the socialist and

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3.

progressive countries, and in favor of the peoples that struggle for their liberation, particularly within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

CHAPTER II

On political and mass organizations:

Both Parties agree on developing to the utmost the cooperation and assistance in the development and strengthening of the mass organizations of Cuba and Grenada.

In this sense, the CPC and the NJM will promote, according to the needs of the NJM and its mass organizations, a work plan of the Workers' Central Union of Cuba, the Cuban Women's Federation, the Association of Small Farmers and the Young Communist Organization, with their counterparts in Grenada, both for the exchange of delegations, advice, and collaboration in their different fields, and for receiving cadres from those Grenadian organizations in the schools and courses of the Cuban organizations which are arranged and agreed to these purposes.

These agreements on cooperation will include exchange of information, publications, and expertise built up by them.

Likewise, they will coordinate their positions at international events and conferences, by mutually advising each other on the common interests of both Parties.

CHAPTER III

On the exchange and cooperation between both Parties:

The CPC and the NJM of Grenada will approve, control, and en-

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4.

sure the fulfillment of the understandings and agreements of cooperation and exchange to be established at state level, for which they will create the mechanisms and controls that they consider relevant.

Similarly, both Parties will periodically oversee the development of the cooperation and exchange between both governments, formulating the readjustments that become necessary for practical purposes.

The CPC and the NJM will coordinate the positions of the governments of Cuba and Grenada at international events, conferences, and agencies where they participate, in attention to the political, economic and social interests of both Parties.

Besides, both Parties, through their state apparatus, will propitiate the exchange of information, publications, research, and scientific and propaganda works related to their political interests.

CHAPTER IV

On their fulfillment:

The CPC and the NJM commit themselves to inform the counterpart, in due time, the implementation of the agreed exchange plans.

Also, both Parties will approve the agreements to be established among the above mentioned political and mass organizations, making sure that they are fulfilled.

The agreements adopted in the different fields of Party life, as well as those to be concluded among the Cuban and Grenadian political and mass organizations, will be incorporated as annexes to this protocol in force until December 31, 1983.

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5.

1983 PLAN

The New Jewel Movement of Grenada and the Communist Party of Cuba, ratified the general lines established in the Cooperation and Exchange Plan between both Parties, and pursuant to the spirit of such Agreement, they establish the following plan for 1983:

- I. The Cuban Party will receive in 1983:
 - a) Five comrades with secondary educational level to study at the "Nico López" School, for one year.
 - b) Two technicians in drawing for specialization in making billboards and posters.
 - c) Two comrades for specialization in sound equipment for public meetings.
 - d) A press photographer for training in Cuba.
 - e) Training of a technician in microfilm for the press.
 - f) A newspaper librarian, for training in Cuba.
 - g) Training of a press cartoonist.
 - h) Training of a technician in general graphic arts.
 - i) Two comrades linked to the work on religion for exchanging experiences and coordinating regional and international work.
 - j) Two comrades linked to the work on the Socialist International for exchanging experiences and criteria on this aspect.

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6.

k) A delegation made up of three comrades of the Ministry of Mobilization who have to do with the work of Foreign Affairs, fundamentally with the Caribbean, for exchanging experiences, criteria, and coordination in the region.

l) A delegation made up of a Member of the Political Bureau and two other persons for exchanging experience on the work of organization, internal education and propaganda of the Party.

m) Two Members of the Political Bureau and two other persons, each one for one week of rest in Cuba.

n) Two Members of the Central Committee for one week of rest in Cuba.

II. The Grenadian party will receive in 1983:

a) Two technicians in sound equipment for public meetings, to train and increase the level of their counterparts in Grenada.

b) Two technicians in billboards and posters for exchanging experience and increasing the technical level of the Grenadian comrades.

c) A delegation of two comrades from the Department of Organization for exchanging experience on the organization work of the Party.

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7.

- d) A specialist in the work with the religious people for exchanging experiences in the work of the Party on this sector.
- e) A specialist in internal education plans of the Party.

100016

The Communist Party of Cuba and the New Jewel Movement of Grenada, satisfied by the discussed and agreed aspects, which fully correspond with the fraternal relations between both Parties, underwrite this document in the City of Havana, Cuba, June 29th, 1983.



The Communist Party of Cuba



The New Jewel Movement

Political science drops credit for Dube's course

In another development, Dube to speak at November 29 Coalition's Teach-In on Palestine

By WALTER RUBY

"The Politics of Race," the controversial course taught by Prof. Ernest Dube at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, appeared to have a somewhat more tenuous future last week, after the Political Science Department at the university voted to stop cross-listing the Africana Studies Program (AFS) course, which has been known until now as AFS/POL 319.

Under the new Political Science Department regulations, students majoring in political science will no longer be able to receive credits toward their major by taking "The Politics of Race," as well as three other courses in the AFS Program.

Contacted by the *Jewish World*, Dube charged, "This move is definitely part of the ongoing campaign at the university against Africana Studies." Dube also claimed that Prof. Frank Myers, chairman of the Political Science Dept., had informed him that the department had been pressured into dropping the four AFS courses.

Asked if the change would make things more difficult for him, Dube replied, "Actually, it will make things harder for my students. In the past, the majority of students who have taken my course have tended to be poli-sci majors. Now that poli-sci majors will no longer be able to take ('The Politics of Race') for credit, the number of students will surely fall."

Dept. Wasn't Pressured

Myers told the *Jewish World* that "it is absolutely untrue that I told Dube that the (Political Science) Department was pressured into this decision. In fact, this was an academic matter."

Earlier, Myers had said, "Our decision was not necessarily related to the (Dube) controversy, but rather to a number of issues in our own curriculum. This was part of an effort to strengthen our major by dropping a number of courses that do not exactly fit under our purview. We were concerned that with so many cross-listed courses (under the



WALTER RUBY

SUNY at Stony Brook Professor Ernest Dube charges his course's reclassification is part of "ongoing campaign at the university against Africana Studies."

aegis of poli-sci) a student could complete a degree in poli-sci without taking many poli-sci courses."

Myers admitted, however, that there was dissatisfaction with AFS/POL 319 in the Political Science Department. "There was concern about whether it was appropriate to have Dube, who is a psychologist, teaching a political science course. When we began cross-listing AFS/POL 319, there was a different professor and a different course description."

Myers added, "We had wanted to end the cross-listing of AFS courses for some time. In light of the controversy in the (AFS) department, we decided to do it now."

In response to a question, Myers denied that the political science decision had any connection with the open letter of 43 senior faculty members at Stony Brook, which criticized the AFS Program for "self imposed isolation." Myers commented, "I happened to have been one of the signers of that letter, but I was

the only member of our department who signed it. However, there was unanimous support in the department for the decision to end the cross-listing of AFS courses."

Panelist at Palestine Teach-In

On another matter, Dube informed the *Jewish World* that his decision to appear this weekend as a panelist at a "Teach-In On Palestine" sponsored by the November 29 Coalition does not mean that he is a supporter of the group's strongly pro-PLO anti-Zionist politics.

Dube said, "I have spoken to many groups which have invited me, including both right wing and left wing groups." Dube declined to name any of the right wing groups to which he had spoken.

The teach-in on Palestine will be held Sunday, December 11 from 12 noon until 8 p.m. at Washington Irving High School, 17th Street and Irving Place in Manhattan. Among the participants, in addition to Dube, will be Noam Chomsky; Rabbi Elmer Berger, a veteran anti-Zionist activist; Uri Davis, an Israeli anti-Zionist now teaching at the University of Exeter in England; Samih Farsoun, a Palestinian professor and author; John H. Clark, professor of African Studies, Hunter College; Naseer Aruri, president of the Arab Association of University Graduates; and Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.

Dube is to participate in the panel discussion on "Zionism, Judaism and Anti-Semitism."

Pro-PLO Radical Leftists

The November 29 Coalition, which was formed in 1981, is described in the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith handbook "Pro-Arab Propaganda in America: Vehicles and Voices" as "a pro-PLO organization composed of radical leftist groups and Arab-American organizations that are either part of the PLO or closely aligned with it."

According to "Palestine Focus," the national newsletter of the November 29 Coalition, the group takes its name from "the date declared by the United Nations as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People."

The group defines its task as "sparking and supporting consistent, far

reaching and effective activity which brings the issue of Palestine before the American people . . . Our movement organizes to stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East and to cut U.S. aid to Israel.

"We educate Americans on the need to support the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, developing a movement to oppose the discriminatory and racist policies and practices toward Palestinians inherent in the Zionist movement and the state of Israel."

Sees Dube as Anti-Zionist

According to a November 29 Coalition spokesman who gave his name only as Ali, the Coalition invited Dube to participate in the teach-in because "Dube recognized the racist nature of Zionism as a movement. He places Zionism in the same bag as apartheid."

Informed of Dube's contention that he does not condemn Zionism per se as racist, but only "some Zionists," Ali said, "Whether or not there are people who consider themselves Zionists but who are not racists, the fact is that the practices of Zionism are of a racist nature . . . We see Dube as an anti-Zionist."

Dube told the *Jewish World*, "I neither endorse nor support the positions of the November 29 Coalition. I have, however, no problem speaking before this or any other group, as long as they do not try to force me to take their positions. I am not going there to support them, but to deliver a paper on what I believe." Asked whether he would be representing himself or the African National Congress (ANC) at the teach-in, Dube replied, "On this occasion, I will be speaking for myself."

In his remarks to the *Jewish World*, Dube spoke further on his current involvement with the ANC, explaining that he spends "as many days a week as I can afford" as a representative of the ANC at the United Nations. Dube said he serves as a member of the National Educational Council of the ANC, and listed some of his responsibilities as "trying to find scholarships for our students and discussing the syllabus of schools that we run in Tanzania." □

metropolitan Star

D. Gross

Murray Felt

Source: Council on Foreign Relations

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State University of New York

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Albany, New York 12246

Office of the Chancellor

December 22, 1983

Mr. Harold L. Drimmer
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Hartford Hall
Westchester Community College
75 Grasslands Road
Valhalla, New York 10595

Dear Mr. Drimmer:

We were most pleased to recognize your 15 years of service to the State University of New York on October 1. The pen and pencil set is but a small token to show that we value your many contributions and look forward to your continuing help and support.

As I indicated in my letter of September 26, Professor Dube's teaching has received a great deal of attention on the Stony Brook campus. In addressing the questions that have arisen about one of his courses, campus officials have applied the principles of academic freedom and, we believe, have not confused that concept with the broader principle of free speech although there is a common basis to both of these concepts. Academic freedom does have limits: faculty carry a responsibility to inform students of differing interpretations and are obliged to accept independent views from their students and to respect and invite independence of thought. But the boundaries of academic freedom are wide and the burden falls to those who attempt to limit what is presented in the classroom.

Throughout this century, American higher education, indeed, higher education in all democratic societies, has promoted and protected the right of faculty to interpret their discipline in accordance with their own evaluations. The purpose of this freedom is to ensure an environment that is favorable to intellectual work and to provide an ambiance that helps stimulate ideas by severely limiting political and other hindrances on research and instruction. This is of critical importance to both private and public universities alike, and is as central to the work of the State University of New York as it is to Harvard's or Yale's. There is no greater relevance merely because we are public. As with freedom of speech, the exercise of academic freedom at times will result in the articulation of ideas with which many disagree and even, on occasion, with the presentation of ideas with which we take unremitting exception and which are singularly mistaken. But by allowing faculty to be wrong at times, we avoid a greater danger: the acceptance of an official truth against which there cannot be dissent.

In your letter you draw an analogy between Mr. Blinken's and President Marburger's letters and ". . . the behavior of the liberals during the rise of Hitler." But is there not a better case to be made that we are much more likely to repeat the horrors of the Holocaust by limiting debate and inquiry? The power of totalitarian governments rests heavily on their ability to silence other voices. Democratic societies are viable only as long as discussion is free. At times, this places us in the ironic position of defending the freedom of those who would severely limit freedom and protecting the right to expression of those whose ideas militate against a society built on individual rights and freedoms. But, as you know, this has long been the price paid by democratic institutions.

I do not believe that our fundamental positions are really as distant as you infer. But my colleagues and I do feel that a committee or a conference on the "limits of academic freedom," as suggested in your letter, is more likely to be applauded by those who purvey the propaganda we both despise than by those who teach what we both hold true.

Attached is an article from the October 11, 1983 issue of The New York Times on the Dube matter, just in case you missed it. It does offer a more complete statement than did previous articles.

Sincerely,

Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.
Chancellor

Attachment

cc: President Hankin
bc: ✓ Mr. Blinken)
President Marburger) w/copy of corres.
Dr. Komisar - w/corres.
Mr. Levine

EDUCATION

Academic Freedom Tenet Is Tested

By MICHAEL WINERIP

ACADEMIC freedom is a tenet that everyone supports — up to a point. But it is often not a simple matter to decide when a professor has crossed the line between responsibility and irresponsibility in the classroom.

A recent dispute at the State University of New York's Stony Brook campus that reached all the way to the top levels of the university system and to the Governor as well is a case in point.

Had Ernest Dube, professor of African Studies, been irresponsible in his "Politics of Race" course when he lectured on Zionism as a form of racism? That was the question before the executive committee of Stony Brook's university senate last month.

The evidence before the committee was skimpy, the members all agreed. Just one person, Selwyn K. Troen, a visiting humanities professor from Israel, had written a letter to the Provost and several of his friends on the faculty last summer. The letter charged that Professor Dube had used the classroom to advance his "personal ideology and racist biases." Linking Zionism to racism is "sloganeering that is practiced by the anti-Semite," Professor Troen wrote. In the six years since Professor Dube had come to Stony Brook, no one before had ever complained to the administration about his classroom behavior.

There was no precedent nor established procedure for handling such a charge at the University, according to Egon Neuberger, Stony Brook's dean of behavioral and social sciences. Administrators decided the executive committee would serve as an informal grand jury, he said, ruling whether there was enough evidence to investigate further.

The Israeli professor had based his accusations on discussions with a single student and the course syllabus. Professor Troen had never been to Professor Dube's class, nor ever met him, and he flew back to Israel almost immediately after writing the letter.

"There are certain things you just can't say in a classroom, it's not a question of academic freedom" said Rabbi Arthur Seltzer, a spokesman for the Anti-Defamation League, who complained to the Governor's office that these ideas were being taught on a public campus. "You wouldn't be allowed to say blacks are inferior.

And you shouldn't be able to say Zionism is racist. It shouldn't be tolerated as a controversial idea — it should be condemned."

Professor Troen had been particularly upset by a few lines in the syllabus, which read: "Fifth Week: the three forms of racism and how they have manifested themselves. 1. Nazism in Germany. 2. Apartheid in South Africa. 3. Zionism in Israel."

Professor Dube, a black who spent four years in South African prisons because of his opposition to the Government, felt he was singled out for political reasons, not academic motives. "I make no apologies for the inclusion of this topic," he wrote the faculty committee. "My classes are not for indoctrination nor are my students regarded by me as receptacles to be funneled into by me. They are not sponges."

In interviews with a reporter, Professor Dube explained his approach. "I teach that Zionism is not monolithic; but that there are certain aspects of it that are racist, in some Israeli Jews' attitudes toward the Arabs in Israel," he said. In his lectures he says there are three forms of racism: overt, covert and reactive.

His discussion of overt racism includes Nazi Germany and personal experiences with the South African Government. The "covert" section includes readings on racism in America. And in the discussion on "reactive racism," the tendency of people victimized to victimize others, he teaches that many Israeli Jews, themselves victims of Nazi racism, have in turn developed some of the same racist attitudes toward their Arab countrymen. He estimates he spends half a lecture a semester on Zionism — about the same amount of time, he says, that he discusses racism among black Pan-Africans who would expel all whites from Africa.

The accusation against Professor Dube was "a very serious charge based on very weak evidence," said Joel Rosenthal, the Stony Brook history professor who was chairman of the executive committee.

The committee decided on Aug. 17 that given what they had before them, "the bounds of academic freedom had not been crossed." Members decided against investigating further on their own. They feared the very act of investigating would in itself be seen as a condemnation of Professor Dube, and would smack of a witch hunt. In making this decision, committee members acknowledged they had chosen not to find out whether Professor Dube was using his class for propaganda, as the Israeli professor charged.

"We could have interviewed all the students who took the course, but that was just likely to give us dozens of different perceptions," said Dean Neuberger, who was a member of the committee. "We felt it would deteriorate into a political debate, based on people's beliefs."

Indeed, several students subsequently interviewed defended the course. And one, Holly Fierce, 22, who recently graduated from Stony Brook, said she argued in her final examination that Zionism was not racism, and did well, getting a B in the course.

The day after the executive committee decision, Rabbi Seltzer of the Anti-Defamation League met with an aide to the Governor. Two weeks later, Governor Cuomo issued a press release singling out the Stony Brook professor, and criticizing anyone who would call Zionism racist.

While the Governor said he was a strong supporter of academic freedom, he criticized the Stony Brook faculty for its "thunderous" silence. He said he was surprised more professors hadn't spoken out against such "pernicious" ideas. It was the first time since becoming Governor that Mr. Cuomo had involved himself so openly in a political dispute at one of his state campuses.

The Governor's statement drew criticism from several Stony Brook student and faculty leaders who felt he was playing to his Jewish constituency. "I felt the Governor's statement was very unfortunate and very unnecessary," said Professor Rosenthal. "I think he did it to help himself politically."

John Marburger, president of Stony Brook, said he had no wish to debate the Governor, but he characterized Mr. Cuomo's statement as "overly strong."

In mid-September the full university senate debated the issue and voted 54 to 14 in support of the executive committee's decision not to investigate Professor Dube. But because of the stir created, the administration promised to begin a review of all courses that could be considered "sensitive" from a religious, ethnic or racial point of view.

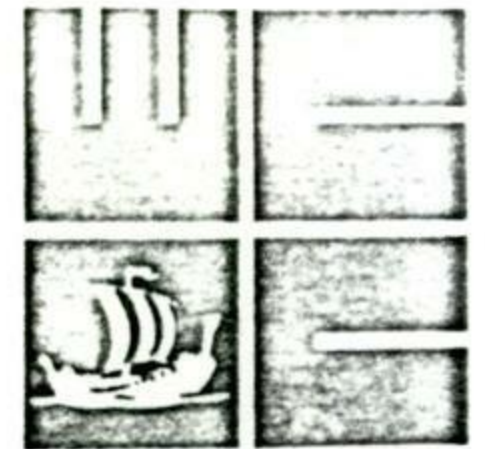
"How do you decide what course is sensitive? Very cautiously," said President Marburger.

Lost sight of in the recent debate, President Marburger believes, is that while every professor must be fair, no single professor is totally objective. The university's responsibility is to offer professors with many differing points of view.

For a different view of Zionism, said President Marburger, the departments of Judaic studies and history jointly offer "Zionism, 1848 to 1948."

"It's a good, solid objective view of Zionism as a movement for national liberation," said Prof. Ruben Weltsch, the course instructor. "I'd say the majority who take my course are Jewish — sympathetic to the movement."

Students tend to search out courses, Professor Weltsch said, that confirm their biases.



HAROLD L. DRIMMER
Chairman
Board of Trustees

October 19, 1983

Chancellor Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.
State University of New York
State University Plaza
Albany, New York 12246

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
CLIFTON R. WHARTON, JR.
CHANCELLOR

OCT 20 1983

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PM

Dear Dr. Wharton:

The handsome silver pen and pencil set that you presented to me on October 1st filled me with a great sense of appreciation for the graciousness and thought which you gave to this gesture. I will long treasure your gift for my fifteen years of service.

With respect to the Dube matter, I wonder whether there is confusion arising from two superficially similar but essentially different concepts: that of academic freedom and that of the right to free speech. The latter, protected by the State Constitution, is obviously beyond the scope of our discussion. I do not believe that the same inhibitions are involved with the former.

As to academic freedom, are there really any limits? Blinken labels the teacher "ignorant of history" and engaging in "a reprehensible distortion of reality." Marburger sees Dube's efforts to be personally "abhorrent," and urges the "utmost circumspection" in the teaching of topics. These two viewpoints seem to approximate the behavior of the liberals during the rise of Hitler.

Uninformed teachers, out of touch with reality can wreak major and irreversible havoc on young, impressionable minds. Propaganda of the Communist-Arabic line that equates Zionism with Nazism is intellectually disrespectful and academically demeaning.

Dr. Wharton

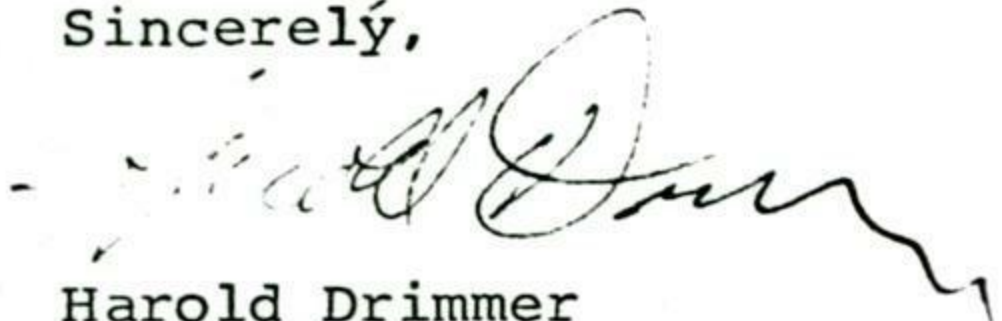
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October 19, 1983

Without trying to widen or deepen the chasm that separates us, I suggest that a meaningful conference or committee be set up for the purpose of examining in a mature and disciplined manner the "limits of academic freedom." As taught in publicly funded institutions, we must by our very nature be more sensitive to any slurs cast upon any significant part of the community. I would be just as vehement in opposing the introduction into our schools of any subjects propounding the concept of Nordic supremacy, racial myths, the inferiority of any ethnic groups, etc. If you feel the above idea has some merit, I for one would be willing to join in the funding of the expense that my proposal necessarily entails.

I do appreciate the concern which is implicit in your letter of September 26th and thank you for the attention that you have given this most sensitive and potentially volatile subject.

Sincerely,



Harold Drimmer

HD:cp

cc: Dr. Joseph N. Hankin