

PSC at UB 1960-2020:

*A New Department in
a Transformed University*

By

Claude E. Welch, Jr.
SUNY Distinguished Service Professor

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PREFACE

PSC at UB 1960-2020 provides my personal perspective on a single academic department in a segment of a sprawling public university. I focus on three-score years, starting immediately prior to the creation of the University at Buffalo's Political Science Department as self-standing unit, and concluding when I retired and moved to Boston.

The book travels beyond a depiction of an academic unit torn on occasion by serious disagreement over basic purposes, at other times working peacefully towards shared policies and goals. *PSC at UB 1960-2020* also provides an overview of the history of the University at Buffalo, from its creation as a local medical school in 1846 to a comprehensive multiversity enrolling well over 30,000 students by the 2020s.

Universities change at a glacial pace, it is often and metaphorically argued. I'm not certain, based on my lengthy experience. SUNY – the State University of New York – did not come into existence until 1948, making it the youngest of all state universities. In the period since SUNY's creation, higher education changed fundamentally, in scope, significance, and visibility. A massive influx of public funds enabled SUNY to move from supplementing private higher education to becoming the academic peer of much longer and better-established state university systems, as well as prestigious private universities. Money made a difference – but so did leadership.

In addition to my teaching and research, I voluntarily spent a significant part of my career in extra-departmental UB activities, notably the Faculty Senate and University-wide committees. I also spent two stints as a senior academic administrator. This involvement exposed me to a broader universe of choice and constraints than most of my fellow academics. Readers may feel that budgetary factors became the most significant factor in the Department's evolution.

Fair enough – but I believe that leadership played a crucial part. I buttress this widespread belief with examples to demonstrate that the power of the purse and the power to grant tenure and permanent appointments were fundamental to the Department’s effectiveness.

Without the editorial assistance of others, *PSC at UB 1960-2020* might never have appeared as a hardcover book. I am deeply grateful to those who shepherded it through the complexities of final editing and publishing. Special thanks must also go to Chris Hollister, Bill Offhaus, Sarah Cogley, Nina Cascio and other UB librarians, who skillfully answered my many questions into obscure crannies of the University’s history.

This book is dedicated to my Political Science colleagues, staff, our students, and fellow Buffalonians, with whom I lived, worked and played for over a half-century. Thank you.

Claude Welch
Boston, Massachusetts
October 10, 2024

CHAPTER ONE: THE PRIVATE UB, 1846-1960

For the initial decades of its history, UB can best be viewed as a congeries of locally oriented professional schools, staffed largely by volunteer faculty drawn from area practitioners. Growth was gradual, responding to personal and group initiatives, rather than proceeding from a master plan.

Medicine was the first school established; it was created when practitioners from the Finger Lakes area moved to Buffalo, a booming city benefiting from the Erie Canal and rapid population growth through immigration, industry and the like. Their school, initially proprietary, occupied modest quarters around Buffalo General Hospital, near its current location at Main and Virginia Streets. Other professional schools gradually emerged.¹

Pressures far removed from Buffalo resulted in the creation of the College of Arts and Sciences.² The noted 1910 Flexner Report challenged the foundation of medical education, the cornerstone of UB at that time. Flexner and

¹ According to the official UB website, the School of Medicine was created in 1846, followed successively in 1886 by Pharmacy, by Law in 1891 [which had started in 1887 as part of Niagara University], Dentistry in 1892, the College of Arts and Sciences in 1915, the evening division [Millard Fillmore College] in 1923, Business Administration [now Management] in 1927, Education in 1931, Social Work in 1935, Nursing in 1940, Engineering in 1946, Public Health in 1965, and Architecture and Planning in 1967. Dates from The University Archives' Timeline of UB History, found at <http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/ubhistory/timeline.php>.

² Several relevant publications came from the pen of Julius Park, member of a distinguished Buffalo family and eminent historian in his own right. See inter alia, *The city and the university* (1920); *The elective system and the tutorial plan at the University of Buffalo, 1923-1953* (1953), *The evolution of a college* (1938); *A history of the University of Buffalo* (1917), and *Samuel P. Capen* (1957).

his colleagues sought to replace the apprentice-type training that future MDs received with a combination of rigorous academic schooling and clinical experience.³

Rather than head directly to hospitals and affiliation with existing doctors following graduation from high school, would-be MDs now had to receive a baccalaureate degree prior to entering medical school.⁴ UB clearly required a college of arts and sciences that would support its medical school. The College was created on June 18, 1913. However, owing to problems with funding and World War I, its formal establishment was delayed until January 15, 1915, nearly seventy years after the 1846 creation of the medical school.⁵ No departments were formed initially, although courses were offered in Latin, French, German, history, mathematics,

³ I am writing from personal experience, being the son, brother and father of doctors, and having won a prize as the outstanding pre-med student at Harvard while an undergraduate. However, thanks to an inspiring high school social studies teacher, I found my interests fell far more into international affairs than pancreatitis. Better to ‘cure’ the body politic, I reasoned, than to work with one patient at a time, as life-saving as this has been for my kin’s patients.

⁴ The Flexner Report constitutes the most important document in the history of American and Canadian medical education. Its critical comments in the early 1900s gave rise to modern medical education. The report is named for Abraham Flexner (1866-1959) who prepared it.

Abraham Flexner was not a doctor but was a secondary school teacher and principal for 19 years in Louisville, Kentucky ... Flexner then took graduate work at Harvard and the University of Berlin and joined the research staff of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. For the Carnegie Foundation, Flexner researched, wrote and in 1910 published a report entitled ‘Medical Education in the United States and Canada.’

It is known today as the Flexner Report. <http://www.medicinenet.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=8795>, consulted December 25, 2007. Hundreds of other summaries and commentaries can be found.

⁵ <http://ublib.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/time-line/time4.html>

chemistry, biology, and physics.⁶ By 1915, however, several courses were given under department auspices.

The private University of Buffalo developed a modest reputation as a regional institution. Best known for the vigorous leadership of Samuel Capen,⁷ it moved from its initial Niagara Square base⁸ to the former Erie County sanitarium and poor farm in the northeast corner of Buffalo.⁹ Capen was recruited from the American Council of Education, where he had served as President, to preside over the transformation.

Capen worked to create ‘complete opportunities for higher education equal to the best anywhere obtainable, that should be a focus for the city’s idealism, that should change the current of the city’s life.’ In his inaugural speech on October 28, 1922, Capen detailed how he saw the role of a university administrator:

I do not hold with those who would limit the number of college students on the basis of any distinctions of race or sex or creed or social standing. There is but one justifiable basis on which a university in a democratic community such as this can choose those who are to become members of it, the basis of ability. But a university is a place maintained at great expense to foster the philosophic point of view, to stimulate constructive thinking, because this point-of-view and

⁶ Julian Park, ‘The Evolution of a College,’ *University of Buffalo Studies* v.15, no.3, p. 69. He was the son of the noted Buffalo surgeon Roswell Park, after whom Roswell Park Cancer Institute was named.

⁷ Capen was respected not only for his views on educational philosophy, but for his vigorous defense of academic freedom.

⁸ Courses were offered in Townsend Hall, located on Niagara Square in the heart of downtown Buffalo. UB sold the site in 1954. The City Court currently occupies the site.

⁹ The Erie County Almshouse and County Hospital also housed the mental asylum, in current Hayes Hall. A famous photo of Capen’s inauguration as Chancellor shows some of its inmates peering curiously from behind a chain-link fence at the procession of elaborately garbed academics.

this mode of thinking have been found necessary to the progress of civilized society.¹⁰

UB from 1900 to the end of World War II represented the quintessential urban university. Located after 1920 at the end of the Main Street trolley line, all its students were commuters, overwhelmingly drawn from the Buffalo metropolitan area and Western New York.¹¹

From an initial modest number of students [1,747 in 1925-26], the University barely grew in following years, with the hammer blows of the Depression and World War II. Its enrollment in 1942 was only 1,799, although this number was diminished by wartime manpower demands. The real growth came under the dual impacts of the immediate post-war GI Bill and the Baby Boom demographic echo, starting in the early 1960s.

Chancellor Capen came to Buffalo armed with new-cum-old ideas about quality education. Tutorial instruction lay at the heart of his philosophy. Undergraduates would not take formal lecture courses in their upper division years. Instead, they would participate in individual and [as financial pressures grew] small group tutorials. Graduate instruction would be confined to MA candidates.

¹⁰ <http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/capen/bio/bio4.htm>

¹¹ In 1940, Buffalo counted 575,901 people, making it the 14th largest city in the United States. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tab17.txt>, consulted July 25, 2010. This represented a significant drop from Buffalo's heyday at the turn of the 20th century, when it ranked sixth nationally and, according to one estimate, had become the wealthiest city of all on a per capita basis. For these halcyon days, see any of several histories, perhaps the best documented and most readable one being Mark Goldman, *High Hopes: The Rise and Decline of Buffalo New York* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983) and, by the same author, *City on the Edge: Buffalo New York* (Amherst NY: Prometheus Books, 2007). The ebullient nature of the city in the mid-1950s has been brilliantly captured in *The Last Fine Time*, by Verlyn Klinkenborg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Klinkenborg received the American Book Award for this novel.

The number of staff members remained restricted, with secretaries often shared among departments. Faculty promotions depended not only on merit, but also on financial considerations. Although significant fund-raising campaigns were mounted to try to put the new University on a sound basis,¹² the Depression, Capen's time-intensive hands-on educational philosophy, competition from other colleges and universities, and the fact that well-paying jobs could readily be found in the Buffalo area during this era without post-high school education: all these factors kept enrollments low.

UB, whether in its public or private days, was marked by widely varying relations with its surrounding community. At times, having a quasi-municipal university was a source of local pride. At other periods, however, classic town-gown tensions surfaced, with negative consequences for both.

Several broadly demarcated periods exist during the lengthy period covered in this chapter. They started with strong local support from small communities of professionals, many of whom taught [often on a volunteer basis]; the Schools of Medicine, Dentistry, and Law illustrate this first period.¹³

The second came after both World Wars and during the Vietnam War, when the liberal values of UB upheld by its faculty and administrators conflicted with the basically conservative values of the community. At various points in

¹² The most noteworthy occurred immediately before and after World War I to raise money to purchase the Main-Bailey property from Erie County – an effort strongly supported at its last moments by the Seymour Knox family and women's groups – and secondly in a fund-raising effort, inauspiciously launched shortly before the Great Depression. Individual bequests also supported special funds, such as the justly-renowned annual cycle of Beethoven quartets endowed by Slee family funds, or by scattered professorships in the Arts and Sciences and various professional schools.

¹³ And, to be certain, such warm relations continue to exist. Fund-raising has almost universally appealed more to donors when the recipient could be a focused professional school, rather than the entire university or the amorphous College of Arts and Sciences.

UB's history, efforts at rebuilding links with Buffalo became a conscious presidential goal.

As noted, the College of Arts and Sciences was formed in 1915, under the inexorable pressure of new requirements for MD's qualifications. Fund-raising went slowly, as documented by its long-time Dean Julian Park, a member of the Department of History and Government.¹⁴ Without question, the acme of warm town-gown relations in the broadest sense occurred in the major fund-raising drive launched in 1929, on the eve of the Great Depression.

The antithesis can be noted in three tension-fraught periods, in which imminent, on-going, or post-war tensions affected UB. In the 1930s, again in the early 1950s, and most explosively in the late 1960s, members of the University became embroiled in roiling national and international issues. Cosmopolitan values of free speech and protest upheld in Academe collided with the metropolitan area's fundamentally conservative heritage.

Buffalo in the Depression era remained a city of heavy industry, marked by sharp divisions between ethnic communities, each with its own geographic center. Among the most influential were the Irish of South Buffalo. Remembrance of past British misdeeds ran strong and played out in town-gown relations for them. Another prominent strand in the city's population came from its descendants of German origin [other ethnic groups with large populations in Buffalo included the Poles and Italians; they were less unified in terms of town-gown relations]. Each had reason to distrust Chancellor Capen and several members of the UB faculty.

Those in the ivory tower at Main and Bailey, at the far northeast corner of the city, recognized the threats to democracy embodied in Nazism. However, Irish nationalists saw its rise as a direct challenge to England, from which an uneasy independence had not been gained until 1922. Local German-Americans may have taken pride in the rapid way

¹⁴ Julian Park, *The Evolution of a College: A Century of Higher Education in Buffalo* (Buffalo: Buffalo NY 1938).

in which Hitler jumpstarted the economy and rebuilt national pride after the crushing humiliation of World War I.¹⁵

Many Irish and German citizens thus supported, at least implicitly, the isolationist movements that marked the United States in the 1930s. Campus figures, by contrast, condemned the anti-intellectual, militarist actions of the Nazis and other Fascist groups. They became outspoken proponents of American involvement prior to World War II's outbreak.

Campus values also came into conflict with conservative pre-Vatican II views among local Catholic laypersons and clergy. Professor Robert Stern recalled that one of his colleague's tutorial students demurred at reading Machiavelli's *The Prince*, since it appeared on the forbidden list.¹⁶ Finally, the Buffalo *Evening News* was at this time and until late in the 20th century a bastion of conservative views, in contrast with the populist *Courier-Express*. The *Evening News* could be counted upon to condemn UB personnel who questioned certain values, as manifested markedly in the McCarthy era.

¹⁵ As Professor Stern observed, Chancellor Capen strongly defended some faculty members

who had become highly controversial in the city owing to their activities, prior to Pearl Harbor, as outspoken advocates for U.S. intervention on behalf of the allies. Not surprising in a community that, prior to our entry into World War II, had its share of Bundists and their isolationist sympathizers. Neither was such advocacy likely to be warmly welcomed among elements of the city's Irish population, who had carried over from World War I (not to speak of decades and centuries before that) a strong distaste for our helping England's cause.

Hand-written comments from Professor Robert H. Stern, given to me August 13, 2009.

¹⁶ Individually, however, Professor Stern never encountered such an attitude, although he assigned classics such as *Leviathan* or *The Social Contract* that may have offended many Catholic students.

During this period, guardians against subversion¹⁷ in the Senate and House of Representatives were determined to stamp out and punish any un-American values. Although the witch hunt did not directly affect any member of the History and Government Department,¹⁸ it cast a chilling effect over academic freedom generally. A roughly comparable set of tensions, which played out this time at the New York State level, involved the Feinberg Certificate, a requirement set by the Regents that faculty must sign a loyalty oath.¹⁹ In a case ultimately fought all the way to the Supreme Court,²⁰ several faculty members and library staff obtained a ruling overturning the Feinberg Certificate requirement.

The final instance of town-gown tensions comes later in this history, for, without question, national and international events during the Vietnam War set a climate for on-campus radicalism. Elsewhere, I examine the deep significance of these special circumstances.

SUNY: A brief overview

The State University of New York has several distinguishing features.

¹⁷ Professor Stern's phrase.

¹⁸ Professor William Parry of Philosophy, by contrast, was sharply vilified by area right wingers, and did not teach for three years, as a sop to community feelings. He retained his tenured position and remained on the UB faculty, nonetheless.

¹⁹ The matter was raised to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 319 U.S. 624 (1967). Richard Lipsitz argued before the Supreme Court, while James Magavern handled the brief for the affected UB individuals. The case is available electronically as

http://scholar.google.com/scholar_case?case=15934266528750676067&hl=en&as_sdt=2&as_vis=1&oi=scholar.

²⁰ The Supreme Court emphasized the free flow of ideas in schools, saying the classroom 'is peculiarly the 'marketplace of ideas.' The Nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to the robust exchange of ideas.' E-mail to me from Professor Charles Lamb, August 23, 2009.

First, it is the youngest of the state-supported systems of American public higher education.²¹ Established in 1948, it confederated largely community-initiated teachers' training colleges with county-supported technical institutions and various professional schools, many of them located on the campuses of private universities.²² New York's response to the GI Bill was to waive tuition for anyone prepared to seek teacher certification within the system. SUNY also incorporated and/or encouraged the establishment of community colleges within the State's 57 counties outside New York City.²³

Finally, as part of a drastic overhaul initiated in the late 1950s, SUNY sought to develop comprehensive graduate centers. They would complement existing professional programs in education, fashion, medicine and the like with

²¹ The 1863 Morrill land-grant act – one of the most revolutionary laws in American educational history – can be compared only perhaps to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the 1944 G.I. Bill [officially titled the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, P.L. 78-346, 58 [Stat.](#) 284]. This latter legislation 'provided for college or vocational education for returning [World War II veterans](#) (commonly referred to as [GIs](#) or G.I.s) as well as one year of unemployment compensation. It also provided many different types of loans for returning veterans to buy homes and start businesses. Since the original act, the term has come to include other veteran benefit programs created to assist veterans of subsequent wars as well as peacetime service.' G.I. Bill, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G.I. Bill](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G.I._Bill), consulted December 18, 2008. Paradoxically, New York's land-grant institution is Cornell University, the overwhelming majority of whose constituent parts are private rather than public. Although Alaska and Hawai'i were incorporated as states after 1948, their university systems were incorporated in 1917 and 1907, respectively.

²² The largest SUNY unit prior to UB's merger into it ironically was Buffalo State College, at 1300 Elmwood Avenue. Established in 1871, 'the school's sole purpose was to train teachers to serve Buffalo's fast-growing student population in the public schools.' <http://www.buffalostate.edu/buffalostatehistory.xml>, accessed December 18, 2008.

²³ New York has 62 counties, counting the five in New York City. CUNY parallels SUNY in its administrative structure, with community colleges in each borough, as well as free-standing colleges in Brooklyn, Manhattan and Queens, and the graduate center in Manhattan.

traditional doctoral programs in the arts and sciences. At its inception, SUNY already ranked as ‘the second largest of the state universities in the country, [and] has a total enrollment of approximately 32,000 and a faculty including part-time instructors of about 3000.’²⁴ By 1962, the year prior to UB’s merger into the system, SUNY had grown exponentially.

According to an official State publication,

Total State University enrollment in degree-credit courses in the Fall of 1962 was 111,342. This figure includes 68,019 full-time students, of whom 43,323 were enrolled in State colleges and 19,567 in community colleges, and 43,323 part-time students, 17,685 in State colleges and 25,638 in community colleges. The total number of full-time faculty members (instructional staff only) is 4,654 of whom 3,505 are in the State colleges and 1,149 in the community colleges.²⁵

Alone among the states, New York lacked a large, central state university, a situation UB’s leaders sought to change.²⁶ The first President of SUNY described the result thus in 1950:

The program by which the State of New York, through the State University, undertook to meet the educational needs of society and of the youth of the State was a pioneering venture into a new pattern of higher education. No familiar structure would be adequate. On the one hand was the need for unification and expansion of the public institutions, supplementing and cooperating with the private institutions. On

²⁴ John S. Mearns, Ed., *New York Red Book*, 59th edition (Albany, Williams Press 1950), p. 460.

²⁵ Myron D. Hartman, Ed., *New York Red Book*, 72nd edition (Albany, Williams Press 1963-64), p. 585.

²⁶ During the 1990s, UB engaged in a costly rebranding exercise. Henceforward, official publication emanated from ‘The University at Buffalo: **The** State University of New York.’ [Emphasis added.]

the other hand [there] was a need for decentralization, with a diversity of programs integrated to the service of the community, and with a maximum of local control and responsibility. The present organization was designed with all these requirements in mind. While the units work together cooperatively on the development of overall policies, each branch remains free to exercise initiative in developing a local program adequate to accomplish the purposes for which it was established. Ideas that appear sound can be tried out and the results appraised for effectiveness. Plans that prove useful can be adopted by others; those that are ineffective can be discarded with a minimum of loss. So long as the overall objectives are clear and evaluation of results is continuous, a diversity of approaches through local initiative offers the best means for continuously strengthening the university programs.²⁷

The second factor was demographic, leading to the institutional reorganization and expansion just outlined. The average number of children per family rose sharply after World War II. The average American woman bore 3.09 children in 1950, which increased to 3.65 children per family in 1960; the peak occurred in 1957, when the figure stood at 3.77. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of families with three children doubled and the number of families having a fourth child quadrupled.²⁸

Added to these factors was an epochal piece of national legislation. Recognizing the extraordinary contributions made by the ~16,353,700 draftees and volunteers in the American military, Congress passed what is popularly known as the GI Bill. Its educational benefits made post-

²⁷ Alvin C. Eurich, 'The State University of New York: A Pioneering Venture in Higher Education,' *Higher Education* VI, 15, April 1, 1950, p. 172. Italics added.

²⁸ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Post%E2%80%93World_War_II_baby-boom](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Post%E2%80%93World_War_II_baby_boom), consulted October 15, 2011.

secondary education possible for hundreds of thousands of persons – including at least two members of the Political Science Department.²⁹

The private University of Buffalo met the post-World War II challenge by significantly expanding undergraduate enrollments. Dormitories started to rise on the Main-Bailey campus, as did major new academic buildings such as the Medical School, constructed on Bailey Avenue across from the equally new VA hospital. Facilities for the newly created engineering school rose on another side of the campus. Overall, the number of students enrolled at UB increased immediately after the war. In 1946-47, there were 11,554 students, a figure which continued to rise slowly until the merger with SUNY: there were 14,639 enrolled in 1957-58 and 15,882 in 1962-63.³⁰

Political ambitions counted as a fourth factor in SUNY's transformation. Establishing a university with branches throughout the state – in short, one with numerous campuses away from Democratic-dominated New York City – made good sense for ambitious Republican leaders. Republican Governor Thomas Dewey presided over SUNY's formal legislative creation in 1948, when the flood of veterans had started to inundate post-baccalaureate education. In 1960, his equally ambitious Republican successor Nelson Rockefeller blessed the transformation of SUNY into a comprehensive university system in its own right, outstripping California in its ambitions.³¹

²⁹ Robert Stern, who joined the Department in 1950, received his doctorate from Harvard, thanks to the GI Bill. John Lane, who had trained as a high schooler in Germany to become a printer, went on to a PhD from Columbia, thanks to the GI Bill.

³⁰ University at Buffalo; 5/1/27 Archives Annual Reports of the Chancellor/President, 1922- Boxes 2-4.

³¹ Unlike California, SUNY brought together three levels of post-secondary education. California governs – perhaps 'coordinates' is a better term – its numerous campuses through three separately chartered governing boards. They include the University of California [Berkeley,

Finally, and necessarily speculatively, many members of the faculty and staff at the private University of Buffalo favored merging into SUNY. Although this would entail a significant loss in local autonomy, their view coincided with that of several civic leaders. New York State appeared willing to invest millions – and ultimately billions – to develop a new State University of New York at Buffalo.

Why not establish a comprehensive SUNY campus in the Queen City? Hence, with the promise and soon the reality of a significantly brighter future, the private University of Buffalo signed over all its assets to SUNY in 1962. UB became SUNYAB: the State University of New York at Buffalo.

To sum up, financial, educational and political considerations pointed UB toward the merger. The resulting flow of funds made the establishment of the Department of Political Science possible. It was one of many units that were created, or which prospered extraordinarily with the gush of state funds. One theme of the following chapter is how quickly the bloom faded from the rose.

Davis, UCLA, etc.], the California State Colleges [Cal Poly Humboldt, Fresno State, Fullerton, etc.], and multiple community colleges.

In New York State, the picture is quite different. The community colleges, although part of SUNY, retain significant autonomy. For example, they are financed by a formula in which contributions by individual counties are included along with tuition, fees, and contributions from the State of New York. The one-time teaching training colleges, now changed into colleges of arts and sciences, offer not only bachelor of arts degrees [as contrasted with the former bachelor of education], but also moved toward giving MA degrees. Comprehensive research centers form the third tier of the SUNY system. Initial plans proposed one in Long Island, the other somewhere in Western New York. Subsequent decisions doubled the comprehensive universities, with Albany and Binghamton joining Stony Brook and Buffalo.

CHAPTER TWO: PSC's EARLY YEARS at UB

To summarize the lessons of this chapter, the 1960s were an extraordinary decade. Copious funding from New York State made massive faculty recruitment possible. The rate of growth was dizzying. Well-established figures in the discipline and newly minted PhD recipients joined the Department. Other appointees with impressive academic records had been denied tenure at leading universities like Berkeley; offering them tenured associate professorships brought them to Buffalo, where they flourished.

Political Science at UB thus received national recognition in large part due to the established reputations of its newly recruited professors. Such widely known scholars as Roy Macridis [Comparative Politics], John Wahlke [American Politics], or Robert Scigliano [Comparative Politics] stayed but a few years, while Al Somit [a major historian of Political Science as a discipline] became an administrator. The loss of scholars of such repute hurt the Department in the short term.

Taking a longer-term perspective, the on-campus disturbances of 1969-1970 and the abrupt halt of UB's growth in the early 1970s [owing to New York State's fiscal crises] soured the soaring optimism of the Department's early years. Political Science had to cope with gradual erosion of its faculty numbers, even while trying to maintain a broad range of fields.

SUNY: A system without a center

The State University of New York entered its life ringed about with restrictions that, in the view of many education leaders and in my own perspective, made it next to impossible to create or build a major public, research-oriented institution. SUNY can best be described in its early years as a loose congeries of entities, most of them locally established normal schools designed to train teachers. As an

example of the strictures placed on SUNY at its founding, no campus other than that at Binghamton was permitted to offer B.A. programs – only the B.S. or Bachelor of Education was granted. No tuition was charged, akin to the policy followed in the City of New York public university system. In effect, however, SUNY had no center, only a series of campuses linked by little save concern about effects of ‘Albany’ [SUNY’s central administration] on local administration.

However, major social changes in the forms of the G.I. Bill, the arrival of baby boomers at college age, a path-breaking report on higher education in the State, and ambitious Republican governors paved the way for major expansion. These laid the foundation to create a system, which, in time, included the traditional capstone of real publicly supported, PhD-granting entities. Generous tax support flowed into the new-born system. New York lived up to its motto *Excelsior* [higher].

The combined Department of History and Government

Given the financial distress of the private University of Buffalo and its costly teaching-intensive tutorial system for undergraduates, faculty members faced heavy demands. Members of the combined Department of History and Government spent the bulk of their time on instruction and department service. Scant time existed for detailed scholarly research.

As noted in the previous chapter, UB did not create a separate College of Arts and Sciences until the end of World War I, although the university took a few small steps in that direction during the war.¹ Among the departments created at

¹ For details, see Julian Park, *The Evolution of a College* (1938) and *A History of the University of Buffalo* (1917). A detailed, first-rate study was published by two former senior administrators: William R. Greiner and Thomas E. Headrick, *Location, Location, Location: A Special History of the University at Buffalo* (Buffalo: Center for Studies in American Culture, 2007).

the outset were such stalwarts of baccalaureate instruction as Biology, Chemistry, English and Psychology.² The combined Department of History and Government was one of these units. Its faculty members were drawn heavily from the History side, in particular American and Western history. Political scientists remained in the minority, with the orthodox subfields of American politics, comparative [largely European] politics, international politics and public administration represented.

The joint department, *ab ovo*

I deliberately chose the Latin term since, for most of its history, the joint Department of History and Government was headed by scholars steeped in Western culture. Many of them read and quoted the language of Virgil or Pliny with ease. The ethos of the combined Department was set by its historians, who made up at least three-quarters of its faculty strength. Some of them held senior administrative positions, notably Julian Park and Julius Pratt, respectively Deans of Arts and Sciences and the Graduate School.

Given the straitened financial circumstances of the private University of Buffalo and its distinctive tutorial system for undergraduates, faculty members faced heavy instructional demands. Members of the combined Department of History and Government spent the bulk of their time on instruction; administrative duties were carried by a few, and scholarship languished. With little time for research, they perceived research as a luxury, a rich and fickle sauce with which to spice the meat and potatoes of teaching. Only with the influx of resources made possible through the creation of

² Histories of individual Departments at UB remain unwritten for the most part – a pity, given the dramatic changes that occurred in almost all as a result of the merger with SUNY and resulting changes. The single exception known to me is Jack Meacham's history of the Psychology Department. It can be found at Meacham, Jack, 'History of the Department of Psychology, State University of New York at Buffalo.' 2006. Vertical History Files II-32, University Archives, University at Buffalo, the State University of New York.

the State University of New York and the merger of the private University of Buffalo into it could: 1) Political Science be established as a separate Department; 2) research be elevated to a primary criterion for faculty recruitment and retention; 3) doctoral programs be created or notably strengthened; 4) major new facilities provided; and 5) thousands of new students recruited. As a result, the tuition-driven budget of UB was replaced by near-total financial reliance on the State of New York.

Robert Stern was the senior Political Science faculty member when the Department was created. He came to UB in 1950, after completing his doctorate at Harvard.³ History and Government then included nine or ten faculty members, some of whom served concurrently as major administrators.⁴ Stern was the third political scientist in the Department. It was his duty to teach Introduction to American government, the basic course in any Political Science Department.

³ Stern's dissertation was entitled, 'The Federal Communications Commission and Television: The Regulatory Process in an Environment of Rapid Technical Innovations.' Stern believes he was recruited as a result of direct discussions between the Chair of the Government Department at Harvard and the Chair of History and Government at Buffalo. Information comes from a hand-written note from Professor Stern to me, February 24, 2008. The same word-of-mouth probably applied in my appointment and those of several faculty members appointed in the Department's early years.

⁴ Historian Julian Park (1888-1965) was the longest-tenured Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, serving in that position from 1919 [six years after he joined the UB faculty] until 1954. He was the son of the eminent Buffalo surgeon Roswell Park. [For brief information, see http://www.buffalo.edu/ubreporter/2009_05_13/flashback.] Historian Julian Pratt not only taught, but also was Dean of the Graduate School. Park's books [in addition to several focused on the history of the University of Buffalo] included studies of Canadian and French culture. Pratt (1888-1983) was a diplomatic historian, with special attention to the United States. Perhaps his most intriguing book is entitled *[America's colonial experiment: How the United States gained, governed, and in part gave away a colonial empire.](#)*

Previously, historians had covered it.⁵ Stern also taught public administration,⁶ always a major part of the curriculum, and constitutional law. His formal lecture courses were complemented by group tutorials, one-on-one tutorials having been dropped for financial reasons.⁷ Members of the Department collectively participated in preparing, administering and grading the comprehensive examinations that all senior majors were required to take.

These tests included oral portions in which students, according to Stern, 'faced a panel of three or four faculty members ... I remember long hours in which groups of faculty toiled over the acceptability of every question to appear in the various parts of the written examination, and then at the oral, sometimes, experiencing with the student a shared ordeal.' Recruitment decisions were made in what Stern deemed a 'quasi-collegial way.' In his own case, he was invited to visit Buffalo, where he met one-on-one with the Department Chair, with some other faculty members, and finally with the Dean of Arts and Sciences. In short, no formal presentation to the faculty or to a class existed at that time for junior-level appointments.⁸ The tenure process understandably involved more complications, with review by a

⁵ This was John Horton, Chair of History for several years, including when the important Committee on Courses prepared its report.

⁶ See details subsequently in this history relating to the checkered history of Public Policy.

⁷ As Stern recalled, each instructor enjoyed considerable leeway in choosing the subject for the group tutorials. He favored 'the dead white male canon of Western political thought – Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, the *Federalist Papers*, de Tocqueville, Rousseau, J.S. Mill, Marx, etc. – in addition to authors around whom contemporary controversy swirled, such as Hayek or Herman Finer.' Personal communication to me, February 24, 2008.

⁸ Stern wryly notes that having two senior administrators as members of History and Government 'may have simplified matters.' Personal communication to me, February 24, 2008. Similar streamlined recruitment was also eased by the small size of the Department, its homogeneity and, by the mid- to late-1960s, the torrent of State funds that facilitated wholesale hiring.

key executive committee of the College; the Department itself tended to recommend promotion to associate professor ‘rather early through a kind of accumulated consensus.’⁹

The Department of History and Government was staffed almost entirely by white males. To be sure, this was the norm in Western universities at that time, given the demographics and social expectations of the 1960s. In my research for this history, I turned up the name of only one female PSC faculty member prior to the division into two units. Helen Dwight Reid taught international relations at Buffalo from 1928-1939. Her life is a relative mystery. Ms. Reid was known for decades within the discipline through an annual award given by the American Political Science Association for ‘the best dissertation in the field of international relations, law, and politics [now called the Merze Tate Award]. The award is supported by the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation. It carries a prize of \$750.’¹⁰

Reid came from an independently wealthy family, likely with a background in Glasgow shipbuilding. She was educated under English and French governesses, then spent eleven years in travel and study abroad. Reid emerged fluent in several European languages. She finished high school in three years, graduating with honors in 1918. Reid entered Vassar, graduating in 1922 as one of 10 members of the Advanced Standing Honor Group, majoring in political science and history. She received an International Law Fellowship from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 1922-1924, doing research in international law, diplomacy,

⁹ Personal communication to me, February 24, 2008. Stern also notes that two relatively close decisions were made at the junior level during his decade in the combined department: one went instead to Yale, the other came to Buffalo, won the Bancroft Prize in History in 1966 and subsequently became President of Swarthmore College and head of a major Philadelphia area foundation.

¹⁰ http://www.apsanet.org/section_270.cfm, accessed September 27, 2008. I wasn’t able to find the names of winners after 2016, however. <https://politicalsciencenow.com/melissa-lee-2016-helen-dwight-reid-award-recipient/>, accessed July 24, 2023.

history, government and international trade at Harvard, where she received her MA in February 1924. Reid also had finished preliminary requirements for her doctorate, along with the first draft of her PhD thesis. Her appointment at UB came quickly, given her credentials, and her rapid rise in rank reflected her research ability and flair for teaching. Reid's dissertation, finished in 1935, dealt with 'international servitude.'¹¹

At that time, UB was gravely affected – like American higher education and the entire country – by the dire impact of the Depression. Faculty retrenchments were commonplace. Salary reductions occurred, sometimes with staff volunteering to lower their pay in order to preserve jobs of colleagues. Promotions – at least those involving salary increases – became rare, as did sabbatical leaves. Many academics were drawn into government, joining the brain trust that Roosevelt built, or becoming affiliated with NGOs. Such was the case with Dr. Reid. For a variety of personal reasons, she resigned in 1939, moving to Washington to follow her interest in Latin American politics.

Reid died tragically August 6, 1965, in a car crash on the day she was due to leave for an APSA South American tour. Apparently, her assets had already been placed into a charitable cause: she served as president of the Helen Dwight Reid Foundation, which gave scholarships to graduate students in international relations. The foundation lived on as the Heldref Foundation, sponsoring a host of academic

¹¹ Her dissertation was completed in 1935, dealing with 'international servitude.' Although no detailed information is available through a WorldCat search, I surmise that it focused on the League of Nations' Slavery, Servitude, Forced Labour and Similar Institutions and Practices Convention of 1926. I examined roughly the same area in one of my last publications. See Claude E. Welch, Jr., 'Defining Contemporary Forms of Slavery: Updating a Venerable NGO,' *Human Rights Quarterly* 31, 1 (February 2009), 70-128.

publications and, of course, the annual APSA dissertation prize.^{12, 13}

Edging toward division: The Committee on Courses

By the late 1950s, higher education leaders in the United States realized they would soon confront immense new demands. The post-World War II baby boom meant a second major bulge of students would soon arrive on colleges' doorsteps. Between 1946 and 1957, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the birth rate soared from the levels of the Depression and World War II. Technology changed dramatically. Municipal leaders in Buffalo were bullish about the city. By 1955, Buffalo reached the acme of its 20th-century population, with an air of optimism marking the urban area. In terms of the University of Buffalo generally, curricula needed updating, new facilities constructed, and faculty recruited to meet the dramatically expanded teaching needs.¹⁴ Repercussions from the post-World War II enrollment increases, and from the growth of American prosperity generally, spread through the entire University of Buffalo.

With respect to Political Science, the most important event between World War II and the merger with SUNY came with the 1958 report of the Committee on Courses. It

¹² Peter Katzenstein, 2008-09 president of the American Political Science Association and chaired professor at Cornell, received this award in 1976. In an interesting twist of fate, Katzenstein gave an invited lecture at UB in February 2009, 'Anti-Americanism and Obama-nia: Challenges for America in 21st Century,' organized in part by me.

¹³ Legal issues ensnared the Heldref Foundation, which had been endowed with funds from Ms. Reid's estate. It was ordered to pay more than \$400,000 in back property taxes to the District of Columbia. This judgment doubtless weakened the Foundation, and may have led to its dissolution. <https://caselaw.findlaw.com/court/dc-court-of-appeals/1125305.html>, accessed July 24, 2023.

¹⁴ One repercussion came in the abandonment of individual in favor of group tutorials.

listed five reasons why the combined Department of History and Government should be split:

1. Political Science frequently wasn't recognized by students or some advisers as a distinct field of study.
2. For serious coverage in courses, establishment of a separate department was desirable.
3. Department autonomy helped ensure proper recognition at the administrative level with respect to personnel requirements, library needs, etc.
4. Faculty recruitment and placement of graduate students would be easier.
5. Department autonomy and a sense of identity were important for esprit de corps among majoring students, students and faculty members, and among its faculty [underlining as in original].

As sound as these academic principles may have been, and as pressing as the impending higher demands for admission were, fiscal realities precluded immediate creation of a separate Department of Political Science. Only with merger with the massively publicly-funded SUNY system did change come about.

The 'velvet divorce' occurred in the fall of 1962. According to the long-time Chair of the combined department, 'The most significant development is that the Department of History and Government has become pregnant; and will, we hope, by the autumn of 1962 give birth to a new and separate Department of Political Science.'¹⁵ John Lane, a specialist in comparative politics who had been recruited as an assistant professor the preceding year, recalled the split as occurring by 'consensus.'¹⁶ The escalating aspirations and resources of the time made it possible to search for an outside Chair. By

¹⁵ 'Annual report of the Department of History and Government, 1961' written by historian John Horton; available in the UB Archives.

¹⁶ Interview with John Lane and Robert Stern, Buffalo, April 24, 2008.

bringing an academic star to Buffalo and giving him a broad mandate to recruit, Political Science could receive a jump start in its expanded educational mission. And that it did, thanks to the contacts, commitment and vision of a French-trained Greek comparative political scientist, Roy Macridis. His appointment marked what I consider the real start of the Department.¹⁷

Growth was explosive. Besides the three and a half persons who transferred from the former Department of History and Government,¹⁸ Macridis reached out nationally for new faces. He followed a time-honored pattern of seeking out friends willing to move to a new university that promised much. An immediate appointee was Bernard [Ed] Brown, with whom he had worked closely in editing a widely used book of readings on comparative politics.¹⁹ Other important early appointees included political philosopher Richard Cox²⁰, who joined the Department in 1963, and International Relations [IR] specialist Glenn Snyder.²¹ Likely most important, Macridis lured eminent Americanist John Wahlke, then serving as President of the Inter-University Consortium

¹⁷ Interview with John Lane and Robert Stern, Buffalo, April 24, 2008.

¹⁸ These included Robert Stern, John Lane and John Crittenden; Karel Hulicka split his time between History and Political Science.

¹⁹ The first edition of their *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings* appeared in 1961. Subsequent editions were published in 1964, 1968, 1972 and 1976.

²⁰ Cox and Macridis were close personally. Macridis had reached out to Cox when Cox was completing his MA at Northwestern. They remained in contact while Cox taught for two years at Harvard and six years at Berkeley. He was denied tenure at the latter, so was on the job market. Macridis tried to lure Cox to Washington University when he taught there. Informal discussion with Richard Cox, August 14, 2008. His major scholarly works have focused on John Locke, including *Locke on War and Peace* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

²¹ Snyder had also been turned down for tenure at Berkeley. Telephone discussion February 12, 2008. Cox and Snyder represented exactly the sort of high-quality talent Macridis sought: young, respected within their fields, ready to move to a new institution.

on Political and Social Research. Wahlke exemplified the scientific side of Political Science, ensuring that graduate students received a rigorous introduction to contemporary methodological approaches.

The new Department was thus launched in spectacular fashion with the simultaneous recruitment of two intellectual stars in Macridis and Wahlke. The classic areas were represented: American politics by Wahlke; comparative politics by Brown and Macridis; empirical political science also by Wahlke; international relations by Snyder; and political philosophy by Cox. These complemented Stern's expertise in public administration.

The annual report for 1963 reflected the jubilant early, fund-filled years. Macridis toasted the new Department's first year of operations with 'great and indeed excruciating [sic] pleasure.' All members of the Department shared the goals of academic excellence and productivity; national recognition and visibility; research and graduate development; and 'solid instructional performance' at the undergraduate level. The natural constituency for the Department was 'the scholarly fraternity in the country.' Sounding a recurring theme in the Department's history Macridis wrote, 'Our effort is to emulate the best institutions. It is to the profession that we shall owe our foremost allegiance and our efforts and priorities will be established accordingly. It is by attaining national recognition that we shall be serving best the University and the community.'²²

A similar explosion of growth came in 1964. Five new assistant professors, including the author of this study, arrived that year. They came from a variety of backgrounds: area specialists in Africa, India and the Communist world; other Americanists; international relations theorists, and the like. Similar rates of recruitment followed in the ensuing years of the decade.

²² Annual Report for the Department of Political Science, on file in the UB Archives.

Major implications flowed from this early, massive recruitment:

1. Almost all the sub-fields of the discipline received tenured leaders new to Buffalo save for public administration, which was already covered by Stern.
2. The Department accordingly was structured from the outside along traditional lines. Each sub-section had at least a few faculty members, sufficient to mount and support doctoral work. The only dissenting voice came from Wahlke, who favored organizing it along functional lines.²³
3. Political Science raised its national profile by these key initial appointments but a corresponding problem existed. Rapid departure of some of them could trigger an assumption in the field that Buffalo's situation was unstable.
4. The rapid and extensive hiring of the late 1960s affected the whole University. Numerous assistant and associate professors were recruited during this period – and then served decades more as they became entrenched and tenured. When fiscal problems assailed New York in the early 1970s and subsequently, members of this disparate group were immune from retrenchment, and cutbacks fell almost entirely on junior faculty.
5. The blistering pace of recruitment also encouraged a the-sky's-the-limit outlook. This was reflected in the 'Berkeley of the East' phrase bandied about at the time.
6. Undergraduate students flocked to UB from all over the state, diminishing the local or at most regional focus of the institution. This presumed dilution of community influence in the

²³ Interview by me of John Lane and Robert Stern, Buffalo, April 24, 2008.

University crystallized in the disturbances of the late 1960s.

7. Grandiose plans made at all levels made possible the launching of graduate programs. Doctoral degrees could be pursued, thanks to the larger and more varied faculty.

The sudden departure of the two senior members of the Department slowed the momentum that had been established but did not stop it. Macridis left first. Lured by an offer from Brandeis – located in the Boston metropolitan area that he and especially his wife loved – he left in 1965, barely two years after arriving. Filling the Chair's position thus posed an immediate crisis. The ranks of tenured faculty were thin. Wahlke was the only nationally known full professor who had held that rank for a lengthy period of time.

Following the usual procedures, the Dean of Arts and Sciences polled all faculty members for written comments. These revealed a clear preference for Wahlke to become Chair.²⁴ The Dean could not persuade him to stay more than a single year, however. Wahlke departed in 1966 for the University of Iowa, then headed in 1972 to downstate SUNY

²⁴ Archives, University at Buffalo, Box 7.7, 'Political Science Screening Committee.' Among the sentiments expressed, the following are typical:

- Wahlke enjoys 'a national scholarly reputation, a somewhat broader range of contacts in the profession....' 'His loss would be heavier blow than departure of Macridis,' due to Wahlke's 'special talents and skills in the area of 'survey research' and quantitative data processing.' [At this time, Wahlke had been elevated to chairmanship of the Inter-University Consortium and served on the Executive Committee of the American Political Science Association.]
- Wahlke was 'the only one who is comparable in all respects to Macridis... involved in all stages of development of the department with the chairman ... (enjoys a) broad professional reputation which is indispensable for the continuing growth of the department.'
- 'It is absolutely essential that the Political Science Department regain the momentum it has unfortunately lost this year.'

rival Stony Brook, where he carved out a long, distinguished career. On the other hand, two highly regarded full professors were lured to Buffalo in 1966, Al Somit [best known for his co-authored book on the history of political science as a discipline²⁵] and Robert Scigliano [a constitutional and court scholar who also wrote about South Vietnam prior to leaving Michigan State for Buffalo]. Glenn Snyder, who had arrived from Berkeley in 1964 as Associate Professor, recalled the departure of Macridis and Wahlke as a time when ‘the stars in our firmament’ were no longer there, and ‘the rest of us had yet to prove ourselves. This was kind of deflating.’ Snyder began to think that Buffalo ‘may be an ordinary department. We were destined to be an ordinary university, (and) should retrench our aspirations.’ Scigliano’s move to Boston College seemed to ice the decision: ‘We thought of him as the most well-known/famous person (outside Roy and John) in American government, which is central.’ His leaving was ‘sort of a tipping point, for things were starting to go downhill.’²⁶

UB reversed gear at the same time. A combination of serious on-campus disturbances, state fiscal crises and the start of internal dissension within the Department darkened the 1970s. I will discuss them in greater detail in Chapter 4.

A dream cut short: Global student riots and local consequences

Much has been written about the late 1960s. A time of major unrest, especially among students in Western Europe, some Latin American countries, and parts of the United States, this period transformed public opinion and, ultimately, governments. The repercussions were felt most strongly in France, where demonstrations brought down the Fourth Republic and ushered in the rightist Fifth Republic of

²⁵ Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *American Political Science: A Portrait of a Discipline* (New York: Atherton, 1964).

²⁶ Telephone interview by me with Glenn Snyder, May 17, 2008.

General Charles De Gaulle. Riots in Mexico City resulted in heavy-handed police actions and the deaths of hundreds, if not thousands, of protestors. LBJ decided not to seek re-election in 1968, having been tarred with the brush of the ever-dragging Vietnam War, opening the door to a Republican dominance of politics that lasted for two decades plus.

The Buffalo campus stood out as one of the most affected university settings in the United States. Activists – including some young members of the faculty and staff, as well as students – latched onto a series of intra-University grievances, linking them to broad national and global concerns. One immediate cause was a charge of racism and discrimination against Black basketball players, which led to on-campus demonstrations and occupation of the Student Union²⁷ by a large group of students. Their forcible removal by Buffalo police lit the tinder. Forty-five faculty members [particularly from the History and English Departments] occupied the UB President's office on a spring Sunday afternoon, to express their concern about the presence of large numbers of armed Buffalo police on campus, and to petition the Acting President for a meeting.²⁸ Tension escalated. Confrontation nearly turned into catastrophe.

Fortunately, UB escaped events as grievous as at Kent State, where four students died and 67 more were wounded when members of the Ohio National Guard opened fire. However, the latent town-gown tensions that had grown following UB's merger with the State University of New York began boiling over. In the eyes of many, a far stricter

²⁷ Formerly Norton Hall; retitled Squire Hall in 1986 when it was substantially rehabilitated to serve the School of Dental Medicine.

²⁸ President Meyerson took leave spring 1970, in order to head the externally funded 'Assembly on University Goals and Governance.' Peter F. Regan, M.D., moved up from Executive Vice President to the presidency on a temporary basis, while Warren Bennis, then Provost of Social Sciences and Administration, took on additional duties as Acting Executive Vice President. Meyerson moved fall 1970 to the presidency of the University of Pennsylvania, becoming the first Jewish president in the Ivy League. Regan returned to his position in the Department of Psychiatry, remaining there until his retirement.

approach in academic leadership was essential. The departure of President Martin Meyerson and the selection of Robert Ketter, a civil engineer regarded as a hardline candidate as UB's president ushered in a new period. The 1970s proved remarkably different for the entire University and for individual units.²⁹

America's lengthy, divisive involvement in Vietnam impacted the whole country. Nowhere were the effects felt more strongly than on university campuses. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, UB showed special susceptibility to unrest linked, directly and indirectly, with the war. As an eminent social psychologist wrote, 'At UB, student activism was fueled not only by continuing protests over the Vietnam War, but also by such local concerns as open admissions and the presence of Project Themis, a large research project that was controversial because it was funded by the U.S. Department of Defense.'³⁰ Another direct impact came with the Faculty Senate's urging abolition of academic credit for Army ROTC programs, which was resolved when the Department of Defense removed UB's program. [These events are covered in Chapter Five of this history.]³¹

²⁹ The author observed many events from the inside, since I served in the late 1960s as Dean of the Division of Undergraduate Education. This position meant I ranked high in UB's academic hierarchy as a staff officer. Many persons assumed incorrectly that I formed part of the student affairs side where the Dean of Students was positioned. Nor did I have any real power relative to the line Deans [or Provosts, as they were deemed at that time]. I was charged with implementing the baccalaureate side of the reforms proposed by President Meyerson and approved by the Faculty Senate. My nickname was the Boy Dean, since I had been asked to serve as the head of the Division of Undergraduate Education a few days after my 27th birthday.

³⁰ From a report authored by Professor Dean Pruitt, quoted in Anne Whitcher-Gentzke's excellent study of the unrest. See http://www.buffalo.edu/ubreporter/archive/2010_03_10/flashback, consulted February 26, 2016.

³¹ This posed an interesting quandary for me, since I served as Dean of the Division of Undergraduate Education at that time, and as the administrator to whom ROTC formally reported. I was concurrently focusing my research on militaries' political roles. Having thus a basic

Conclusion

To summarize the lessons of this chapter, the 1960s was an extraordinary decade. Copious funding from New York State made massive faculty recruitment possible. The rate of growth was dizzying. Well-established figures in the discipline and newly minted PhD recipients flooded into the Department. Other appointees had built impressive reputations but been denied tenure at universities like Berkeley; offering them associate professorships cinched the case for Buffalo.

Political Science at UB thus received national recognition due to the established reputations of the newly recruited full professors. Were substantial numbers of the senior faculty to leave, this instant renown would be challenged – as it soon was. The loss of major scholars of such repute hurt the Department for decades.

Taking a longer-term perspective, the on-campus disturbances of 1969-1970 and the abrupt halt of UB's growth in the early 1970s [owing to New York State's fiscal crises] destroyed the hubris of the Department's early years. The 1970s and 1980s brought further problems, as Political Science saw gradual erosion of its faculty numbers, even while trying to maintain a broadly range of fields. Analysis of these decades follows in subsequent chapters.

knowledge of civil-military relations, I attempted to negotiate an agreement whereby 'regular' UB courses would substitute for those offered by ROTC faculty, who were in essence named by the armed forces and didn't go through the usual academic recruitment process. The effort predictably failed. UB students on ROTC scholarships continue to take classes at Canisius College, as of this writing (October 2024). More details appear elsewhere in this history.

CHAPTER THREE: FISCAL CRISIS, EVALUATIONS AND CONFLICT, THE 1970s¹

Once the crucial decisions had been made – UB’s merger with the State University of New York, the Department’s separation from the Department of History, expansion in both numbers of students and types of degree programs – Political Science entered on what appears to have been its golden years, from the perspective of the early 21st century. This concatenation of events, fueled by massive infusions of resources, made possible numerous curricular initiatives. The Department moved toward its maximum size to date, fulfilling dreams the founding fathers had in mind but were not present to observe in person. An optimistic atmosphere permeated the campus during parts of the decade. Yet shadows could be discerned, suggesting problems ahead. By the early 1970s, cracks had started to appear in the State’s fiscal underpinnings. The near bankruptcy of New York City in 1975 entailed major reductions in SUNY’s financial

¹ I am particularly grateful to Albert [Al] Somit for his helpful suggestions in revising this chapter. Professor Somit came to the Department in 1966 as Professor and Chair. In 1970, with the transition from President Meyerson to President Ketter, Somit was elevated to Executive Vice President. He was a thought-provoking member of the discipline and Department, whom I’ve already quoted in this history. [See previous references to his co-authored book, *American Political Science: A Profile of a Discipline*]. Somit also wrote ‘Towards a more Biologically Oriented Political Science,’ which appeared in the *Midwest Journal of Political Science* in 1968. This seminal set of suggestions helped lay the groundwork for biopolitics. The next step in Somit’s career came in 1980, when he left UB to become Chancellor of Southern Illinois University, a position in which he served until 1987. He subsequently taught at the rank of Distinguished Service Professor, the second person so honored in SIU’s history, then retired to the San Diego area. For his SIU career, see <http://chancellor.siu.edu/hall-of-chancellors/somit.html>, consulted February 17, 2016. Somit remained an active contributor to the discipline until a few months before his death – at the age of 100!

support. Henceforward, budgets increasingly rested upon research grant overhead, tuition, fees, benefactions and the like.

A major factor external to the Department and University came with the Vietnam War. UB was rocked by anti-war demonstrations in the late 1960s.² Strong community reaction affected – indeed, poisoned – town-gown relations for many years. Tensions that had marked previous decades, whether in the McCarthy era or earlier in UB’s history, resurfaced. On the campus itself, leadership became perceived as far more conservative, notably by faculty members in the humanities. UB’s priorities shifted toward professional schools. Bob Ketter, an engineer drawn from within the UB faculty, became President, and Al Somit, Professor and Chair of Political Science, was elevated to Executive Vice President, in 1970. They remained in office until 1981 and were perceived as sharply conservative – indeed reactionary – relative to their liberal predecessors.³

² Ann Whitcher, ‘A Stormy Spring,’ *UB Today* Spring 2005; found at http://www.buffalo.edu/UBT/UBT-archives/28_ubtw05/features/, consulted February 17, 2016. Richard A. Siggelkow, Vice President for Student Affairs during this turbulent period, wrote an interesting and well-informed history of this period. See *Dissent and Disruption: A University under Siege* (Buffalo NY: Prometheus Books, 1992). An especially vivid picture of a nearly-disastrous confrontation between Buffalo City Police and protesters can be found on pp. 177-202. See lengthy quotations from me on pp. 197-98. I was one of the few senior UB administrators able to communicate in a reasonable fashion with both student protesters and University leaders.

³ Somit vigorously questioned this assertion. In written comments on an earlier draft of this history, he commented that roadblocks existed in creating or filling endowed chairs. Due to circumstances outside the scope of this history, the merger between UB and SUNY raised numerous questions about the former’s pre-1962 endowment. Various bequests accumulated interest and dividends [quasi-endowment, in administrative language] while searches were geared up. This didn’t prevent ambitious Chairs and their colleagues from proposing nationally- and internationally-known scholars for recruitment. These included, as examples, Leon Edel, Jerome Bruner, Alice Rivlin or Anthony Burgess. None of these searches proved successful, owing to different combinations of factors. ‘Very little of this was known to faculty at that time,’

Finally, a series of reviews carried out by the State Education Department and UB's Graduate School examined how well Political Science was carrying out its doctoral mandate. The evaluators asked, among other things, whether the eclectic strategy established in the halcyon mid-1960s was still suitable. Would greater recognition be achieved by concentrating on a small number of areas? Or should the Department continue with the multi-field structure established when Political Science was created? Early in the decade, the picture appeared rosy. However, a major State funding crisis, animosities resulting from multiple factors, and uncertainty about the proper direction of the Department marked the late 1970s.

Program evaluations established

Prior to 1963, when the midsized private University of Buffalo joined the SUNY system, the combined Department of History and Government offered the master's degree. Limited resources – qualified faculty members, library materials, and other types of support – plus the fact that good academic and administrative positions could be obtained without doctoral degrees, put a damper on ambitions. This situation changed in 1963, as detailed in the preceding chapter, with the merger and recruitment of new faculty members committed to doctoral education. The evaluative process became convoluted, as might be expected given the baroque structure of New York State government and the youth of SUNY. The respective powers of individual campuses, of SUNY's central administration, and of the State Education Department [SED], came into question. These interacted with assessments of UB's doctoral program in Political Science, carried out by UB's Graduate School. And, to cap off all these factors, private colleges and universities exerted

Somit commented in a telephone call March 2, 2016. The same holds true of the campus' having hired an FBI consultant to help train UB's security officers in the aftermath of the disturbances on campus in the late 1960-early 1970s.

their political muscle to try to rein in the CUNY-SUNY surge in enrollments, which threatened their own position. While the numerous private colleges and universities of the state faced little threat from public higher education as long as SUNY was restricted to offering degrees in education,⁴ SUNY's enrollments and academic recognition grew rapidly as State resources poured into it.

The State Education Department versus SUNY

During the 1970s, significant power struggles took place in Albany and New York City, in establishing a State-supervised, New York-wide doctoral evaluation process under the auspices of the SED.⁵ The process started with deep concerns on the Board of Regents, which establishes and approves policies carried out via the SED.

In sheer terms of legal power, the Regents occupy an exceptional position among the 50 states. Its ambit extends to all educational and cultural institutions, including libraries

⁴ According to the law creating SUNY, only an experimental unit called Harpur College [now Binghamton University] was authorized to grant the BA degree. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Binghamton_University#History. According to this website, 'SUNY was officially established in February 1948 when New York became the 48th state, of the then 48 states, to create a state university system. SUNY initially represented a consolidation of 29 unaffiliated institutions, including 11 teachers colleges.' https://www.suny.edu/student/university_suny_history.cfm.

⁵ Material in this section has been drawn from discussions with Professor William Barba of UB and Barbara Meinert, former Deputy Commissioner of Higher Education February 29, 2016, and with Professor D. Bruce Johnstone, former SUNY Chancellor 1988-1994, March 5, 2016. Johnstone had been president of the State College at Buffalo 1979-1988. He returned to Buffalo, this time to the University of Buffalo, following his retirement from the Chancellorship due to pancreatic cancer, and, following treatment at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Institute, became University Professor in UB's Graduate School of Education. He provided several valuable insights into SUNY from a central administration vantage point.

and museums. Many professions are licensed under its auspices. Most important to our subject, the SED oversees all public education from grades pre-K through 12, testing students' progress via its Regents Examinations. Its purview extends to other levels, including baccalaureate and advanced academic degrees, whether academic or professional. A major policy matter debated between 1971-1978 involved the extent to which the SED could, and should, assess doctoral programs in public and private universities, rather than leave evaluation to individual campuses, or to the central administrations of CUNY or SUNY.

The power wielded by the SED can readily be grasped by the following policy statement, adopted by the Board of Regents in 1973. The Commissioner of Education held ultimate responsibility for the 'systematic evaluation and rating ... of all doctoral programs in the State in each major subject area for the purpose of maintaining programs that meet standards of high quality and clear need, and improving *or phasing out* those not meeting high standards' [italics added].

The first major policy step came with the creation of the Regents Commission on Doctoral Education. Chaired by Robben Fleming, the highly respected President of the University of Michigan, it issued nine significant recommendations in 1973. The most significant included the following:

1. Doctoral programs in all public and private institutions should be seen as 'constituting together an inter-related system for doctoral education.'
2. The Regents should have a 'general policy of concentrating programs in the interest of both highest quality and the most efficient and economical use of limited resources.'
3. Special committees should review 'the quality of and need for' doctoral programs in selected areas.
4. State financial support should be directed only to programs meeting both quality and need standards.

5. The State should sponsor ‘increased cooperation and coordination in doctoral education by the institutions in the State.’
6. Economic and cultural barriers impeding access by ‘all qualified New York students’ should be eliminated.⁶

The Regents spelled out criteria for evaluation as well.⁷ Salient points included:

1. Evaluation committees should employ ‘combinations of objective and judgmental criteria’ in assessing quality and need. More specifically, they must consider ‘quality of students, scholarly achievements of faculty, success in graduating enrolled students, financial support, and supervision and guidance of students [caliber of dissertations], and the need for each program and its appropriateness for students’ career aspirations.’
2. Pilot evaluations should be carried out for two disciplines as part of honing the criteria. Chemistry and English were the disciplines selected for the trial run.

The Regents wished to ‘avoid needless duplication’ of doctoral programs and to make ‘best use of available resources ... and maintain quality at high levels.’ To reach these objectives, the Commissioner of Education would work ‘in close consultations with eminent out-of-state consultants and also with the State’s academic community.’ The process would unfold ‘on a subject-area basis,’ with programs placed in three categories: 1) high quality and need, which would be ‘sustained’; 2) intermediate quality and need, to be ‘placed on probation for 3 years and reviewed again’; and 3) ‘inadequate quality and need,’ which would

⁶ Reprinted in Appendix B, ‘Meeting the Needs of Doctoral Education: A Statement of Policy and Proposed Action by the REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,’ Albany: State Education Department, August 1973. Capitalization as in original.

⁷ These appear as Appendix A in ‘Meeting the Needs of Doctoral Education,’ *op. cit.*

be ‘phased out after an appropriate period of time.’⁸ Over a 17-year span, SED teams examined doctoral programs in twenty different disciplines.⁹

Two types of review groups were established: Site Visit Teams and Rating Committees. Before any evaluation groups paid visits, campuses were asked to recommend qualified experts. UB’s Political Science Department proposed seven persons for the evaluation committee and 21 potential site visitors ca. April 1977. All were eminent scholars, highly respected in the discipline – and they also included two former members of the Department, one of whom had not been recommended by PSC.¹⁰

⁸ ‘Meeting the Needs of Doctoral Education,’ *op. cit.*, p. 19. Doctorate-granting institutions were required to establish review of individual programs every five years. Specific factors to be evaluated included quality of students, scholarly achievements of faculty, availability of laboratory and library facilities, success in graduating enrolled students, financial support, supervision and guidance of students, [caliber of dissertations], and the need for each program and its appropriateness for students’ career aspirations. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁹ Those eventually included were Anthropology, Astronomy, Chemistry, Computer Science, Education, English, French, German, History, Mathematics, Physics, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology, Spanish and Engineering. The number of site visit teams was determined by how many PhD programs existed State-wide, ranging from four to more than 100. The number and size doubtless were also affected by the number of sub-fields represented within a particular discipline. For example, at time of writing, UB’s School of Engineering and Applied Sciences offered degrees in eight different departments: Biomedical; Biological and Biochemical Civil, Structural and Environmental; Computer Science; Electrical; Industrial and Systems; Materials Design and Innovation; and Mechanical and Aerospace. <http://engineering.buffalo.edu/home/academics/academic-programs.html>, consulted April 18, 2016. Evaluators in the biological sciences had to wrestle with even greater diversity when they came to UB, with more than a dozen different degree programs scattered over the College of Arts and Sciences, the Medical School, Roswell Park Cancer Institute, and the like.

¹⁰ John Wahlke was proposed for both a site visitor and rater; Robert Scigliano was suggested for the former. Robert Stern, Department Chair at the time, expressed deep concern that Roy Macridis was named to the state-wide rating committee, in light of the fact he hadn’t

The three-member site visiting team named by the SED came to the Department in 1977. It included two internationally respected political scientists, Harold Lasswell¹¹ and ex-UB Department Chair John Wahlke,¹² plus Robert Berdahl, a UB full Professor of Education who held a PhD in Political Science. They took note of the Department's explosive growth: from 13 to 50 graduate students; and from seven to 28 faculty members. Drawing their praise were faculty members who were relatively young, relatively productive, and active participants in the scholarly world outside

appeared previously on either of the lists circulated to all PSC departments. At that time, relations between Macridis and Buffalo were strained.

¹¹ Lasswell ranked as one of the most eminent political scientists of his generation. He served as President of the American Political Science Association in 1955-56, and of the World Academy of Art and Science, of which he was a charter member, in 1960.

<http://www.worldacademy.org/content/history>, consulted March 2, 2016. Lasswell's numerous books focused on the intersection of politics, personality and culture. He taught at Yale, not in Political Science, but in the Law School. Perhaps his most lasting contribution came in his short article: 'Who (says) What (to) Whom (in) What Channel (with) What Effect.'

¹² As readers of this history will recall, Wahlke and Macridis were the 'Founding Fathers' of the Department. Wahlke was a well-known Americanist. His pre-UB publications included *The Causes of the American Revolution*, *Loyalty in a Democratic State*, *The Legislative System*, and important edited works, such as *The American Political System* and *Legislative Behavior*. Wahlke and Macridis arrived in 1963, as the sole full professors in the newly created Department. Wahlke departed in 1966, Macridis in 1965. The Department tried shortly after Macridis' resignation to attract him back; I believe that he was even listed as teaching courses fall 1968. My recollection is that family considerations counted considerably: Roy's wife Jackie didn't like the Buffalo area, much preferring to remain in Boston's environs, specifically at Brandeis University.

Wahlke left UB for the University of Iowa in 1966, then changed disciplinary direction significantly. He became active in Stony Brook's biopolitics program 1972-78. Wahlke expressed these changes in his 1978 APSA Presidential Address, 'Prebehavioralism in Political Science,' published in the *American Political Science Review* Vol. 73, No. 1 (March 1979), pp. 9-31.

the university.’ State funds also permitted investment in state-of-the-art technology. High tech in those days consisted of a small data center, complete with a Hollerith card reader¹³ and access to the Survey Research Center and Measurement Center of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration.¹⁴ ‘In short,’ the evaluators concluded, ‘all the evidence suggests that the department is performing well in what it sees as its primary function and is increasingly gaining appropriate recognition as a reputable PhD-producing enterprise.’

The site visiting team warned, however, that ‘...the department may be tending toward uncritical acceptance of its present shape, if not toward subconscious fear of the intellectual controversy which often surrounds experimentation and groping at the frontiers of a discipline.’ Quoting from their report,

We did note some signs that the Buffalo program might be tending toward becoming less a common highway toward basic professional grounding than a series of parallel roads to the PhD, a set of

¹³ I remember John Wahlke informally instructing interested faculty and graduate students in wiring the board, so that the Hollerith cards that had been punched would be quickly and correctly sorted. By 2016, essentially the same technology existed in the Department: students took multiple-choice exams, using pencil-only cards or sheets for their responses.

¹⁴ This Center became important in the recruitment of Les Milbrath, who arrived fall 1966 as full professor and remained at Buffalo until his retirement in 1991. Milbrath gained national attention through his wide-ranging use of surveys. He authored, among many others, *Political Participation*, *The Washington Lobbyists* and, late in his career, *Learning to Think Environmentally*. Milbrath had experienced the academic equivalent of a road to Damascus conversion. The serious health hazards and governmental laxness at Love Canal touched him strongly, leading to a major reorientation of his academic and public career. He consulted with persons active in raising popular awareness. [UB’s Archives include thousands of documents connected with Love Canal.] More significantly, he shifted his publications towards enhancing grass-roots citizen environmental action.

increasingly disjunct fields or branches within a department unsure about the disciplinary foundation uniting its individual members... Perhaps more serious ... is the apparently increasing practice of viewing the department as a set of 'slots,' each belonging to one or another section or subfield of the department, and allowing recruitment of personnel to become not merely the function but even the monopoly of sub-groups within the department. Individual faculty members may feel themselves safe and free under such a system. But the costs of disorganized freedom, in terms of fragmentation of departmental energies and conflicts of individual interest, are probably more than a university can support these days.

1977 Graduate School assessment

Another major evaluation of the PSC graduate program occurred in 1977. Undertaken this time under the auspices of the Graduate School, a three-member committee [one person UB-based, the others from outside it] assessed 1) where Political Science showed strength, 2) where problems existed, 3) what resources were needed, and 4) what future directions might be taken.

The committee admired the doctoral program. To quote the final report, 'The department should be able to produce good quality PhD's who can be competitive nationally.' The record bore this out to a significant degree, although the national aspect remained below what several members of the Department hoped, but which achieved '... considerable success in placing graduates even in fields where there are few openings.' The evaluators called the JD-PhD program the Department's 'most successful' cross-Departmental undertaking. The MA in Policy Studies was a good program responding to real needs – alas, a statement that collided with the near-total hollowing out of its Public Policy faculty a few years later. [See Chapter 4 for details.] Finally, in terms of strengths, Political Science had made great progress over a relatively short period of time. The frenetic growth from

1963 to 1971 or so brought many highly talented academics to the Department, and to UB more broadly. However, some of the nationally recognized individuals had already departed by the mid-1970s, and those who remained became trapped in internal conflict. [These rivalries will be discussed in the following chapter.]

Tellingly, the evaluation team pointed to as many problem areas as strong areas. Substantive items directly within the Department's purview included:

1. Some graduate students felt there should be more focus to the program.
2. Faculty seemed not to have articulated their sense of the overall purpose and direction of the Department.
3. Faculty were not perceived as devoting enough time and attention to students.
4. The Department required research and leave money for faculty and good fellowships – i.e., not just assistantships – for students.
5. Regular graduate students in the Department didn't support the MA in Public Policy.
6. American Politics and International Relations were more or less as strong as most quality departments, but were not pre-eminent.
7. There was a 'real lack of a central focus in the Department.'
8. Although student quality was fairly good, the evaluators expressed concern that no strong attraction to Buffalo existed, in terms of the University's or Department's identity.
9. Members of the unit were 'convinced' that Political Science 'does not have adequate resources to maintain a first-class program all around.'

As is readily apparent, the evaluators clearly sensed the drifting nature of Department priorities and the absence of focus. The Dean of Social Sciences¹⁵ observed:

The reports stressed the catholicity and eclecticism of the Department's graduate program, and pointed to the costs of this departmental tradition. There are no peaks of distinctiveness that give the Department particular national visibility, and the departmental resources are stretched uncomfortably thin among its six distinct-and-equal sub-fields.¹⁶

Increasingly straitened resources meant few faculty members could be hired for several years, apart from the flurry of new non-tenured appointments made for Public Policy late in the decade. The Department responded that the number of well-qualified applicants had declined, perhaps a result of diminished job opportunities. But its proposed solutions – replacement of recent losses and more financial assistance for students – collided head-on with New York State's fiscal crisis of the 1970s.

Those above the Departmental level hoped that 'The Department will undoubtedly be encouraged to consider an adequate adjustment to this problem: by the suggestions of the evaluators..., by the imperatives of limited resources, by internal departmental evaluation and, probably, by the graduate student population itself.' None of these occurred. Rather than using 'self-selection to create particularly favored 'foci,' such as the JD/PhD program, or the public policy track, or interdisciplinary arrangements like the environmental politics area,'^{17, 18} the Department needed to make conscious choices. Its decreasing size could not support such a

¹⁵ The official title at that point was Provost of Social Sciences; however, to avoid confusion, I have used Dean instead.

¹⁶ Letter from Arthur Butler [Provost of Social Sciences and Administration] to Charles M. Fogel [Assistant Executive Vice President] dated February 7, 1978, University Archives.

¹⁷ Letter from Arthur Butler, op. cit.

¹⁸ Letter from Arthur Butler, op. cit.

multitude of programs. Critical masses of faculty and students existed in few of the subfields.

1981 Graduate School evaluation and Public Policy

The MAPP program received close attention via a 1981 evaluation, prepared under Graduate School auspices. The report, prepared by a three-member committee with excellent Public Policy credentials, criticized the Department's and the University's efforts. Witness the following statements:

From Lytton Caldwell, the Chair of the committee:

The present condition of the Department is one of uneven morale and uncertainty regarding its future. ... junior faculty members [were] discouraged by the prospects for their futures in the Department. Their apprehension was heightened by a number of disastrous conflicts among faculty and with the administration over tenure decisions. ... there is also widespread feeling that the Department collectively has contributed unnecessarily to its own difficulties. ... [However], the malaise of the Department faculty is easy to understand. The Department took an enormous loss in faculty and especially among its youngest and most promising ...¹⁹

Nonetheless, Caldwell and fellow committee member Samuel Patterson concluded that PSC should retain its MAPP program, possibly by joining 'a separate multidisciplinary institute or program to which Political Science would make a significant contribution.'²⁰ Alternatively, '... a major

¹⁹ Letter and report from Lytton Caldwell, Indiana University, and Samuel Patterson, University of Iowa; dated December 21, 1981, pp. 1-2, 11. University Archives, University at Buffalo.

²⁰ Letter and report from Lytton Caldwell, Indiana University, and Samuel Patterson, University of Iowa; dated December 21, 1981, p. 5. University Archives, University at Buffalo.

state university, and especially one with the rich resources of SUNY-Buffalo in the public policy field, should discharge an obligation to provide training in public service. In doing this, the Department of Political Science should have a central role to play.’²¹

Support came from the Committee’s internal member, Tom Headrick, Dean of the Law School. ‘It is now time to reconcile personal differences; to stop treating ideas for new or different programs as invitations to zero-sum confrontations ...,’ he wrote. Headrick pointed in particular to the newly launched JD-PhD program, whereby the Department could ‘set itself off from other PhD programs with new programs that cater to special student groups ...’²²

These two reports and my subsequent responses as Department Chair failed to protect PSC from further loss of faculty. The Dean’s office encouraged non-tenured faculty members to seek positions at other institutions. By fall 1981, none remained at UB.²³

In retrospect, my two responses to these reports didn’t adequately grapple with the issues raised by the Graduate School committee. I proposed a retreat for faculty members and minor revisions in graduate students’ obligations.²⁴ I sought to reduce the friction among faculty members by meeting with them on a one-to-one basis. These anodyne recommendations didn’t point boldly to reinforcing the Department’s methodological foundation. Nor did I press strongly for any of the paths for the MAPP program

²¹ Letter and report from Lytton Caldwell, Indiana University, and Samuel Patterson, University of Iowa; dated December 21, 1981, p. 11. University Archives, University at Buffalo.

²² Headrick held a PhD in Political Science. He later became Provost, a position for which he was eminently qualified. Quotations come from his report to the Graduate School, dated December 8, 1981, pp. 2, 5.

²³ Richard Tobin, a specialist in environmental policy, had been promoted to tenured associate professor in fall 1981.

²⁴ Letter from Claude Welch to the Graduate School, dated April 23, 1982. University Archives, University at Buffalo.

suggested by the three evaluators. On the other hand, the joint JD-PhD degree did advance, as will be discussed shortly.

Several years – indeed, practically three decades – were necessary before even a minor modification of the field structure was implemented. Hence, a pattern established at a time of major growth persisted to a substantial extent despite significant changes in the discipline and deep reductions in faculty membership.

Returning to the dispute between the Board of Regents/State Education Department, how did SUNY respond? In, I'm tempted to write, typical American style: take the issue to court.

The battle pitted the State Education Department [SED] on one side, SUNY on the other. The basic question was simple: Who held ultimate responsibility for the academic adequacy of SUNY's graduate programs?²⁵ SED argued that the Board of Regents vested this responsibility with them. On the other hand, SUNY asserted that, given the quality achieved in the previous decade plus, SUNY and individual campus faculty and administrators would, could and should ensure quality in their degree programs. Why should the SED go to the expense of undertaking evaluations on their own when the State University was fully capable of doing so?

The legal contest began in 1977, when the Regents reviewed the PhD programs in English and History at SUNY/Albany. SUNY and the United University Professionals [the State-recognized bargaining agent for faculty and professional staff] sued the SED, asserting that SUNY had reached a degree of maturity and sophistication so that it could handle evaluations on its own. SUNY's Trustees, headed by Rockefeller Republican Elisabeth Moore, and SUNY Chancellor Ernest Boyer thus stood on one side of the ring, together with the UUP. The Board of Regents stood on the other.

²⁵ CUNY felt the same concern but didn't sue.

The case – *Moore v. Board of Regents* – was heard by the Court of Appeals [New York’s highest court] in 1978.²⁶ The Court was asked, ‘whether the Regents, as a policy-making body, possesses the power to require registration of doctoral degree programs or whether control over the offering of such programs lies within the ambit of the Trustees of the State University.’ Its brief judgment – only six pages long – affirmed the ultimate power of the State Education Department to review and even to order closure of individual programs.²⁷ The Court cited three grounds for discontinuation: If a program were inactive or under-enrolled; of marginal quality which couldn’t be overcome by cooperation with other institutions; or below the minimum standards set by the Commissioner’s regulations.²⁸

²⁶ A summary can be found at http://www.leagle.com/decision/197863744NY2d593_1579/MOORE%20v.%20BD.%20OF%20REGENTS, visited March 7, 2016.

²⁷ *Moore v. Board of Regents*, New York Court of Appeals, 1978. The judgment can be found at https://scholar.google.com/scholar_case?case=1874837544530024323&q=moore+v.+board+of+regents&hl=en&as_sdt=4,33 or at http://www.leagle.com/decision/197863744NY2d593_1579/MOORE%20v.%20BD.%20OF%20REGENTS, visited March 8, 2016.

²⁸ In a crucial paragraph, the Court found,

In concluding that the Commissioner of Education did not act in excess of his powers in denying registration of these programs based upon this criteria [sic], we reject, at the outset, appellant's contention that the power of the Regents is limited pursuant to chapter 388 of the Laws of 1961 to supervision and approval of the State University Trustees' master plan. The purpose of that legislation was not to exempt the State University from the authority of the Regents. On the contrary, the Legislature sought merely to place the State University on the same footing as private institutions of higher education in New York: that is to grant the trustees of the State University the same power to govern the day-to-day operations of the State University as trustees of private institutions possessed. It was intended to have, and in fact had, no effect on the broad policy-making

Parenthetically, the power that the Board of Regents exercised over public higher education applied equally to the private sector. As D. Bruce Johnstone, a former Chancellor of SUNY told me, this power could be – and was – exercised in ways independent colleges and universities hadn’t anticipated.²⁹ Doubtless the most striking example to date came in 1997, when the Regents removed 18 trustees of Adelphi University for inadequate performance of their duties!^{30, 31}

Evaluation by an internal UB committee, 1975-76

The Fifth Floor – UB jargon for the senior administration – started an evaluation of all of UB’s then-existing

function exercised by the Regents over both private and public institutions of higher education in New York.

²⁹ Interview with D. Bruce Johnstone, Buffalo, March 5, 2016.

³⁰ New York *Times*, ‘NY Regents Oust 18 Trustees from Adelphi U.,’ published February 11, 1997. <http://www.ny-times.com/1997/02/11/nyregion/new-york-regents-oust-18-trustees-from-adelphi-u.html?pagewanted=all>, visited March 9, 2016.

³¹ Tuition rates at CUNY and SUNY became a regular political football. The power to change them rested with the legislature. Hence, election years were peppered with promises of ‘No tuition or fee increases.’ Since New York State during much of my time at UB – 1964 to 2020 – enjoyed split governance, such messages abounded in races for the Democratic-dominated, largely urban-oriented Assembly. The more peri-urban and rural Republican-controlled Senate favored upward adjustments in SUNY’s tuition and fees, to diminish the cost gap between them and the charges for private colleges and universities. They had formed the Commission on Independent Colleges and Universities [CICU] in 1956 to protect the position of private education. The creation of SUNY, and particularly the hundreds of millions of dollars that flowed into it during the 1960s, posed serious threats to them. Its members recognized potential threats to private institutions’ strength, even survival, from State-funded institutions, including ones specifically tasked with creating and maintaining high-quality doctoral programs. CICU enjoyed numerous allies in the legislature. It is sometimes claimed that no SUNY graduate sat in it during this period. Whatever the case may be, degree recipients from the private sector have dominated both the Assembly and the Senate for decades.

doctoral programs in 1975. A committee headed by Macalister Hull [Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Physics] and Clifford Yearley [Professor and Chair of History] looked closely at every academic department and program within UB. Its report represented a huge investment on the part of all involved.³² Departments were grouped into ten categories, cognate in terms of their modes of inquiry and subject matter.³³

Political Science came out well, the Report indicated. Faculty members ‘published extensively.’ The Department rated as ‘excellent’ in efficiency [‘unit costs are the lowest in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration’], and in interdisciplinary activity. Its student/faculty ratio was ‘among highest’ in the Faculty. [This despite the fact that some members of the Department served as full- or part-time administrators, including Al Somit (Executive Vice President), Robert Stern (University Advocate) and Claude Welch (Senior Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs)]. The Hull-Yearley Report, as it was quickly dubbed, rated Political Science ‘good’ in terms of need, ‘need rates,’ student enrollments, and public service activity. In terms of its SUNY profile, the Department was seen as ‘adequate.’ The same adjective applied to graduate employability. Given the losses of faculty members and curricular changes underway at both undergraduate and graduate levels, the Committee’s recommendation – that PSC’s existing resources not be increased – came as a disappointment.

The Hull-Yearley Report drew almost immediate criticism from wide sections of the University. A Faculty Senate committee commented that it was ‘dissatisfied’ with

³² No major changes were made in the Report following its publication, to my recollection. Hence I rely here on the published record. The full text appears in *The Reporter*, February 12, 1976.

³³ The categories included A] Physical & Mathematical Sciences; B] Biological Sciences [preclinical]; C] Educational Studies; D] Chemical Sciences; E] Biological Sciences [Clinical]; F] Social Sciences; G] Behavioral Sciences; H] Humanities; I] Administrative Sciences]; and J] Plastic and Performing Arts.

the report, since it proposed a 'basic survival strategy.' The sharpest criticisms included the following. Any major academic report first must focus on first-class faculty; Hull-Yearley gave 'only fleeting mention [to] faculty morale.' Secondly, Hull-Yearley was 'highly instrumental': 'They seem to see learning as social problem-solving technology and research as the improvement of existing technologies and the invention of new ones.' The Academic Planning analysis seemed to recommend that most faculty effort be redirected toward participation in multidisciplinary task forces solving social problems, despite its focus on individual departments and other entities. Thirdly, Hull-Yearley was 'extraordinarily abstract,' i.e. students were mentioned only as FTEs or as 'throughput,' with nothing on their social origins, aspirations, intellects and interests. In addition, the report's criteria were seen as more suited to evaluation than to planning.

Using it as a Doomsday Report meant that the entire faculty was 'put on the defensive,' the Faculty Senate critique continued. Nor did Hull-Yearley provide a time frame for achieving goals. It didn't establish any time priority of its own; supporting services were separated from its purview; and its definition of departments as the basic budget units prevented it from seeing relationships among entities and led to rewards for the strong and punishment for the weak. In addition, looking at departments kept Hull-Yearley from examining UB's administrative structure. Data used, the report asserted, were originally compiled for argument, not for description; data covered only five years, thus using an inadequate perspective; Hull-Yearley assumed a steady-state budget, suggesting that a zero-sum basis for the future budgets [increases in selected units could occur only with cuts elsewhere]; enrollment targets extended the existing basis into the future. Overall, the report seemed to reaffirm UB as 'a collection of professional schools, of which medicine will

be the most prominent, supported by undergraduate education to the extent required by professional education.’³⁴

New York City and paying for profligacy

By 1975, financial conditions around the State had changed dramatically from the go-go atmosphere of the previous decade. The near-bankruptcy of New York City challenged the pattern set in the go-for-broke Rockefeller days of the 1960s. SUNY, UB and Political Science shifted strategies. Tuition and fees started to creep upward.³⁵ The seemingly bottomless cornucopia of State support shrank as fiscal crises arose. UB’s exceptionally rapid rate of appointments and of promotions started to slow, then halted almost completely.

This shift in direction intersected with conscious upgrading of research as the major criterion for granting tenure. Older expectations regarding the balance among teaching, research and service changed, concurrent with slowdowns in the rate of faculty hiring. Faculty morale suffered. Some assistant professors whom Department members strongly supported for tenure were turned down at higher levels, as both faculty advisory panels and senior administrators assimilated the new realities. In 1970-71, no fewer than 30 tenured or tenure-track persons were carried on the Political Science roster.³⁶ The balance seemed in retrospect skewed: eight full professors; seven associate professors; and 15 non-tenured. By a decade later, in 1980-81, the figures had shifted dramatically, particularly at the lowest rank: ten full; eight

³⁴ *The Reporter* December 9, 1976.

³⁵ Tuition rates are established legislatively for the entire SUNY system, while fees vary campus by campus. Efforts by UB senior administrators and leaders of the three other University Centers [Albany, Binghamton and Stony Brook] to set differential tuitions eventually came to fruition. As might be expected, however, political pressures are intense.

³⁶ See <http://www.polsci.buffalo.edu>, under Faculty; consulted February 22, 2016.

associate; and four assistant professors – in other words, from half non-tenured to less than one-fifth non-tenured.

What happened in this period? The major reason lay a few hundred miles from Buffalo. ‘When New York City sneezes, the State of New York catches cold.’ [Approximately 20 percent of New York State’s taxes are generated by Wall Street activity, it is often reported.³⁷] No wonder, accordingly, that the repercussions of New York City’s near bankruptcy in October 1975 gravely affected all State agencies.³⁸ SUNY was not spared. Having a limited constituency in Albany³⁹ and an ethos at Central Administration that cuts should be proportionally meted out among its units, the SUNY central administration did not make choices – save, some argue, in favoring campuses in the districts of particularly strong legislative leaders. Each campus could select individual programs to nurture, keep static, or atrophy.⁴⁰

The budget crisis affected the overall trajectory of the SUNY system. UB and many departments were not spared.⁴¹

³⁷ See http://www.tax.ny.gov/research/collections/fy_collections_stat_report/2011_12_annual_statistical_report_of_ny_state_tax_collections.htm. Table 24 provides an overview of the NYC area as compared to the remainder of the state.

³⁸ The *New York Times* published an interesting retrospective on this fevered time. See <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/05/nyregion/recalling-new-york-at-the-brink-of-bankruptcy.html>, consulted February 22, 2016.

³⁹ Previous parts of this manuscript highlighted the unusual history of the State University of New York as a whole. Especially relevant here have been 1) the long-standing tradition within the State of strong executive leadership and 2) the limited representation of SUNY alumni in the legislature, which has been dominated by graduates of private colleges and universities.

⁴⁰ Al Somit, one of the discipline’s strongest proponents of Biopolitics, commented to me that Stony Brook decided to drop its Biopolitics initiative. This led in turn to the departure of John Wahlke. E-mail from Al Somit to the author, February 28, 2009.

⁴¹ The initial exceptionally rapid rate of appointment and of promotions led to unrealistic expectations, notably with respect to the appropriate balance among teaching, research and service. In order to emphasize the University-wide impact of promotion or appointment to

Faculty morale dropped further as a result, notably among non-tenured faculty.⁴² With Governor Hugh Carey⁴³ chopping resources left and right, the message was clear. Campus leaders felt strong pressure to reduce where possible – and non-tenured faculty who did not fit the desired profile for promotion presented an inviting target. NYC's fiscal crisis rippled rapidly through all parts of the State. Serious academic repercussions resulted for SUNY. With respect to the Political Science Department, these included:

- A near-total halt to recruitment of new faculty.

tenured ranks, President Meyerson established the President's Review Board [PRB] almost immediately after his arrival. Its major mandate was to ensure that high – indeed, national- or world-class – criteria would be utilized across UB for promotions or appointments involving tenure. The PRB is composed of nine members, serving staggered three-year terms, drawn from across the University. I served three terms on it, as Chair 1989-92, and as member 1973-76 and 1983-86. PSC Professor Munroe Eagles was named to the PRB in 2010, for a three-year term. He became Chair in 2014, also for three years. From my experience, I believe that the PRB served and continues to serve a vital UB-wide role in enhancing the University's standing, notably in terms of research. In 1992, I was granted permission to read PRB documents, on the basis of which I wrote an analysis of the Board's consistency. This report is not publicly available in the UB Archives at time of writing (June 12, 2018).

Annual reports from successive Chairs not only complained about reductions, but also implicitly questioned whether Political Science had been treated fairly, relative to other units. I report a perception here. Whether it was based on reality remains an open question. Without question, however, the Department did itself no favors as a result of internal dissension, its failure to retain promising junior faculty, and the like. More details appear in the next chapter.

⁴² Non-tenured faculty had already learned that promotion to Associate Professor required not only teaching skill, but research accomplishments well beyond their doctoral dissertations, such as publication of a second or even third academic book. Some departures of assistant professors in 1968 through 1970 can be attributed to this fact.

⁴³ Carey served as Governor 1975-1982. His name appears on the dedicatory plaque of Park Hall, where the Department has been housed for many years.

- A growing sense that mobile colleagues should seek positions elsewhere.
- Much-lowered odds that junior faculty would be promoted, the result of Department dissension, budget restrictions, and perceived hostility from some administrators.⁴⁴
- Steady shrinkage in the number of positions, even while teaching loads increased and support staff decreased.
- Open discussion of terminating faculty members' contracts, including potential formal retrenchment.

Given all these factors, the late 1970s became a time of great difficulty for non-tenured members of the Department. Entire programs came under question, with the dreaded word retrenchment – contractual jargon for terminating full-time employees, even including tenured faculty – bandied about.⁴⁵ According to a former assistant professor, a senior academic administrator said that ‘things were going to become very tough...if you didn’t pull your weight in

⁴⁴ By 1970, divisions had already appeared within the Department, the product of promotion decisions as just noted, and the intensification of sub-field autonomy.

⁴⁵ In the 1976-1980 period, I served concurrently as a full-time faculty member in Political Science and as Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs. I could thus directly observe the debates that swirled around programmatic change, which included potential elimination of entire departments, or even sub-programs within existing units. Ultimately, retrenchment was avoided, given its likely highly negative impacts on morale and questionable immediate savings. I vividly recall the-then Vice President for Academic Affairs proposing that the Physics Department’s program in Mossbauer spectroscopy be retrenched – clearly an attempt to fire a handful of tenured faculty, and totally contrary to contractual obligations. Executive Vice President Somit was incredulous when this trial balloon was floated. As previously noted, I also served nine years on the President’s Review Board on Appointments, Promotions and Tenure [three of it as Chair], which provided me a closer look at how academic considerations were increasingly emphasized.

terms of generating research dollars, you would be toast.' He and many others left by the early 1980s.⁴⁶

When the spigot of State funding was suddenly turned lower, and other formerly ready sources of revenue could not be tapped, the University at Buffalo found itself in an increasingly threatened fiscal position. Relations with alumni had been hurt by the 'takeover' by the State. Whether such perceptions were accurate or not, it seems to me true that a sound basis for them existed. Alumni records were neither adequately maintained for a long period, nor were UB's graduates cultivated over the long term for philanthropy.⁴⁷ Town-gown ties also bore the impact of the tumultuous late 1960s. Given the post-merger generosity of New York, there seemed to be few reasons to look elsewhere for support. [For example, the University at Buffalo Foundation (UBF) and the UB Alumni Association went into quasi-hibernation. Records about graduates were not maintained for several years. As a result, no readily mobilizable source of non-State funds existed when the mid-1970s fiscal crisis hit SUNY.]

Despite these problems, the Department continued to try new educational approaches and to recruit additional faculty members, albeit at a far less frenetic pace than in the 1960s. In 1973-74, for example, it inaugurated 1) internship opportunities for undergraduates; 2) a non-credit program for village clerks,⁴⁸ and 3) a special course on Watergate, giving students an opportunity to examine this national scandal. In the previous year, the undergraduate curriculum had been significantly revised, enhancing its professional

⁴⁶ See the following chapter, in particular the sections dealing with the Policy Studies initiative.

⁴⁷ This is not a blanket observation for the University, however, since several professional schools had long, well-established programs of alumni solicitation. The issue became most acute for the College of Arts and Science [and the three Faculties into which it was briefly split], since graduates lacked the close ties that frequently come from lengthy, detailed work in areas such as Engineering, Law or Medicine.

⁴⁸ This formed part of general effort by Department to initiate public policy/public administration programs.

aspects. The number of required courses increased from eight to ten; new ones were added for community internship opportunities; additional courses reflected student and faculty interest;⁴⁹ and the revisions were intended to accommodate undergraduates' needs better, incorporate the changing intellectual foci of the discipline, and encourage enrollment by non-majors.

For the Department, the major effects of State- and SUNY-wide financial exigency came in five areas: 1] the initiation but eventual abandonment of its Public Policy initiative; 2] continued grappling with self-definition, given a cut of more than 25% of its faculty; 3] within this latter debate, disputes about the relative significance of the Department's subfields; 4] coming to grips with skeptical external evaluations, whether carried out through UB's Graduate School or the State Education Department;⁵⁰ and, 5] a significant exodus of junior faculty, whose positions were clearly jeopardized by the funding crisis.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Among these were Politics and Psychology, Politics and Literature, Law and Public Policy, American Political Economy, Chinese Foreign Policy, Civil-Military Relations, and so-called umbrella courses, such as 'Politics in (a selected foreign system)' and 'Issues in Contemporary Politics,' whose content varied in accordance with faculty interest and appropriate issues. Only the umbrella courses and Civil-Military Relations survived more than a few years as the faculty most interested in or competent to teach these courses left, or other needs claimed the time of existing ones.

⁵⁰ APSA [the American Political Science Association] does not provide an accrediting service akin to those common in professional schools [e.g. by ABET or the AACSB for schools of engineering or of business]. However, the Graduate School had a long tradition of mandated periodic evaluations.

⁵¹ As one former assistant professor from that time wrote,

My response is predictable from the times. I arrived when UB was riding high in 1970 and then experienced the crisis of around 1975 when New York State was teetering on the edge of bankruptcy. That is a grim memory of talk of non-renewal without consideration of merit and things of that sort. The reality was not as bad as the fear, but the fear was pretty bad. A particularly bad memory is my sense that [name of faculty member omitted] was thrown

Externally funded research diminished, while instructional demands increased. Exceptions existed, to be sure. Critics argued that if members of the Department made conscious decisions to pursue big bucks, or even smaller amount of funding, they could meet the classroom requirements: adjunct faculty or instructors proved cheaper, and faculty could pursue their research unencumbered by such duties. Many members of the Department correctly asserted that major funding was not available in their areas of specialization. True enough: large grants such as that obtained by Glenn Snyder and Paul Diesing were marked exceptions.⁵² However, many smaller grants were sought and obtained, leading to a sense of relative satisfaction. Nonetheless, in the eyes of senior administrators, external evaluators, and some colleagues themselves, more could and should have been done.

The Department remained through the rest of the decade a unit beleaguered by budget reductions, unable to carry out significant recruitment at the senior faculty level.⁵³ New colleagues almost always arrived as assistant professors, slotted to specific subfields. The galloping race toward the top that had characterized most of the 1960s had crumbled in the face of the new fiscal realities. New campus leaders – including former Chair Al Somit, who ascended to

overboard because, anticipating that someone would have to go affected the decision that it should be her.

⁵² The best example comes from the co-authored book by Glenn Snyder and Paul Diesing, *Conflict among Nations: Bargaining, Decision-making and System Structure in International Crises* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). The co-authors founded a Center for Conflict and Conflict Studies. Funded for three years by NSF at \$50,000, their highly regarded volume was marked, among other things, by footnote wars between the authors. As Snyder later told the author, it ‘could have been better if we had been able to resolve disagreements that we had.’ It was ‘rather a miracle we were able to pull it off.’ Telephone discussion with Glenn Snyder February 12, 2008.

⁵³ Bill Mishler was the only new tenured appointee. Mishler became Chair 1983-86, then left for the University of Arizona, where he carved out a distinguished career.

Executive Vice President – introduced academically and socially more conservative policies. UB shed its image as a haven for radicals.⁵⁴

During the 1970s, accordingly, the Department continued to grapple with the issue of its primary direction – or, rather, its directions. Lack of focus or distinctiveness emerged as the most significant issue for outside evaluators. For example, one Graduate School reviewer criticized the absence of ‘a very strong external identification’ within the discipline. Relatively small programs can achieve and maintain national excellence by deliberate narrowness, as contrasted with broad eclecticism. PSC had yet to determine what foci to emphasize – for fear this would appear to denigrate the importance of other areas and thereby jettison the pluralistic foundation on which the Department had been founded.

This extraordinary start – growth from four faculty members in 1962-63 to 27 at the end of the decade! – became subject to gradual attrition. One reason for the weakening lay in the strategy pursued: maintain five subfields.⁵⁵ A second came from the aftermath of the serious on-campus events that poisoned town-gown relations for years to come. A third factor came from choices made within the University well above the Department’s level. Priorities within UB shifted. Funding shrank for senior appointments, given disappointing results in several areas during the Meyerson years [1966-70]. Administrative changes occurred as well. As previously mentioned, Bob Ketter and Al Somit became President and

⁵⁴ Indeed, when retrenchment of units was seriously considered as a potential way to meet budget reductions, the Department of Sociology was frequently mentioned as a target, given the prominence of some of its faculty and graduate students in the spring 1970 events.

⁵⁵ The five fields included American Politics, Comparative Politics, Empirical Political Science, International Politics, and Political Philosophy. Not until relatively late in the century, following retirements or resignations, was the number of fields reduced to Public Law, American Politics and Public Affairs, International Politics, and Comparative Politics.

Executive Vice President in 1970. They were perceived as sharply conservative relative to their liberal predecessors. And probably most important, New York's fiscal crisis and highly complex administrative procedures impacted on all state agencies. Hiring freezes and non-renewal of contracts with seemingly little regard for individuals' merits afflicted morale. A variety of petty bureaucratic requirements frustrated nearly every campus and Department leader. Such steps had long-term effects, largely unseen but cumulative in their effect, which changed the élan of the Department. No longer able to seek the very top ranks of professional recognition through a strategy of seemingly unlimited recruitment of both newly minted and highly seasoned faculty, successive leaders groped for new strategies. Some promising efforts were initiated, but others were abandoned owing to absence of resources, problems in cooperating with other parts of UB, and similar issues.

Political Science dropped its former doctoral fields of Empirical Political Theory, Political Philosophy, and Public Policy. The first was absorbed into overall Department hiring philosophy: each candidate for appointment must be trained in and able to use contemporary scientific techniques to analyze political phenomena. Political Philosophy – in brief, the thought of great historical figures such as Plato or Machiavelli – lapsed with the retirement of specialists in it. Public Policy [which receives greater attention in the next chapter] was folded back into American Politics and/or the new field of Public Law. Potential other directions could not be undertaken, owing to lack of fungible resources.⁵⁶ Although ideas continued to be generated, with occasional new courses and/or realignments of existing programs, major new initiatives were not undertaken. One major effort,

⁵⁶ The Department has tried to maintain a reasonable degree of flexibility by not becoming overly tenured. Views naturally differ as to where this tipping point might exist. Having more than three-quarters of faculty members at the rank of full or associate professor presents such a problem, however.

Public Policy, quickly lapsed, as discussed in the following chapter.

Within the University as a whole, at least as perceived from the Department and most parts of the Faculty of Social Sciences, academic priorities shifted. One of the most serious consequences for Political Science came with the abandonment of Public Policy. Perhaps one should better see this as part of a broad spectrum, with academic and applied at the opposite ends. Academic can be construed as involving aspects with few immediately perceptible effects on daily life. Applied, by contrast, focuses on practicable skills. Support for programs stressing pragmatic aspects occasionally surfaced in the Department. One example, the training program for village clerks, was mentioned earlier in this chapter. Other proposals came from Robert Stern, who taught in the Department for fifty years, from 1948 until his retirement in 1998, and who quietly advocated specialized courses in public administration.⁵⁷ As we shall see in the following section and the next chapter, a new program with this emphasis became a focus for controversy among Political Science faculty.

External and internal evaluations: changes in tone

Two questions came to the fore during the 1970s. One involved the relative emphasis to be accorded to the MA as contrasted with the PhD degree. The other centered on the number of doctoral fields the Department could sustain as its rapid growth stopped. These issues interacted with increasing hostility between the ‘Gang of Four’ and the majority of faculty members.

⁵⁷ Stern received his PhD from Harvard in 1948 through its Department of Government, and carried out course work at the Littauer School of Public Administration there. [The Littauer School has since been absorbed into the John F. Kennedy School of Government.]

Summing up the 1970s

This decade, the Department worked towards a stable, albeit smaller, *modus operandi*. Faculty size dropped from its apex in the 1970-1972 period. The field structure created when Political Science was created at UB persisted, despite evaluation teams' and senior administrators' recommendation that it be reexamined. Some new initiatives were launched, most notably an MA program in Public Policy [discussed in the next chapter]. PSC moved from simultaneously recruiting both high-cost tenured full professors and lower-cost junior faculty, to bringing in persons at the assistant or [relatively rarely] the associate level. Support from the State of New York continued to diminish as a percentage of SUNY's budget. Political tensions resulting from the Vietnam War and other factors diminished, leading to better town-gown relations. Several stars recruited in PSC's early years departed. Debates within the Department became increasingly fractious, while relations with senior administrators took a negative turn. Finally, construction of the Amherst Campus started.

In short, by 1980 Political Science faced an uncertain future.

CHAPTER FOUR: CURRICULAR AND FACULTY CHANGES DURING THE 1980s

The 1980s present a mixed picture in the Department's history. When the decade began Political Science continued to offer its MA in Public Policy. It was discontinued within a brief period. By 1984-85, PSC counted no assistant professors, only tenured professors. The Department in effect was eating its seed corn. Political Science became top-heavy with tenured faculty. All those recruited for the Masters' Program in Public Policy [MAPP] left UB for positions elsewhere, with the encouragement of the Dean's office. By contrast, the newly established Baldy Center became active, offering grant opportunities and a distinctive JD-PhD program. These various changes require closer attention.

Major developments

Vibrant, respected academic departments become known, *inter alia*, for offering solid, up-to-date training in cutting-edge research. They recruit and promote outstanding faculty. Such departments are willing to experiment with new initiatives, while simultaneously retaining a solid foundation in the discipline's fundamental methodologies.

Political Science at Buffalo in its very early, post-merger with SUNY years, fit these criteria. The Department's success rested on resources provided by the State. When these started to shrink, innovation became more difficult.

On the upbeat side, the Department initiated a specialization in Public Policy in the late 1970s.¹ Environment

¹ Three persons with Public Policy perspectives – Alan Balutis, Marc Tipermas and Richard Tobin – came to the Department in 1976-77. Mark Huddleston and Ed Jennings arrived in 1977-78, and Joe Pika in 1978-79. All were assistant professors.

emerged as a major emphasis within Public Policy over time, particularly via Richard Tobin and Les Milbrath. Political Science also strengthened its methodological breadth and depth. Faculty recruits had been schooled in multivariate analysis, population sampling, matching, survey design, logical inference, margins of error and other statistical techniques. Their backgrounds strengthened the empirical side of the Department. Curricula were revised, so that new PhDs would enter the job market with up-to-date quantitative skills.

Changes in the field division of the Department occurred. What had been a classic division – American Politics, Comparative Politics, International Politics and Political Theory – saw the addition of Empirical Political Science, Public Policy, and Public Law as fields for MA and/or doctoral students. By the late 1970s,² the funding picture had changed greatly. Critics, external and internal, looked at the widening disjuncture between the Department's aspirations and resources – and unleashed some stinging critiques.

A further area of change resulted from University-wide revisions in overall requirements for undergraduate degrees. Most important, these curricular changes in the early 1980s provided a decade-long framework for units in the three Faculties [Arts and Letters; Natural Sciences and Mathematics; and Social Sciences]. Budgets required justification, proven by amassing significant numbers of undergraduate majors and offering high-enrollment courses. Adoption of new general education requirements prodded members of the Department to reexamine their offerings,

² I do not wish to imply that Departmental steps in the late 1970s and early 1980s came in a vacuum. Public Administration had long formed part of political science. A good case can be made historically that political science emerged from public administration. See Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to Behaviorism* (New York: Irvington, 1982). Somit joined the Department as Chair and full professor in 1966, well before its publication. He stopped most of his teaching when he left Political Science and became UB's Executive Vice President in 1970.

revising them to meet the new criteria.³ Their efforts succeeded. Of the 11 Department-recommended lower division offerings, ten were accepted for General Education. The approval process for upper division classes was slower and less favorable. Of the 29 proposed UD classes, a mere seven had gained approval from the General Education Committee by September 1981.

Fifth, some tentative steps were taken, primarily outside the Department, with respect to interunit based research, teaching, and grant applications. These drew in faculty members from numerous Departments within the arts and sciences broadly, and occasionally with social science-oriented professional schools.⁴ The MAPP and JD-PhD program discussed below stand as examples.

These transformations were eased by construction of an entirely new campus on the central Amherst wet zone.⁵ The exceptional influx of funds from Albany offered an unparalleled opportunity for fundamental rethinking. Interdisciplinary links between standard academic departments and normal professional schools were encouraged. Throughout the 1980s – as indeed during the entire period covered by this history – periodic efforts were launched to provide curricula better suited to what faculty members and senior administrators regarded as appropriate lines of development.

³ BA candidates were required to meet a specific number of distribution courses. See the Department of Political Science Annual Report 1980-81, University Archives, University at Buffalo.

⁴ For example, I was actively involved in African studies, specialists in which were scattered widely through the three Arts and Sciences Faculties, but with a few faculty from professional schools, including Law, Medicine and Social Work.

⁵ No environmental impact statement was required at that time. The 1200-acre site was bisected by Bizer Creek, which was relocated to the west side of the campus. Reconfiguring the landscape, installing utilities and the like took at least two years.

The Baldy Center⁶

The first broad area examined in this chapter involved the creation of the Baldy Center for Law and Social Policy. Functioning as a research-oriented entity located in the Law School, the Baldy Center linked the Faculty of Law and Jurisprudence/Law School to social science departments. Several Political Science faculty members benefited from Baldy Center support, as detailed below.

Thanks to a generous endowment, the Baldy Center for Law and Social Policy – one of the first and most successful examples of an interdisciplinary center at UB – came into existence in 1978. Christopher Baldy was a prominent Buffalo attorney, who had graduated from UB’s law school in 1910. His will allocated between \$1.5 and \$2 million to UB in the early 1970s.⁷ This constituted one of the largest bequests UB had received up to that point.

The private University of Buffalo had become fundamentally transformed a few years prior to Baldy’s passing. UB became SUNYAB, the State University of New York at Buffalo. Funding formulas changed drastically. The State University Construction Fund underwrote the costs of new academic buildings, while the State University Dormitory Authority supported on-campus student residences and related facilities, such as [eventually] a student union.

Baldy’s will had specified that funds given to UB should be used ‘for the purpose of providing a scholastic building or residence hall on the campus in my memory, as may be determined by the Council of the University, in the development of which I have been greatly interested.’⁸

⁶ Information for this section was drawn largely from Luke Hamill, ‘40 Years of the Baldy Center: A Law and Society Hub in Buffalo,’ Buffalo NY: University at Buffalo Baldy Center for Law & Social Policy, 2018. Helpful corrections and comments came from Laura Mangan. Her administrative skills ably steered the Center for several years.

⁷ Hamill, p. 6.

⁸ Hammill, p. 6.

Could a bequest specifying construction of a building be transformed into a gift supporting individuals? What sorts of legal legerdemain would be required? One possibility involved creating a distinctive center for research that would link the Law School with other parts of UB. Creative lawyering was clearly needed!

Several obstacles had to be addressed before transforming Baldy's will from potential bricks and mortar into faculty research or student support. UB officials relied upon *cy-près*, a long-standing legal doctrine. To quote a former head of the UB Foundation, 'Under the doctrine of *cy-près*, the court can decide in such circumstances to construe the intention of the testator and to order that the money be spent in such a way as to effectuate that intention in a manner as close as possible to the original instructions.'⁹

In plain English, the court rewrote Baldy's specific instructions.

A February 1973 memorandum from UB President Robert Ketter to the SUNY Chancellor kicked off the process. Ketter stressed numerous advantages of linking social science and public policy:

Lawyers in particular need to be apprised of the kind of information that is available that may be relevant to their cause. They should also be sufficiently familiar with its uses so that they do not hesitate to utilize it in any aspect of the decision process where it is appropriate. At the same time, they must be equipped to attack its incorrect utilization when that occurs.

Concurrently, social scientists must be educated to realize the potential utilization of such information, so that they will be able to gather relevant materials that will help the legal decision-makers to formulate policy more effectively In short, lawyers and social scientists should, together, attack the

⁹ Hammill, p. 7.

problem of designing a more adequate procedure for formulating social policy ... The conditions of the State University of New York at Buffalo distinctly favor the development of such a program in law and social policy.¹⁰

The Baldy Center started its life as a program rather than a Center, an easier route to follow given SUNY and State Education Department approval criteria. In its 40-plus years, the Baldy Center developed numerous approaches to utilize its endowment earnings, initially by supporting research, subsequently providing some salaries and branching into other types of support. The Center regularly sponsored presentations by visiting faculty, as many as ten per semester.¹¹ Joint graduate programs emerged between Law and Management, Social Work, Anthropology, Psychology, Political Science, Sociology, and other Departments, almost exclusively in the social sciences. Regularized structures did not exist for most, however. Students had to exercise significant initiative to construct a framework of courses that could accommodate State of New York time requirements to finish JD requirements, as well as the obligations of their graduate programs. The Baldy Center also hosted the Gilbert Moore fellowships.¹²

Administrators concerned with the Baldy's objectives confronted a basic issue: To whom did the Baldy Center belong? In a related fashion, How could the Department of

¹⁰ Hammill, pp. 8-9.

¹¹ The Center paid travel expenses for the presenter and met costs of catered lunches. No honoraria were awarded, however. [Personal discussion with Carolyn Funk, Assistant Director of the Baldy Center, November 26, 2019.]

¹² According to Laura Mangan, Associate Director of the Baldy Center for many years, 'The Gil Moore fellowships for JD/PhD students were managed by the Center. The Center also had a number of first-year fellowships in the 1980s and Dissertation Fellowships in the 1980s and 1990s for a fifth year of dissertation support.' Email to the author January 5, 2020.

Political Science interact more effectively with the Law School and, by extension, with other parts of the University?

In his history of the Baldy Center's first 40 years, Luke Hammill points to 'the ever-unresolved question of whether the Center belongs to the law school or sits between it and the other disciplines, and a perceived lack of focus or theme that brings all the Baldy research and activities together ... The tension between law and social science has alternately heightened and lessened over the years but has been persistent enough that it seems to be baked into the Center's DNA.'¹³ Hammill also cites tenure, central to Academia, but contrary in many respects to interdisciplinarity among units.¹⁴

I would add a further complication. Differing academic calendars affected relations between the Law School and other parts of UB. Schedule coordination became complicated, due to differing starting and ending times of individual classes, indeed of entire semesters. These issues were set forth clearly by Tom Headrick, who held JD and PhD degrees, and who served the University with distinction in several administrative positions.¹⁵

To quote Headrick directly,

We restructured our academic year in the early 1990's. I was Barry Boyer's Associate Dean and Chair of Academic Planning. Law practice was changing. We could no longer count on law firms to continue training and easing graduates into practice. We had long hired adjuncts who were in practice, but had assigned them to teach standard semester length courses, which some did well and some didn't. It

¹³ Hammill, pp. 21, 22.

¹⁴ 'UB's tenure requirements, combined with the balkanization of its departments, discouraged interdisciplinary research.' Hammill, p. 23.

¹⁵ These included service as Dean of UB's Law School and as Provost. Headrick was elevated to the rank of SUNY Distinguished Service Professor in 1993. Biographical information about him can be found at <https://marquistoplawyers.com/2018/12/18/thomas-headrick/>.

made more sense to have adjuncts teach how they did what in their practices. Many didn't need a semester, nor could they afford the time for the miniscule pay we could afford. We broke the year into 7 four week blocks, 3 before Christmas and 4 after. So we started later in the fall, but earlier in the new year. The traditional semester course continued as 3 blocks, 12 weeks instead of 15. We lengthened class periods times to meet ABA [American Bar Association] class time hour requirements per credit hour.

We increased the adjunct faculty and added a number of practice oriented, shorter courses, often 1 block, sometimes 2. I also hoped that the full-time faculty would latch onto the opportunity to organize their teaching differently. Some subjects didn't need a full semester; some might extend over 4 or 5 blocks.

We ended up with 4 week interim blocks in January that invited some innovation. Most faculty continued to teach 3 block traditional courses, but some used the change to break out of the traditional mold. While I was around, I thought it was modestly successful in getting some outside the box efforts.¹⁶

'Who governed' and 'under what standards' were not the only fundamental issues confronting Baldy. Shrinking University-wide resources during the 1970s intensified the scramble over which units received what FTEs, ATRs, OTPS, and similar resources.¹⁷ Its endowment protected the Baldy Center to some degree, but State support waned over

¹⁶ Email to the author from Tom Headrick, April 28, 2020.

¹⁷ FTEs is administrative jargon for Fulltime equivalent, a statistical abstraction for counting the numbers of students in various programs. ATRs are Authorizations to Recruit, basically hunting licenses for units to seek new members of a unit's staff. OTPS, or Other than personal service, refers to budget categories such as travel, supplies, and similar expenses.

time and the Center's endowment receipts picked up increasing shares of its administrative costs.

The Center's history is dotted with initiatives that, starting in 1986-87, took the form of working groups and programs. Two major objectives marked them: interdisciplinary research support and direct grants from Baldy, rather than staff assistance in writing grant proposals.¹⁸ Many working groups or programs sprang up over time.¹⁹ Political Science faculty became most involved with human rights, nuclear war prevention, fair housing, and cooperation and conflict. Several other working groups or programs held potential benefits for Political Science, such as constitutional theory, Canadian-American studies, regulation and public policy, and racial justice.

Neither the Department nor the Center made a concerted effort to link their programs on a macro level. Initiatives came one-by-one. In the 2006-2014 period, for example, PSC faculty members Christina Boyd, Dinissa Duvanova, Josh Dyck, Greg 'Bagel' Johnson, Charles Lamb, Harvey Palmer, Jason Sorens and Claude Welch received funding for their research projects, including a manuscript workshop for Duvanova.

An opportunity for closer ties existed, at least in theory, when Lynn Mather was recruited to head the Center early in the 21st century. Mather did not have a JD degree, unlike all other Baldy directors,²⁰ but received her PhD in Political Science in 1975.²¹ Buffalo lured her from Dartmouth to direct the Center in 2002, naming her Professor of

¹⁸ Hammill, p. 61.

¹⁹ Synopses of the working groups' and programs' activities appear in Hammill, p. 62-82.

²⁰ Details about Mather's background and extensive quotations from interviews appear in Hammill, pp. 38-43.

²¹ PSC also named Mather Research Professor of Political Science and tried to cross-list some of her Law School courses. The School's unusual calendar made coordination very difficult, however, thereby increasing burdens on dual degree candidates.

Law.²² Mather stood at the top of her academic game. She was a well-respected socio-legal scholar, and, importantly, had served as President of the Law & Society Association in 2001-02. The Department named her Research Professor of Political Science with undefined duties.

Mather viewed her responsibilities as lying almost exclusively within the Law School and the Baldy Center. After all, those were the source of her salary and the locus of her teaching and administration. Political Science hence could not draw upon her unique skills and position for more than a small fraction of her time. On the other hand, Mather brought a vigorous presence to the Center, creating an attractive conference facility and rejuvenating the Buffalo-based *Law & Policy* journal. She continued numerous programs that benefited members of Political Science willing and able to take advantage of them. These included an annual welcome for new faculty; book workshops for manuscripts needing a final critical review prior for submission for consideration for publication; and visiting scholars in law and social policy. Regular Friday noon paper presentations by nationally and internationally recognized experts provided intellectual stimulus; lunch provided a further draw.²³ My only personal regrets are, 1] that Political Science did not draw more from the Baldy Center's interdisciplinary

²² Following her tenure as Baldy Center director, Mather was elevated to the rank of SUNY Distinguished Service Professor of Law, Emerita. She had returned to Dartmouth by that point, however.

²³ According to former assistant director Laura Mangan, close to ten such presentations were given most semesters during her years at the Baldy Center [1990-2006, 2008-2009]. Email to the author from Laura Mangan, December 31, 2019. Mangan also estimated that she 'developed, coordinated and organized' more than 35 conferences and workshops for UB faculty, 'leading to the publication of over 15 books, conference proceedings, or special issues of journals.' I received Baldy Center support for two conferences, which led subsequently to my books, *NGOs and Human Rights: Promise and Performance* (2001) and *Economic Rights in Canada and the United States* (2006), co-edited with Rhoda Hassmann. Both were published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

outlook, exceptional strengths and high professional standing; and 2] that only a handful of individuals utilized the research funding available from Baldy.

To sum up this section: resources from the Baldy Center provided some Political Science faculty and a few doctoral candidates opportunities to enhance their research. Perhaps more members of the Department could have taken advantage of the opportunities. But whether or not to take the initiative lay with individuals, not with Political Science.

Maintaining and revising International Relations

Probably the most successful research project carried out within the Department during its first 60 years came from the initiative of Glenn Snyder and Paul Diesing. Snyder joined Political Science in 1964-65, coming from Berkeley as Associate Professor. Diesing started at UB with a joint appointment in Political Science and Philosophy. In 1968-69, he became full Professor in PSC solely.

According to Frank Zagare, a UB Distinguished Professor,

The study of interstate conflict, in general, and crises in particular, has a long and distinguished history at the University at Buffalo, not only in the department of political science, but in the departments of psychology, history, philosophy, and anthropology as well. In 1967 the University founded the Center for International Conflict Studies. Directed by Glenn H. Snyder, the Center's focus was on negotiation and bargaining. The Center produced one major work, Glenn H. Snyder and Paul Diesing's [Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and System Structure in International Crises](#). Published in 1977 by Princeton University Press, this classic

contribution remains relevant today. It was republished by Princeton in 2015.²⁴

The Snyder-Diesing collaboration echoes across the years and represents a major contribution by some members of the Department.

Personnel changes during the 1980s

The decade started with these words from then-Chair Donald Rosenthal [generally known as DBR]:²⁵

At the outset of last year's report, I remarked on the 'dispiriting institutional situation' in which we were operating. I see little reason to modify that general assessment. If anything, the year just past has witnessed a further erosion in morale, with major consequences at least in the short run for the stability of the Department, especially at the non-tenured level.

Rosenthal put his finger on three causes: the 'long, complex and threatening budgetary process through which this institution has gone'; 'difficult relations between the Department and the Dean with respect to his treatment of several tenure recommendations, as well as other policy matters'; and internal conflicts within the Department.²⁶ Rancor generated by these conflicts lingered for years to come.

²⁴ <http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~fczagare/Deterrence%20Project.htm>.

²⁵ '1979-80 Annual Report [of the Department of Political Science], p. 1, University Archives, University at Buffalo. Rosenthal came to the Department fall 1964, hence at the moment of most rapid growth in its aspirations and faculty numbers. His expectations may have been shaped by the assumptions of that era. The number of Political Science faculty escalated from four in 1962-63, when the Department was created, to its record high of 30 in the 1970-72 period.

²⁶ In the Department report for 1979-80, Rosenthal alleged that the Dean had 'attempted to impose standards which are not shared widely in the University.' 1979-80 Annual Report [of the Department of Political Science], University Archives, University at Buffalo. That conflict existed was clear, from my perspective, but the fault with PSC's faculty

Faculty numbers declined from 22 in 1980-81 to 17 in 1985-86. This reduction intensified intra-Departmental tensions, which themselves testified to questions about directions the graduate program had taken, most notably with the downgrading of classic political philosophy, the emphasis on quantitative techniques, and the purported overall weakening with the adoption of Public Policy as a new field. These issues, confined within Political Science, interacted with a broader problem affecting UB. As Al Somit, Executive Vice President during the 1970s put the matter, ‘The inevitable downward spiral of hopes, aspirations and disappointments contributed to the problems you describe elsewhere.’²⁷

Public Policy and the MAPP Program

One graduate program initiative briefly flowered during the late 1970s but abruptly disintegrated in the early 1980s. The MAPP – Master of Arts in Public Policy – was rooted in the interests of individual faculty members [both specially recruited and already tenured], plus senior administrators. They believed in linking the strengths of professional schools [particularly Law and Management] with Political Science, thereby drawing upon UB’s interdisciplinary potential. The seeds of the MAPP were planted in the resource-rich late 1960s through the early 1970s – a period in which rosy expectations were established that persisted for many years despite new fiscal realities. By the late 1970s the near-bankruptcy of New York City had made Albany wary and led to substantial reductions in State support.²⁸ 1980-81

did not lie exclusively at the decanal level. These conflicts are examined elsewhere in this in this chapter.

²⁷ Email to the author from Al Somit, April 2, 2020. I strongly agree with his assessment. Somit wrote this note a few months after his 100th birthday.

²⁸ As the *New York Times* observed: ‘So close that the city’s lawyers were in State Supreme Court filing a bankruptcy petition. So close that police cars were mobilized to serve the papers on the banks. So close that aides to Mayor Abraham D. Beame had written a statement

saw a reduction from 26 to 22 faculty members, while 1981-82 witnessed a further decline to 19. This loss of more than a quarter of Political Science faculty was concentrated at junior ranks, moreover – the foundation on which the MAPP program had been largely built; its promising junior faculty moved to other universities.^{29,30}

Public Policy came first chronologically in terms of UB-wide conceptualization. In 1967, MIT Professor Warren Bennis, often deemed a doyen of leadership studies, was recruited by President Meyerson to serve as the Provost of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Philosophy. Bennis cultivated an avant-garde demeanor, for example wearing a cape even on the harshest winter day. He recounted his four years at

announcing the default along with an emergency effort to save the city's dwindling cash for vital services like police and fire protection.' 'Recalling New York City at the Brink of Bankruptcy,' *New York Times* December 5, 2002; <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/05/nyregion/recalling-new-york-at-the-brink-of-bankruptcy.html>; accessed February 17, 2016.

²⁹ I have interviewed some individuals who served as former UB assistant professors during this period. Because of tense personal relationships centered in largely part on the Gang of Four, I promised to keep their identities private until several years had passed. Suffice it to say that one rose to become one of America's most distinguished political scientists, while another took on major administrative roles, including university presidencies.

³⁰ Quoting Robert Stern's 1977-78 annual report, '... morale within our Department would not have sunk as low as it did this year if it had not been for the initiatives taken by the Dean. For whatever reasons – and those appear to be conflicting – the Dean has chosen to launch his leadership period by assuming a posture of provocation. His statements on tenure and promotion and resource allocation have raised serious concerns on the part of our Department, especially among our junior faculty. Too much of my time as chairman has had to be spent allaying the fears of a very good group of junior faculty and trying to deal with the conflicting understandings that exist among senior faculty as to the standards properly to be applied.' Department of Political Science, Annual Report 1977-78; University Archives, University of Buffalo.

Buffalo, and subsequently as President of the University of Cincinnati, in often amusing publications.³¹

Advocates of establishing a master's program in Public Policy harked back to the history of the discipline. In its earliest guise, public policy was called public administration, part of the profession's effort to show how its practical side helped justify the academic side. The founding fathers of the discipline spent little time defining its limits, however, as Somit and Tanenhaus point out.³² Woodrow Wilson, the only PhD-holding President in American history, asserted that political scientists must examine 'real events, real people, real political life.' He argued that the student of the discipline 'must frequent the street, the counting-houses, the halls – yes and the lobbies – of legislatures. They should not abandon books and spend all their time in wiseacre observation among busy men.'³³ Yet Woodrow Wilson went far from his roots as an instructor, as the following quote from him illustrates:

What I 'go for' is the life, not the texts, of constitutions, the practice not the laws of administration: and I can get at these things only by cross-questioning systems. I have learned, for instance, all that is necessary to be known about what that autocratic person, the French Prefect may do and what the law has to say about his appointment: -- anybody can find such

³¹ Respectively *The Leaning Ivory Tower* (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973) and *The Unconscious Conspiracy: Why Leaders Can't Lead* (Perseus Publishing, [Cambridge, Massachusetts](#), 1976). Bennis also wrote *Geeks & Geezers: How Era, Values and Defining Moments Shape Leaders* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 2002), among many other titles. Bennis received an honorary doctorate from UB in 2007, an honor well-deserved, in my opinion.

³² Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism* (New York: Irvington, 1982, second edition), p. 24. The first edition was published in 1967, when Somit was serving as Department Chair.

³³ Somit and Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science*, p. 32.

things out and make long-headed remarks about them. What I want to know is, what the Prefect does do and under what influence he is appointed. I must know the live Prefect before I can feel that I know anything about French administration.³⁴

Wilson strongly influenced his colleagues in Political Science before turning his attention to the actual practice of politics. As Somit and Tanenhaus note, by early in the 20th century few practitioners ‘would deny that the political scientist should, in principle, concern himself with life as well as with literature.’³⁵

The combined Department of History and Government at the private UB gave what attention it could to public administration. Jobs could be found with relatively limited training. Student interest existed. And, with Robert Stern, the unit featured an individual whose training came in public administration. The 1957 ‘Report on Future Courses and Personnel’ written in the-then Department of History and Government listed public administration courses as being offered, although no specific major or degree program in it. With the merger into the SUNY system, a serious opportunity arose at UB, in Somit and Tanenhaus’ words, to enhance ‘applied research and a concern with questions of public policy.’³⁶

Leadership from the top strongly reinforced interest within the Department. Meyerson, the first new president of the State University of New York at Buffalo, arrived straight from Berkeley, bringing with him a set of major ideas for future development.³⁷ Meyerson’s broad proposals appeared

³⁴ Cited in Somit and Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science*, p. 32.

³⁵ Somit and Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science*, p. 33.

³⁶ Somit and Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science*, p. 181.

³⁷ Meyerson was the first of four UB presidents whose academic careers were intertwined with California. I knew all of them well through my administrative and Faculty Senate positions. Other UB

early in his brief term. They called for major academic reorganization for UB. Meyerson sought to shake up what time and disciplinary or professional specializations had hal-
lowed. Far and away the most important change came with the division of the College of Arts and Sciences into three Faculties: Arts and Letters; Natural Sciences and Mathematics; and Social Sciences.³⁸

Meyerson enjoyed considerable prestige prior to his administrative career as a scholar of public affairs and urban planning.³⁹ As noted earlier, he imported Warren Bennis, a young, charismatic social scientist who shared these ideals. Bennis came directly from MIT's Sloan School of Management to UB, ready, like Meyerson, to translate his concepts of leadership into practice.⁴⁰ The message was not lost on Deans and Department Chairs. Blessed with an astounding cornucopia of resources from the State, they could hire in unprecedented numbers.⁴¹

presidents with California links included Steven Sample, who left Buffalo to become president of the University of Southern California in 1991, and John Simpson, who arrived from Santa Cruz in 2004, and who retired and returned to the West Coast a few years later. Satish Tripathi came as Provost from UC/Riverside along with Simpson, becoming President in 2011. Sample was an outstanding leader who left a major mark on the University, enhancing its academic standing and excellence – a task ably continued by Tripathi. I respected them greatly as inspiring, people-oriented individuals with excellent strategic senses.

³⁸ Some argued that this division became necessary with the massive influx of State resources. A span of control problem existed, senior UB leaders believed, which made it appropriate to follow natural affinities among disciplines. The College of Arts and Sciences would not be reconstituted until the 1990s.

³⁹ Among his major books were *Boston: The Job Ahead* (1966), *The City and the University* (1969), *The Conscience of the City* (1970), and *Higher Education and Modern Democracy* (1967).

⁴⁰ Together with UB alumna and NPR luminary Terry Gross, Bennis received an honorary Doctorate in Humane Letters in 2007.

⁴¹ I am unable to verify the number, but in the late 1960s so many faculty FTEs [full-time equivalent positions] were provided that filling them with qualified persons proved impossible. Telephone discussion

The very young Department of Political Science responded rapidly. Public Policy resembled the old Public Administration only in its subject matter, specialists asserted. By staking out a presence at the frontier, the University of Buffalo and specific parts of it could become nationally recognized. Indeed, steps had been taken in that direction when Al Somit served as the Chair of PSC in the late 1960s. He commented, in a subsequent conversation with me, that specific recruitment of faculty in public administration was a ‘great idea.’⁴² The Department’s special contribution came in establishing a new degree program. MAPP formally came into existence in 1972.

Within the Department, Vaughn Blankenship became an enthusiastic advocate. He arrived in 1966 during the period of rapid growth, and stayed until 1975, serving as Chair from 1969 to 1972. Two other senior political scientists supported related initiatives. Robert Stern had focused on public administration in his doctoral studies at Harvard, and championed efforts, reaching out not only to regular UB students, but also to new audiences. He worked with John Lane, who at one point encouraged special courses for village clerks.⁴³

Students were admitted into the MAPP program without assistantships, since these were reserved for doctoral candidates. Irrespective of their status within the Department, MAPP, MA and PhD candidates enrolled in the same seminars, since the number of MAPP students didn’t warrant establishing special classes in Public Administration. Existing courses in American Politics or Public Law provided ample space; indeed, added faculty made it possible to provide some courses otherwise not offered.

with John Lane, October 2, 2008. Lane served as Assistant Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences before its split into three Faculties.

⁴² Telephone discussion between Al Somit and the author, February 28, 2009.

⁴³ Lane had been active in the Democratic Party of Amherst and hence gained an inside view of problems municipal administrators confronted.

Unless a solid academic foundation was provided, however, the MAPP would suffer by comparison with the more prestigious, better-supported doctoral program. In the words of the 1977 Graduate School evaluation, the MAPP program ‘intended to utilize many of the same resources with respect to course offering and faculty supervision. It was more clearly focused, however, toward a practitioner or would-be practitioner clientele.’ At its inception, and indeed through its history, the MAPP faced questions about its academic quality and the Department’s commitment to sustaining it.

The Department recognized the importance of backing up published information about public policy with faculty strength. Natural turnover made it possible to recruit some new assistant professors capable of both teaching within the already-established sub-fields, and providing additional intellectual muscle in Public Policy.⁴⁴ The lift would be heavy, however, given the long-standing practice in which political scientists and public administration specialists followed separate career tracks, respectively toward academia and governmental service, and given the fiscal crunch SUNY faced by the mid-1970s.⁴⁵

Strong external criticisms of the MAPP track came in a 1976-77 evaluation mandated by the Graduate School mentioned in Chapter 3. Ralph Huitt [Executive Director of

⁴⁴ During the 1970s, the Department recruited one full professor [Kenneth Vines, an Americanist] and seventeen new assistant professors, including two women [Nancy McGlen and Marilyn Hoskin], the Department’s first African-American [Frank Henderson] and its first Asian [Tetsuya Kataoka]. Assistant professors with some Public Policy expertise and involvement included Alan Balutis, Marc Tipermas, Richard Tobin, Mark Huddleston, Ed Jennings and Joe Pika.

⁴⁵ Robert Stern taught public policy type courses from his recruitment to UB in 1948, upon receipt of his doctorate from the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration [GSPA]. Established in 1936 with an endowment from Lucius Littauer, Harvard’s GSPA was reoriented and relocated, becoming the nucleus for the John F. Kennedy School of Government. Its buildings rise where an open yard for sub-way cars had stood when Stern and I received our degrees at Harvard.

the National Association of Universities and Land Grant Colleges] deemed the MAPP ‘the least appetizing academic option’ the Department could choose. Regular graduate students didn’t give it much respect, ‘which should be reason enough to drop it.’ Its goal seemed to be ‘to convert some of the community’s citizens into low-level bureaucrats.’ Samuel Krislov [University of Minnesota] commented as well on what some graduate students and faculty perceived as double standards. Public Policy students were perceived as less capable, following a less demanding regimen of classes. Department Chair Robert Stern adopted a moderate position, given small enrollments in some seminars and his personal interest in public policy. ‘The notion that the presence of some M.A. public policy students in a course, because they are different from other students, necessitates the instructor’s resort to a different mode of instruction...,’ he wrote. Stern observed that ‘the MAPP students’ intellectual style and expectations may differ from those of regular doctoral students. This perception might entail a more inclusive style of teaching. However, with the S.E.D. [State Education Department] evaluation in the offing it would be premature at that time to commit ourselves to major programmatic alterations or essential changes of direction in our graduate program...’

The apex of this effort came in the late 1970s. However, the MAPP program as a distinct academic track evaporated rapidly in the 1980s. While several faculty members recruited in the 1960s taught courses related to American politics, some of them with administration in their titles, Public Administration or Public Policy did not exist as a formal field in which PhD comprehensive examinations could be taken – a disincentive, understandably, to students wishing to write dissertations.

Why did the MAPP evanesce? Intra-Department disagreement about its value was the primary reason, I believe. The 1977 report discussed in Chapter 3 provided ammunition for this position. Despite its warning, however, Political Science pressed ahead. In 1978-79 to 1980-81, four junior faculty members specializing in Public Policy were

recruited. They constituted nearly 20% of the Department's faculty strength, and all its assistant professors. Their plight – and that of students enrolled in the MA in Public Policy Program – received detailed attention in a 1981 external evaluation, arranged by the Graduate School.

Budget reductions

Many paragraphs in this history have documented the shift away from almost total reliance on New York State largesse to partial budget support by it. A quantum change occurred ~1980. Financial problems led again to serious cut-backs in faculty and staff. Rather than pursue retrenchment, which would raise strong objections and possible AAUP and UUP censure,⁴⁶ cuts fell disproportionately on staff members and non-tenured faculty. This pattern [which was followed in succeeding cycles as well] impacted Public Policy especially heavily.

The Acting Dean's report for 1981 sets the stage well. 'The recent past is bleak', John Naylor wrote. '... it is not difficult to detect a serious flagging of institutional confidence and resiliency.' '...our budgetary dealings with the DOB (Division of the Budget) were all but impossible to explain to department Chairs and their faculties. The sheer unreality of the several 'freezes' rankled and conveyed the impression (wrongly or not) that SUNY administration from top to bottom had lost control of our own fate(s).' [For example: individual faculty members had to apply to authorities in Albany for travel funds to professional conferences.]

The most telling evidence comes from Mark Huddleston, a highly successful academic administrator and respected scholar/teacher. He cut his teeth at UB as President

⁴⁶ The AAUP, or American Association of University Professors, was established in 1915, 'to advance [academic freedom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academic_freedom) and shared governance, to define fundamental professional values and standards for [higher education](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Higher_education), and to ensure higher education's contribution to the [common good](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Common_good).' https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Association_of_University_Professors, consulted April 28, 2020.

of the [Undergraduate] Student Association [SA] in 1969-70,⁴⁷ and later as Assistant Professor in the Department [1977-78 to 1980-81].⁴⁸ According to him, the Department was ‘large and obviously growing’ when he arrived in Buffalo as an undergraduate student. The ‘best people’ were being added, with a ‘positive buzz’ surrounding the Department’s and the University’s activities. The entire campus was then being buffeted by pressures unleashed by the Vietnam War, with campus and popular unrest marking many developed countries in the late 1960s, and [for American universities in particular] the killing of four Kent State students on May 4, 1970 by the Ohio National Guard. In less than 15 seconds, their volley of shots led to a wave of reaction that swept through many campuses. Huddleston, who had just been chosen SA president, recalled addressing a mass gathering immediately after the shootings, urging calm.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Students form ad hoc parties for elections, with essentially no continuity of names from year to year. Huddleston called his party the Action Group, a name he took directly from a course on African Politics in which I taught him.

⁴⁸ Telephone interview of Mark Huddleston March 19, 2008. After leaving Buffalo, Huddleston went to the University of Delaware, joining its Political Science faculty before becoming Associate Provost for International Education and then Dean of its College of Arts and Science. His career track also took him the presidencies of Ohio Wesleyan University and of the University of New Hampshire.

⁴⁹ E-mail to the author from Mark Huddleston March 2, 2016. In this note, Huddleston also recalled that his party – the Action Group – had campaigned on a platform of environmentalism. Well-known activist Ralph Nader came as the keynote speaker – highly appropriate, since 1970 marked the first-ever Earth Day. The Action Group was the title of a Nigerian political party in the 1960s. When Huddleston went on to Wisconsin for graduate work, he planned to analyze local bureaucratic politics in Kenya, but was denied a visa and turned to another topic for his PhD. Telephone interview with Huddleston March 19, 2008. The Government of Kenya also denied me a visa for research in 1993. As a result, I shifted my focus to Ethiopia. This was fortuitous, given the extraordinary changes occurring in Ethiopia at that time. Results appear in my best book, *Protecting Human Rights in Africa: Strategies and Roles of Non-Governmental Organizations* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

Meanwhile I, then serving as Dean of the Division of Undergraduate Studies, was tasked by the President's office with learning how comparable universities were handling the campus demonstrations that had arisen in sympathy with the Kent State protestors, and recommending what steps should be taken.⁵⁰

The atmosphere also changed dramatically due to budget pressures affecting New York as a whole, over which SUNY had no control, and to intra-departmental pressures [examined subsequently in the Gang of Four section]. Morale had 'clearly plummeted,' in Huddleston's words. Governor Hugh Carey was chopping budgets 'left and right.' The final blow fell for him and a handful of other assistant professors in a closed session with a senior UB administrator. According to Huddleston, this person 'essentially told us to look for jobs elsewhere.' Non-tenured faculty learned that 'things were going to get very tough, if you didn't pull weight in terms of research dollars, you were toast ... This was a pretty bleak message to hear.' Huddleston, like others hired specially for the MAPP push, took his talents elsewhere.

In retrospect, the Public Policy initiative represented one of the potentially promising paths not pursued by the Department, for both academic and financial reasons.⁵¹ Such an initiative could not survive, however, if it were housed solely within Political Science given the resources available to it. No wonder, accordingly, that external evaluators, successive Deans and other senior administrators advanced occasional proposals involving multi-unit cooperation in Public Policy. By contrast, successive Chairs argued that Political Science constituted the natural center for such efforts and

⁵⁰ I recommended that the campus be closed immediately, with students excused from final exams. This proposal – which was implemented – received strong criticism from the professional schools, whose accreditation standards mandated specific academic requirements that campus closure contravened.

⁵¹ Conversation between Al Somit and me, Buffalo, September 10, 2008.

accordingly should receive the necessary resources. No accommodation was ever reached in a fashion that might have placed Political Science at its core, nor was a major new program effort launched.

To chronicle the effects of budget reductions, I reached out to Bill Mishler. He taught at Buffalo from 1978-79 to 1985-86, the last two years coinciding with some of the most difficult periods of the Department's history. He also succeeded me as Chair in fall 1983. In his 1984-85 annual report, Mishler concluded that in his seven years at UB, 60% of the International Relations faculty were lost. Half the American Politics and Empirical Political Science staff left. Nearly 60% of the Public Policy faculty also departed. Results included 1] suspension of the MAPP; 2] elimination of empirical political science as PhD-granting subfield; 3] decimation of International Relations, 'traditionally our strongest both in numbers and overall quality of the faculty'; and 4] inability to offer courses or qualified supervision in specified areas. If this were not enough, Mishler also listed 5] assignment of faculty to teach outside their areas of expertise or in large lectures; and 6] a 'gradual but steady erosion of the department's national visibility and prestige.'

'Indeed,' he concluded, 'it is remarkable that our reputation remains as strong as it is (about in the middle of PhD granting programs), given that our current faculty strength of 15.5 FTEs is 40% smaller than that of the average political science department at comparable public universities and is less than 50% the size of the average department ranked in the top twenty in the discipline.' Political Science pulled beyond its weight in terms of research productivity in relationship to size, but it seemed to Department members that higher administrators did not reward their contributions adequately.⁵²

⁵² Two of the largest grants in the Department's history came from outside the NSF and were non-quantitative in nature. I received nearly \$110,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities, to run a summer workshop for university-level teachers of human rights in 1991. Between 1991 and 1993, thanks to \$180,000 from the Ford

Mishler possessed top-notch empirical skills.⁵³ He was acutely aware of the importance of external funding to bolster waning SUNY support. Here, the Department was undeniably weak. Mishler's 1984-85 annual report sounded an ominous note. Shrinkage of faculty occurred in areas where research funds are 'most abundant.' NSF gave 96% of the basic research dollars for political science. It stressed quantitative, mathematical and behaviorally oriented research; hence according to Mishler, NSF is 'an inappropriate source of research support for the preponderance of my colleagues whose research is much more philosophical, normative and/or historical in nature.' The 'traditional cast of many of the faculty,' he continued, puts us 'at a comparative disadvantage with larger, younger, and more modern departments in competing for the scarce funds available.'

Exeunt many of the empirical specialists, as well as the public policy faculty.

The Gang of Four

By the mid-1970s, department members were stirred by deep philosophical-cum-methodological differences. They didn't surface when Political Science was expanding in all directions, but emerged when growth stopped. So long as the Department was relatively large, its various fields could maintain their autonomy, recruit to fill gaps if and when positions within them arose, and cultivate their own graduate students. However, as shrinkage occurred, conflict

Foundation, I also co-directed the first-ever human rights law clinic established in the United States. This clinic was created by Virginia Leary, SUNY Distinguished Service Professor. Law School students spent their summers in Geneva, where the United Nations' human rights offices are located. A summary of Professor Leary's distinguished career can be found at <https://www.law.buffalo.edu/giving/leadership/leary.html>.

⁵³ For example, after leaving Buffalo for the University of Arizona, Mishler twice served as Director of the Political Science Program at the National Science Foundation. He also became Editor of the *Journal of Politics* from 2009 to 2015. <https://nerdkopfconference.wordpress.com/bios/>, consulted April 28, 2020.

broke into the open. It had serious deleterious effects on faculty morale, appointments and promotions, and graduate student attitudes.⁵⁴ The division affected the Department's position within the whole University, as it became perceived as an entity marked by irreconcilable internal conflicts and hence not worth bringing into broader alliances. In its extreme form, assistant professors felt they had to hunker down, lest they antagonize one side or another. Those who used empirical methods extensively believed that their publications would not be considered on their own merits, their empirical approach having automatically consigned them to the other side. Accordingly, votes on appointments and/or promotions included a built-in negative bloc, the Gang of Four.

The conflicts that occurred in Buffalo had many parallels. Indeed, the discipline has been roiled by disputes over its basic orientation and methodologies since its establishment early in the 20th century. Somit and Tanenhaus aptly summarized the major points of the behavioral and anti-behavioral points of view as follows:

First, arguments from those favoring a behavioral, empirical or scientific approach:

1. Political Science can ultimately become a science capable of prediction and explanation.
2. Political Science should concern itself primarily, if not exclusively, with phenomena which can actually be observed.

⁵⁴ One of the most distinguished former assistant professors who, as of 2016 when this chapter was drafted, holds an endowed chair at one of the most eminent American public research universities. He believed his prospects for promotion at UB would run afoul of factionalism. He used empirical methods in his research and sensed his professional orientation and skills would count against him were he to come up for tenure. Rather than risk a negative vote, he, like others, chose to leave 'a department in which factional politics infused every discussion, one in which the sides in personnel decisions were always predictable in advance, even though the argument was about pure merit.' Telephone discussion with this one-time non-tenured faculty member July 28, 2008. He requested anonymity during our interview.

3. Data should be quantified and findings based on quantifiable data.
4. Research should be theory oriented and theory directed, moving from operationalizable hypotheses that can be tested against empirical data.
5. Political Science should abjure both applied research 'aimed at providing solutions to specific, immediate social problems and melioratory programmatic ventures.'
6. Truth or falsity of values [democracy, equality, freedom, etc.] cannot be established scientifically 'and are beyond the scope of legitimate inquiry'.
7. Political scientists should be more interdisciplinary, drawing on skills, techniques and concepts of sister social sciences.
8. Political Science should become 'more self-conscious and critical about its methodology'.⁵⁵

The contrary, traditional or anti-behavioral school of thought offered the following arguments:

1. Political Science is not nor ever likely to become science in any realistic sense of term: phenomena we study can't be examined rigorously; too many variables and historical contingencies exist; rigid adherence to use of hypotheses may stifle rather than advance research.
2. Overt political behavior tells only part of story, since different individuals may perform the same act for distinct reasons; actions occur within social settings, knowledge of which is essential.
3. Quantification, for most practical purposes, is and will continue to be an unattainable goal.
4. While desire for research informed by theory is desirable, the behavioralists' aspirations for quantification have far outrun data.

⁵⁵ Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *American Political Science: A Portrait of a Discipline* (New York: Atherton Press, 1967), p. 177-178.

5. Applied research and concern with public policy are warranted and desirable on philosophical and historical grounds.
6. Significant political issues invariably involve moral and ethical issues.
7. Although interdisciplinary approaches may be useful in many areas, care must be taken to preserve the identity and integrity of Political Science.
8. Self-consciousness about methodology can be and has been carried too far.

According to Al Somit, who joined the Department in 1966 as Chair, the opening salvo in the intra-Department antagonism came from a pioneer in quantitative research in American politics. Les Milbrath gained national attention through his 1963 publication, *The Washington Lobbyists*. This was followed in 1965 by *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Become Involved in Politics?* Both books were marked by extensive survey research among a wide variety of audiences. Having established his reputation through approaches that were methodologically sophisticated at that time, Milbrath urged [according to Somit] that only individuals with comparable skills be considered for appointment.⁵⁶ Such a stance ran counter to several strong traditions within the discipline, such as political philosophy, classical international relations, or then-faddish area studies. And, as opportunities for growth declined and ended, the Department turned inward, with personality differences accentuating contrasting approaches to the appropriate way(s) to examine politics, whether domestically, internationally, historically, or whatever.

The conflict played out on several levels. One occurred with the curriculum, particularly for graduate seminars. This was 'resolved' by allocating introductory or Core courses to each sub-field. Thus, incoming MA and PhD

⁵⁶ Telephone discussion between Professor Somit and the author September 10, 2010.

candidates had to select a required number of these introductory seminars. The dispute had more than symbolic significance, since the core courses provided a recruiting ground for doctoral students – an indirect measure of faculty members’ prestige within the discipline, and directly within the Department.

The second tier of dispute came with hiring decisions. What skills should be sought in potential new colleagues? Given the evolution of Political Science from descriptive and qualitative to empirical and quantitative, the likelihood an applicant would survive the initial screening process became even more contentious. The most highly charged arena of dispute came with tenure and promotion recommendations. Assistant professors were entitled to a maximum of seven years in that rank.⁵⁷ If they passed through numerous levels of review and were promoted to associate professor, they could form part of the Department for decades to come. A tipping point would be reached.

Internal squabbling had rapid and unfortunate repercussions. As noted previously, a so-called Gang of Four emerged. Its members, all tenured, included two political philosophers, an international relations specialist, and an individual who wrote in IR from a historical and philosophical perspective. Most had published significant books through respected university presses. Their sub-fields were far less important than their cohesion. Recommendations that a particular individual be hired or promoted almost invariably received four negative votes from them.⁵⁸ The Department became ever-more divided, with an embittered minority fighting an increasingly difficult struggle. While the internal situation worsened, graduate students and especially non-

⁵⁷ Exceptions to the seven-year up-or-out policy existed, to be certain, such as medical or pregnancy-related leaves or leaves without pay [typically granted when research grants were received].

⁵⁸ Discussion with a former member of the President’s Board on Appointments, Promotions and Tenure, May 10, 2008. This person didn’t wish to be identified.

tenured faculty had to step cautiously to avoid being drawn into the dispute.

Even more significant consequences came at levels above the Department. Political Science was increasingly viewed by some major academic officers as unable to keep its own house in order. That being the case, why invest additional resources in it? Even more pertinent, when the faculty seemed more concerned with their own turf struggles than with cooperating on major new funding proposals or curricular reforms, why protect them from cuts during the State's regular budget crises? Initiatives, such as the stress on public policy in the late 1970s, were cut short by fiscal problems that compounded the Department's internal tensions.

The Gang of Four raised an important point, however. One of the historic and richest roots of Political Science rests in Political Philosophy. Indeed, it can claim seniority by many centuries over any other part of the discipline.⁵⁹ No high-quality Department could claim to represent all parts of the discipline fairly without its inclusion. When Political Science grows to a minimum of 20, then-Chairman Jim Campbell indicated in 2009, thought would be given to reinstituting classical political philosophy. Diminishing resources put paid to this hope, however. Once again, non-Departmental factors intervened. The structural gap between New York State's expenses and revenues widened, entailing serious cutbacks in UB's desired budgets. SUNY and UB priorities moved toward different academic areas, notably professional schools, responding to shifting student interests and job opportunities.

Over time, antagonisms diminished. The most important reason came through sheer attrition. One member of

⁵⁹ If Political Philosophy and International Politics date back to Athens' Golden Age, with Plato, Aristotle, and Thucydides, Comparative Politics arguably started with Machiavelli. Behavioral approaches [used especially in American politics] awaited the development of appropriate statistical techniques, population sampling methodologies, large-scale attitudinal surveys, and the massive expansion of computing power.

the Gang of Four resigned, leaving Buffalo for a comparable university where he could join his wife. The others retired in due course. The second reason was the decision of the Department to return to an idea originally mooted by John Wahlke in the 1960s, namely, not to divide scholarly and teaching resources among potential competitive sub-fields, but to base faculty recruitment and student training on a solid, contemporary methodological basis – in other words, on a quantitative foundation. Department faculty agreed by the early 1990s to set rigorous requirements for graduate students. They would continue to be thoroughly grounded in empirical and statistical approaches. The Department also agreed on a set of hiring priorities by the early 1990s, a necessary step in light of successive rejections for growth by university administrators.

Conclusion

Taken in its entirety, the 1980s exhibited several protracted, painful readjustments for the Department. Tensions within PSC grew. The MAPP program crashed as rapidly as it had been established. Budget cutbacks affected significant parts of the University. On the other hand, new facilities on the Amherst campus shifted UB's center of gravity from its long-time locus at the northeast corner of Buffalo. The SUNYAB moniker started to fade away, with renewed pride exhibited for UB – the University at Buffalo. New initiatives, such as the Baldy Center, opened opportunities for interested faculty and graduate students. The overall picture thus appeared mixed, as the Department headed into the 1990s. Readjustments had started, but remained incomplete.

CHAPTER FIVE: REFORMING THE REFORMS? THE 1980s AND 1990s¹

Nearly all academic business follows set patterns. Faculty members invest nearly all their time and energy in developing academic specialties. Students plod dutifully through their requirements, which remain largely unchanged during their undergraduate, graduate or professional careers. Staff members ensure continuity, often scheduling classes in the same rooms or labs year after year. Rarely do major changes occur, especially at levels that constitute paradigm shifts.

This chapter argues that through the long history of the Political Science Department, only two major quantum changes/paradigm shifts occurred. The first such fundamental transformation came with the creation of the Department, within a year of the merger between the private University of Buffalo and publicly funded SUNY, and continued during the brief late-1960s presidency of Martin Meyerson.

The other basic shift occurred over a longer period. As observed in the previous chapter, New York State support slowly eroded, leading to major internal adjustments within UB. The Department learned to live with less, enhancing its efficiency while boosting its academic output – a major achievement given the decline in faculty numbers.²

On the other side of the coin, reforms rearranged budget, curricula or administrative reporting relationships without changing their fundamental nature. The 1990s continued reforms – better, a reforming or reformulation rather than a reformation – of the comprehensive coverage approach upon which the Department had been founded.

¹ I owe special thanks to Tom Headrick, Al Somit and Munroe Eagles for their careful, valuable pre-publication reading of the chapter.

² In spring 1980, 26 full-time faculty taught in the Department. This number declined to 12 by fall 2000.

Political Science undertook major reorientation of its degree programs, with steadily increasing emphasis on quantitative and statistical skills. Internal dissension diminished due to retirements, recruitment of new faculty members well-versed in these techniques, and occasional significant external grants to specific colleagues. At a higher administrative level, many changes initiated in the late 1960s Meyerson era were undone. [A summary of the organizational changes carried out at that time appear in Chapter 4 of this history.] The Faculty of Social Sciences disappeared. It rejoined its sister Faculties of Arts and Letters and of Natural Sciences and Mathematics in 1998-99, as part of a revived College of Arts and Sciences.

The first quantum transformation/paradigm shift of the mid-1960s I've discussed in previous chapters. In brief, the private University of Buffalo's merger into SUNY brought an unprecedented influx of resources. Political Science gained independence. No longer the smaller portion of a combined History and Government Department, PSC began to transform its teaching program and expand in size. Nothing symbolized the shift more than the creation of a full PhD program.^{3,4}

³ Ideally, I would have included a table showing the output of doctoral candidates over time. Covid-19 and the author's retirement and move away from Buffalo precluded this step. Perhaps successor historians will take up this opportunity. I had the pleasure of working directly with many outstanding PhD recipients who achieved national or even international distinction in their fields. The same is true across the various fields within the Department.

⁴ Establishment of PhD-granting institutions figured centrally in late 1950s-early 1960s planning for SUNY. Why should the Empire State lack a state University in the immediate aftermath of World War, when hundreds of thousands of veterans became eligible for higher education via the GI bill? When the baby boomers approached college age, who would teach them? Good reason for SUNY's establishment as a full-fledged University system, its degree programs extending from associate to baccalaureate to professional and doctoral levels! Earlier parts of this history have recounted these factors in detail.

Later years saw major backtracking on Meyerson's plans. The four-course load was abandoned, largely due to pressure from SUNY Central, the State Education Department and accreditation standards. The four-course load didn't satisfy existing accreditation requirements, which were upheld by the vast majority of American colleges and universities. Professional schools reasserted their independence, also citing accreditation standards and arguing that, for some, their separate identities eased fund-raising and grant getting. Pass/fail options withered, but did not die completely. The College system shifted significantly. Some units were shuttered completely, such as the infamous College A.⁵ Others were reincarnated. For example, environmentally oriented Rachel Carson College became a track in the burgeoning Social Sciences Interdisciplinary Programs [IDP] and an important constituent of the School of Engineering and Applied Science.⁶ The rapid growth of these Programs merits a section of its own, found subsequently in this chapter.

Before then, however, separate major changes/ paradigm shifts deserve our attention. Al Somit, an insightful political scientist⁷ who taught in the Department from 1966-67

⁵ Students registered for Independent Study and were allowed to grade themselves. Unsurprisingly, the median GPA for its classes was 4.0. All the colleges were carefully scrutinized. Some were abolished totally, such as College A, while stronger units were absorbed into other UB programs.

⁶ As of spring 2020, the Social Sciences Interdisciplinary Degree Program contained seven tracks: Cognitive Science; Health and Human Services: Community Mental Health; Health and Human Services: Early Childhood Studies; Health and Human Services: Social Gerontology; International Studies; Legal Studies; and Urban and Public Policy Studies. <https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/social-sciences-interdisciplinary.html>, consulted March 25, 2020.

The Department of Environmental Studies was, as of spring 2020, one of eleven Departments in the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences.

⁷ Somit stands among the pioneers of biopolitics. He came to UB from NYU in fall 1966, remaining until 1980 when he became President of Southern Illinois University. Two years later, he coauthored *The Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to*

until 1969-70, when he shifted to full-time administration, suggested a second fundamental transformation.

He wrote, in an email to me:

There was, however, a second quantum change starting, I think, a couple of decades later, the consequence of continued reduced funding and aggravated by the inadequacy of certain of Bob Ketter's successors.⁸ The inevitable downward spiral of hopes, aspirations and disappointments contributed to the problems you describe elsewhere.⁹

I would myself stress a rekindled, University-wide attempt to enhance its academic cachet, under the leadership of Steve Sample [UB's twelfth president]. He developed approaches towards a third paradigm shift,¹⁰ holding out hopes for significant change during his 10 years as UB's President.¹¹ I had the privilege of seeing his *modus operandi* from my vantage point as Chair of the Faculty Senate [1985-1987]. We interacted socially from time to time. More important for this delineation of UB's trends, Steve and I felt comfortable talking with each other. He considered me as both a genuine interlocutor between administration and faculty, and a man equally committed to enhancing UB's national and international recognition. Even though New York

Behavioralism (New York: Irvington Publishers, 1982). UB's Archives contain an extensive collection of his papers, dating from Somit's years as Executive President).

⁸ Ketter spent his entire teaching, research and administrative career at UB. He died untimely early in 1989, at age 60, while serving as UB's President. I recall attending the Faculty Senate meeting at which his death was announced. We immediately adjourned out of respect. For details about his life, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_L._Ketter.

⁹ Email to the author, April 2, 2020. I strongly agree with his assessment. We are both too discreet to share our thoughts about whom in this public document.

¹⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steven_Sample.

¹¹ Sample led UB from 1982 to 1991.

State remained in difficult financial straits in the early 1980s, Sample encouraged new or strengthened initiatives. His long-term vision as an outsider, coupled with his varied personal experiences and charm, made him a persuasive individual with whom to work.¹²

This chapter is loosely structured, juxtaposing sections focused on Political Science specifically, and parts providing a UB-wide context to the extent I observed them. Readers should feel free to skip around. Defects in my organization will surface again, as life histories cannot be measured out neatly in decades. All the changes I chronicle extended over years, indeed decades.

The pages that follow include the following sections:

- Adaptations within Political Science during the period, 1
- The Interdisciplinary Degree Program and its effects on the Department
- The Undergraduate College
- Adaptations within Political Science during the period, 2
- Side note 1: The Association of American Universities [AAU]
- Side note 2: UB's intercollegiate athletics program
- Side note 3: ROTC and its suspension

Adaptations within the Department, 1

Few major changes occurred in Political Science's curricula during the 1980s. Graduate fields were consolidated into four, given faculty retirements, job availability for PhD recipients and shrinking resources.¹³ Twenty-six

¹² Sample's career is summarized in https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steven_Sample. Worth reading in this context, as a discussion of his views, is his stimulating short book, *The Contrarian's Guide to Leadership* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2002).

¹³ American, Comparative, IR [International Relations] and Public Law.

professors [ten full, eight associate, and four assistant] figured on the Department's rosters in spring 1980. The seed corn disappeared relatively rapidly, a result of cuts ordered from above and facilitated by internal dissension. [See Chapter 4 for details on the Gang of Four.] Political Science became top-heavy, with no assistant professors by 1985.¹⁴ Having all roles filled by tenured faculty reduced flexibility in recruiting new professors.

Indeed, simple replacements – precious ATRs, or Authorizations to Recruit – required vociferous and rarely successful arguments by PSC's Chairs. The Department offered few new courses. Even staffing existing ones proved difficult. As a result, graduate students and adjunct faculty shouldered increasing percentages of PSC's overall teaching duties. Student demand grew as well, one major cause being the growth of the Interdisciplinary Degree Programs [IDP]. IDP did not recruit faculty of its own. Its undergraduates took seats in several Departments, primarily in the Social Sciences. IDP's impact accordingly merits more discussion.

The Interdisciplinary Program and its effects¹⁵

In the late 1970s, the Department faced a new, internal challenge for students. SUNY Central and the State Education Department approved UB's Interdisciplinary Social Sciences Program [IDP].¹⁶ The Program was based within

¹⁴ By 1985, the Department had shrunk to 18 full-time faculty, all associate or full professors. The nadir of 12 faculty members came in 2000-01. An inauspicious start to the new millennium indeed....

¹⁵ I greatly appreciate the assistance of Drs. Lee Dryden and Shelley Kimelberg, initial and current [March 2020] Directors of the Interdisciplinary Programs, who corrected, enriched and updated my initial drafts.

¹⁶ Emails from Dryden March 25, 2020, and from Shelley Kimelberg, March 27, 2020. Three tracks were approved in 1976: Environmental Studies [no longer part of IDP], Legal Studies, and Urban Studies. Health & Human Services was introduced in 1977. It included three sub-tracks, Social Gerontology, Early Childhood, and Community

the Faculty of Social Sciences, drawing courses almost exclusively from FSS's departments. Interdisciplinary Studies started with Legal Studies and with Urban and Public Policy,¹⁷ areas in which Political Science offered several relevant courses. In short order, IDP added Health and Human Services. Environmental Studies and International Studies. The significant impact on PSC's IR courses can be readily imagined.

The IDP gained large enrollments in its multiple tracks.¹⁸ Their students' access to numerous required classes was limited by how many places academic Departments offered. Protecting their turf was essential, since funding was largely based on enrollments [at both the course and major

Mental Health. International Studies came in 1982, while Cognitive Science was added in 1995.

¹⁷ A few years later, Political Science launched its own Public Policy track, albeit at the graduate level. Details about the MAPP program appeared in the previous chapter.

¹⁸ Dryden estimated enrollments in the various IDP tracks, moving from largest to smallest as follows: Health and Human Services, Legal Studies, Environmental Studies, International Studies, Urban and Public Policy Studies, and Cognitive Science. In terms of IDP students' needs for courses within Departments, Dryden estimated the numbers of undergraduates as HHS 300-400, LS 75-100, ES 40-60, IS 20-40, UPP 15-25, and CS-10. The distribution of Departmental credit hours, again highest to lowest, included Psychology, Political Science, Biology, Sociology, Geography, and Romance Languages and Literature. Email to the author from Dr. Dryden March 25, 2020.

Dr. Kimelberg furnished 2020 total student numbers as follows: Health & Human Services = 596; Legal Studies = 126; International Studies = 38; Cognitive Science = 37; Urban & Public Policy = 18. Email to the author from her, March 27, 2020. However, she cautioned, the figures include intended majors, some of whom may not ultimately stay in the major, so the totals should only be considered approximate.

Measuring IDP's precise impact on specific Departments would take effort well beyond the scope of this history. Dr. Kimelberg believes that Psychology is at or very close to the top of the list. 'PSC would probably be in the top 5, given its importance to the Legal Studies and International Studies concentrations,' she wrote the author. Email March 25, 2020.

levels].¹⁹ Most Departments did not reserve sufficient seats for IDP students, as they allocated the overwhelming majority of seats to their own majors, leaving IDP majors to scramble for the limited number of seats reserved for non-majors. Access to critical courses was often a problem for IDP students, and hence an area for parental pressure as well. In the early 1990s, the Social Science Dean's office addressed this problem by mandating IDP-only seats in important courses in affected Departments, including PSC.

The annual reports from PSC Chairs contained many references to IDP's consequences. Which metric counted most among senior administrators in setting unit budgets? Number of majors? Overall credit hours? If so, at what levels? Degree production? Research funding? Publications in highly respected journals at the heart of each discipline? Varying mixtures of these factors described above occurred dependent on discipline, to be sure.

Rhetoric about the value of interdisciplinary cooperation often collided with the realities of Department values, practices and habits. To a senior administrator, why should a plethora of units offer statistics? Why not create a one size fits all introductory course, given the universality of basic statistical methods? Academic units disagreed 'emphatically.'²⁰ Psychologists taught these techniques using

¹⁹ Protection of FTEs also jeopardized efforts at developing General Education requirements, notably in the early 1980s. These defensive efforts resulted in the subsequent establishment of the Undergraduate College.

²⁰ Email to the author March 27, 2020. For specific requirements, see <https://catalog.buffalo.edu/policies/accreditations.html>. Students in the Interdisciplinary tracks generally were not required to pass statistics, while Political Science students were. Specifically, two [Health and Human Services; Urban and Public Policy Studies] require statistics; two [Legal Studies; Cognitive Science] allow students to use a statistics course to fulfill a curricular requirement [i.e., it is an option, not a requirement]; and one [International Studies] does not include statistics in the curriculum. Email to the author March 25, 2020 from Shelley Kimelberg, current director [2020] of the Interdisciplinary Degrees Programs.

examples best suited to their demands. Ditto Sociology and Engineering. And, to be sure, ditto Political Science.

As mentioned above, Rachel Carson College was absorbed into IDP. The same process occurred for College H, which became IDP's Health and Human Services track.²¹ Political Science felt the greatest impact from IDP's Legal Services track, since a major portion of the Department's credit hours came from law-related classes. However, unless they double majored, IDP students didn't count as Political Science majors.

To sum up, establishment of the various interdisciplinary degrees offered undergraduates a far broader range of majors. Departments, especially within the social sciences, experienced varying impacts on their numbers of enrollments, on spaces available for their BA and BS candidates, and on their majors. Complaints came regularly from Political Science and many sister units about the faculty workload. By the 1990s, however, the Interdisciplinary Degree Program had become assimilated into UB's SOP. It remained, while the Undergraduate College had almost totally disappeared and the College of Arts and Sciences had reappeared during 1998-99.

The Undergraduate College²²

This section of the chapter moves from intra-Departmental matters to the broader University scene, focusing on the undergraduate level.

Several professors from Arts and Letters, Natural Sciences and Mathematics, and Social Sciences convened in the mid-1980s to reconsider UB's undergraduate curricula,

²¹ Dryden, a UB PhD in Philosophy, transitioned from leading the College of Health and Human Services to Associate Director, then to Director of the Interdisciplinary Degree Program. He retired in 2014.

²² This section and the following are being written during UB's 2020 Covid-19 shutdown. With the University's Archives closed until after the author had relocated, he could not carry out in depth research which the topic richly deserves.

their success in meeting their purported goals, especially in general education, and to reformulate parts of the structure. They found common ground in the incoherence of the existing Gen Ed program, the result of earlier turf scrambles over FTEs. In time, this small handful of dedicated faculty members persuaded the Faculty Senate and the senior administration to reformulate the foundations of UB's baccalaureate degrees. New courses would cut across departments. A sequence of them would lead to more widely educated students, better fitting them for their 21st century lives. Irrespective of their degree program, whether BA or BS, every undergraduate would come to share a common understanding of crucial questions that they would likely confront and have to resolve.

Three brand-new classes were proposed: World Civilizations [two semesters] for the first year; American Pluralism and the Search for Equality [one semester] for sophomores; and Great Discoveries in Science potentially for the juniors.²³ Freshman seminars and capstone courses also formed part of the package. Each of these rubrics merits brief elucidation.

World Civ dramatically expanded standard History of Western Civilization classes. World Civ extended across two semesters, both required.²⁴ UGC111 moved – at least in theory! – from pre-history [before extensive written records

²³ The numbering system reflected the planners' ideal sequence: World Civ at the 100 level, Pluralism at the 200 level; and Great Discoveries in Science at the 300 level. Capstone courses at the 400 level proved practically impossible to establish on an interdepartmental basis.

²⁴ Over time, adjustments were made, relaxing the initial proposals. Transfer students entering after one post-high school year were exempted. Fewer brand-new courses were proposed than hoped, especially in the sciences. Freshman seminars largely disappeared, although they were reestablished around 2016. Several Departments decided to offer capstone courses focused on their own disciplines, not integrating several as the UGC's founders had hoped.

existed] to 1500.²⁵ UGC112 took the story to the present.²⁶ Timbuktu and the Tang dynasty would be examined, not just Athens, Rome and the post-Renaissance, post-Reformation West. This latter perspective, I argued, reinforced the narrative UB's undergrads had imbibed in their pre-baccalaureate classes, through formal education and informal socialization. These led all too easily to a sense that the rise of Occidental societies was inexorable, and that other civilizations were, in some basic way, inferior.

Most professors who taught World Civ did so for a single semester, consonant with their specialties. I was the only member of the Department who taught World Civ, and did only in its second semester, i.e. the post-1500 segment.²⁷

²⁵ The current UB website [2020] describes UGC111 in these words: 'Features global perspectives, focuses on the origins and development, geographical context, and the interactions of world cultures. All sections of the course share common goals. Different sections emphasize different themes and perspectives.' https://catalog.buffalo.edu/courses/undergraduate_college.html, consulted March 30, 2020.

²⁶ Quoting from the website, '[UGC112] introduces students to the continuing development of world civilizations from about 1500 to the present, and concerns the peoples, forces, and ideas that have shaped the way individuals have experienced (and still do experience) the world. Features global perspectives, focuses on the origins and development, geographical context, and the interactions of world cultures. All sections of the course share common goals. Different sections emphasize different themes and perspectives.' <https://catalog.buffalo.edu/courses/?abbr=UGC&num=112>, consulted March 30, 2020.

I personally rejected this chronological straitjacket when I taught UGC112, from the mid-1990s until my retirement, including during a semester in Singapore. By 1500, the West's predominance had become soundly established, with the Renaissance, Reformation, and flows of capital from Asia and the Western Hemisphere. The explosive growth of the African slave trade further enhanced the West's advantage. I chose to start my survey ~1100, when Europe was a cultural and economic backwater compared with much of Asia.

²⁷ The only professors I recall braving the entire pre-history to contemporary times were Bill Baumer and Jim Lawler [Philosophy]; Tom Headrick [Law], Jack Meacham [Psychology], and Al Price [Architecture and Planning]. Meacham, a SUNY Distinguished Teaching

Political Science gained three graduate assistantships as a result. I tried, when I could, to select non-funded international students at a critical stage in their careers, when they had exhausted other grants and were writing their dissertations. I believed that their broader perspectives would benefit students in the recitation sections and enhance the instructors' job opportunities. [World Civ or similar courses form part of the curricula of most colleges and universities in the country.] UGC111-112 also offered Buffalo-based faculty members an opportunity for personal broadening via UB's Singapore program.²⁸

American Pluralism and the Search for Equality,²⁹ UGC211, was designed as the natural successor to World Civ. In the view of the course's advocates, UGC211 would give students a more nuanced view of American society.³⁰

Program from the Department of Psychology, also served as one of the main shapers of American Pluralism and the Search for Equality, which he taught.

²⁸ UB established a mirror BA program at the Singapore Institute of Management shortly after the turn of the millennium. The degree requirements are identical to those applied at Buffalo. About 1300 students enroll. Majors as of 2020 included Business Administration, Communications, Economics, Geographical Information Systems, International Trade, Psychology and Sociology. When I retired in January 2017, PSC was reconsidering establishing a degree track in Singapore. The proposal failed both items, owing to very limited faculty resources.

My wife, Professor Jeannette Ludwig, and I taught in Singapore spring 2015. We found it one of the most exciting, hardest-working semesters we ever experienced in our combined 83 years teaching at UB. I sincerely hope, should the program continue, that other colleagues enjoy this experience.

²⁹ The course was usually referred to simply as Pluralism.

³⁰ [John] Jack Meacham, a mainstay of Pluralism, authored or edited the following analyses of UGC 211:

*Meacham, J. A. (Ed.) (1996). Multiculturalism and diversity in higher education. Special issue of the *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40(2), 105-241.

*Meacham, J. A. (1993). Guiding principles for development and implementation of multicultural courses. *Journal of General Education*,

Pluralism confronted potentially interested faculty members with a challenge. In order to gain approval from the Pluralism sub-committee and the Undergraduate College Curriculum Committee, professors had to include analyses of class, ethnicity, gender, race, and religion. A great deal of preparation went into the course, given its innovative, multidisciplinary nature. Workshops extended over several semesters, to help develop UGC211's rationale. Some workshops met off-campus, including discussions supported by American Association of Colleges and Universities [AAC&U]. Publications also resulted.³¹

42(4), 301-315; excerpted in Martha Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997, pages 73-76.

*Meacham, J. A. (1995). Conflict in multiculturalism classes: Too much heat or too little? *Liberal Education*, 81(4), 24-29.

*Meacham, J. A., & Ludwig, J. L. (1997). Faculty and students at the center: Faculty development for general education courses. *Journal of General Education*, 46(3), 169-183. Reprinted as one of five articles in two decades that stand out for writing, use of sources, and ability to inform readers today. *Journal of General Education*, 2001, 50(4), 254-269.

*Ludwig, J. M., & Meacham, J. A. (1997). Teaching controversial courses: Student evaluations of instructors and content. *Educational Research Quarterly*, 21(1), 27-38.

Meacham also published two articles based on his teaching of World Civilizations:

*Meacham, J. A. (2009). Effective teaching to counter misinformation and negative stereotypes: The example of Islam. *Peer Review*, 11(2, spring), 13-16.

*Meacham, J. A. (2015). Islam is essential for general education. *Journal of General Education*, 64(1), 56-64.

³¹ Quoting from *The Reporter*, November 9, 2000:

Two UB faculty members, Jeannette Ludwig, associate professor of modern languages and literatures, and John A. Meacham, professor of psychology, have articles in the fall issue of *Liberal Education*, published by the American Association of Colleges and Universities [AAC&U]. The issue also includes an article by Steven Sample, former president of UB, now president of the University of Southern California.

Model students, according to Undergraduate College planners, would follow a three-year sequence: two semesters of World Civ as freshmen; Pluralism as sophomores; and Great Discoveries in Science as juniors.³² Capstone classes could be offered within departments to seniors. As soon as possible in students' careers, they would also enroll in freshman seminars. Problems in attracting faculty to teach them and other factors meant that UGC198³³ became a course increasingly taught by librarians and other professional staff.

Overall, scores of faculty members helped to conceive and implement the Undergraduate College.³⁴ It

The UB professors' articles were based on their participation in the American Pluralism course at UB and in the summer seminar held at Williams College for the past few summers, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Ford Foundation and the AAC&U. Ludwig's article is titled, 'The One-Minute Paper: Enhancing Discussion in a Multicultural Seminar'; Meacham's is 'Conflict in Multi-culturalism Classes: Too Much Heat or Too Little?' Sample's article, 'The Great Straddlers: Successors to the Renaissance Man,' was an adaptation of his 1993 Pullias Lecture.' <https://www.buffalo.edu/ubreporter/archive/vol27/vol27n15/fs1.html>, consulted March 27, 2020.

³² Staffing UGC303 and UGC304 [Great Discoveries in Science: the Microworld or Great Discoveries in Science: the Macroworld] presented by far the greatest problems in attracting faculty members. The courses' interdisciplinary emphases directly challenged strong departmental and professional identifications within the lab sciences. A far higher proportion of professors in the humanities and social sciences were more amenable to cooperation across units.

³³ Quoting from the course catalog, 'The one credit UB Seminar [UGC198] is focused on a big idea or challenging issue to engage students with questions of significance in a field of study and, ultimately, to connect their studies with issues of consequence in the wider world. Essential to the UB Curriculum, the Seminar helps transition to UB through an early connection to UB faculty and the undergraduate experience at a comprehensive, research university.' UGC198 description, https://catalog.buffalo.edu/courses/undergraduate_college.html, consulted March 30, 2020.

³⁴ Professor Fleron identified several crucial people in the approval in an email to the author. They included Tom Headrick, former Dean of

engaged a few political scientists, especially Fred Fleron and myself. The overwhelming majority of Department members kept up their own research, teaching, advisement and the like within PSC itself. The Department's overwhelming needs to staff classes, to provide adequate curricular coverage, to ensure quality attention to MA and especially PhD candidates, to carry out significant research, to gain external funding – you get the picture.

Adaptations within the Department, 2

How did Political Science fare from 1980-2000, given the challenges chronicled above? Writing generally, relatively little changed as the Department settled down to its new norm of first-rate research productivity, particularly relative to its size; continued adjustment to its culture of poverty; recruitment of first-rate junior faculty, but difficulty holding onto the strongest, particularly in Public Law; and improving morale. The internal disagreements discussed in the previous chapter faded, with morale improving in the 1990s and continuing into the next millennium. The Department established a new stability.

Recruitment of new, young faculty resulted in canons of scientific inquiry becoming widely accepted and taught in PSC classes. The reduced emphasis on Political Philosophy and Public Policy as subfields recognized crucial realities: 1] Richard Cox, the only faculty member in Political Philosophy, retired as of spring 1995; 2] the academic marketplace for PhDs in political philosophy was quite limited; and 3] practically all the individuals with public policy expertise had left by the mid-1980s.³⁵

the Law School who had also served as Provost; plus several faculty members from Biology, English, Music, Physics, Political Science, and Romance Languages and Literatures. Email to the author March 26, 2020.

³⁵ As part of the Annual Reports, Departments must submit placement information for doctoral recipients. Where did they receive jobs? The more prestigious the academic institution, the higher the particular department stood within UB's hierarchy and, more important, in

A consistent note throughout the decade came from Chair Don Rosenthal [DBR] in the 1990-91 annual report. ‘... [G]iven the realities of the New York State fiscal situation and the constraint this imposes upon the University, the Department of Political Science proposes to transform itself from what was once a loosely organized, comprehensive department to a more narrowly-focused and integrated teaching and research environment.’

In other words, the philosophy that had guided Political Science since the mid-1960s would be abandoned. Most faculty in the department felt the decision was long overdue. The squabbling of the 1980s precluded final resolution during that decade. A decision finalized by the early 1990s recognized reality. *Alea iacta est* – the die was cast, the Rubicon crossed. As already indicated, Political Science henceforward would offer subfields only in American Politics, Comparative Politics, International Relations and Public Law. Graduate students would continue to take core courses, which included seminars introducing basic scientific and statistical reasoning. Classes within their desired specialties would wait until later years in their careers. Undergraduate students faced analogous requirements.³⁶

national rankings of quality. An unusual twist came with Gunnar Pálsson, who received his PhD in political philosophy from UB. Pálsson entered the diplomatic corps of Iceland, rising to the rank of Ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg, Mauritius, the Netherlands, the Council of Europe, and the European Union during his period of service.

³⁶ The requirement for statistics was believed widely within the Department to have cut into enrollments, and hence into funding. Unquestionably, PSC was stretched to the breaking point just in serving existing majors. Successive Chairs repeated this mantra year after year. I recall an occasion when newly named President John Simpson and provost Satish Tripathi spoke face-to-face with faculty members. PSC’s Chair raised his concern about the paucity of resources. He was abruptly cut off by Simpson. ‘Every Department at UB is underfunded,’ he pointed out. PSC should seek other sources of funding, especially research grants. To the response that faculty members were too burdened with teaching and the like, Simpson stressed ‘creative’ approaches. For example, how much effort had gone into external fund-raising?

The number of full-time ladder faculty³⁷ – professors holding tenured ranks or eligible for promotion to them – diminished year by year. While the Department began 1990-91 with 19 full-time assistant, associate, or full professors, the total declined to 14 by 1999-2000. The number of classes taught by advanced graduate students and adjunct faculty rose, a trend decried by Chairs but hopefully appreciated by students. By fall 1991, half the Department's undergraduate classes were taught by non-permanent personnel. Reliance on graduate students and adjunct faculty kept the normal in-class teaching load for ladder faculty to six hours per week, customarily divided with one graduate seminar and three baccalaureate courses over the academic year. Independent study, thesis and dissertation guidance, advisement and other responsibilities came atop these.

The Department restructured undergraduate requirements, starting in 1996-97. PSC100, Introduction to Political Science, was offered for the first time. Fields of specialty were developed by judicious grouping of existing courses. Students could choose among five different tracks, including pre-law, public affairs, global studies, [pre-] graduate school, and general political science. Clear overlaps existed between Political Science and the Interdisciplinary Degree Programs, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

A further curricular innovation was proposed at the graduate level. Faculty members suggested focusing on three potential concentrations: Race, law, and politics; Political geography; and Democratization. Excellent ideas, but did the Department have sufficient staff to teach requisite seminars on an appropriate schedule, apply for grants, mentor doctoral candidates, and the like? The ideas were bold; the realities daunting. As noted above, in 1990-91, Political Science counted 19 faculty members, ditto for 1994-95. Before the decade ended, over a quarter of them had retired, moved

³⁷ Ladder precluded individuals with 'qualified' titles, such as instructor or clinical. How ironic that qualified meant being unable to gain one of the crucial privileges of academic life

or otherwise departed – and not been replaced. As the millennium started, the Department was down to 14, a figure not seen since the very early 1960s. Yet the teaching demands seemed to escalate each year, in large part for reasons outside the control of Political Science.

Side note 1: The Association of American Universities

From his first days on campus, President Steve Sample pressed on every front, working endless hours³⁸ to achieve national recognition. Two of his most significant initiatives involved the AAU and intercollegiate athletics.^{39, 40}

³⁸ A one-time personal assistant to Steve told me that she would receive calls from him even late on Christmas Eve!

³⁹ My father grew up in Nebraska, and retained a lifelong love for the Cornhuskers. Details about him can be found via his autobiography [Claude E. Welch, *A Twentieth-Century Surgeon: My Life in the Massachusetts General Hospital* [Boston: The Hospital, 1992], and the Wikipedia entry about him: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Claude_E._Welch. The same pro-Big Ten, big-time football sentiment may have marked Steve Sample. Prior to coming to UB, he served as Executive Vice Chancellor of the University of Nebraska system.

⁴⁰ Facilitating UB's effort to upgrade its athletic program was the opening of a large football stadium at the east end of the North Campus. According to Wikipedia, 'The stadium was built from 1991 to 1993 as the final piece of the school's "Run to Division I" drive, meant to bring UB football back to Division I status and as the feature athletics venue for the 1993 Summer Universiade. The program had been dropped for seven years in the 1970s but returned at a lower level. The team had played at a much smaller, 4,000-seat UB Stadium [now known as Walter Kunz Stadium] from the time of its move to the Town of Amherst north of Buffalo in 1985 until 1992.' https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_at_Buffalo_Stadium, consulted April 4, 2020. The '1993 Summer Universiade' – in English, WUGS or the World University Games – were played at UB in 1993, two years after Sample had left for the University of Southern California.

Attendance reached close to capacity only once in the author's recollection, apart from when the Dalai Lama spoke there to a full house of 30,000, on September 20, 2006. He sat at the north end of the field, the sun pouring directly into his eyes. A sensitive UB administrator

The latter encountered significant skepticism among faculty members but gained some degree of local support.⁴¹ [See the following section for details.] With respect to the AAU, at first, few people on campus had any idea what he was pressing for. The common perception was, ‘What did UB have to do with the Amateur Athletic Union, given that the budget for intercollegiate athletics rested heavily on mandatory student fees?’⁴²

More important from an academic perspective was his long-term, behind-the-scenes effort to bring UB into the Association of American Universities. The AAU was founded in 1900 by a small group of Eastern private institutions, whose presidents were inspired by German

quickly offered a visored UB cap! https://www.buffalo.edu/ub-reporter/archive/vol38/vol38n4/articles/HHDL_DSS.html

My wife, Professor Jeannette Ludwig, co-chaired the religious parts of the Dalai Lama’s visit. She was eminently qualified for the position, as a long-time practicing Zen Buddhist and teacher of courses in comparative religion at UB and at the Chautauqua Institute. Since ‘HH the DL’ sat with his legs beside him rather than on the floor, an extra-wide chair had to be made especially for him.

⁴¹ I am tempted to argue that Canisius and Niagara receive greater local support, since they are perceived as home-grown rather than an overwhelming large State institution. Overshadowing all, to be certain, are the Buffalo Bills. UB won the MAC [Mid-America Conference] championship in 2008 and appeared in the Divisional finals in 2007 and 2019. The Bulls lost the latter by a single point. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buffalo_Bulls_football#Conference_championships. Women’s basketball also achieved exceptional success in the MAC, winning the championship in 2016 and, I believe, reaching the Final Four in the next few years.

⁴² Students vote every five years on how much to assess themselves. Participation rates are extremely low, especially among graduate students. As of 2019-20, full-time undergraduates paid \$1,617.75, graduate students \$1,325. Nine credit hours served as the calculation base for graduate students, 15 hours for undergraduates. https://www.google.com/search?q=mandatory+student+fees+university+buffalo+athletics&rlz=1C1GCEA_enUS821US821&oq=mandatory+student+fees+university&aqs=chrome..69i57j69i59.14359j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8, consulted April 4, 2020.

universities' emphasis on research. New York State didn't lack AAU members, but all of them were private.⁴³ Sample recognized the bragging rights, to put it crassly, that could result from becoming the first NYS public university to achieve AAU membership. He lobbied behind the scenes in ways few on campus knew about. Success came in 1989, with UB's elevation.⁴⁴

Election to the AAU recognized overall institutional excellence on a wide variety of measures.⁴⁵ Size helped, but could not guarantee membership. For example, consider the contrast between two AAU members: The entire University of Rochester counted 754 faculty members in 2020, 378 of them tenured;⁴⁶ by contrast, The Ohio State University carried 2,241 faculty members on its roster, 1,509 of them tenured.⁴⁷

⁴³ In 2020, private AAU institutions in New York State included Columbia, Cornell, and NYU. Syracuse was elected to membership in 1966 but voluntarily withdrew in 2011. UB's elevation to the AAU became a great point of pride, arguably more successful than UB's intercollegiate athletics. Stony Brook became the second AAU-recognized SUNY campus in 2001, a dozen years after UB.

⁴⁴ The task was long, difficult and largely consisted of behind-the-scenes lobbying. 'AAU membership is by invitation and requires an affirmative vote of three-quarters of current members,' the Wikipedia entry reads. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Association_of_American_Universities, consulted April 16, 2020.

⁴⁵ Criteria can be found at <https://www.aau.edu/who-we-are/membership-policy>, consulted April 16, 2020.

⁴⁶ https://www.google.com/search?q=university+rochestere+number+faculty+members&rlz=1C1GCEA_enUS821US821&oq=university+rochestere+number+faculty+members&aqs=chrome..69i57j33.-11199j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8, consulted April 16, 2020.

⁴⁷

https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1GCEA_enUS821US821&sxsrf=ALeKk03S9KYB2p-zeV4rxwmHQ7iGfwM2xA%-3A1587042714191&ei=mlmYXtiZC--N_Obo2664Ag&q=ohio+state+university++number+faculty+members&oq=ohio+state+university++number+faculty+members&gs_lcp=CgZwc3ktYWlQAzoECAAQRzoEC-CEQCkoJCBcSBTEyLTY0SgkIGBIFMTItMTRQ-

What effects might this have on individual units? A particular department can achieve national recognition despite small size, by selective recruitment and careful promotions. However, a correlation exists between size of institution and size of department. UB Distinguished Professor Jim Campbell made the point through tables he shared with senior administrators, in several efforts to increase the Department's staff. UB's Political Science Department fell near the bottom in terms of numbers, in a pre-2005 study conducted by the National Research Council.⁴⁸ In 2011, among AAU member universities, the University of Toronto's political science department included 83 faculty members, UB's 15.⁴⁹

Did membership in the Association of American Universities have any direct impact on Political Science? Only indirectly. The AAU has dropped institutions from its rolls. Senior UB administrators strongly wished to avoid such an action. In their annual reports, PSC Chairs stressed the Department's high research productivity, despite few faculty members. On a per capita basis, they argued, Political Science achieved recognition within the discipline, well beyond its numbers. I believe this accurately represents the Department's achievements relative to its size.

sUKWOrvCmCb8gpoAHACeACAAVvIAe8GkgECMTKYA-QCgAQGqAQdnd3Mtd2l6&scient=psy-ab&ved=0ahUKEwjYzuPpgu3oAhXvRt8KHeitCycQ4dUD-CAw&uact=5, consulted April 16, 2020.

Election to the AAU also did not mean guaranteed continued membership. The Association periodically purges its rolls, removing institutions failing to remain comprehensive, research-committed universities. For example, Sample's previous haunt, the University of Nebraska, was removed in 2011, while Syracuse withdrew voluntarily the same year.

⁴⁸ Using top 20 pre-2005 National Research Council recognition, Case Western Reserve had the smallest Political Science Department, with only seven members. George Mason counted no less than 83!

⁴⁹ Of the 44 departments listed, only Stony Brook, Case Western, and the University of Iowa, with 14, 11, and 11 faculty members respectively, were smaller than UB. Iowa did not offer a doctoral program.

Once AAU membership was attained, Presidents Sample, Simpson and Tripathi stressed their objective of moving UB into the top 25 of this elite organization. Political Science became increasingly compared with better and better universities when units tried to recruit, promote or grant tenure to an individual. The AAU's impact thus differed in kind from the IDP's effect on the Department. Lacking their own faculty, the Interdisciplinary Degree Science Programs had to draw heavily on the resources of regular academic units. A chorus of concerns can be found in the Department's annual reports.

Side note 2: Intercollegiate athletics

Big Time intercollegiate athletics continues year-to-year under the dark shadow of football. Buffalo gained national recognition once, while UB was still a private institution.

In 1958, my sophomore year in college, UB compiled an 8-1 record. As Wikipedia recounts that crucial season,

The Bulls offense scored 236 points while the defense allowed 101 points. The team won the [Lambert Cup](#), emblematic of supremacy in Eastern U.S. small-college football. The Bulls were invited to play in the 1958 [Tangerine Bowl](#) against [Florida State](#). The team voted to turn down the bowl invitation after learning that they would be allowed to participate only if the team's two black players, back-up defensive end Mike Wilson and starting halfback Willie Evans, did not play in the game.⁵⁰

I remember the Bulls' first game that year, played in Harvard Stadium.⁵¹ UB bested Harvard 6-3. A chilly drizzle

⁵⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958_Buffalo_Bulls_football_team, consulted April 21, 2020.

⁵¹ 'With a seating capacity of 30,323, Harvard Stadium is praised for its outstanding sightlines for fans. Harvard Stadium once

lessened the crowd, but allowed the author the chance to sit closer to his first College date, a second-generation student at Radcliffe.⁵² Three years later, Nancy Edwards and I were wed.⁵³

Fast forward from the fall of 1958 to the late 1960s. Buffalo was the only unit within SUNY with a substantial intercollegiate athletics program. This was its crucial feature, relative to other parts of the SUNY system. An Achilles heel existed, however: scholarships for student athletes were funded primarily by mandatory fees on students. An undergraduate referendum ended this source of funds.⁵⁴ This action spelled *finis* to UB's aspirations to maintain a significant presence in intercollegiate athletics at any level higher than NCAA Division Three.⁵⁵ Not until 1991 did SUNY change its scholarship strictures.⁵⁶

accommodated as many as 57,166 spectators when steel stands were built in the north end zone.' https://www.google.com/search?q=seating+capacity+harvard+stadium&rlz=1C1GCEA_enUS821US821&oq=seats+harvard+stad&aqs=chrome.1.69i57j0l2.15255j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8, consulted April 21, 2020.

⁵² Radcliffe College formally merged into Harvard October 1, 1999. A separate Radcliffe Institute was created, with its research projects focused heavily on women.

⁵³ Following Nancy's untimely death at age 38, the oldest non-academic award at UB was created in her name. Information about the Nancy Welch Award can be found at <https://www.buffalo.edu/campusliving/about-us/nancy-welch-award.html>. Our four children ranged in age at that time from seven to seventeen. [Nancy died in May 1979.]

⁵⁴ As Wikipedia comments, 'At the time athletics at UB were fully funded by student fees. It would be seven years until UB would again take the field.' [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buffalo_Bulls_football#Out_with_a_whimper_\(1965%E2%80%931970\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buffalo_Bulls_football#Out_with_a_whimper_(1965%E2%80%931970)), consulted April 24, 2020.

⁵⁵ Colleges and Universities in NCAA Divisions I and II can award grants-in-aid. Criteria for the scholarships and institution vary and fall outside the scope of this history.

⁵⁶ The Trustees restoration of athletic grants-in-aid [the official terminology] came in 1986. UB was the first SUNY unit to take advantage of the opportunity. As the New York Times reported, 'Buffalo

A second shift occurred in 1993, when Buffalo moved up to Division I-AA. Any return to big time athletics, i.e. Division I football, meant restoring the ability to fund players. Many students and lots of money were involved. 'FBS [Football Bowl Subdivision] teams are allowed up to 85 players receiving athletically based aid per year, with each player on scholarship receiving a full scholarship.'^{57, 58}

The author assisted campus President Steve Sample to gain support within the Faculty Senate for returning to NCAA Division I athletics. [I served as the Faculty Senate's Chair 1985-87.] Sample used this evidence of campus support in urging the SUNY Trustees to reverse their former ban on these grants-in-aid and in 1986 they did so.

Side note 3: ROTC and its suspension

ROTC on campus ended as a result of a Faculty Senate vote in March 1970. This occurred before I left the office of Dean of Undergraduate Education and returned to

led the way to Division I in 1991, ending New York's distinction as the only state system in the country, other than North Dakota, South Dakota [and] Alaska's, not competing at the highest level of intercollegiate sports. Since then, tens of millions of dollars have been invested toward the effort by New York State and the institutions themselves. Yet two decades after the migration started, there is no clear consensus as to whether this project is an all-around success.' New York Times, November 16, 2009; <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/17/sports/17sunny.html>, consulted April 24, 2020.

⁵⁷ 'The FBS is named for its series of postseason bowl games, with various polls ranking teams after the conclusion of these games.' https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NCAA_Division_I, consulted April 27, 2020. In 2018, UB was invited to participate in the Dollar General Bowl. The Bull lost to Troy State, 42-32. In 2019, Buffalo handily topped Charlotte at the Makers Wanted Bahamas Bowl, 31-9.

⁵⁸ As of fall 2019, UB fielded teams in football, softball, women's volleyball, men's and women's basketball, wrestling, women's swimming and diving, men's and women's tennis, men's and women's cross country, women's soccer, and men's and women's indoor and outdoor track and field. <https://ubbulls.com/sports/2019/6/17/about-index.aspx>, consulted July 3, 2020.

teaching Political Science full-time. Insofar as members of the Senate were concerned, ROTC lacked enough academic oversight in naming and approving the Program's faculty.

UB had housed a ROTC unit for several years, starting before its merger into the SUNY system. Its faculty members were younger commissioned officers who had graduated from one of the service academies and earned a post-BS degree from another university. Its instructors were approved by UB, based on recommendations from the Department of Defense. ROTC students were obliged to complete a requisite number of classroom hours in specific courses; to participate in summer classes; and to drill in uniform on campus on a regular basis. The limited power UB possessed with respect to instructors' appointments rankled several on campus during the high-tension Vietnam War period. The presence of marching, uniformed trainees became a flash point for the troubles discussed in an earlier chapter. In 1969-70, drills were disrupted. A small building utilized for a DOD research project was destroyed by arson.

Combined with other issues,⁵⁹ a single spark could ignite a conflagration. Indeed, the global explosions of 1968 – massive riots in Mexico City; overthrow of France's Fourth Republic; police actions at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago; the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and of Robert Kennedy: the list could go on. Others have covered events at UB more thoroughly, particularly former Vice President for Student Affairs Richard Siggelkow and UB Information Services staff writer Ann Whitcher-

⁵⁹ Pressures in the late 1960s and early 1970 involved scholarships for minority athletes, especially in basketball; alleged racist attitudes of the basketball coach; fears among students regarding service in Vietnam; DOD presence on campus; and other matters. See Ann Whitcher-Gentzke, 'A Stormy Spring' (*UB Today*, winter 2005, summarized in https://www.buffalo.edu/ubreporter/archive/2010_03_10/flashback.html).

Gentzke.⁶⁰ Persons interested in that period should consult their excellent studies.

Let me turn back to the personal side of this Department-history-cum-memoir. Starting a few years after independence, numerous African states experienced military seizures of power. African politics was my major academic interest at that time. I started studying the continent while an undergraduate, inspired by struggles for freedom.⁶¹ I was disheartened by the speed and ease with which newly established post-colonial states shed their democratic veneers for rule via the military, however. I convened a special panel at the 1967 African Studies Association meeting, wrote an influential article in the *Journal of Modern African Studies* about the sudden, unexpected political prominence of the armed forces, which had often been overlooked actors, and published one of the first books about African coups d'état.⁶²

Returning to ROTC at UB: I was deputized to see if the ROTC command structure would agree to substitute a complement of civilian-taught courses to fulfill on-campus

⁶⁰ Richard Siggelkow, *Dissent and Disruption: A University Under Siege* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991).

⁶¹ More pragmatically, I was thinking seriously about a career in the Foreign Service. Given the large number of embassies the United States was opening in Africa, concentration on that continent seemed appropriate. I changed my mind in 1964, despite a formal invitation to join the Foreign Service. Nancy and I had two children by then; her family lived in Rochester; a stable academic job wouldn't involve frequent moves; the work year was [allegedly!] confined to nine months; and UB's salary was slightly higher. Talk about a no-brainer decision!

⁶² Claude E. Welch, Jr., *Soldier and State in Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Military Intervention and Political Change* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970). This book was followed by two others, dealing with governance by military-based regimes and by civilian control of armed forces in developing countries, in addition to numerous articles and chapters. I was also invited to speak about civil-military relations in Africa in numerous military venues, such as the Foreign Affairs Officer training program at Fort Bragg, NC [known as Fort Liberty since 2022]; the US Army Command and Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, KS; the Air War College in Montgomery, AL; and the National War College in Washington.

military leadership requirements. Drills would be conducted elsewhere and would not carry academic credit. The process of formal institutional approval would change.

No luck, as I should have expected.

Conclusion

The 1980s and 1990s thus marked a period in which University-wide changes occurred, some brought by senior administrators and others by differing handfuls of interested faculty. The Department looked inward, dealing with difficult adjustments of attrition and dissension over PSC's appropriate scope, coverage, and approaches. On the whole, it coped well with these challenges. Appointment of nationally recognized scholars brought distinction to the Department. Examples include Frank Zagare, who arrived in 1987, and Jim Campbell, who came to UB in 1998. Zagare specialized in the application of game theory to international relations. Campbell focused on American politics, and in particular on the Presidency and opinion polling.⁶³

⁶³ Both became UB Distinguished Professors, in light of their scholarly preeminence, Zagare received the rank in 2007, Campbell in 2011.

Zagare was recruited by the Department in 1987. His significant publications included *Perfect Deterrence* [2000], *Games of July* [2011] and *Dynamics of Deterrence* [1987]. He also undertook the yeoman task of developing a website focused on Glenn Snyder and Paul Diesing's influential book, *Politics among Nations* [1977]. See <http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~fczagare/Snyder%20and%20Diesing's%20notes.htm>, accessed July 8, 2020.

Campbell was originally offered a full professorship in 1994-95, but declined due to the relative lack of full professors in the Department who shared his research orientation in American politics. He accepted the Department's offer in 1998, following a two-year stint as Associate Director of the Political Science Program at NSF. His major books are *Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America* (2016), *The American Campaign: U.S. Presidential Campaigns and the National Vote* (2000), and *The Presidential Pulse of Congressional Elections* (1993).

The issues covered in this chapter carried over into the 1990s. In 1991, Steven Sample moved to the University of Southern California.⁶⁴ Interdisciplinary Degree Programs continued to flourish. The Undergraduate College's World Civ and American Pluralism courses continued, though faculty recruitment remained difficult for the Macroworld and Microworld classes. Freshman seminars and capstone courses existed only in small numbers, owing to fiscal constraints. Big-time athletics in the form of football did not return during the 1980s: UB remained in Division III from 1977 to 1992. The Bulls and Lady Bulls achieved mixed

Welch was named SUNY Distinguished Service Professor in 1989. His major books included *Economic Rights in Canada and the United States* (2006), *Protecting Human Rights in Africa* (1995), and *No Farewell to Arms? Military Disengagement from Politics in Africa and Latin America* (1987).

⁶⁴ Steve relished the challenges of leading a private institution in the midst of the finest public University system in the United States. His decision, he told me and countless others, stemmed from his 'contrarian' approach to new challenges. See Steven B. Sample, *The Contrarian's Guide to Leadership* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2002)

Steve raised billions of dollars to upgrade USC's academic programs and campus facilities. Although the Trojans, regular contenders for the Big Ten championship, were far better-known representatives of USC than its academic schools and departments, the balance between big-time athletics and academic renown changed significantly. At least according to Wikipedia, he succeeded. 'Under Sample's leadership, USC became world-renowned in the fields of communication and multimedia technologies, received national acclaim for its innovative community partnerships, and improved its status as one of the nation's leading research universities.' https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steven_Sample#University_of_California_presidency, accessed July 5, 2020.

records in Division I-AA.⁶⁵ ROTC, now retitled Military Leadership Studies, returned to campus.⁶⁶

Challenges remained for the Department. The following pages pick up the various threads of this chapter in the new millennium.

⁶⁵ For example, the UB women's basketball team achieved records ranging from a low of 4-13 or 4-24, to a high of 29-6. Under Coach Felicia Legette-Jack, the Lady Bulls ranked within the top four of the Mid-America Conference every year from 2012-13 to 2019-20. Impressively, this run included three Division 1 tournament appearances, including one Sweet Sixteen berth. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buffalo_Bulls_women%27s_basketball, accessed July 5, 2020.

⁶⁶ https://catalog.buffalo.edu/courses/military_leadership.html, accessed July 5, 2020.

CHAPTER SIX: CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES FROM 2000-2020

This chapter concludes all that I feel capable of writing about the current period. I joined the UB faculty in 1964, fresh out of graduate school. For the next 56 years, I remained in the Department, a wonderful place for me and, I believe, the great majority of my colleagues. Despite turbulence from budget crises, intra-Department tensions, or other factors, Political Science remained steadfastly focused on scholarly excellence and high-quality teaching. I end on an optimistic note. Evoking the motto of the City of Paris, I believe the Department charted a steady course since its creation and, in the process, enhanced its professional recognition significantly.

Claude Welch, March 20, 2021

Broad cycles in the Department's history

The first abrupt change occurred in the mid-1970s, when New York City teetered on the brink of bankruptcy. The era of growth, which stressed both qualitative and quantitative improvement, shuddered to a halt. Senior disciplinary luminaries left. Recruitment of new colleagues abruptly ceased. In 1970-71, the Department reached its maximum size of 30 professors, when it counted eight full professors, seven associates, and 15 assistants. Attrition by means of a hiring freeze, exodus of some faculty members, and non-renewal of assistant professors' contracts became a strategy of necessity.

Despite some rough stretches in the Department's history, its members never ceased developing new approaches to teaching and research. Team research, exemplified by individually guided Independent Studies and by thesis advisement at BA, MA, and PhD levels, marked the Department from its inception. Indeed, the power to grant

doctoral degrees differentiated the public University at Buffalo as part of SUNY from its prior guise as a smaller, regionally oriented private institution that did not award the PhD degree in Government, although it did so in History.

Cooperation across Departmental or even School lines served to magnify individuals' scholarly achievements and curricular outreach. Cross-disciplinarity formed part of the Department's ethos, albeit often more honored in theory than in practice. Examples include the joint JD-PhD program, a highly demanding dual degree program carried out with the Law School, or the reorientation of Department courses to meet changing General Education requirements. Though an intra-Departmental effort to offer an MA in Public Policy foundered because of budget squeezes in the early 1980s and other factors, the spirit of innovation remained. The desire to enhance learning opportunities remained unquenched.

The Department's Founding Fathers strongly embraced what was widely called the Behavioral Revolution. As expressed in Wikipedia,

Behaviouralism (or behavioralism) is an approach in political science that emerged in the 1930s in the United States. It represented a sharp break from previous approaches in emphasizing an objective, quantified approach to explain and predict political behaviour. It is associated with the rise of the behavioural sciences, modeled after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism claims it can explain political behaviour from an unbiased, neutral point of view.¹

All Political Science students, irrespective of what degree they sought, had to acquire empirical skills fitted to the discipline. In the long sweep of the Department's history,

¹ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Behavioralism#:~:text=Behaviouralism%20\(or%20behavioralism\)%20is%20an,1930s%20in%20the%-20United%20States.&text=It%20is%20associated%20with%20the,unbiased%2C%20neutral%20point%20of%20view](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Behavioralism#:~:text=Behaviouralism%20(or%20behavioralism)%20is%20an,1930s%20in%20the%-20United%20States.&text=It%20is%20associated%20with%20the,unbiased%2C%20neutral%20point%20of%20view), consulted November 4, 2020.

PSC 502, Introduction to Empirical Political Science, started in the early years of the computer revolution. Students and faculty alike used Hollerith punch cards for tabulating data – interestingly, using a technique invented by a Buffalonian.² This form of computer technology relied upon a few gigantic vacuum-tube based computers. When the Department moved into Park Hall, only one office could communicate directly with the computer center. The invention of transistors enabled distributed computing via PCs; extensive use of PCs transformed the ease and speed of using large data sets. Online teaching became increasingly common, with the Covid pandemic accelerating reliance upon individual's computers and widespread use of Zoom for teaching. PSC faculty thus used techniques practiced in the natural and behavioral sciences from the Department's inception.

Individual faculty members participated extensively in periodic revision of degree requirements, whether intra-Departmental or Arts and Sciences-wide. Many new courses were created, others significantly revised. Political Science did not regard itself as an island unto itself. Rather, its members recognized, as did Aristotle,³ that Political Science lay at the core of a good society. This meant that, in ideal general education requirements, the basic lessons of PSC belonged at the center.

Be they undergraduates, MA or doctoral candidates, Political Science students learned both political and science aspects. Courses stressing current political issues resulted in large enrollments, as witness classes dealing with campaigns

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herman_Hollerith, consulted November 4, 2020.

³ Quoting the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 'In his Nicomachean Ethics Aristotle describes his subject matter as "political science," which he characterizes as the most authoritative science. It prescribes which sciences are to be studied in the city-state, and the others – such as military science, household management, and rhetoric – fall under its authority. Since it governs the other practical sciences, their ends serve as a means to its end, which is nothing less than the human good.' <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-politics/>, consulted November 4, 2020.

or the Presidency during election years. Those classes with law in their titles similarly attracted students aiming for legal training and potential JD degrees. In terms of science, the Department required knowledge of statistics and fluency with advanced research techniques in advanced classes [400-600 level]. Opportunities were created via internships with politically oriented NGOs; in Senators' and Representatives' offices via a SUNY-wide program; and through the Model European Union [described later in this chapter].

Many members of the Department sought to create and reinforce links with other units. Earlier parts of this chapter and of this entire history clearly show this willingness. This is not to say that interdisciplinary activities came easily. Because of PSC's small faculty size and the value of total credit hours in determining budget allocations, classes swelled to numbers that impeded close student-faculty interaction. Essay exams were supplanted by machine-scored multiple-choice tests. Further, the high demand meant that graduate students and adjunct or clinical faculty taught increasing proportions of the Department's curriculum. Despite these constraints, members of the Department, faculty and students alike increased their per capita scholarly output, leading to increased national recognition for academic excellence. The accomplishments of Political Science figured in the University at Buffalo's rise in national and international rankings.

The twenty years following the millennium followed patterns familiar from previous decades. Changing academic priorities within the University at Buffalo meant greater emphasis on STEM disciplines. Funding shifted from areas deemed less critical, including several social sciences departments and all the humanities disciplines.

At the turn of the millennium, the Department's faculty size had reached its nadir. A dozen faculty members held responsibility for covering all the subfields of Political Science, with the exception of political philosophy. Five individuals held the rank of full professor. Three served as associate professors, four as assistant professors. All were males.

With the exception of one person of Hispanic background, no member of a minority group taught in PSC.

Twenty years later, much had changed. Although our overall size did not change markedly, morale improved significantly. Women entered the Department in increasing numbers as students and as ladder-rank faculty. The number of faculty members born outside the United States increased. Rancor over guiding methodologies disappeared. When the University adopted new General Education requirements, faculty members responded with a series of new courses or dramatically altered ones.

These developments required major efforts by the Department, notably by a series of successful Chairs and recruitment committees. Four men eminent in the profession steered PSC in this 20-year span: UB Distinguished Professor Frank Zagare; UB Distinguished Professor Jim Campbell; Associate Professor Harvey Palmer; and Professor Munroe Eagles. They served as exemplars for their respective sub-disciplines: IR for Zagare; American Politics for Campbell; both American and Comparative Politics for Palmer; and Comparative Politics for Eagles.

As has been stressed many times in this history, recruitment could not proceed without precious ATRs, Authorizations to Recruit. Requests from the Department for such authorizations were denied many times. When they were issued, the Department swung into action. Buyers' market conditions prevailed during much of this score of years. UB offered several attractive conditions for prospective candidates. The size of the University, if not of the Department itself, provided the chance for cross-disciplinary work. UB rose steadily in the judgment of national and international specialists. Teaching duties were competitive with other major research universities, although salaries at the assistant professor rank did not match the top institutions.

Then-Chair Jim Campbell prepared three comparative analyses in 2011 of how the Department's professors ranked relative to their peers. For the number of full-time Political Science faculty in departments not rated in the top

20 in the pre-2005 NRC Ratings, we counted 13 full-time faculty, which tied us with Northern Arizona University, Southern Illinois University, the New School for Social Research, and the University of New Hampshire. The other three SUNY PhD-granting institutions respectively counted 20 [Stony Brook] or 19 [Binghamton and Albany], in other words about 50 percent larger than UB.

Campbell also looked at the size of the Political Science departments of AAU members. He found that the University of Toronto was on top, with 84 faculty members. Buffalo ranked near the bottom, with 14 ladder rank faculty.⁴ In a 2011 study by the National Research Council, Political Science ranked near the bottom of Departments at UB. By contrast, by size among other Arts and Sciences units, UB's Philosophy and Chemistry Departments ranked in the 77th percentile; Music, English, and Theatre and Dance stood in the 74th percentile. Indeed, Political Science ranked lowest of the 19 Departments listed.

The Department seemed caught on a treadmill, whose speed steadily increased. Successive Chairs documented the enervating effects of small size and the constant need to recruit new colleagues as promising assistant professors left for various reasons. PSC sought the best faculty candidates through national searches using broadly written ATRs – when granted. The individuals thereby hired were highly mobile young people. Higher salaries, joining one's partner in a different locus, lower teaching and/or service demands, more colleagues in related areas: These counted

⁴ Information in this section comes from my colleague, Jim Campbell. The 2011 data were compiled when he served as Department Chair and were intended to inform senior CAS and UB-wide administrators that Political Science was under-resourced. I recall the immediate response of then-President John Simpson when Jim circulated the tables. Speaking in a Department faculty meeting that he and Provost Tripathi attended in Park Hall, Simpson said, in effect, 'Every Department at UB lacks resources, so you should be figuring out how to get more from non-State sources.'

among the multiple issues affecting recruitment and subsequent retention.

2000-2020: The new millennium opens⁵

The words of Chair Frank Zagare sounded the gloomy note on which the Department met the new millennium. According to his annual report for 2001-02, the mean size of NRC-rated Political Science departments was 24 full-time ladder faculty members. Not counting a visiting professor, the size of the UB department was 12. He wrote, ‘A department staffed at 50% of the national average simply cannot compete with peer national or even regional universities for graduate students, for funding, for visibility, or for prestige.’

Zagare made the point even more acutely by another comparison. Of the 98 PhD granting institutions in the United States, just four had fewer full-time faculty members than UB’s Political Science Department at that time. The Department beat out only the University of New Orleans, Claremont, Clark [Atlanta], and Idaho State.

Such straitened circumstances forced several less-than-ideal adjustments affecting the quality of education, Zagare argued. Baccalaureate course enrollments doubled, especially in upper division classes frequented by majors. Too few graduate seminars were offered. A planned three-year seminar schedule existed in theory, not in practice: leaves outside the usual rhythm of sabbaticals, personnel changes, and other unexpected alterations wreaked havoc with the proposed rotation. Graduate students suffered on the curricular end. They were also negatively affected by increased undergraduate demand for classes. Third year PhD candidates and swelling numbers of adjunct faculty increasingly filled the teaching void. In sum, the instructional situation remained far from ideal. The Department’s lack of ladder professors was ridiculously small, relative not only to its

⁵ I wish to thank Joe Mason, a BA recipient from the Department, for his helpful research assistance with this section.

AAU peers, but also to the overwhelming majority of doctoral-granting institutions in the United States.

We can take from these conditions a core lesson: Excellent esprit de corps and commitment of core faculty, as well as their inherent quality, can keep morale and productivity from collapsing.

There lay the strength of the Department. Looking at across-the-board research productivity relative to size, UB's Political Science Department achieved at a high level. Careful rationing of resources – for example, ensuring that new faculty appointees shared common basic knowledge in contemporary social science research techniques – led to greater harmony. Esprit de corps surged. Junior faculty lent new vitality to the Department. Although searches occurred nearly every year due to many different causes, and although disappointments were common, the process of seeking new members paradoxically assisted in strengthening PSC's fabric. The rancor of previous decades disappeared.

For a protracted period, the Department adjusted to its new norm. Stability had come by the mid-1990s. Henceforward, the Department continued to pursue academic quality, measured in terms of published research, success with external grants, placement of PhD recipients and similar factors. Annual Reports followed basically the same format year after year, decade after decade. Word processing, introduced in the early 1980s, made copying and pasting text easier – often boring and repetitive to read, but helpful to skim for the nuggets buried within them.⁶

2001-02 witnessed a rebound in the Department's size from its historic nadir of a dozen. Three new assistant professors came on board. Their academic strengths included American/Minority Politics, Comparative, IR, and

⁶ I do not wish to imply that little thought went into the Annual Reports. They drew from the base: faculty members submitted 'Faculty Progress Reports,' from which the Chairs distilled summaries for consideration by the CAS Dean, the Provost, UB's President and, I ultimately suppose, SUNY's Chancellor, the Board of Trustees, the Board of Regents, and onwards to Hyperspace? Please pardon my skepticism.

Public Law. Each part of PSC thus continued rebuilding from below, a policy the Department had pursued, with few exceptions, since the mid-1970s.

2002-03. Chair Frank Zagare described the year as ‘a good year overall’ for the Department. What led to this rosy evaluation? Two new assistant professors joined PSC. Research accomplishments were significant, again relative to the unit’s size. Faculty members published four book chapters, eight refereed articles and miscellaneous other works. Non-tenured faculty taught nearly half the baccalaureate courses, an old trend that continued to edge upward. On the darker side, the Department awarded just four MA and two PhD degrees, the same as in 2001-02, and the lowest in many years. For a major public research university, this throughput was dismal. Sadly, Political Science could not dangle graduate students funded via what might be characterized as captive assistantships, such as serving as instructors in compulsory writing or math classes, or as laboratory assistants in lab science courses.⁷ A similar situation prevailed with respect to assistantships funded through external grants. For decades, successive Chairs had stressed problems in applying for and receiving grants, e.g. potential controversy over the nature of political questions, diminishing resources for preparing proposals, and the like.⁸

⁷ Some states require courses in government. To take one example, ‘The Texas Education Code §51.301 requires Texas public university and community college students to complete six semester hours of coursework in government/political science as part of the Core Curriculum (core component code 070).’ <https://admissions.utexas.edu/apply/transfer-resources/common-credit-issues/government>, visited July 29, 2020.

⁸ Banner grant years, totaling more than \$250,000, have thus far come only twice, in my recollection and as of summer 2020.

The first came in the mid-1970s, when Glenn Snyder and Paul Diesing received funds for their deterrence project. It spawned numerous publications, including their highly influential 1977 book, *Conflict among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making and System Structure in International Politics*. Their research can be readily accessed. Frank Zagare invested significant effort in putting together Snyder and

2003-04. One up, one down, in terms of faculty strength. Sadly, the assistant professor who left had just had an article in a major journal accepted, as well as a book manuscript.⁹ A second book-length manuscript was accepted, this coming from Chuck Lamb. Based on many years of research, his book analyzed how American federal policies shaped urban residential patterns.¹⁰ Finally, Claude Welch received a contract for his 2006 co-edited analysis of human rights in Canada and the United States.¹¹ Beyond these three books, Department members published 13 more book chapters, nearly triple the figure from the previous year. A further 14 refereed articles were accepted and/or published.

Political Science continued to provide popular undergrad classes. When the number of credit hours increased

Diesing's material, including case studies and working papers. See <http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~fczagare/Deterrence%20Project.htm>. Scholars and policy specialists around the world find this website insightful.

Other major grants of note occurred in the early 1990s. First, Philosophy Professor Newton Garver and I co-directed an eight-week summer seminar for college teachers. Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Some confusion ensued, since the NEH gave a similar grant to University of Pennsylvania religion professor Claude Welch the same year!

Secondly, I worked closely with Law Professor Virginia Leary, a specialist in international law, for a three-year, Geneva-based summer internship program. The Ford Foundation provided more than \$200,000 in support for the overseas portion summers 1991-93, as well for pilot programs 1989-91. We took great pride in creating the first such non-US based internship in international human rights law. Other schools, including Yale, trailed UB's lead.

⁹ Jóhanna Birnir, *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁰ Charles M. Lamb, *Housing Segregation in Suburban America since 1960: Presidential and Judicial Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹¹ Rhoda Hassmann and Claude E. Welch, Jr., *Economic Rights in Canada and the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

from 4926 to a record 5856 in fall 2003, the Department raised upper limits on enrollments. According to Chair Frank Zagare, ‘It cannot be in the interest of the College to continue to grow its undergraduate population without an adequate faculty infrastructure.’ His message did not get through as he had hoped. From 2002-2007, the Department’s faculty size remained stuck at 14.

Model European Union

Note: I am deeply grateful to Professor Munroe Eagles, who wrote this section about the Model European Union.

One reason may have been the Model United Nations. Many high-quality undergraduates participated in their high schools’ Model UN’s and appreciated opportunities to deepen their knowledge at UB.

One of the most significant off-campus experiences for Political Science undergraduates comes via the Model European Union, initiated by Bill Andrews of SUNY Brockport. The first simulation was held there in 1988. Initially, SUNYLUX [as the simulation was then called] operated in partnership with the Luxembourg Institute for European and International Studies. It has gone through several organizational and name changes over the years.

UB became involved in 1991, when a delegation from our campus participated in the Brockport meeting. We then joined the first European meeting, held in Luxembourg in 1992. Since then, the simulation has alternated between venues in Europe and in New York State. Initially, we met in Luxembourg, where we had full access to the European Parliament facilities, including the hemicycle and country delegation offices.

With the retirement of [Brockport Professor Bill] Andrews in 2001, the simulation headquarters moved to SUNY Fredonia, where it was led by Laurie Buonanno, a UB graduate and Professor of Political Science. In the early 2000s, the headquarters moved again to SUNY New Paltz, where it currently remains. Venues in Europe where EuroSim met

include Prague, Czech Republic; Leuven, Belgium; Brussels, Belgium; Exeter, UK; Izmir, Turkey; and Tilburg, Holland, among others.

Schools participating in the simulation have varied over the years, in large part depending on the availability and interest of a faculty [or graduate student] advisor. Over the years New York members included Canisius College, Colgate University, Columbia University, Cornell University, New York University, Hamilton College, Skidmore College, St. John Fisher College, the SUNY colleges at Brockport, Cortland, Fredonia, Geneseo, New Paltz, Jamestown Community College, and UB. Members have also met at various universities and colleges in New York State, including the SUNY Global Center in Manhattan. Students from all over Europe have participated in these simulations over the years, with various German and British universities being the most regular supporters.

Apart from a few years when our UB Model EU Club was recognized by our Student Association [making some limited financial support for our delegation available], students had to fundraise or else pay the costs out of their own pocket. While I [Munroe Eagles] served as faculty advisor for the group for the first decade or so, it has now been advised by senior graduate students in our department.

The contributions that the Model EU has made to our students over the years have been real and important. More than a hundred UB students have taken part in these events, learning about the EU, learning how to work as part of a team, and interacting with colleagues from all over the United States and Europe. When the simulations took place in Europe, many students were able to travel widely on the continent. One early participant, now a highly successful lawyer with her own law practice in Manhattan, underscored the value of her work on an early simulation in Luxembourg in these terms:

You have changed my life when you took our class to the Model European Community (now EU) student conference during my senior year at UB.

Because of that trip, I went on to backpacking in Europe by myself. Those travels had expanded my horizon and allowed me to have confidence to be a global citizen. Today I am an international attorney working with multinational corporations focusing on food and beverages and technology industries.

Major academic accomplishments, a year-by-year summary, part 1

2004-05. Scholarly output, a prime criterion for judging a department's excellence, remained adequate, given the size of the faculty. Publications included works in American and Comparative Politics, five book chapters, 17 refereed articles, and many miscellaneous works. Apart from minor, customary personnel flux – two new faculty members, one of them tenured,¹² but a loss of two assistant professors – the Department's foundation remained unchanged. 321 students majored in Political Science, exactly the same number as in 2003-04. A similar picture emerged in terms of curriculum: *plus ça change ...*

2005-06. The high student/faculty ratio demonstrated the Department's teaching efficiency. Between 1998-99 and 2005-06, total credit hours rose by about 50 percent, as did the number of BA degrees granted, while the faculty only increased from 11 to 14.¹³ Some churn continued among assistant professors, for various reasons. No major changes occurred in curriculum, but two faculty members became full professors and a third gained tenure.

2006-07. External forces, SUNY-wide pressures, and UB-impelled processes encouraged the Department to undertake critical self-evaluation. Its graduate and undergraduate program were reviewed by an external evaluating

¹² I refer here to Vesna Danilovic, who received her PhD under Frank Zagare's direction in 1995. She had previously served as associate professor at Texas Tech University.

¹³ Specifically, total credit hours for undergraduate Political Science courses rose from 3641 to 5277.

committee – the first such assessment since 1990. The process involved preparing an extensive self-study, an on-site review by three eminent scholars, and later discussions regarding the implications of the report with senior UB offices and officers.

The external evaluators – Professors Robert Erikson of Columbia University [American Politics], Bruce Bueno de Mesquita of New York University [International Politics], and Robert Rohrschneider of Indiana University [Comparative Politics] – examined the Department’s strengths, weaknesses and prospects. Their conclusions aptly summarize what UB’s political science department had become:

It is an understatement to say that for a decade or more, the department has been under-supported Considering that the UB Political Science department has become accustomed to working in the confines of a culture of poverty, it functions at a higher level than might be expected The current administration recognizes the problems and appears committed to growing and improving the political science department.

UB’s political science department is well regarded in the discipline and by its students: indeed, considering the extraordinary burdens under which it operates, it is an overachiever that could be made into a really significant department with the right investments by the administration.

The refrain was familiar. For years, PSC Chairs had urged respective Deans, and even the Provost and President, to recognize that UB’s Department had reached a high level of professional repute under extremely straitened conditions. This overachieving unit could become a nationally respected department. As you’ll see later in this chapter, another group of external evaluators reached a similar conclusion a decade later.

The Department also undertook major curricular revision in 2006-07. Several new undergraduate courses were

offered. In American Politics, Jim Campbell presented Financing American Political Campaigns. Gregg ‘Bagel’ Johnson developed a graduate course on Building Democracies/Democratic Institutions and an undergraduate course on Comparative Democratic Institutions. Jason Sorens taught Political Change and Political Economy. At the graduate level, Vesna Danilovic taught International Relations Research for the first time, while, in connection with the Canadian American Studies program, Munroe Eagles offered Overview of Canadian Politics and Canadian-American Politics.

2007-08. I must rely here on memory. The Dean’s office was in flux, as the Faculty of Social Sciences rejoined the Faculties of Arts and Letters and of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, to recreate the College of Arts and Sciences [CAS]. The longest serving Dean among the three Faculty heads became the official head of the reconstituted CAS. Disruptions in long-standing patterns, in the Hippocratic fashion, were focused on, in my judgment, ‘Do no wrong and economize where possible.’ Annual reports were a significant casualty. Apparently, no CAS official asked for them!¹⁴

2008-09. Chairman Jim Campbell sounded a theme central to the Department’s Self Study and external evaluators’ report. ‘As these reports annually reiterate, the Department of Political Science has too few faculty to perform its mission. ... Considering certain factors, ‘the Department’s undergraduate and graduate teaching responsibilities this year were carried by the equivalent of twelve and a half full time faculty.’ Despite these continuing deficiencies and the slow pace of progress, there were reasons for optimism. The Department continued to over-achieve in research, teaching, and service.’

¹⁴ I owe special thanks to staff members of Political Science, the CAS Dean’s office, and the University Archives for their assiduous and ultimately fruitless searches for the ‘missing’ document. No pot of gold existed at the end of the rainbow.

In fact, PSC faculty published 13 articles and book chapters, with a dozen more accepted for publication. Six outside speakers brought their expertise to the Department's students and faculty. Among them was Harvey Starr, the Dag Hammarskjold Professor at the University of South Carolina. Starr, who received his BA from UB in 1967, was given the Department's first Distinguished Graduate Award.

High quality learning depends to a substantial extent on small classes and ample chance for student-faculty interaction. These desiderata did not characterize PSC. The Department's median class size was 46 students; the mean was 60. Many doctoral candidates taught baccalaureate courses, thus further reducing the chance for student/faculty interaction. With 403 declared and intended majors, Campbell commented, 'the Department supports more than 25 majors per full-time faculty member and has a ratio of 272 credit hours generated for everyone full-time faculty member.' As a sign of his personal interest and of the Department's commitment to undergraduate education, Jim Campbell became President of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national Political Science honor society.

Finally, Campbell observed, 18 students were elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Aaron Krolikowski compiled a sterling record, becoming the Department's Outstanding Senior, earning Phi Beta Kappa's Samuel Paul Capen Award, and receiving two coveted scholarships, a Morris K. Udall Scholarship and a Clarendon Scholarship to Oxford.¹⁵ Krolikowski also was named by *USA Today* to its All-USA Academic College Academic Team First Team.

2009-10. Members of the Department published a record 18 articles, three book chapters and three books during the year. Part of the credit reflected the encouragement graduate students had received: five of the articles were co-authored with doctoral candidates. Six students received

¹⁵ His DPhil dissertation examined how the proliferation of mobile devices is influencing water distribution in sub-Saharan Africa. https://www.buffalo.edu/home/feature_story/study-abroad.html, consulted May 24, 2023.

PhD degrees, triple the level of 2008-09. At the same time, PSC revised its honors program and other parts of its BA program. These actions encouraged undergraduates to become more deeply involved in research and enhanced the appeal of baccalaureate courses to a wider range of students.

2010-11. Jim Campbell remained among the most published contributors to American politics, with five articles published in leading journals, plus an edited symposium on the 2010 midterm election for *PS*, an official APSA publication. Chuck Lamb matched this enviable achievement, his articles concentrating on fair housing issues. Department faculty also published three books this year, two single-authored and one edited.

PSC made major revisions to its undergraduate requirements in 2010-11. Political Philosophy formally disappeared as a field, given that no faculty member specialized in it and that no courses in the area had been taught for a decade. Public Law was elevated to a separate field at the graduate level. Fourteen courses were deleted from the Department's list of official undergraduate offerings, while 24 were re-titled or described in different terms to reflect their actual content better. Sadly, PSC continued to have problems attracting and matriculating high-quality graduate students: the Department accepted 62% of applicants, but only 40% of the accepted applicants enrolled.

To quote Chair Jim Campbell:

The Department is understaffed relative to its past. The Department is understaffed relative to other departments with graduate programs in political science. The Department is understaffed relative to its considerable accomplishments in its research mission. The Department is understaffed relative to the demand for instruction from both graduate and undergraduate students. The Department is understaffed, period.

Continuing in the same vein, Campbell also observed,

When I became Chair six years ago, it was with the hope and belief that the administration understood the Department's predicament and was committed to rectifying the problem. Six years later, the Department's circumstances are no better than they were and I have no confidence that the administration will seriously do anything about it.

2011-12. What went into a 'modestly successful year,' in Chair Harvey Palmer's judgment? 'Above average' totals in publications: 23 peer-reviewed articles, two books, two edited books, and six book chapters. Two-thirds of PSC's faculty published. This record was achieved in the face of a loss of one faculty member, cutting the Department to 14 full-time faculty members, and with fewer undergraduate majors.

PSC turned to a well-known stratagem to attract potential majors. Free snacks lured students to three films illustrating critical issues in contemporary politics. PSC also strengthened graduate training in game theory and statistical methods to be 'comparable in quality to that required by top-40 PhD programs.' Finally, the Department enhanced its electronic outreach via Facebook.

2012-13. The signal development of the year came in publication, as the *American Journal of Political Science*, one of the field's top journals, accepted two articles by faculty members. Overall, Department faculty published 15 peer-reviewed articles, three book chapters and two other articles. Little changed in other aspects of the Department's numbers of majors, degree productivity, and other reported achievements.

2013-14. Munroe Eagles initiated Pulse, an annual electronic newsletter informing Department graduates and others about what changes had occurred during the year.¹⁶ Issues typically included articles about projects undertaken by PSC students and faculty. For example, the inaugural

¹⁶ Issues can be found on the Department's website. <https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/political-science/news-events/the-pulse.html>.

issue reprinted a *Buffalo News* article complimenting Nate Silver, the noted New York Times political analyst; a complementary article by Jim Campbell on forecasting the 2012 Presidential and Congressional elections; the obituary of Robert Stern, one of the longest serving of Department members,¹⁷ a summary of the paper given the Stern Award; and updates about faculty and graduate students.

2014-15. An indicator of PSC's growing reputation came when Elena Davis, a tenured faculty member at Texas A&M, left her associate professorship to become an Assistant Professor at UB, while Antoine Yoshinaka came with tenure. Both professors helped the Department to better balance its age structure. Claude Welch received a lifetime achievement award for contributions in human rights from the American Political Science Association.¹⁸

Jim Campbell applied his decades of acumen to the 2016 Presidential race between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Trump's 'authenticity' makes him popular, Campbell asserted. 'Sometimes an authentic oddball but, nonetheless, authentic. In an era in which candidates seem so overly processed — when so many speak without saying anything — Trump is the real deal. He's politically incorrect, disrespectful and odd, but he is authentic. Not exactly a breath of fresh air, but at least a breath of air.' 'But Trump's campaign style will come back to haunt him as the Republican nomination process moves forward,' Campbell continued. Trump is 'extremely unlikely to be the Republican nominee,' he added, 'because the party establishment is convinced he

¹⁷ Stern came to the Department in 1948, having completed his doctoral degree at Harvard, and retired in 1988 after 40 years of distinguished service. Only Claude Welch, who taught in the Department from 1964 to 2017, compiled a longer record at UB, by the date of writing.

¹⁸ Welch received TIAA's first ever Lifetime Achievement Award in 2006. This honor was co-sponsored by the SUNY Research Foundation.

doesn't have the experience or temperament to be an effective candidate or an effective president.'¹⁹

Testifying to the quality of the Department's junior faculty, the top three journals in the discipline published articles from three of them. Jake Kathman and Carlisle Rainey contributed to the *American Political Science Review*, while Rachel Hinkle published in *The Journal of Politics* and the *American Journal of Political Science*. As Chair Harvey Palmer wrote,

Given their low acceptance rates, even one article in these journals is a noteworthy achievement, but having three of our 14 faculty members publishing in them (independently) at the same time is truly exceptional.

In addition, the Department was commended for producing policy-relevant research. In a study based on Google News Archive's tracking of press citations from 2006 to 2011, UB's PSC Department ranked 22nd out of 94 political science departments nationally, despite being one of the smallest.

Finally, and most important, the academic year was dominated by an external evaluation of its programs, only the second such assessment since 1990. I'll interrupt the chronological structure of this section, starting with the May 2007 evaluation, and summarize the evaluation process.

External evaluations, 2007 and 2014

Universities rest on the cardinal value of objective scholarship, attested to by recognized specialists. Peer review pervades pre-publication of manuscripts. External letters of evaluation are vital to ensuring that appointment, promotion, and tenure decisions for new and continuing faculty are done objectively, maintaining institutional quality.

¹⁹ 'Trump's authenticity is what's making him popular, UB political scientist says,' <https://www.buffalo.edu/news/releases/2015/08-/004.html>, accessed February 11, 2020.

Every academic unit of UB, like other universities, has been subject to increasingly detailed standards of evaluation. The 1966 creation of the PRB – the President’s Review Board – received attention earlier in this history [see Chapter 3]. In combination with the professional schools’ or Arts and Sciences APTs – appointment, promotion, and tenure committees – faculty standards were strengthened over time. Pre-accreditation self-studies turned internal spotlights onto UB’s functioning. Outside reviews also came from regional or disciplinary institutions. These included the Middle States Commission on Higher Education, or professional bodies such as the AAMC [Association of American Medical Colleges], the AACSB [Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business], or analogous entities.

What accounted for the 17-year gap between 1990, when the previous external evaluation occurred, and 2007? Perhaps it was the reorganization within arts and sciences and unclear lines of authority between the Graduate School and the College of Arts and Sciences’ constituent units.

2007 External reviewers’ report

Three distinguished scholars vetted PSC’s faculty strength in May 2007, especially in light of demands placed upon it. They included Alan Abramowitz [Emory University], John Vasquez [University of Illinois], and Harold Clarke [University of Texas, Dallas]. These men specialized, respectively, in American Politics; International Relations, especially conflict resolution; and Empirical Political Science, especially voting behavior and statistical methodology.

Their findings started with this affirmation of the Department’s standing.

We were very impressed with the quality of the faculty and the undergraduate program, and the potential for an upward movement of the PhD with just a minimal investment of resources. The faculty has a nice balance of highly visible and distinguished faculty who are very active hired in previous years along with some exceptional recent appointments.

The evaluators continued,

.... A key purpose of the university is to prepare undergraduate students for future graduate and professional study, and we find that the department is doing an outstanding job in this area. Students are receiving state of the art training ... As a whole, the faculty is much better than the 76th ranking indicates. Of the various fields, the international relations faculty has a coherence and reputation that already makes it a top 40 program.

In concluding its report, the three-man team opined,

The members of the external review committee believe very strongly that the Political Science Department at the University of Buffalo is worth investing additional resources. We believe that a modest investment of financial resources can move the department up from near the bottom of national rankings of Political Science PhD programs to the top 40 in a relatively brief time. Other departments have made such moves but it requires a real commitment on the part of both the University and members of the department.²⁰

Little changed in the following years, though. The 2014 assessment reached similar conclusions, cited in the next section.

2014 External reviewers' report

To summarize, the external review committee was 'very impressed with the quality of the faculty and the undergraduate program, and the potential for an upward movement of the PhD with just a minimal investment of resources.' The Department enjoyed a 'nice balance of highly

²⁰ Quotations taken from the Report of the 2007 Graduate Program Evaluation Team, University Archives, University at Buffalo; accessed March 15, 2016.

visible and distinguished faculty who are still very active ... along with some exceptional recent appointments.’

The issue of size weighed heavily on the committee. The Department, they observed, ‘is currently one of the smallest in the country to offer a PhD degree. Any further decline in size would likely result in the department falling out of the national rankings into the ‘also ran’ category and might raise concerns among those conducting the university’s next AAU accreditation review ...’

Looking back to the 2007 evaluation, the 2014 review committee cited key temporal factors. It proved impossible to meet a commitment to expand the Department to 20 faculty positions, ‘due to the economic crisis that impacted the state’s and the SUNY system’s budget after 2007. However, the members of the external review committee believe that it is now time for the college to live up to those commitments and expand the size of the department to 20 over the next two years.’²¹

Result: in 2014, PSC counted 14 ladder faculty; in 2016, one less.

Major academic accomplishments, a year-by-year summary, part 2

2015-16. Antoine Yoshinaka published two books via Cambridge University Press, while Jim Campbell’s book manuscript on polarization was accepted by Princeton University Press. Combined with eight articles in high quality, refereed journals, PSC’s profile rose further within the profession. National recognition came as well when two undergraduate majors won highly competitive Truman and Marshall Scholarships.

2016-17. UB officials paid close attention to national rankings of institutional quality. Members of the Political

²¹ Quotations taken from the Report of the 2014 Graduate Program Evaluation Team, University Archives, University at Buffalo; accessed March 15, 2016.

Science appreciated how *US News and World Report* elevated the Department's standing among the 87 programs ranked. PSC rose from 76 to 65, the sixth largest improvement among these programs – and particularly impressive given that the Department remained one of the smallest. Google Scholar also reported that faculty members' publications were cited 1,113 times; the Law and Courts section of the American Political Science Association gave Rachel Hinkle its best journal article award; and Conflict Management and Peace Science honored Jake Kathman with its Palmer Award, again for the best article of the year. Over three-quarters of the 13-member Department published books or peer-reviewed journal articles [three books, 30 articles].

2017-18. As the unofficial historian of UB's Political Science Department, I encountered an unexpected roadblock. Annual reports to the Dean's office ended at this point. Instead, to assess units' achievements, it asked for summaries of achievements from individual faculty. I have accordingly turned to 'The Pulse,' the Department's annual publication, for information.²² Selected snippets from it appear below.

The shocking storming of the U.S. Capitol January 6, 2021, lay in the future. However, Jake Neihsel's co-authored article in the *Washington Post* had raised this ominous possibility three years before. 'Perhaps the most important message is that large segments of the citizenry appear willing to invest significant resources to pursue or resist the removal of [President Donald] Trump. People may not be fighting in the streets, but many appear willing to take to them.'²³

Neihsel also linked political discord to American church attendance. 'Even over short periods of time, sizable

²² Munroe Eagles initiated 'The Pulse' in the spring semester 2013. Annual publication has continued to this date, although the most recent [2020] issue was delayed several months owing to changed policies by the Dean's office.

²³ *Washington Post*, September 15, 2017.

portions were leaving their churches and that a contributing cause was political disagreement ... Both studies suggest a great deal of churn within and among religious organizations driven by political disagreement. While everyday disagreement drives people out across the political spectrum, the public salience of the Christian right specifically helped to drive up the rate of [persons with no religious affiliation who identified with the Christian right].’

Finally, Jim Campbell applied observations in his book, *Polarization*, to the 2016 Presidential election. ‘It was about polarization about national conditions, belatedly overriding the serious concerns many voters had about Donald Trump as a potential President. Trump’s candidacy put polarization to the test. His election testified to how powerful polarization has become.’²⁴

2018-2019. By fall 2019, the Department had reached the point of ultimate stability in an academic unit: all its personnel were tenured or held permanent appointments in civil service ranks. This had not occurred since the fall of 1984. Circumstances differed significantly, however. 1984 held Orwellian importance symbolically and in fact. At that point, PSC was ripped with internal conflict over direction and personnel. Changes would have been difficult under any circumstances, let alone at times of dissension and challenges to University resources.

Thirty-five years later, the Department had again become fully tenured – but only briefly. Astute planning, efficiency in delivering undergraduate education, and high-quality candidates for appointment resulted in a rosier picture by 2020, when this narrative ends. PSC’s overall level of academic quality had improved. UB trumpeted the University’s rise in national rankings. Take this example:

The value of your UB degree keeps appreciating! In August Kiplinger’s “Best College Values” list for 2019 was released and UB was ranked 61st among

²⁴ James E. Campbell, *Polarization: Making Sense of a Divided America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

public colleges for in-state students and 56th for out of state students. Similarly, in September 2019 the *U.S. News and World Report* rated UB number 31 on its ranking of the best national universities. This is an improvement of 10 spots over last year, and over the past dozen years, UB has improved 42 spots in these rankings. Finally, the Center for World University Ranks placed UB 59th among US public universities, and 269 among 20,000 universities worldwide.²⁵

2019-20. PSC students and faculty heard former Vice President Joe Biden's impassioned critique of American politics. 'The press is not the enemy of the people. Immigrants are not animals. ... America is led by the power of our leader's example. ... We must resist the Hobbesian vision of the world, a "war of all against all." ... We must choose hope over fear. Truth over lies. Hope and history rise, along with dignity and respect. We must remember who the hell we are. We are Americans, and we own the finish line.'²⁶

Other items of note from 2019-20 included endowment of the Paul Senese Scholarship,²⁷ Rachel Hinkle's promotion to Associate Professor and her major article on

²⁵ 'The Pulse,' Vol. 6, spring 2018.

²⁶ Quoted in 'The Pulse,' Vol. 7, fall 2019.

²⁷ Senese joined the Department in 1997, as an IR specialist. Promoted to associate professor in 2005, he succumbed to cancer in 2006, before his 40th birthday. As recounted at 'The Pulse,' Vol. 7, fall 2019, 'More than anything, Paul loved research, and spent countless hours working on his degrees, publishing several articles and co-authoring *The Steps to War: An Empirical Study* (Princeton, 2008). Paul continued to work on this book throughout his illness, and he passed away a few days before the completion of the draft.'

memorable Supreme Court dissents,²⁸ and Jim Campbell's sage predictions for the mid-term elections.²⁹

2020-21. As of fall 2020, PSC gained two new faculty positions.³⁰ The new resources were justified in the Dean's eyes since 'our enrollments are exceedingly strong. We have about 450 majors now – one of the top performers in the College with one of the smallest faculty complements.'³¹

Members of the Department also adjusted their teaching techniques to the exigencies of Covid-19 and the sudden end of face-to-face instruction. The overnight transformation in course and test delivery resulted in numerous strains throughout the University. An immediate hiring freeze and additional freeze on OTPS expenses [Other Than Personal Services, such as travel] complicated life throughout education and public life generally.

To conclude this chapter, let's turn to other topics that marked the Political Science Department at various points, not always confined to the 2000-2020 period.

²⁸ Rachel Hinkle, 'How to Lose Cases and Influence People,' *Statistics, Politics, and Policy* <http://rachaelkhinkle.com/research.html>. In the words of one summary, 'If you're going to disagree with people, you might as well make a stink. Anything else, and you're destined to be forgettable. ... [The article] concludes that Legal losers can be influential – especially sore losers.' Quoted in 'The Pulse,' Vol. 7, p. 18.

²⁹ 'Democrats could gain as many as 44 seats and emerge from November's mid-term elections with control in the House of Representatives, according to an innovative forecasting tool developed by a political scientist. Republicans, meantime, are likely to pick up an additional two Senate seats and preserve their majority in the upper house of Congress.' 'The Pulse,' Vol. 7, p. 22.

³⁰ Were it not for the Covid-19 pandemic and abrupt recession/hiring freeze, the Department might in fact have made a further appointment or two. They would have bolstered PSC's minority faculty. Email to me from Munroe Eagles, August 9, 2020.

³¹ Email to me from Munroe Eagles, August 9, 2020.

Women in the Department, UB and the discipline

Readers of this entire history may recall Helen Dwight Reid, who taught in the Department from 1928 to 1939. She earned a first-rate reputation in international relationships scholarship, at a time when few women received PhD degrees or chose university teaching for a full-time profession.³² Following her resignation on the eve of World War II, PSC³³ did not name a woman to a ladder rank position until Florence Casey in the fall 1965 semester. She formed part of the recruitment explosion when the Department grew, between the fall of 1963 and the fall of 1970, from nine to thirty full-time faculty members.

UB's Political Science Department had moved closer to gender parity by 2020.³⁴ This should not have come as a surprise, looking at American higher education in general. For many decades, PSC as a discipline lacked the doctoral through-put of females. Although the situation was not as lopsided as in mathematics, most branches of engineering, and several lab science disciplines, women had long been conspicuous by their absence among the faculty in Political Science, indeed in most of the University at Buffalo.

³² To recall briefly details from her career, Reid came from a wealthy family, attended Vassar and Harvard, and published important research in international law, diplomacy, history, government and international trade at Harvard. The American Political Science Association gives an annual award in her name for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of international relations, law, and politics. See Chapter Two of this history for details about her.

³³ Political Science, it will be recalled, formed part of the Department of History and Government until fall 1963. I did not check records of the History Department, which may reveal some ladder rank faculty on its rolls prior to the merger with SUNY.

³⁴ This section was written in August and September 2020. I expect gender balance to improve, as increasing numbers of women complete the doctoral pipeline.

Women within UB's faculty as a whole

The most thorough initial report for gender representation in the University at Buffalo's faculty came in the spring of 1970. The campus weekly published an exhaustive study by Ann Scott, Assistant Professor in the English Department.³⁵ Salient findings follow. I have cited figures only from the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration, given the similarities among its Departments and Programs.

For the Faculty of Social Sciences, 83 males taught at the rank of full professor compared with four females – 95% men, in other words.³⁶ Political Science clocked in with no women, and eight males.³⁷ This low percentage likely reflected not only widespread bias throughout much of the American academic world against females, but also the smaller number of women in many disciplines.³⁸ Men

³⁵ Ann Scott, 'The Half-Eaten Apple: A Look at Sex Discrimination in the University,' *The Reporter*, April 30, 1970. I am grateful to the UB Archives staff for locating and copying this valuable report for me. It can be accessed via the Web at <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED041566>.

³⁶ I presume all of them were tenured. The relevant table in Scott's study also indicates 95 male full professors, five women. I assume that the higher figure included individuals with qualified titles [clinical professors etc.] in addition to regular tenured faculty. Persons with qualified titles rarely enjoy the protection of tenure.

³⁷ Scott erred with respect to PSC. Roberta Sigel had been named full professor within the Department as a spousal accommodation. Her husband was simultaneously recruited by the Psychology Department.

³⁸ Cynically, one could assert that gender bias played a part as well. Consider the case of Cecilia Payne-Gaposchkin. According to Wikipedia, she 'was a British-born American astronomer and astrophysicist who proposed in her 1925 doctoral thesis that stars were composed primarily of hydrogen and helium. Her groundbreaking conclusion was initially rejected because it contradicted the scientific wisdom of the time, which held that there were no significant elemental differences between the Sun and Earth. Independent observations eventually proved she was correct.' Her doctoral thesis established that the vast variation in stellar absorption lines resulted from differing ionization levels based on temperature, not composition. She spent her entire academic career at Harvard, but ran up against the glass ceiling, as women could not become

constituted the overwhelming majority of associate professors, with 76 at this rank. The ratio was 89% males, 11% females. Political Science again counted no women at this rank. They were better represented as non-tenured assistant professors. For Social Sciences, the respective figures were 80 men, 16 women, a five to one disparity. Political Science counted two women faculty members. In percentage terms, males constituted 83%, females 17%.

Doctoral candidates stood at the starting rung on the academic ladder since PhD degree holders constituted the pool from which most Departments drew their recruits. The Scott survey included only graduate students with assistantships. Some 791 male TAs and RAs [teaching assistants and research assistants], and 216 funded female doctoral students, studied in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration. Political Science enrolled 43 male doctoral candidates, 10 female, below the average for the Faculty.

professors there for more than 300 years. Payne-Gaposchkin's courses weren't even listed in the Harvard catalogue until 1945! Her academic talent was finally recognized in 1956, when she became the first woman to be promoted to full professor from within the faculty at Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences.'

I am tempted to ask, How many people get an asteroid named after them, as she did?

Another salient example comes from Ruth Bader Ginsburg who, as a Harvard Law student, married, became a mother, and was not allowed – despite her exemplary academic record – to receive a Harvard LLB. She petitioned to finish her final years in New York City, where her husband had settled, but was refused permission. Harvard apologized, in a fashion, by awarding her an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 2011. The University at Buffalo also recognized Justice Ginsburg with an honorary degree in August 2019, a year before her death. The Center for the Arts was almost totally filled for the occasion, which occurred shortly before the fall semester started.

Women within UB's Political Science Department

Let's boil down these raw statistics into individual personnel changes within UB's Department.

Roberta Sigel arrived in the fall of 1970, a welcome example of spousal accommodation, at full professor rank.³⁹ I believe she was the first tenured woman in the Department since the 1939 resignation of Helen Dwight Reid.

Marilyn Hoskin, the first female Associate Professor, gained tenure from within the Department. She came to PSC in 1973, as Assistant Professor,⁴⁰ gaining tenure in 1980. A drought in recruiting women assistant professors then set in, due largely to the gradual reduction in overall faculty ranks. [In fall 1980, the Department numbered 22 ladder rank faculty, a mere dozen by 2000, none of them women.] On the other hand, PSC did recruit Laurie Rhodebeck and Laura Winsky as Assistant Professors, serving respectively 1986-87 to 1996-97 [Rhodebeck] and 1993-94 to 1999-2000 [Winsky]. Both left UB without gaining tenure.

The logjam started to break with the new millennium, a result of sincere effort on the Department's part and of increased numbers of female PhDs in the discipline. Michelle Benson came in 1999 as visiting Assistant Professor, while Hanna Birnir arrived in 2001 as Assistant Professor.⁴¹ Benson received tenure in 2009, making her the third

³⁹ Roberta Sigel was married to eminent Piaget scholar psychologist Irving Sigel, who taught at UB from 1970-75. I could not obtain significant information about her life but recollect her special interest in political socialization. She edited *Learning About Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization* (New York: Random House, 1970), and solo-authored *Ambition and Accommodation: How Women View Gender Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), among other works.

⁴⁰ Marilyn joined her husband Gary, who stood among the earliest appointees to PSC following UB's merger into SUNY.

⁴¹ Benson was promoted to assistant professor, a ladder faculty rank, in 2001.

tenured female faculty member in the Department's history.⁴² Vesna Danilovic, a UB PhD recipient, stands as the second woman to become Associate Professor. She returned to Buffalo with tenure in 2005, resigning her associate professorship at Texas A&M.⁴³ Dinissa Duvanova came to UB in 2008 as Assistant Professor,⁴⁴ but left in 2014. Christine Boyd filled the vital position of a Constitutional Law/Public Law specialist from 2009 until 2013.⁴⁵ The Department found a superb replacement in Rachael Hinkle,⁴⁶ appointed in 2014 and given tenure in 2019.⁴⁷

⁴² Within International Relations, Benson concentrates on conflict processes; international organizations; international trade and cooperation; social movements; ethnic conflict; and econometrics.

⁴³ As previously noted, Danilovic had received her doctorate at UB a decade earlier, working with Frank Zagare. According to the Department website, her specializations within IR include international conflict; strategic bargaining; domestic institutions; foreign policy; and quantitative research methods.

⁴⁴ Duvanova quickly established an excellent reputation in Russian and Eastern European politics. Her book, *Goods, Selective Incentives, and Predatory States* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) received the Ed A. Hewett Book Prize for outstanding publication on the political economy of Russia, Eurasia and/or Eastern Europe. <https://ir.cas.lehigh.edu/content/dinissa-duvanova>, accessed July 22, 2020.

⁴⁵ She went to the University of Georgia, where she specializes in quantitative examination of judges and litigants in federal courts. <https://spia.uga.edu/faculty-member/christina-l-boyd/>, consulted September 21, 2020.

⁴⁶ The Department website lists her areas of interest within Public Law as judicial politics; constitutional law; computational text analysis; and quantitative methods.

⁴⁷ The juxtaposition of Sociology with Political Science intrigues me. In terms of physical space, Sociology occupies most of Park Hall's fourth floor, PSC taking the remainder and part of the fifth floor. In terms of intellectual sweep, the two disciplines share many methodologies, areas of interest and the like. However, they differ significantly in terms of recruiting women. According to the current [2020-21] Chair of Sociology, 'for a number of years very few women worked in the Department. Today, with three new assistant profs coming on board, 13 of

By 2021, when I completed writing this history,⁴⁸ two more women joined PSC. Jieun Lee [International Political Economy]⁴⁹ and Abigail Matthews [Public Law]⁵⁰ came with strong prior academic records. They provided vital reinforcement in areas of high student demand and significant scholarly interest. Their arrival brought the Department's overall faculty ranks up to 16: ten men [one of whom was a 'Clinical Assistant Professor,' a non-ladder faculty rank] and six women. Although parity remained unachieved, the Department had made considerable progress. All the men were tenured, as were four women. These achievements must count, without question, as a success under tough circumstances.

the 20 faculty will be women (including our first clinical hire).' Email to me from Professor Robert Adelman, July 16, 2020.

⁴⁸ Absolute equality between the sexes seems to me neither possible nor even desirable. But surely by the late 2020s, our doctoral pipeline can be roughly half-male and half-female. Sociology provides an interesting comparison. The 1970 Scott Report deemed the Department as an underperformer in gender representation, compared with the Faculty of Social Sciences and UB generally. That situation persisted for decades.

⁴⁹ Within IPE, she concentrates on globalization; international trade and investment; campaign finance; lobbying; and policy making.

⁵⁰ Professor Matthews' specialists within Public Law include judicial politics; constitutional law; state politics; gender and inequality; and quantitative methods

Table 6,1 Women faculty members in PSC

NAME	YEARS AT UB	FIELD	RANK	PSC SIZE [†]
Florence Casey	1965-1970	Comparative	Assistant	16->27
Trudi Lucas [^]	1969-1972	IR	Assistant	27
Roberta Sigel*	1970-1976	American	Full	30->27
Nancy McGlen	1973-1980	American	Assistant	27->22
Marilyn Hoskin [^]	1981-1989	American	Associate	27->19
Laurie Rhodebeck	1986-1997	Quantitative	Assistant	18->16
Laura Winsky	1994-2000	American	Assistant	19->12
Michelle Benson	2001-TBD	IR	Assistant -> Associate	15->?
Hanna Birnir	2001-2007	IR	Assistant	15->?
Sherri Wallace	2001-2003	American	Assistant	15->14
Vesna Danilovic [%]	2005-Present	IR	Associate	14->?
Dinissa Duvanova	2008-2015	IR	Assistant	16->14
Christine Boyd	2011-2013	Public Law	Assistant	15->14
Rachel Hinkle	2015-Present	Public Law	Assistant -> Associate	14->?
Elena McLean	2015-Present	IR	Associate	14->?
Jieun Lee	2020-Present	Comparative/IR	Assistant	15 [‡] ->?
Abigail Matthews	2020-Present	American/ Public Law	Assistant	15 [‡] ->?
* spousal accommodation				
[%] received PhD from UB; had tenure at another University				
[^] She married Gary Hoskin				
[†] size of department at initial appointment -> semester immediately after leaving				
[^] She was married to Bill Lucas, another member of the Department				
[‡] Excludes one Clinical Assistant Professor				

Examining the discipline as a whole

In the 1970s, the American Political Science Association began to take serious cognizance of how well – or poorly – women fared in the profession. Its efforts kicked into high gear after the turn of the millennium. Major impetus came from APSA’s Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession.

Two major questions drove the committee's report. 'Is political science positioned to embrace and incorporate the changing demographics, increasing multicultural diversity, and ever-growing disparities in the concentration of wealth present in many nation-states? [Secondly], Can political science do so within its research, teaching, and professional development?'

According to the Task Force,

Data from 1980-2010 reveal that although gains have been made in the number of women and members of historically underrepresented groups in full time faculty positions at colleges and universities, gains have been small and glacial in their pace of improvement. In 1980, 10.3 percent of full time faculty were women; in 2010 it was 28.6 percent. In 1980, 93.4 percent of full time faculty were Caucasian and in 2010 it was 86.6 percent. Absent direct, intentional efforts to further diversity faculty, we should expect that the pace of progress will continue to be slow and that the rate of inclusion will also be very slow.⁵¹

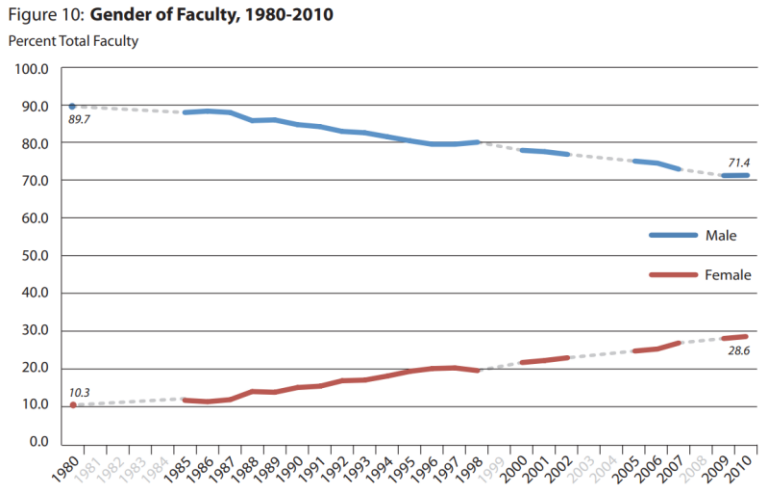
⁵¹ Two other women with connections to UB's Political Science Department merit special mention.

Karen O'Connor, who received both her PhD and JD from Buffalo, also made fundamental contributions towards enhancing women's political role and influence, from her academic position. She served as Jonathan N. Helfat Distinguished Professor of Political Science at American University. O'Connor created American University's Women & Politics Institute. Information about the Institute can be found at https://www.american.edu/spa/wpi/?_ga=2.127424389.923604287.-1595420653-445419529.1595420653, accessed July 23, 2020.

Nancy McGlen taught in the Department from 1973-74 to 1979-80. She did not receive tenure, having been caught up in intra-Departmental disputes over appropriate directions. McGlen moved to Niagara University, where she became a highly respected teacher and scholar, including a stint as Dean of its College of Arts and Sciences. Her major books included *Women, Politics and American Society*, and *Women's Rights: The Struggle for Equality in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, both co-edited with Karen O'Connor. *Women, Politics and American Society* had gone into five editions as of January 2025.

The following graph demonstrates slow change in the discipline's gender diversity over a 30-year span.

Graph 6.1. Representation of women in PSC, 1980-2010⁵²



Quotations from this report add details to Graph 6.1.

‘... a supportive institutional climate may also be important to women’s advancement.’ ... ‘Mentoring and other programs to assist junior faculty are important in improving institutional climate.’ ... ‘Further up the academic ladder, the number of female fulltime associate professors began rising in the late 1970s but appears to have stalled in the late 1990s at 23%.’⁵³ ... In terms of full professors, numbers and percentages started to rise ‘slowly but steadily’ after

⁵² Source = ‘Political Science in 21st Century: Report of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century’ (Washington: American Political Science Association, 2011). https://apsanet.org/Portals/54/files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_All-Pgs_webres90.pdf, accessed September 10, 2020, p. 48.

⁵³ Marilyn Hoskin also gave birth while an assistant professor. As Munroe Eagles pointed out, ‘the absence of any maternity [leave] program – this was a cause of embarrassment to me while an Associate Dean and potential women recruits to social science departments asked about this.’ Email to me September 20, 2020.

the mid-1980s.’ ... ‘Less happily the proportion of women entering graduate school shows no steady growth and the proportion of junior and mid-career faculty women has stalled.’ ... ‘Women of color are substantially underrepresented among senior faculty Women of color were four percent of all associate professors, and 14% of women associate professors. There were 14 women of color who were full professors – less than 1% of all full professors and 6% of women full professors.’

Changes within UB’s Political Science Department

In 1980, women were about a quarter of PSC PhD enrollments. The percentage slowly crept upward, reaching about a third by 1995, and just over 40 percent by 2001. By 2010, females accounted for more than half.

Amazing as it may seem to readers of this history, in the year 2000 the Department had no formal policy on maternity leave. Nor did the College of Arts and Sciences. Even more surprisingly, Albany [SUNY Central Administration] had yet to decide whether maternity leave should be granted without negative consequences in time not counted towards mandatory consideration for tenure.⁵⁴ Expressed more clearly, SUNY didn’t consider maternity leave adequate reason to pause the tenure clock, although sick leave could be taken and the clock temporarily paused.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Email to me September 16, 2020.

⁵⁵ I would also cite related issues, based in part on my years as an academic administrator at UB, notably between 1976 and 1980, when I served as Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs.

- Most fundamentally, was this a question of supply – the pipeline of PhD recipients – or an issue of demand, from many departments also dealing with baby boomer generation-generated enrollments?
- What about State of New York nepotism rules, which stood as an obstacle at times in the Department’s history?

To quote from Michelle Benson, in an email to the author:

I believe that Hannah [Birnir] and I were the first (and so far only) women that were pregnant in the department. The department, CAS and UB had no maternity leave policy at the time. We basically had to make it up with the chairs as we went along. I taught at an accelerated schedule for one semester and found replacements for the majority of my courses. We both had to use up our sick-leave days when we had the babies despite having perfectly healthy, natural pregnancies. Fortunately, neither of us became ill soon after with a generalized disease

-
- Once these policies were altered, a different problem arose. If one member of a couple emerged as the top candidate, what if his or her partner also desired an academic position? Two different units had to decide about an individual's merits. Their criteria differed. The spouse of an absolute must for department A might be hitched to a 'why would-we-ever-consider?' individual B in a separate unit. As New York State funding diminished, spousal accommodation became significantly more difficult.
 - What if tenure were involved for either or both persons? The stakes rose considerably in the face of 'bets' with consequences that might play out for decades.
 - To what extent should UB's administration, or SUNY as a whole, support affirmative action policies? The complex issues involved with AA policies go far beyond the scope of this history.
 - Did the Department take part of the responsibility for underrepresentation? When two candidates of different genders but similar merits applied, did the predominantly male PSC faculty subconsciously favor another male?
 - Analogously, did Political Science lack a sufficiently large core of women to attract more women?
 - How well established were maternity leave policies within State of New York agencies? Did marked differences exist between branches typically dominated by women, such as clerical positions, and those held mainly by males, as in construction classifications?

for which we would have needed our sick leave. I can say that we were lucky that we had sympathetic chairs at the time—Frank Z. for Hannah and my first pregnancy), Franco [Mattei] for my second pregnancy—that were willing to work with us and do the best they could within the system. SUNY has recently moved towards a standardized procedure for pregnancies.⁵⁶

By 2010, women constituted the majority of the discipline's seed corn of young, non-tenured faculty, as shown in an earlier graph. Graduate programs in Political Science now counted more females than males.

Conscious, pro-active steps taken by the Department's Chairs and search committees to recruit and promote qualified women made a real impact on gender distribution in the Department. Marilyn Hoskin, Michelle Benson and Hannah Birnir paved the way, but their paths were not easy. By 2020, a critical mass existed, with four female associate professors in place, plus two assistant professors.

When minority faculty are considered, however, the picture becomes grimmer. The next section of this history

⁵⁶ Major published sources for this section include Sheila Ards and Maurice C. Woodward, 'African-Americans in the Profession,' *PS: Political Science and Politics* 25, 2, June 1992, 252-259, [<https://www.jstor.org/stable/419719?seq=1>, accessed August 25, 2020]; Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, 'Leveraging Diversity in Political Science for Institutional and Disciplinary Change,' *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 48, 3, July 2015, 454-458 [<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/ps-political-science-and-politics/article/leveraging-diversity-in-political-science-for-institutional-and-disciplinary-change/C6F738E3B333BF98DFB75FB6D7383780>], accessed August 20, 2020; American Political Science Association, *Political Science in the 21st Century: Report of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century*, Washington DC: The Association, October 2011 [https://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_AllPgs_webres90.pdf], accessed July 25, 2020; and National Research Council, *Seeking Solutions: Maximizing American Talent by Advancing Women of Color in Academic: Summary of a Conference*. Washington DC: The National Academic Press. [<https://doi.org/10.17226/18556>, consulted August 20, 2020.

follows a similar format, examining Buffalo's steps to recruit and retain men and women from minority groups, and then considering the discipline as a whole.

Minority faculty in the Department and Discipline⁵⁷

If locating, hiring and retaining women faculty proved difficult, similar efforts for minority faculty members proved far more complex. In this, Buffalo was not alone. To put the matter bluntly, recruitment and retention of Black Americans did not arise as a policy priority within major American colleges and universities until the late 1960s when riots broke out in many U.S. cities.⁵⁸ Within academe,

⁵⁷ See the 1968 *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, popularly known as the Kerner Report. <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/8073NCJRS.pdf>, accessed July 27, 2020. According to Wikipedia, 'The report became an instant bestseller, and over two million Americans bought copies of the 426-page document. 'Its finding was that the riots resulted from black [sic.] frustration at the lack of economic opportunity. Martin Luther King Jr. pronounced the report a 'physician's warning of approaching death, with a prescription for life.'" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerner_Commission, accessed July 27, 2020.

⁵⁸ Three contrasting non-PSC examples stand out in my mind. Molefi Asante, then named Arthur Smith, came to UB in 1972, at the age of 30. We became acquainted due in large part to our shared interest in Africa. Asante achieved international renown while working at Buffalo. According to Wikipedia, he '... advanced the ideas of international and intercultural communication; he wrote and published with colleagues, *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*, the first book in the field.' https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Molefi_Kete_Asante.

Another example is Hollis Lynch, founder of the Black Studies Program. His tenure at UB was exceptionally brief, since he headed to Columbia in 1969, one year after he arrived in Buffalo. [<https://www.thehistorymakers.org/biography/hollis-lynch>, consulted July 15, 2020]. Competition for Black American faculty, attractions offered by other institutions, and similar reasons meant Black/African-American Studies did not view UB as the best place to put down roots. Or perhaps the lack of a healthy nucleus of minority faculty made Buffalo a less attractive venue than other colleges and universities. African-

colleges and universities scrambled to create departments or programs in Black Studies [or a similar title]. Regular academic units pressed to recruit Black Americans to their ranks as well.

Institutions change reluctantly, especially when en-crusted with centuries of tradition and enduring casts of characters. As national awareness increased about serious racial gaps across American society from 1964-2020, UB responded cautiously in my view, 'with all deliberate speed.'

Recruitment of visible minorities entailed many problems. Colleges and universities across the country scrambled for candidates. Major public research universities faced particularly high obstacles to such appointments. Their desire for nationally recognized scholars impeded searches. One solution badly hurt HBCUs [Historically Black Colleges and Universities]. Their faculties and senior administrators were raided, lured by higher salaries and benefits, diminished teaching loads and administrative duties, and other

American Studies reached its half-century mark with little attention from most of the campus. See <https://www.ubspectrum.com/article/2019/02/ub-community-celebrates-50-years-of-african-and-african-american-studies>. By that time, African-American Studies formed part of the Department of Transnational Studies.

One shining contrary example of a reverse brain drain, whom I recall, was internationally known German historian Georg Iggers, SUNY Distinguished Professor [History]. Before coming to Buffalo, Iggers taught at Philander Smith, a historically Black college in Little Rock. He believed deeply in human rights. As a German Jew who fled just before Kristallnacht, this interest came from deep personal roots. Georg was deeply involved in the intellectual world; practical matters were not his forte. An amusing example came from a long-distance trip he and his wife Wilma took. Georg left a rest stop and drove 100 miles before realizing he had left her behind!

Brief and in my mind utterly inadequate biographical information can be found at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Iggers. Iggers was a towering figure in historiography and 20th c. German history. His focus on developments in the former East Germany [Deutsch Demokratische Republik] attracted global attention.

blandishments at longer established, wealthier institutions, largely in the North.⁵⁹

Any search for a new faculty member required following affirmative action policies. Departments had to demonstrate that the pool of eligible candidates for potential appointment included qualified minorities.⁶⁰ ATRs had to include detailed, specific details about procedures to be followed in a search. The resulting searches went through a vetting process before any final appointment could be made.

Carrots sometimes came via positions set aside by the Provost or CAS Dean, to be distributed to units to recruit minority faculty. Given the scarcity of ATRs for new positions and scrambles for replacements, Departments proposing appropriately qualified underrepresented individuals stood a better chance of welcoming a new colleague. Political Science worked hard to identify such persons. Once found, the main issue became enticing them to Buffalo, a city known for its snow and Rust Belt image, to a Department among the smallest of PhD-granting institutions,⁶¹ and

⁵⁹ The same requirement applied where women were underrepresented.

⁶⁰ Jim Campbell prepared a series of analyses for senior administration, to illustrate UB's unenviable position near the bottom. One report ranked nearly 120 programs in terms of size. [Campbell excluded Departments not falling in the top 20, according to a National Research Council (NRC) survey.] Buffalo, with 13 full-time faculty, counted more faculty than Mississippi State and Case Western Reserve. By contrast, Kennesaw State counted nearly three times as many professors, while George Mason included 83! In another analysis, Campbell looked at UB's Arts and Sciences Departments rated by the NRC relative to their peers. Out of 103 Political Science departments, UB placed in the 13th percentile, while its relatively best-funded CAS sister units Chemistry and Philosophy ranked in the 77th percentile. In a third analysis, Campbell concentrated on AAU [Association of American Universities] member institutions, the elite group of research-oriented institutions. He found that UB's Political Science Department, once again, stood practically at the bottom of the list in terms of faculty size: 53rd out of 55.

⁶¹ Email to me from Jessica Hollister, August 15, 2020.

arguably to a University and metropolitan area that was not generally known as welcoming to visible minorities.

Minority faculty at the University at Buffalo

I asked the UB Archives for baseline statistics about minority representation early in the Department's history:

Welch question: Does the UB Archives have a list of all the Black/ African-American faculty members appointed since the 1960s in the Social Sciences, or in CAS [College of Arts and Sciences]?

RESPONSE: We don't have many materials with such statistics.

This, in itself, is quite telling, as it demonstrates that this was not a priority for much of the University's history. The Archives provided the following figures on Black American professors and staff for 1971-1972:

Full professor = 3

Associate professor = 6

Assistant professors = 19

Instructors = 31

Administrative and professional staff = 61⁶²

The Political Science Department tended, like most academic units, to respond more to carrots offered from higher levels than to intra-departmental pressures. Again, this is my view. How did UB's Political Science Department fare? Frank Henderson came to Buffalo in 1970, its first of three Black Americans. In 2000-01, the Department recruited David Leal, its first and thus far sole Hispanic. A year later the Department attracted its second Black and to date its only Black American woman, Sherri Wallace.

The following table illustrates minority recruitment and retention since the Department's initiation in 1963.

⁶² Email from Bill Ofhaus, University Archives, April 14, 2020.

Table 6,2 Minority faculty within Political Science, UB

NAME	YEARS AT UB	SPECIALTY	STATUS
Frank Henderson*	1970-72	Political Philosophy	Black American
Major Coleman†	1994-95	Minority politics	Black American
David Leal‡	1997-2002	Minority politics	Hispanic
Sherri Wallace^	2001-03	Minority/urban politics	Black American

* See https://leighhouse.typepad.com/blog/2004/02/dr_frank_hender.html, consulted October 10, 2017.

† See <https://www.newpaltz.edu/blackstudies/directory.html>, consulted October 10, 2017.

‡ See https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/government/faculty/lealdl3_1, consulted October 10, 2017.

^ See <https://louisville.edu/politicalscience/political-science-faculty/sherri-L-wallace>, consulted October 10, 2017.

Success or failure – or something in-between? I believe the Department made laudable attempts to bring minority faculty on board, particularly starting in the late 1990s – early 2000s. However, academia confronted inherent problems, stemming mostly from a supply/demand imbalance. PhD-granting institutions didn’t produce sufficient graduates to meet the needs of the academic marketplace. The profession recognized the problem, resulting in significant reports and recommendations. However, the actual pace of change remained slow.

APSA and the profession’s responses

Around 2008, APSA established a Task Force to report on Political Science in the 21st century.⁶³ One of its 14 members was Sherri Wallace, a former UB faculty member.⁶⁴ The Task force asked, inter alia, ‘Is political science

⁶³ *Political Science in the 21st Century: Report on the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century*, https://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_All-Pgs_webres90.pdf, consulted July 24, 2020. Quotes on the following pages come from this report.

⁶⁴ Wallace became an increasingly prominent voice within APSA regarding minority women of color. For example, she served as Executive Director of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists [NCOPBS], was elected to the American Political Science Association [APSA] Executive Council, and was appointed/worked with two APSA

positioned to embrace and incorporate the changing demographics, increasing multicultural diversity, and ever-growing disparities in the concentration of wealth present in many nation-states? Can political science do so within its research, teaching, and professional development?’

The report’s Executive Summary observed that:

Political science is often ill-equipped to address in a sustained way why many of the most marginal members of political communities around the world are often unable to have their needs effectively addressed by governments. Moreover, political science does not currently include scholars with backgrounds from the full range of positionalities including race, class, gender, and sexual orientation that are often the most marginalized in societies. Additionally, issues related to marginalization including race, gender, and inequality are not well represented in articles published in the discipline’s flagship journals.

... There are two primary explanations as to why this is the case. First, the discipline tends not to use “identity” as a core analytical category for understanding important aspects of political behavior, social movements, and the development of public policies. It tends to treat identity as given and outside of analysis. ... Second, political science tends not to be self-reflective about the analytical limitations of many of its traditional methodological approaches.

The Task Force urged that departments take the following steps to expand the number of graduate students from less-represented groups:

Presidents’ Task Forces on issues related to diversity and intersectionality. She also served on the Pinderhughes’ taskforce as a member. [This report, ‘Report of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century,’ is cited at length elsewhere in this chapter].

- Political scientists must be more intentional and systematic in using the APSA to develop training programs to encourage and support students from a broader range of backgrounds to consider political science as a profession and to complete graduate training in political science.
- Departments should expand their graduate training to include more of an emphasis on race and inequality. This may require breaking down traditional categories used to structure graduate training and rebuild in more substantive and social problem-solving areas.
- Departments should also be more inclusive of the types of journals valued in the assessment of scholarly productivity.
- Universities and university systems must be pushed to be more intentional in supporting a fuller range of interests and backgrounds of students who pursue graduate work in political science.

With respect to teaching and pedagogy, the Task Force observed:

- Political Science compares favorably to other categories of disciplines in the teaching of diversity and inclusion.
- Compared with other disciplines in the social sciences, Political Science scores above the mean regarding applying theories to problems.
- African American, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian/Alaska Native students perceive that the teaching of political science encourages application of theories to practical problems and encourages students to consider diverse perspectives in their classwork and in how individuals come to have the political views they do.
- The teaching of political science at the undergraduate level does not avoid encouraging

students to apply what they learn to practical problems, include diverse perspectives in class-work, and to better understand the views and perspectives of others, across all types of institutions of higher education...

Turning to Access and Inclusion, the Task Force found that 'Data from 1980-2010 reveal that although gains have been made in the number of women and members of historically underrepresented groups in full time faculty positions at colleges and universities, gains have been small and glacial in their pace of improvement. In 1980, 10.3 percent of full time faculty were women; in 2010 it was 28.6 percent. In 1980, 93.4 percent of full time faculty were Caucasian and in 2010 it was 86.6 percent.'

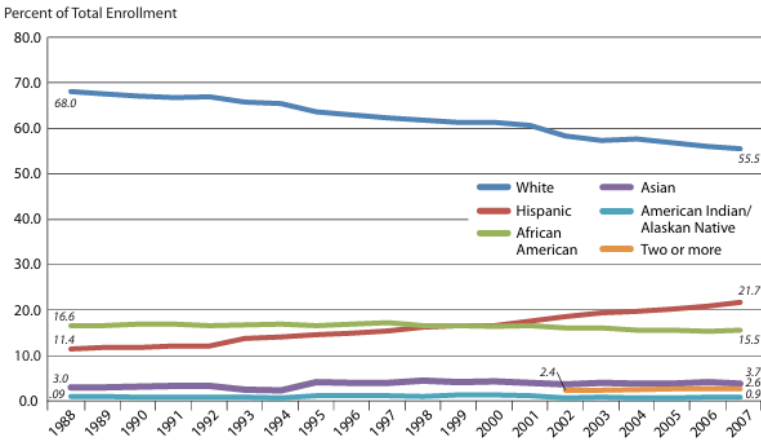
Following its review, the Task Force urged:

- The need for richer, more comprehensive, and systematic data regarding research, teaching and pedagogy, and access and inclusion within the profession.
- The need for the APSA to fully consider whether its current good practices can serve as better catalysts to departments to make more progress regarding issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and diversity more broadly.
- The need for the APSA to partner with other associations or a subset of its own membership to solicit, secure, and utilize external funds to be a leader in developing new research, teaching, and career development paradigms.

Several tables and graphs turn the general prose of the Task Force report into graphic form. Here are two examples.

Graph 6,2 Total public enrollment by race and ethnicity⁶⁵

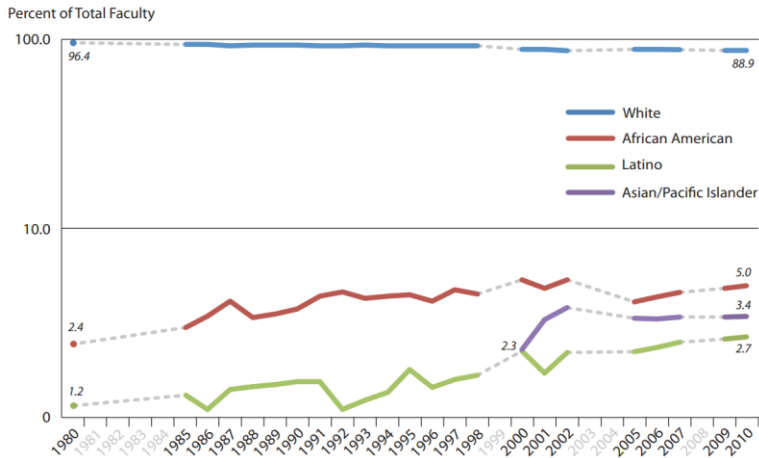
Figure 5: **Total Public Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity, 1988-2007**



Sources: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Commerce, the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS), October Supplement, 1988-2008.

Graph 6,3. Minorities as percent of total faculty

Figure 8: **Political Science Faculty, 1980-2010**



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

A further report on diversity in the discipline came in 2017, in *P.S. Political Science & Politics*. Entitled ‘Leveraging Diversity in Political Science for Institutional and

⁶⁵ Source = https://apsanet.org/Portals/54/files/Task%20Force-%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_AllPgs_webres90.pdf, accessed September 11, 2020. The graph can be found on page 28 of this report.

Disciplinary Change.’⁶⁶ Its Chair, Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, raised several cogent points.

‘[T]he data show limited gains, if any, in achieving diversity goals on campuses generally and within political science in particular. While the numbers of women in political science have shown modest growth over the last two decades, the number of women of color has largely remained flat.’

Referring to the literature on social movements, ‘insurgent efforts succeed when the political opportunity structure opens sufficiently to allow change to occur, particularly through changes in policy, external pressure, and shifts in perspective amongst elites. In conditions when the status quo becomes vulnerable, activists must have capacity, shared consciousness, and resources to take collective action. ...’

‘Because administrators can ‘wait students out’ for the several years in which students may attend to diversity efforts, we will need to consider ethical ways to encourage ‘smart activism’ amongst our students.’ ...

Finally, ‘Despite good, widely shared intentions, the discipline cannot ‘mentor’ black women out of the racism, sexism, and classism that bind them in multiple ways. [There is] a crisis afoot in political science. In what may be unprecedented fashion, faculty of color are departing the discipline at alarming rates.’

Will the Black Lives Matter movement of 2020 have a major ripple effect through Academe? College and university faculty usually change at tortoise-like rates, at least at tenured ranks, short of formal declarations of fiscal exigency.⁶⁷ As of late July 2020, UB had not invoked retrenchment against tenured faculty members. Many non-tenured

⁶⁶ Valerie Sinclair-Chapman, ‘Leveraging Diversity in Political Science for Institutional and Disciplinary Change,’ <https://politicalsciencenow.com/leveraging-diversity-in-political-science-for-institutional-and-disciplinary-change/>, accessed August 21, 2020.

⁶⁷ Retrenchment is covered by Article 35 of the contract between SUNY and the United University Professions. The process is deliberately arduous and protracted.

assistant professors, lecturers and the like faced loss of their jobs, however. Professional staff lacking permanent appointment may be even more likely to be cut, judging by previous workforce reductions. The sure result will be rising teaching loads for remaining faculty members – will the usual teaching load of one graduate seminar and three undergraduate courses annually continue? Enrollments in individual classes will doubtless increase.

UB and the world: International faculty and students

The Political Science Department established International Relations as a field upon its creation. All through the period covered by this history, IR remained one of its strongest fields – witness the reports from the 2007 and 2014 external evaluation committees. To what extent did UB change its institutional profile from an international perspective? In this concluding chapter, I'll briefly examine the University's changing global profile between the 1960s and 2020. I'll also give attention to graduate students coming from outside the United States to UB and to non-American faculty members in PSC.

The University of Buffalo's leaders sought consistently to boost UB's academic profile and visibility, going back to the 'Berkeley of the East' hoopla of the 1960s. In order to do so, they turned outside America's borders to bring exceptional individuals to Buffalo, as faculty, students or short-term visitors. Official campus pronouncements and publications trumpeted achievements, such as luring a Nobel Prize winner to campus or elevating the visibility of a Buffalo-based UB affiliate.⁶⁸ Given the global nature of

⁶⁸ Sir John Eccles, Nobel laureate in physiology or medicine, established his lab at UB in the mid-1960s. See <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/medicine/1963/eccles/biographical/>, consulted March 11, 2021. Roswell Park Cancer Institute faculty member Herbert Hauptman shared the 1985 Nobel Prize in chemistry. This award reinforced links between RPCI and UB. See

scholarship, UB had to compete internationally for the highest quality professors in every field.

How did this fact of 20th and early 21st century university life become manifest at UB in general, and within the Department of Political Science in particular?

The table below summarizes major increases in non-U.S. students from 1980 to 2019, by decades.

Table 6.3. International Student Enrollment, 1980-2019⁶⁹

	TOTAL ENROLLMENT			GRADUATE ENROLLMENT		
	Total	Int'l	% Int'l	Total	Int'l	% Int'l
1980-89	269,549	17,035	6%	82,633	12,238	15%
1990-99	221,081	18,217	8%	74,340	14,532	20%
2000-09	271,537	33,165	12%	91,003	21,721	24%
2010-19	300,716	60,747	20%	98,054	28,758	29%

These figures reflect exceptional recruitment efforts undertaken for UB by coordinated efforts mounted by the Office of the Vice Provost for International Education. I give special praise to Stephen Dunnett, who served as Vice Provost for International Education for several years. Starting as Director of the English Language Institute, Dunnett developed and coordinated a number of innovative techniques to increase the flow of qualified international students to UB. Individual Departments or faculty members enjoyed links with institutions outside the United States, but crucial issues such as visa requirements, evaluation of credentials and enhancing UB's image as a world-class University required special offices, expertise, and exceptional devotion.⁷⁰

To be sure, UB, like other universities, benefited fiscally from the higher tuition rates charged to out-of-state and

<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/chemistry/1985/hauptman/biographical/>, consulted March 11, 2021.

⁶⁹ Source: SUNY Institutional Research and Analytics; Infosource ISI_STUDENT_OIA_ALL.

⁷⁰ Details about his distinguished career can be found at <https://www.buffalo.edu/internationaleducation/projects/Stephen-Dunnett-to-step-down-as-vice-provost-for-international-Education.html>, consulted May 25, 2023.

to non-US citizens. Also, many STEM disciplines and some professional schools drew mostly graduate students from outside the United States.

The Department drew a modest number of professors with international roots.

Table 6.4. PSC faculty born outside the United States

NAME	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	YEARS AT UB
Karel Hulicka	Czechoslovakia	Before 1960 to 1964. He remained in History after PSC split from HIS
John Lane	Germany	1962-1991
Roy Macridis	Turkey	1963-1965
Tetsuo Kataoka	Japan	1967-1973
Munroe Eagles	Canada	1989-present [2021]
Franco Mattei	Italy	1997-2011
Eric Duchesne	Canada	1999-2004
Hanna Birnir	Iceland	2001-2007
Vesna Danilovic	Serbia	2005-present [2021]
Dinissa Duvanova	Kazakhstan	2007-2013
Josh Dyck	Canada	2006-2011
Elena McLean	Russia	2015-present [2021]
Antoine Yoshinaka	Canada	2015-present [2021]
Jieun Lee	Korea	2020-present [2021]

Issues in recruiting new and junior faculty

Perhaps the greatest question the Department faced through its entire history involved recruitment and promotion of new and junior faculty. Personnel costs for academic institutions are notoriously 'sticky.'⁷¹

Here are some assertions I've heard or read about factors explaining unsuccessful recruitment efforts.

- UB's low starting salaries for assistant professors relative to the level of competition UB faces for high quality faculty.
- Myths and facts about Buffalo's winter weather.
- Desire to remain in the same area as a partner.

⁷¹ Note the Nobel Prize in Economics, awarded in 2010 to Professors Peter Diamond, Dale Mortensen and Christopher Pissarides. Their award was 'for their analysis of markets with theory of search frictions.' Tenured or permanent appointments cannot be changed rapidly, academic administrators learn quickly. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christopher_A._Pissarides.

- Small size of Buffalo's Political Science Department -> relative lack of colleagues.

Buffalo's climate doubtless hurts recruitment. I did not gather information systematically, but a quick summary of assistant professors appointed between 2010 and 2020 yields the following: two returned to the south for family reasons and another departed to join her spouse. Recruitment and retention of faculty members with northern US origins and/or graduate training there proved simpler. Their reasons included moving closer to one's partner; returning to natal areas; and having received graduate degrees from northern universities.

Summing up a score of years: Doing well despite ...

Though the Department entered the millennium with its fewest full-time faculty since 1964, it had learned how to function well, '[within] the confines of a culture of poverty at a higher level than might be expected,' as the 2007 visiting committee commented. By 2020, PSC stood proud nationally for the achievements of its faculty and graduates alike.

The 2000-2020 period witnessed exceptional efforts to recruit new junior scholars. The Department had achieved a degree of harmony on basic directions and principles so that searches proceeded smoothly.

Recruitment committees confronted several obstacles. First, the Buffalo region suffers from a negative image. Its cold winters are liable to horrendous lake effect snowstorms – but who mentions the glorious summers? Western New York as a part of the Rust Belt had experienced decades of economic decline; on the other hand, substantial investment within the City of Buffalo enhanced its attractions. The Amherst campus is located in a suburb removed from urban cultural life; however, UB-catered enterprises have sprung up around it. Salaries, although good, could not match those

offered by many better-funded institutions, notably at non-tenured ranks. Other valid arguments were advanced.

Several negative consequences flowed from the Department's small size, relative to peer institutions. Younger, less firmly rooted assistant professors or promising newly tenured associate professors were eminently poachable by other institutions. A critical mass of compatible colleagues – i.e., who shared or reinforced each other's research specializations sufficient to attract national attention – might be missing, with consequent effects on stability.

The same complaint runs through the great majority of Department meetings I recall and Annual Reports I consulted. Political Science staffing at UB remained a fraction of practically every university within the AAU.⁷²

Conclusion: *Fluctuat nec mergitur*

The official seal of Paris shows a single-masted Viking-style boat, beneath a fleurs de lis, the mark of the Bourbon dynasty. Roughly translated, the motto *Fluctuat nec Mergitur* means '[She] is tossed [by the waves] but does not sink.'

In my view, this motto characterizes the Department of Political Science throughout its history. PSC rose to new heights with favorable inputs, descended when resources became straitened, but eventually established an equilibrium that combined high rates of scholarly productivity, coupled with effective, efficient teaching.

⁷² A list of its members can be found at https://www.google.com/search?q=american+association+of+universities+membership+list&rlz=1C1GCEA_enUS821US821&oq=association+american+universities+members&aqs=chrome.2.69j57j0l6j69j64-.17623j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8. This link, visited April 2, 2020, listed the AAU's 63 participants from largest down in terms of student enrollment. The web site, as of this date, featured UB as the second graphic, immediately behind UC/Berkeley. Another web link displayed AAU members alphabetically, meaning UB fell close to the bottom. <https://www.aau.edu/who-we-are/our-members>, consulted April 2, 2020.

Cooperation across Departmental or even School lines served to magnify individuals' scholarly achievements and curricular outreach. Cross-disciplinarity formed part of the Department's ethos. Examples included the joint JD-PhD program, a highly demanding dual degree program carried out with the Law School. Although an intra-Departmental effort to offer an MA in Public Policy foundered because of budget squeezes in the early 1980s and other factors, the spirit of innovation remained. The desire to enhance learning opportunities remained unquenched. In the 2010s, when new General Education requirements were introduced, PSC developed new courses and made major adaptations in others, further increasing enrollments and justifying additional faculty members – and, in the process, enhancing the Department's reputation and visibility.

Political Science at UB indeed has been tossed [by the waves] but does not sink.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MULTIPLE HOMES FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE

As the Department changed in personnel and programs; as it swelled, then diminished in size; and as the Amherst campus became a reality: Political Science correspondingly changed in character. It proved difficult for the Department to put down roots when it was periodically transplanted. Students detested the bus journeys between campuses that prevailed for many years. Faculty, staff and students alike complained about parking. This chapter traces this part of PSC's journey.

As the number of faculty and students grew, UB sequentially transferred Political Science from frame houses and temporary steel structures on the Main Street campus, to interim facilities in an Amherst office park, to three different locations on the Amherst campus in the first eleven years. Where and when the Department moved depended on factors far beyond its control, such as shifting University priorities, space availability, and the ebb-and-flow of State capital funding.

In its early decades, Political Science was housed on the South [Main Street] Campus. Thanks largely to private donors, the by-no-means-affluent University of Buffalo was able to purchase the former Erie County Almshouse and County Hospital, located on 178 acres at the northeast corner of the City of Buffalo.¹ Over time, it became transformed

¹ The main building, which contained Erie County's almshouse and the combined hospital and psychiatric facilities, was later retitled Hayes Hall. It became the office of leading UB administrators, leading to many jokes about the advantages of housing presumptively somewhat deranged academic leaders there. The most recent authoritative analysis of UB's peripatetic nature was penned by the University's 13th President and a former UB Law School Dean and Provost. See William R. Greiner and Thomas Headrick, *Location, Location, Location: A Special History of the University of/at Buffalo* (Buffalo NY: Center for the Study of American Culture, 2007). This book takes the story of UB's

into a metropolitan campus. The Main-Bailey site was located across the street from the major streetcar turn-around.²

UB exemplified the commuter school par excellence.

The Main Street trolley, replaced by bus service after World War Two, ran from downtown Buffalo directly to the campus. Successive buildings for the law school were located close to downtown courts and major firms. The medical school also remained far down Main Street, tied directly to the city's many hospitals, with clinical departments scattered among them.

Not until 1953 did campus-based medical teaching and lab facilities open for the School along Bailey Avenue. The College of Arts and Sciences, and professional schools such as Engineering or Business, gradually moved into new buildings on the Main-Bailey site as private benefactors and careful administrators made them possible. Not until 1950 did UB embark on building dormitories on its many acres of open land. Indeed, aerial views of the campus taken in the 1930s, 1940s and the 1950s show a small number of structures separated by large swatches of green space, with a

successive sites from the University's inception up to 2005. Their basic assertion – that UB would have gained maximum benefit from acquiring additional property in the Main-Bailey area rather than in Amherst – may long be debated, but was resolved differently decades back.

Whatever the circumstances, acquiring the Main-Bailey property represented a huge step for UB, made possible eventually through a major fund-raising effort. The site cost \$54,500, but Erie County required that construction start within ten years, making donations and capital campaigns essential. Generous gifts from thousands of citizens [\$5 million from 24,000 donors in 1920] and a few major givers made the purchase possible. For example, Grace Knox, widow of the dime store magnate Seymour H. Knox, Sr., made a series of gifts that, in 2010 dollars, approximated \$60 million. See *Building UB—The Comprehensive Physical Plan* (Buffalo: University at Buffalo and Beyer, Blinder, Belle Architects & Planners LLP, 2010), p. 14.

² The site was obtained from Erie County in 1909. For additional information, see <http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/buildings/scintro.html>.

sweeping front lawn at the top of which stood the majestic former Erie County Almshouse.³

The first home for Political Science on the South Campus was the neoclassical Crosby Hall.⁴ It served the Department, then a sub-unit of the Department of History and Government, from its construction in 1931-32 until the early 1960s. Department members shared offices with other instructors, sometimes from different Departments. Not only did faculty live in close quarters, but staff was shared. For several years, Political Science and English shared one secretary.⁵

The growth spurt resulting from the merger with SUNY led to the first of the Department's six major moves as of fall 2020. Although the State's annual appropriations varied dramatically with marked effects on the number of faculty, capital funding continued to flow, albeit spasmodically at times.⁶ The first post-Crosby settings – former family residences on the Buffalo side, at the edge of the Main Street campus; part of a temporary building at the periphery of campus; a rented low-rise office complex well north of the major centers of UB life; and a mammoth student

³ Hayes Hall did not have its clock tower and chimes at that time. They were added in July 1928, a year after the renovation of the structure [<http://www.buffalo.edu/buildings/building?id=hayes>]. Old photos of Hayes Hall can be found on the internet.

⁴ See <http://www.buffalo.edu/buildings/building?id=CROSBY>, consulted March 3, 2013.

⁵ Interview with Professors John Lane and Robert Stern, Buffalo, April 24, 2008.

⁶ The State University Construction Fund and the companion Dormitory Authority are highly centralized Albany operations, with the SUCF serving SUNY, and the Dormitory Authority taking on a variety of projects across the entire state not necessarily confined to the SUNY system – nor, for that matter, to dormitories. The bonds they issue are paid off through tuition, room charges and other revenues. Capital appropriations operate within a lengthy time frame. The vicissitudes of the annual appropriations process that figured so prominently in previous pages had only an indirect impact on issuance of Dormitory Authority and SUCF bonds.

dormitory still being constructed during the Department's period of occupancy – were far from splendid, however. [See pictures of these sites on the Political Science website.]

The first migration occurred with the separation of Political Science from History. A typical University District home at 138 Winspear Avenue, purchased in 1963, housed the entire Department.⁷ The next year, UB felt obliged to buy the neighboring structure at 142 Winspear, when Political Science more than tripled in size from 3.5 to thirteen faculty members between 1962 and 1964.⁸

In retrospect, the transfer from a solid granite building to a frame home may have been the most important shift in venue in the Department's history. It established Political Science as a separate discipline and academic unit to be viewed and judged on its own merits, rather than subordinated within History.⁹ No longer would its identity be submerged inside another entity. 138 and 142 Winspear provided intense, informal faculty interaction. The quarters left much to be desired in several respects, yet the close company the initial post-merger group 'enjoyed' contributed to an esprit de corps that lasted for several years.¹⁰

But these houses soon proved inadequate. Political Science as a discipline was in the throes of a major paradigm reassessment, which coincided with UB's tremendous overall expansion and the behavioral revolution well afoot in the early 1960s.¹¹ Professor Robert Stern, by then a well-

⁷ Pictures of most previous and the current office buildings can be found on the internet. They include Park Hall, 138 Winspear Avenue, 142 Winspear Avenue, Annex B on the Main-Bailey Campus and 4238 Ridge Lea Road.

⁸ More accurately 3.5, since Professor Karel Hulicka split his teaching time between History and Political Science.

⁹ Interview with Professor John Lane and Robert Stern, April 24, 2008.

¹⁰ This strong positive sense was doubtless accentuated by the Department's growth and manifest improvement in academic quality.

¹¹ As Professor Robert Stern commented on an earlier draft of this history,

seasoned veteran of the faculty, commented that the ‘new’ unit ‘serve[d] as a microcosm what was occurring the discipline at large.’ ‘... the choices made at that period – in faculty recruitment; in tenure and promotion decision decisions; in the shaping of the curriculums, graduate and undergraduate; in the allocation of resources to undergraduate and graduate instruction respectively,’ reflected such broader trends.¹²

In 1965, the Department moved from the Buffalo perimeter of the campus to its Amherst edge, along Bailey Avenue, in one of the many ‘temporary’ structures dotting the campus.¹³ Annex B lacked the character of the previous locations. Its cinderblock walls and resonant metal roof contrasted with the relative solidity and informality of Winspear Avenue homes, or the granite majesty of Crosby Hall. These temporary buildings lacked any sort of charm. A senior colleague vividly recalls painters spending many days at work, the concrete block walls absorbing untold gallons of paint, until they took on any color at all. Individual faculty offices could be accessed from the single main corridor, not from creaking staircases. Finding no informal meeting place at the

That local parting of the ways, it might be noted, coincided with a movement taking place in the Political Science discipline more broadly, by which older disciplinary affinities that considered History and Law (at least in its constitution and public aspects) to be cognizant disciplines, were now being rivaled – and some influential voices would have had them largely displaced – by newer affinities, e.g. Psychology, Sociology, Economics, this both with respect to the subjects for scholarly study, and with the methods and tools employed to investigate them. By the early 1960s the ‘behavioral revolution’ in American political science was near full surge; the drive toward quantification was impacting both faculty research and graduate level instruction – the latter by way of front-loading the grad curriculum with regional courses in methodology and in the philosophy of science.

Handwritten letter to me dated August 27, 2010.

¹² Handwritten letter to me dated August 27, 2010.

¹³ Most of these remained in use 40+ years later.

university, Department members regularly decamped for lunch at nearby taverns.¹⁴

During the Winspear Avenue era, faculty members also enjoyed dining at the Faculty Club,¹⁵ located adjacent to the then-Student Union. Another colleague's fondest memory of Annex B is of watching a senior faculty member wander its halls, asking how the Department could spend all its money before the end of the fiscal year – perhaps the last time that occurred, he noted.

For a brief period, facilities were once again shared with a cohabiter. The rapid growth of the Department of English – which reached its apogee in national reputation and numbers in the late 1960s and early 1970s – meant it needed further space as well. It joined Political Science in Annex B. Marty Plax, a graduate student turned instructor, commented that his office was next to Jack Barth, the noted author of such novels as *Giles Goat Boy*, *End of the Road*, and *The Floating Opera*. Plax also reported having ‘fun memories of conversations with Leslie Fiedler.’ [Fiedler, a generous person with an open, welcoming demeanor, was the renowned author of *Freaks, Love and Death in the American Novel*, *Being Busted* (which recounted his run-in with the Buffalo police, suspicious since he served as was faculty adviser to

¹⁴ Two of the favorites were Onetto's, at the northeast corner of Main and Bailey [as of 2020, the location of a Dunkin' Donuts] and Troidl's, in a now largely decayed part of the east side. Both were subsequently knocked down.

¹⁵ Members of the Department bemoaned lack of access to the Faculty Club when the Department moved away from Main Street. It provided not only a pleasant setting for lunch, but also a place for major receptions. I recall attending a reception for new faculty in my initial weeks fall 1964, hosted by Chancellor Clifford Furnas and his incongruously named wife Sparkle. They stood next to a pair of huge gilt oval mirrors, purportedly donated to the University by Millard Fillmore, UB's first chancellor. The absence of such a gathering space on the Amherst campus led to many efforts to resuscitate a faculty club of some sort. The closest started in 2009 as free weekly cheese and crackers, vegetables, soft drinks, and wine, served in the Student Union. This experiment was abandoned after a few months.

LEMAR, a legalize marijuana group), and *Fiedler on the Roof*, among many others. The well-publicized arrest occurred Monday, May 1, 1967.^{16]}

The next relocation took faculty members of Political Science to what seemed like the swamplands of Siberia.¹⁷ Ridge Lea Road had a typical suburban misnomer, since it ran through flat, wet territory barely suitable for major construction. 4238 Ridge Lea housed the Department from fall 1967 to summer 1975.¹⁸ The new location was a great improvement over Annex B, the temporary on-campus building. Constructed as part of a midsize office park adjacent to the I-290, Ridge Lea was a major private capital project, whose investors reaped an immediate, lucrative return from UB's space needs. Leasing a few structures, imperfect as they were, provided SUNY and UB breathing space until suitable academic space could catch up with demand for it, given the inevitable lag between initial concept of a new building, preparation of detailed blueprints, putting out for bids, construction, and the like. Charm of setting and quality of architecture were never Ridge Lea's selling points.

The effects on the Department can kindly be described as mixed. Being surrounded by an interstate highway, parking lots and semi-swamp intensified the 'outpost mentality.' On the positive side, the Department was in a sense pioneering both in the discipline and in the University: Political Science could metaphorically prove its newness

¹⁶ See *The Village Voice* May 4, 1967, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1299&dat=19670504&id=lwNOAAAIBAJ&sjid=KYwDAAAIBAJ&pg=5929,2218653>, visited August 8, 2014.

¹⁷ One of the two Winspear homes was retained for a few years as [in the words of one doctoral candidate] as a 'ghetto for graduate students.'

¹⁸ The move was negotiated with Myles Slatin, Dean of the soon-to-be dissolved College of Arts and Sciences. E-mail from Al Somit to me, July 28, 2014. As of mid-2010, 4238 Ridge Lea housed office operations of Jenss department stores. The entire complex is entitled Amherst Commercial Park, with shifting businesses.

and vigor through its location. On the negative side, it remained, at least temporarily, isolated from many cognate Departments. And, compared with the experience of later years, parking was never a problem, although students had reason to grumble about the difficulties of getting to classes when they were forced to move between campuses by bus.

To a certain extent, this isolation from the center of campus life unified the Department. It reinforced ties with a few related entities within the Faculty of Social Sciences, such as Sociology.¹⁹ Other neighbors included the Department of Psychology and the University's computing facilities. Robert Danziger – formerly of the Oxford Internet Institute – noted that ‘we were also very close to really excellent computational facilities that enabled a set of us to be closely connected with the use of computing in support of our research. I think we were 2-3 minutes from the main-frame computers. Looking back, I think that was a very useful accident that helped enhance my own training at SUNY.’ Jim Hottois, another doctoral recipient, also commented on the Department's halting entry into the computer age.²⁰ The initiative, not surprisingly, came from John Wahlke, a leader in early application of quantitative analysis techniques to Political Science. As Hottois wrote to me,

I recall [Professor Roy] Macridis taking home the Hollerith cards for some project he and Wahlke were working on so that he could “get a feel for the data.” Those old houses were really a metaphor for what was happening within the discipline of Political Science then. I remember [Wahlke] wandering the halls looking for ways to spend all the money he

¹⁹ The College of Arts and Sciences had been broken into three entities prior to the arrival of President Meyerson. This fission was seen as necessary owing to the rapid expansion in the number of faculty.

²⁰ Hottois went on to become president of Palo Verde College in Blythe, California after previous stints at Eastern Oregon University and Lewis and Clark State College, as well as teaching positions elsewhere.

bought two electronic calculators. They were about the size of a small microwave oven. We got really fancy versions. There was a big button on one side that automatically calculated a square root. That was a boon to graduate students who were doing statistics.

The move to Ridge Lea also coincided with a major upgrade in computing facilities at UB. The new computer at Ridge Lea was a Control Data Corporation [CDC] 6400 – a far more powerful computer than the IBM 7044 at the old campus.²¹

Steve Peterson, who [along with Al Somit] became a leader in the sub-speciality of biopolitics,²² lauded the informal way in which the Department's high calibre faculty and students, ample State funding, and visionary leadership had measurable benefits:

The association (of senior faculty) with high quality graduate students was definitely positive; we would sit around (as graduate students do) talking extensively about politics over lunch (how could I forget munching on what was called the “Interimburger” in Ridge Lea's cafeteria!) but also about political science. These informal discussions added to the classroom work. I thought that students were able to work pretty closely with nationally recognized figures in the discipline (I thought that it was a trip to have pretty good working relationships with [Ken] Vines, [Roberta] Sigel, and [Al] Somit, for example). The coursework was rigorous and added a great deal to my knowledge of the discipline.²³

²¹ Telephone discussion between Professor James Hottois and me July 12, 2010.

²² He and Somit published a preliminary history on the subject in 1979, and then published a series of other studies.

²³ Email to the author, January 14, 2014.

Debbie Dunkle, another PhD recipient, recalled that she had her office in Psychology, which helped lead to her own career as a research specialist.²⁴

As just indicated, Ridge Lea lacked the amenities of being located near suitable restaurants, at least at that time. No longer could faculty members walk for a pleasant on- or off-campus lunch at which beer or the like could be purchased. Only limited cafeteria service, with food of indifferent quality, was available at Ridge Lea. Steve Peterson commented on the disadvantages of 4238 thus:

The physical isolation on the Ridge Lea campus and the limited library facilities were not great. However, shuttle buses (or personal cars) were available to tap into the advantages of the Main Street Campus. ... Ridge Lea wasn't great. The political science space was such that graduate student offices were scattered all over campus – including in the Psychology and Anthropology buildings (if memory serves). It wasn't a huge issue, but I do recall thinking about the less than optimal space situation. The library, as noted before, served adequately, but it wasn't the same as wandering through the old Lockwood Library. Access to the computer center was fine (although I am glad that we are beyond punch cards!). Overall, even though it wasn't ideal, I enjoyed my time at Ridge Lea, and it did the job.²⁵

Ted Carmines, one of the most distinguished late 20th century Americanists in the profession, similarly observed how the isolated, temporary nature of Ridge Lea facilitated student-faculty interactions. '[It] was a makeshift

²⁴ Dunkle became Research Director at UC Irvine's Center for Digital Transformation [CDT], in the Paul Merage School of Business.

²⁵ Personal email from Dean Steve Peterson, December 30, 2007.

campus in many ways, but something was gained, since lack of space promoted interaction.’²⁶

The most ‘solid’ move – that is to say, from a converted family residence or avowedly short-term structure – came in January 1975, when the 27 members of the Department pulled up stakes and ventured onto the new North Campus. Prior to that time, only two completed structures could be found on the 1200-acre tract, the Law School [O’Brian Hall] and the Governors residential complex.²⁷ The remaining 95+ percent was a trackless sea of mud, where bulldozers had worked for nearly two years and continued to operate, to make the former wetland and floodplain buildable.²⁸ The Amherst campus was then a muddy wasteland, yet it suggested the grandiose plans for UB’s expansion. Very few classrooms, dormitories, recreation or dining areas or other

²⁶ Telephone interview with Professor Ted Carmines, March 31, 2008.

²⁷ The design for Governors was chosen for a simple reason: the State University Construction Fund had already approved and built an identical I.M. Pei structure at Fredonia, making construction quicker and cheaper. The law school was planned as the center of the academic core, a decision that angered many if not most members of the local bar and the faculty. See William R. Greiner and Thomas E. Headrick, *Location, Location, Location: A Special History of the University of/at Buffalo* (Buffalo NY: Center for Studies in American Culture, 2007), p. 84.

²⁸ Among other bits of trivia, Bizer Creek had to be relocated to the western edge of the campus; two separate lakes were excavated to raise the overall elevation above the 100-year flood level; and additional fill was taken from the construction of the nearby I-290. Because Buffalo lies in a potential earthquake zone, all structures on the North Campus were built atop piles driven at least 100 feet into the clay to provide solid footing.

Professor Don Rosenthal analyzed the policy issues involved in the decision to uproot UB’s academic life through constructing a brand-new campus. See his article, ‘Bargaining Analysis in Intergovernmental Relations,’ published in *Publius* 10, 3 (1980). As Rosenthal pointed out in a note to me, delicate urban-suburban issues surfaced in proposed extension of the new rapid transit line beyond its Main-Bailey terminus [the South Campus] to the Amherst Campus: ‘an equal effort by Amherst to halt the plan at the city border’ killed the idea. E-mail to me, July 23, 2014.

usual amenities of campus life existed. Other structures were planned or rising. Despite the overall fiscal crisis of the State, bond-financed funds from the State's Dormitory Authority and the State University Construction Fund continued to flow into construction. [Maintenance was another matter, however, as years passed and upkeep was slipshod.]

Rent for buildings on the Ridge Lea Campus had chewed up a fair amount of UB's budget, posing a major financial constraint. It was cheaper to build anew on the Amherst campus, or to occupy empty University-owned space, than to continue leasing property. Social Sciences programs were to be concentrated on the new Amherst site.²⁹ The question was, Where? As noted, the first buildings constructed on the North Campus were the Law School [O'Brian Hall] and Governors Residence Halls.³⁰ Both officially opened in 1973, although the Law School lacked seats in the lecture halls for its initial weeks. [A fire had destroyed the manufacturer's plant, including all the chairs intended for O'Brian.]

Political Science was one of about a dozen units selected for the dubious honor of transferring onto the Amherst campus early on, with the move itself occurring in early 1975.³¹ The transfer eroded links with other Social Science units that existed on Ridge Lea Road. The Department became a guinea pig of sorts for an interesting sociological experiment, mingling academic units and student living space. Architecturally the most striking building on the Amherst

²⁹ Discussion between me and Robert J. Wagner, former UB Senior Vice President, December 10, 2010. Buildings for Social Sciences were easy to design and construct relative to wet sciences, engineering, health sciences or the like.

³⁰ For summary histories of the construction of each, see <http://www.buffalo.edu/buildings/building?id=obrian> and <http://www.buffalo.edu/buildings/building?id=governors>, consulted March 3, 2013.

³¹ 'The logistics of the move (assignment of offices etc.) were ably handled by Holly McGranahan, our very valuable administrative assistant, and [Professor] Clark Murdock, who served as my deputy at that time and for that purpose.' Handwritten letter to me from Professor Robert Stern dated August 27, 2010.

campus was and remains the ‘Emerald City,’ as students quickly dubbed the Ellicott Complex. Its residential quads³² could not attract enough undergraduates to fill its spaces – and for good reason. Courses remained scattered among the far-from-complete North Campus, the temporary Ridge Lea outpost, and the South Campus/Main Street campus. Bus connections were chancy, and the trip between campuses took more time than the 10-minute gap between classes.

The Ellicott Complex, PSC’s next home, had been designed in the late 1960s, with classrooms and departmental space intended for the various residential-cum-academic colleges. These differed from regular academic departments, although nearly all of their faculty would come from standard academic units.³³ The point is that space was

³² Each quad in fact contained varying mixtures of seven different structures, varying in height from three to ten floors. There are thirty buildings in toto in Ellicott, when the Millard Fillmore Academic Complex is added in. Department and other University offices are located at the center of Ellicott and on the ground floors. Numerous classrooms, a food court, a short-lived pub that freshmen in particular appreciated, and the Katherine Cornell Theater counted among the other features. The architects knew little about winter conditions in Buffalo, however. Many rooms are projecting cubes, constructed with seven external walls – on the weather side of buildings! Heat in much of Ellicott is imbalanced and excessive. As a result, many undergraduates feel uncomfortably hot, so that even in the midst of winter one can see scores of open windows.

³³ In Political Science, three faculty members became involved with various colleges. Professor ‘Chip’ Planck came to the Department in a unique joint appointment with College E, which was loosely oriented toward interdisciplinary, action-based social sciences. Claude Welch became Master of Rachel Carson College, which focused on interdisciplinary environmental matters. Finally, Professor Robert Stern handled a very delicate task:

As chair of the Faculty Senate sub-committee on the Colleges I found myself quite involved with some pretty contentious matters affecting their proper role and status concerning esp. their autonomy in the selection and structure of programs for credit, their definition of activities (other than those connected with classroom instruction for awarding credit, etc. After considerable and intense haggling over such matters, the Faculty Senate approval of [some]

available, although almost all Ellicott Complex rooms were intended for use as dormitories. Only a small number of desirable offices existed, many with lovely views of Lake Lasalle, and they were provided to Departments whose long-term home remained in the Complex.

Undergraduates isolated in Ellicott did not like where they had been placed, given the absence of student amenities. Nor did faculty members like the space they were allocated. The physical layouts of Ellicott's bedrooms contrasted mightily with Ridge Lea's offices: the latter had been designed for business purposes, the former as dorm bedrooms, early-1970s style. Sad to say, no air conditioning existed outside the classroom core at Ellicott and the few offices on the Lake Lasell side. No wonder life in Spaulding Quad, one of the six in the overall megastructure, proved far from satisfactory.

As Chairman Don Rosenthal complained in his 1978-79 Annual Report, the first written after the Department moved into the Ellicott Complex:

There are warm days in the Fall or Spring when the heat is intolerable, especially for the secretarial staff which cannot escape elsewhere, and when rock music from adjoining buildings makes concentration on work impossible. No one in the University seems to give a damn about these problems. Since the University sometimes seems to be more concerned about the beds than the heads they can fill, we have regularly found ourselves in a Kafkaesque situation in trying to cope with these irritations.

Another irritation came from the tobacco-friendly culture of those days. Many faculty members smoked, with pipes favored by Glenn Snyder and Gary Hoskin. Others

kind of charter for the colleges based upon what I distressingly believe was termed the 'Stern Prospectus.'

Handwritten letter from Professor Robert Stern to me, dated August 27, 2010.

disapproved vocally, both faculty and staff. But academic freedom prevailed over concerns of health and indigestion, and the pipes remained part of their personas.³⁴

Meanwhile, the Amherst campus gradually took on brick and concrete reality. Buildings along the academic spine were constructed with connecting corridors across intervening green space at the second floor and basement levels. This assured indoors access guaranteed a modicum of protection from winter cold or precipitation at any season. Other structures arose east and west of O'Brian, which [as noted] housed the Law School.³⁵ Gradual fleshing out of the spine occurred. Political Science became one of the earliest occupants in the row of structures that increasingly stretched from the center at O'Brian. Baldy Hall came first; it opened in the summer of 1975 to the east of O'Brian.³⁶ The

³⁴ Professors Paul Diesing and Les Milbrath objected strongly to this habit, as did efficient secretary [and later Assistant to the Chair] Betty Balcom. Conversation with Professors Stephen Halpern, Charles Lamb, and Robert Stern March 2, 2012.

³⁵ One of the more foolish 'grand' decisions came in reorienting the spine in a strict compass configuration. The original master planners, Skidmore Owings and Merrill, came up with the concept of the academic spine to deal with winter's vicissitudes. They oriented the spine roughly south-west to north-east, to avoid exposure to prevailing winds. The megastructure proposal drew strong criticism, however, despite its boldness and merits, largely because occupancy of any part of it would be impossible until a substantial portion had been completed. The revised plan by the firm of Sasaki, Dawson, Demay had the virtue of allowing new buildings to be constructed one-by-one while maintaining the links among them. Their chief innovation came in eliminating Skidmore Owings' megastructure, while retaining the concept of a spine. While the law school remained at the center, newly constructed buildings would be built due north/south or east/west of it. With this reorientation, wind tunnel effects became marked, especially in front of ten-story Clemens Hall. Many falls and injuries occur each winter in front of it, due to the velocity of the wind, especially at the building's corners.

³⁶ <http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/building/hayes/html>. For history of the building, see <http://www.buffalo.edu/buildings/building?id=BALDY>. Baldy Hall contains 186,298 square feet and was constructed at a cost of \$6,811,000 [\$41.75M in 2026 dollars].

Department moved immediately into Baldy. At last, conventional space existed: faculty offices were configured according to the State-mandated 120 square feet per office;³⁷ a greater choice of classrooms was possible as additional space became available; and our morale was boosted by the sense that at last the North Campus was becoming a reality.

³⁷ Therein lies an irony. Had Political Science chosen [as did Economics] to move into O'Brian, which it could have done, Department faculty would have benefited from offices 50% larger than the norm. The space benefit resulted from some legerdemain by a key faculty member. According to a former Dean of the Law School,

[the] faculty liaison with the architects and State Construction Fund ... argued persuasively and successfully that faculty, like practicing lawyers, worked in their offices because they needed to be close to the library to consult statutes, codes and cases, and as a result, that students, with faculty encouragement, frequently met with faculty after classes and dropped in at other times as well. Thus the offices had to be large enough to accommodate meetings with small groups of students. I believe he also stressed, probably without much curricular proof, that legal education was incorporating more small seminar/tutorial type teaching, and as office/seminars, the Fund rules allowed more square footage. To accomplish this architecturally was easy; the hallways were moved toward the Library and the library space reduced. I also believe that [the faculty liaison] had been the Librarian at one time and was chair of the Library Committee, so he could fend off any shouts of outrage from the library folk.

E-mail to me from Thomas Headrick, July 22, 2014.

Had the Department chosen office space in O'Brian, there would have been more space for most of us to display unread books and strewn course notes or manuscripts. The reasons why Political Science passed on this opportunity remain unknown, however. An expectation of continued growth may have been one. Also, according to Professor Robert Stern, few members of the Department were interested in pursuing links with the Law School at this point. 'A further irony may be that with very few faculty interested in or seeing any advantage in such proximity, the Department later focused there, in the development of a JD/PhD program connected to the Baldy Center and through faculty participation in various Center activities, its most prominent and enduring interdisciplinary enterprise.' Handwritten letter to me from Professor Robert Stern dated August 27, 2010.

The next shift in offices occurred in 1986 from Baldy to nearby Park Hall. Air-conditioned animal laboratories for Psychology and computer and email services occupied the basement, Philosophy the first floor. Psychology was housed on the second and third floors, Sociology the fourth and History the fifth. Because of how the Park Hall space was configured and the size of the Department, Political Science was shoe-horned into its top two floors, becoming neighbors to Sociology and History.³⁸ The location in Park Hall kept the Department adjacent to the Law School. It remains intellectually close for some members of the Department, and physically close for others, albeit across an occasionally bone-chilling or sun-baked bridge rather than a direct air-conditioned corridor.

The Department took advantage of being uprooted, although at some cost. Moves had to be hastily planned and executed. Only one week elapsed between announcement of the moving date into Park Hall and the move itself!

As former Chair Bill Mishler later wrote,

I do recall long faculty discussions about how to assign offices in a way that would be fair to all. I suggested an Oklahoma land rush process (all faculty line up in the parking lot and race to claim the office they preferred). I think the older weaker faculty objected! The process turned out to be some sort of lottery, as best I recall, but one that was designed to let groups of faculty, who wanted to be together, bid on offices as groups. I don't recall much else except that when the mover came to pick up my books, he knocked down a metal railing next to the loading

³⁸ The structure bears an honored name in the University's academic history. Julian Park served as Professor of History and as first Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1919 to 1954. His analyses, '[The evolution of a college a century of higher education in Buffalo](#)' [1938] and 'A History of the University of Buffalo' [1917] have served subsequent historians well. Park's portrait hangs in the History Department, together with those of Professors Julius Pratt, John Horton, Bob Lively and other luminaries.

dock and then couldn't maneuver his truck to get out of the loading area without driving across the lawn even as the grounds people were laying it.

I don't recall much more, except that only the animal labs in psych were air conditioned. Federal rules required it for rats but not professors. I also recall filling out some reporting form just before I left, I think for APSA, asking me to list faculty "broken down by sex." I recall answering that we didn't have any faculty who were broken down by sex, but alcohol was a different matter.³⁹

The two secretaries had to share a single key, which opened all the offices, so that furniture could be put in the proper places.

As of this writing, the fifth floor of Park Hall still houses the entire History Department and about two-thirds of Political Science faculty. The remaining PSC members share the fourth floor, together with the entirety of Sociology. Offices for funded graduate students exist on both floors.

When Park Hall first opened, computer access remained highly restricted. Only a few fourth-floor offices were hard-wired in the days before distributed computing became commonplace. As noted, the building was constructed with restricted air conditioning. This resulted from a directive of the State's powerful Office of the Budget in the energy crunch days of high OPEC prices and New York City's near bankruptcy.

Naturally, complaints mounted. Plenty of cool air could be found in the basement, where computer services were housed. The basement also housed Psychology's lab animals, where Federal mandates for ethical treatment of test animals applied. On sweltering days, secretaries and faculty members brought in fans, opened windows wide, and hoped for a break in the weather. Frigid winter days were no better,

³⁹ E-mail from Professor Bill Mishler to me, July 18, 2014.

with wind often seeping around the metal window frames.⁴⁰ Not until 1989 was central air conditioning installed.⁴¹ Even then, temperature regulation remained problematic. Wintry chills made some of us shiver, while our colleagues in other offices baked.

What about the Department's location in the future? One set of suggestions involves uniting the sundered parts of Political Science in reconfigured space in Lockwood Library. With many journals published electronically and back issues available through the Internet, storage needs have diminished. Budget reductions and electronic publication have also resulted in major reductions in the number of journals and dramatically diminished space needs. Low demand books and documents have been relocated to an off-campus storage facility. Hence, why not utilize the square footage thereby liberated for other academic purposes? If the Law School should be relocated to the Main Street campus, as recommended in the UB2020 plan, why shouldn't Political Science move into O'Brian Hall, where faculty offices are 180 square feet in size rather than 120?

But major funding will be required, as well as support from senior academic leaders and at least grudging acquiescence from the faculty. Around 2016, a Heart of the Campus task force was established. Membership included PSC Professor Jim Campbell, but progress on implementing its plans remained liable to fiscal vagaries and shifting leadership priorities. Whether New York's fiscal ups-and-downs will permit major reconfiguration in coming decades remains open to question. Political Science may once again be a candidate to move since the Department could be physically reunited for the first time in a quarter century or more. Only time, dollars, and willingness will tell.

⁴⁰ Then UB President Steve Sample even proposed removing windows in Jacobs over a weekend, to install individual fixtures. He was dissuaded from this by a senior administrative official. Interview with Robert J. Wagner, Senior Adviser to the President, July 26, 2011.

⁴¹ E-mail from Mike Dupre, Assistant Vice President for Facilities Planning, to me, August 1, 2011.