**Chapter 5, Reforming the reforms?**

**The 1980s and 1990s[[1]](#endnote-1)**

The overwhelming portion of academic business follows set patterns. Faculty members develop specializations, to which they devote significant portions, and perhaps all, of their academic careers. 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.

 In this chapter, I will assert that through the long history of the Political Science Department, only two significant 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 brief late-1960s presidency of Martin Meyerson.

 The other basic shift occurred over a longer period. As observed in the previous chapter, it took the form of gradual erosion of support from New York State, leading to major internal adjustments within UB as a whole. The Department learned to ‘live with less,’ enhancing its efficiency significantly while boosting its academic output – a major accomplishment given the decline in faculty numbers.[[2]](#endnote-2)

 On the other side of the coin, ‘reforms’ rearranged basic structures of budget, curricula or administrative reporting relationships, without transforming 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. Political Science undertook significant 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 shifted occurred in the mid-1960s, 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 embarked on significant transformation of its teaching program and fundamental expansion of its size. Nothing symbolized the shift more than the creation of a full PhD program.[[3]](#endnote-3)[[4]](#endnote-4)

Later years witnessed significant backtracking on Meyerson’s plans. The four-course load was abandoned, largely due to pressure from SUNY Central, the State Education Department and Middle States criteria. 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, although they did not die completely. The College system shifted significantly. Some units were shuttered completely, such as the infamous College A.[[5]](#endnote-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]](#endnote-6) The rapid growth of these Programs merits a section of its own, found subsequently in this chapters.

Before then, however, separate major changes/ paradigm shifts deserve consideration. Al Somit, an insightful political scientist[[7]](#endnote-7) who taught in the Department from 1966/67 until 1969/70, suggested a second fundamental transformation. [Al ascended to Executive Vice President in 1970, where he served for a decade prior to becoming President of Southern Illinois University. Somit managed to keep up an active scholarly life while serving as an administrator.]

According to him, in an email sent 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]](#endnote-8) The inevitable downward spiral of hopes, aspirations and disappointments contributed to the problems you describe elsewhere.[[9]](#endnote-9)

Writing personally, I would 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]](#endnote-10) holding out hopes for significant change during his 10 years as UB’s President.[[11]](#endnote-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 an individual equally committed to enhancing UB’s national and international recognition. Even though New York 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]](#endnote-12)

This chapter is loosely structured, interweaving or, perhaps more accurately juxtaposing, sections focused on Political Science specifically, and parts providing a UB-wide context to the extent I, as author, observed them. Readers should feel free to skip around. Here as elsewhere in this history, defects in my organization become obvious once again. Life or 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:

Specific changes in the Department during these two decades

* Adaptations within Political Science during the period, 1
* The Interdisciplinary Degree Program and its effects on the Department
* The Undergraduate College: Faculty initiative and organizational consequences.
* The ‘Gang of Four’ and its effects upon the Department as a whole.
* Recreation of the College of Arts and Sciences.
* 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

**Adaptations within the Department, 1**

## Relatively few major changes occurred in Political Science’s curricula during this period until the early 1990s. Graduate fields were consolidated into four,[[13]](#endnote-13) given faculty retirements, job availability for PhD recipients and shrinking resources. Twenty-six 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 below re the ‘Gang of Four.’] Political Science became top-heavy, with *no* assistant professors by 1985.[[14]](#endnote-14) Being full tenured reduced flexibility in recruiting new faculty. Indeed, simple replacements – precious ‘ATRs,’ or Authorizations to Recruit – required vociferous and usually unsuccessful arguments by PSC’s Chairs. The Department as a whole 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 effects**[[15]](#endnote-15)

Starting 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]](#endnote-16) The Program was based within 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]](#endnote-17) areas in which Political Science offered classes several relevant courses. In short order, IDP added Health and Human Services. Environmental Studies and International Studies became parts of it.[[18]](#endnote-18) The significant impact on PSC’s IR courses can be readily imagined.

The Interdisciplinary Programs gained large enrollments in its multiple tracks.[[19]](#endnote-19) Their students’ access to multiple required classes was limited by how many places academic Departments offered. Protecting their ‘turf’ was essential, since funding was based in large measure on enrollments.[[20]](#endnote-20) Most Departments 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. Since ‘non-major’ seats were often occupied by actual majors from other departments or undecided students, access to critical courses in their major was often a problem for IDP students, and hence an area for parental pressure as well. Recognizing this problem in the early 1990s, the Social Science Dean’s office addressed this problem by creating 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 determining 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 characterized above occurred dependent on discipline, to be sure.

Rhetoric about the importance of interdisciplinary cooperation collided frequently 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’ course, given the universality of basic statistical methods? Academic units disagreed ‘emphatically.’[[21]](#endnote-21) Psychologists taught these techniques using examples best suited to their demands. Ditto Sociology. Ditto Engineering. And, to be sure, ditto Political Science.[[22]](#endnote-22)

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.[[23]](#endnote-23) Political Science felt the greatest impact from IDP’s Legal Services track, since a substantial portion of the Department’s credit hours came from law-related classes. However, *unless* they double majored, IDP students did not count as Political Science majors.

To sum up, establishment of the various interdisciplinary degrees offered undergraduates a significantly 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, owing to the impact on 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. The recreation of CAS occurred during 1998/99, as discussed following an excursus into the “Gang of Four” and the Undergraduate College.

**The “Gang of Four”**

Every small group has its special dynamics. As once aptly noted, faculty meetings “conform to the grand tradition of chaos, gamesmanship, and impotence.”[[24]](#endnote-24) Given therelative triviality of the issues with which they deal, at least in the “big context,” it is understandable that what may seem like petty issues could become the focus of long-term dispute.

Department members were stirred by more profound concerns, however. A profound philosophical-cum-methodological difference existed within PSC, one that didn’t surface when Political Science was expanding in all directions, but which exacerbated internal pressures when growth stopped and the Department was forced to confront fundamental questions about its major directions. Perhaps it is inappropriate to suggest a simple dichotomy, given that the modes of inquiry and areas of focus differed across the sub-fields Political Science has maintained. So long as the Department was relatively large and could continue to make new or replacement faculty appointments at a reasonable pace, 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 broke into the open. It had several deleterious effects on faculty morale, appointments and promotions, and graduate student attitudes.[[25]](#endnote-25) The division affected the Department’s position within the University as a whole, as it became perceived as an entity marked by irreconcilable conflict 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, the approach taken having automatically consigned them to “the other side.” Accordingly, votes on appointments and/or promotions included a built-in negative bloc.

The conflicts that occurred in Buffalo had many parallels. Indeed, the discipline as a whole has been roiled by disputes over its basic orientation and methodologies. 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 “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.
3. Data should be quantified and ‘findings’ based on quantifiable data.
4. Research should be theory oriented and theory directed, moving from ‘operalizable’ 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’.[[26]](#endnote-26)

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; rigid adherence to use of hypotheses may stifle rather than advance research,
2. Overt political behavior tells only part of story, since different indivs 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.
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 an interdisciplinary approach may be useful in many areas, care must be taken to preserve 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 came from a pioneer in quantitative research in American politics. Les Milbrath gained national attention through his 1963 publication, *The Washington Lobbyists*. He followed this book in 1965 with his path-breaking *Political Participation: How and Why do People Become Involved in Politics?* Milbrath utilized survey research among a wide variety of audiences. Having established his reputation through approaches that were methodologically sophisticated for the period, he urged [according to Somit] that only individuals with comparable skills be considered for appointment.[[27]](#endnote-27) Such a stance ran counter to several strong traditions within the discipline, such as political philosophy or 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 continuing to allocate introductory or “Core” courses to each sub-field.[[28]](#endnote-28) All incoming MA and PhD candidates were required to enroll in these introductory seminars. The dispute had more than symbolic significance, since the ‘”Core” seminars provided a potential 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 more contentious[[29]](#endnote-29). The most highly charged arena of dispute, however, came with tenure and promotion recommendations. New assistant professors were entitled to a maximum of seven years in that rank.[[30]](#endnote-30) If they passed through numerous levels of review and became tenured associate professors, they would form increasing percentages of the Department for decades to come. A tipping point could soon be reached, given the direction of the discipline – and, indeed, of academic research more broadly.

Internal squabbling had rapid and unfortunate repercussions. 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 but had deep sympathy for his fellow group members. 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.[[31]](#endnote-31) 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-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 (see discussion in earlier chapter).

Members of the Buffalo minority raised an important point, however. One of the historic and richest roots of Political Science lay in Political Philosophy. Indeed, more than any other part of the discipline, it can claim seniority by many centuries.[[32]](#endnote-32) No high-quality Department could claim to represent all parts of the discipline fairly without its inclusion. When Political Science grew to a minimum of 20, chair Jim Campbell indicated in 2009, thought could be given to reinstituting classical political philosophy. Diminishing resources “put paid” to this hope, however. Once again, non-Departmental facts intervened. The structural gap between New York State’s expenses and revenues widened, meaning serious cutbacks in UB’s desired budgets. SUNY and UB priorities moved toward different areas, notably to professional schools, responding to student interests and job opportunities.

Over time, intra-Departmental antagonisms diminished. The most important reason came through sheer attrition. One member resigned, leaving Buffalo for another 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, modern methodological basis – in other words, on a quantitative foundation. Political Science agreed by the early 1990s to set rigorous requirements for entering graduate students. Rather than face a smorgasbord of first-year courses, the new MA and PhD students would become thoroughly grounded in empirical and statistical approaches. The Department also agreed on a set of hiring priorities, a necessary step in light of rejections for growth by university administrators. Annual reports through the 1970s and beyond, in addition to various external reviews, argue that the Department was too small to attempt, let alone sustain, a quality doctoral program in all aspects, comparable to far larger flagship campuses such as the University of Wisconsin-Madison or Berkeley.

**The Undergraduate College**[[33]](#endnote-33)

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 joined in the mid-1980s to reconsider UB’s undergraduate curricula, their success in meeting their purported goals, especially in general education, and 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 FTE’s. Eventually, 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 BA, 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 the sophomore year; and ‘Great Discoveries in Science’ potentially for the third.[[34]](#endnote-34) 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.[[35]](#endnote-35) ‘UGC111’ moved – at least in theory! – from ‘pre-history’ [before extensive written records existed] to 1500.[[36]](#endnote-36) UGC112 [‘World Civilizations, took the story to the present.[[37]](#endnote-37) Timbuktu and the Tang dynasty would be examined, not just Athens, Rome and the post-Renaissance, post-Reformation West. Such a view, I argued, reinforced the narrative UB’s undergrads had imbibed in their pre-baccalaureate classes, through formal education and via informal socialization. These led all too easily to a sense that the rise of Occidental societies was inexorable, and that other civilizations were inferior in basic respects.

Most professors who taught World Civ did so for a single semester, consonant with their specializations. In my recollection, only the following faculty members offered both 111 and 112: Bill Baumer and Jim Lawler [Philosophy]; Jack Meacham [Psychology]; and Al Price [Architecture and Planning].

I was the only member of the Department who taught World Civ, only in its second semester.[[38]](#endnote-38) Political Science gained three graduate assistantships as a result. I tried, wherever appropriate, 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 their students, and enhance their 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.[[39]](#endnote-39)

‘American Pluralism and the Search for Equality,’[[40]](#endnote-40) UGC211, was designed as the successor to World Civ. In the view of the course’s advocates, UGC211 would gain more nuanced views of American society.[[41]](#endnote-41)

‘Pluralism’ confronted potentially interested faculty members with a challenging task. 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 multidisciplinary and innovative 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.[[42]](#endnote-42)

‘Model’ students, according to Undergraduate College planners, would follow a three-year sequence, as already observed: two semesters of ‘World Civ’ as freshmen; ‘Pluralism’ as sophomores; and ‘Great Discoveries in Science’ as juniors.[[43]](#endnote-43) ‘Capstone’ classes could be offered within departments to seniors. As early as possible in students’ careers, they would also enroll in freshman seminars. Problems in attracting faculty to teach them and other factors meant that UGC198[[44]](#endnote-44) became a course increasingly taught by librarians and other professional staff.

Overall, scores of faculty members took active roles in conceptualizing and implementing the Undergraduate College.[[45]](#endnote-45) It engaged a few political scientists, especially Fred Fleron and myself. The overwhelming majority of Department members continued with their own research, teaching, advisement and the like within PSC itself. The 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 during the 1980s and 1990s, 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 died down, with morale improving in the 1990s and continuing into the next millennium. In short, the Department established a new stability.

Recruitment of new, young faculty resulted in canons of scientific inquiry becoming widely accepted and utilized 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 PhD’s in political philosophy was very limited; and 3] practically all the individuals with public policy expertise had left by the mid-1980s.[[46]](#endnote-46)

 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 from the mid-1960s for a quarter century would be abandoned. The decision was long overdue, the great majority of the Department’s faculty members believed. 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 would 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.[[47]](#endnote-47)

 The number of full-time ‘ladder’ faculty[[48]](#endnote-48) – individuals holding tenured ranks or eligible for promotion to them – continued to diminish. While the Department started in 1990/91 with 19 full-time assistant, associate or full professors, the total declined to 14 by 1999/20. The number of classes taught by advanced graduate students and adjunct faculty rose, a trend decried by chairs but cognizant of existing student demands. 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 guide, 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 specialization were developed via judicious grouping of existing courses. Students could choose among five different ‘tracks,’ including pre-law, public affairs, global studies, [pre-] graduate school, and ‘general track.’ Clear overlaps thus existed between Political Science and the Interdisciplinary Degree Programs, 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, moreover, over a quarter of them had retired, moved or whatever – 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 due to reasons outside the control of Political Science.

**Side note 1: The Association of American Universities**

From his opening days on campus, President Steve Sample pressed on every front, working endless hours[[49]](#endnote-49) to achieve national recognition. Two of his most significant initiatives involved the AAU and intercollegiate athletics. [[50]](#endnote-50)[[51]](#endnote-51) The latter encountered significant skepticism among faculty members, but gained some degree of local support.[[52]](#endnote-52) [See the following section for details.] With respect to the AAU, most people on campus initially had no 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?’[[53]](#endnote-53)

More significant 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 universities’ emphasis on research. New York State didn’t lack AAU members, but all of them were private.[[54]](#endnote-54) 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 quietly behind the scenes in ways few on campus knew about. Success came in 1989, with UB’s elevation.[[55]](#endnote-55)

 Election to the AAU recognized *overall* *institutional* excellence on a wide variety of measures.[[56]](#endnote-56) Overall size helped, but did not guarantee membership. For example, the entire University of Rochester counted 754 faculty members in 2020, 378 of them tenured[[57]](#endnote-57); by contrast, Ohio State University carried 2,241 faculty members on its roster, 1,509 of them tenured.[[58]](#endnote-58)

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 clear via 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.[[59]](#endnote-59) In 2011, among AAU member universities, the University of Toronto’s political science department included 83 faculty members, UB 15.[[60]](#endnote-60)

 Did membership of the Association of American Universities have any direct impact on Political Science? The main consequence, I believe, was indirect. The AAU has dropped institutions from its roles. 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 as a whole well beyond its numbers. I believe this accurately represents the Department’s achievements relative to its size.

Presidents Sample, Simpson and Tripathi repeatedly emphasized 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 attempted 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. The Interdisciplinary Degree Science Programs lacked their own faculty, and hence drew 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 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](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lambert_Cup), emblematic of supremacy in Eastern U.S. small-college football. The Bulls were invited to play in the 1958 [Tangerine Bowl](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_One_Bowl) against [Florida State](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Florida_State_Seminoles_football). 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.[[61]](#endnote-61)

 I remember the Bull’s first game that year, played in Harvard Stadium.[[62]](#endnote-62) UB bested Harvard 6-3. A chilly drizzle lessened the crowd, but gave the author an opportunity to sit closer to his first College date, a second-generation student at Radcliffe.[[63]](#endnote-63) Three years later, Nancy and I were wed.[[64]](#endnote-64)

 Fast forward from fall 1958 to the late 1960s. Buffalo was the only unit within SUNY with a substantial intercollegiate athletics program. 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.[[65]](#endnote-65) This action spelled *finis* to UB’s aspirations to maintain a significant presence in intercollegiate athletics at any level higher than NCAA Division Three.[[66]](#endnote-66) Not until 1991 did SUNY change its scholarship strictures.[[67]](#endnote-67)

A second shift occurred in 1993, when Buffalo moved up to Division 1-AA. Any return to ‘big time’ athletics, i.e. Division 1 football, meant restoring the ability to fund players. Many students and significant funds would be involved. ‘FBS [Football Bowl Subdivision] teams are allowed a maximum of 85 players receiving athletically based aid per year, with each player on scholarship receiving a full scholarship.’[[68]](#endnote-68)[[69]](#endnote-69)

The author cooperated with campus President Steve Sample to gain support within the Faculty Senate for returning to NCAA Division 1 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. They did so in 1986.

**Side note 3: ROTC and its suspension**

ROTC on campus ended as a result of a Faculty Senate vote, if I recall correctly, around 1970. This also occurred when I left the office of Dean of Undergraduate Education and returned to teaching Political Science full-time.[[70]](#endnote-70)Insofar as members of the Senate were concerned, ROTC lacked sufficient academic oversight in naming and approving the Program’s faculty.

UB had housed a ROTC unit for several years. 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. Formally, its instructors were approved by UB, based on recommendations from the Department of Defense. ROTC students were obligated 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 one of the many flash points 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.

Combined with other issues,[[71]](#endnote-71) 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 list could go on much further. 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-Gentzke.[[72]](#endnote-72) 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 constituted my major academic interest at that time. I started studying the continent while an undergraduate, inspired by struggles for freedom.[[73]](#endnote-73) I was disheartened by the speed and ease with which newly established post-colonial states shed democratic veneers for rule via coups d’état, 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 hitherto had been overlooked actors, and published one of the first books about African coups.[[74]](#endnote-74)

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 fulfil on-campus military leadership requirements. Drills would be conducted elsewhere, not carrying academic credit. The process of formal institutional approval would hopefully change.

No luck, as should have been expected.

**Conclusion**

The 1980s and 1990s thus marked a period in which University-wide changes occurred, some initiated by senior administrators and others from work by differing handfuls of interested faculty. The Department looked inward, dealing with the difficult adjustments of attrition and dissension over PSC’s appropriate scope, coverage, and approaches. On the whole, nonetheless, it coped well with these challenges. Appointment of internationally recognized scholars brought distinction to the Department as a whole. 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.[[75]](#endnote-75)

 The issues covered in this chapter carried over into the 1990s. Steven Sample moved in 1991 to the University of Southern California.[[76]](#endnote-76) Interdisciplinary Degree Programs continued to flourish. The Undergraduate College’s World Civ and American Pluralism courses continued, although 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 records in Division I-AA.[[77]](#endnote-77) ROTC ¸ now retitled Military Leadership Studies, came back to campus.[[78]](#endnote-78)

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

1. **Endnotes**

 I owe special thanks to Tom Headrick, Al Somit and Munroe Eagles for their careful, valuable pre-publication reading of the chapter. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. In spring 1980, 26 full-time faculty taught in the Department. This number declined to 12 in fall 2000. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
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. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
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, its degree programs extending from associate to baccalaureate to professional and doctoral levels? Earlier parts of this history have recounted these factors in detail. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
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. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. As of spring 2020, the Social Sciences Interdisciplinary Degree Program contained seven tracks: [Cognitive Science](https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/social-sciences-interdisciplinary/academics/majors/cognitive-science.html); [Health and Human Services: Community Mental Health](https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/social-sciences-interdisciplinary/academics/majors/hhs-community-mental-health.html); [Health and Human Services: Early Childhood Studies](https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/social-sciences-interdisciplinary/academics/majors/hhs-early-childhood-studies.html); [Health and Human Services: Social Gerontology](https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/social-sciences-interdisciplinary/academics/majors/hhs-social-gerontology.html); [International Studies](https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/social-sciences-interdisciplinary/academics/majors/international-studies.html); [Legal Studies](https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/social-sciences-interdisciplinary/academics/majors/legal-studies.html); and [Urban and Public Policy Studies](https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/social-sciences-interdisciplinary/academics/majors/urban-public-policy.html). <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. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
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 Behavioralism* (New York: Irvington Publishers, 1982). UB’s Archives contain an extensive collection of his papers, dating from Somit’s years as Executive President). [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Ketter spent his entire teaching, research and administrative career. 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>. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Email to the author, April 2, 2020. I strongly agree with his assessment. We are both too discrete to share our thoughts about whom in this public document. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steven_Sample>. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Sample led UB from 1982 to 1991. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
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). [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. American, Comparative, IR [International Relations] and Public Law. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. By 1985, the Department had shrunk to 18 full-time faculty. All associate or full. The nadir of 12 faculty members came in 2000/01. An inauspicious start to the new millennium indeed…. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
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. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
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 Mental Health. International Studies came in 1982, while Cognitive Science was added in 1995. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. A few years later, Political Science launched its own Public Policy track, albeit at the graduate level. Details about appeared in the previous chapter. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Dryden started his administrative career following his PhD in Philosophy, as part-time coordinator and then ‘Master’ of College H. He was elevated to IDP’s Associate Director in 1987 and Director in 1994**.** The title ‘Master’ reflected former President Meyerson's call in his 1966 ‘Academic Organization of the University’ speech. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Protection of FTE’s 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Email to the author March 27, 2020. For specific requirements, see [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. <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. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Arthur D. Austin, ‘The Waste Land of Law School Fiction,’ *Duke Law Journal,* 29, 2 (1959), p. 497. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. One of the most distinguished former assistant professors gained a named chair at one of the most eminent American public research universities. He believed that his prospects for promotion 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 his person July 28, 2008. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *American Political Science: A Portrait of a Discipline* (New York: Atherton Press, 1964), p. 178 and preceding. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Telephone discussion between Professor Somit and the author September 10, 2010. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. The required field seminars were established when the Department was created, and have continued since then. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. This was a national phenomenon, not one confined to UB. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. 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 large research grants were received). [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. In the standard view, Political Philosophy and International Politics started in Athens’ Golden Age, with Aristotle, Plato and Thucydides. Comparative Politics arguably began with Machiavelli. Behavioral approaches (used especially in American politics) awaited the development of appropriate statistical techniques. Population sampling methodologies and large-scale attitudinal surveys did not come to the late 19th century at the earliest, and in reality only after World War II as computing power increased exponentially. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. 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 the in-depth research appropriate for the topic. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. 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.   [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. 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-199s 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 soon 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Practically all faculty members teaching World Civ did so for a single semester, with which they were most comfortable. 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 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. 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 include 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 experiences in our combined 83 years teaching at UB. I sincerely hope, should the program continue¸ that other colleagues enjoy this experience. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. The course was usually referred to simply as ‘Pluralism.’ [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. [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, 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. 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.

‘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. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. Staffing UGC303 and UGC304 [‘Great Discoveries in Science: the Microworld’ or ‘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. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. ‘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. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Professor Fleron identified several crucial people in the approval in an email to the author. They included Tom Headrick, former Dean of 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. 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 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. 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. This 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? [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. ‘Ladder’ precluded individuals with ‘qualified’ titles, such as ‘instructor,’ ‘clinical.’ How ironic that ‘qualified’ meant being unable to gain one of the crucial privileges of academic life …. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. A one-time personal assistant to Steve told me that she would receive calls from him even late on Christmas Eve! [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. ###  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.

 [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. 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](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/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 quickly offered a visored UB cap! <https://www.buffalo.edu/ubreporter/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. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Students vote every five years on how much to asses 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.1.69i57j69i59.14359j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>, consulted April 4, 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Criteria can be found at <https://www.aau.edu/who-we-are/membership-policy>, consulted April 16, 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. <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. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. <https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1GCEA_enUS821US821&sxsrf=ALeKk03S9KYB2p-zeV4rxwmHQ7iGfwM2xA%3A1587042714191&ei=mlmYXtiZC--N_Qbo2664Ag&q=ohio+state+university++number+faculty+members&oq=ohio+state+university++number+faculty+members&gs_lcp=CgZwc3ktYWIQAzoECAAQRzoECCEQCkoJCBcSBTEyLTY0SgkIGBIFMTItMTRQ-sUKWOrvCmCb8gpoAHACeACAAVyIAe8GkgECMTKYAQCgAQGqAQdnd3Mtd2l6&sclient=psy-ab&ved=0ahUKEwjYzuPpgu3oAhXvRt8KHeitCycQ4dUDCAw&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. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. 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! [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958_Buffalo_Bulls_football_team>, consulted April 21, 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. ‘With a seating capacity of 30**,**323, Harvard Stadium is praised for its outstanding sightlines for fans. Harvard Stadium once 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. Radcliffe College formally merged into Harvard October 1, 1999. A separate Radcliffe Institute was created, with its research projects focused heavily on women. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. 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)>, consulted April 24, 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. Colleges and Universities in NCAA Divisions I and II can award grants. Criteria for the scholarships and institution vary, and fall outside the scope of this history. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. 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 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/17suny.html>, consulted April 24, 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. ‘The FBS is named for its series of postseason [bowl games](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/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. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. 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. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. Due to the Covid-19 campus closedown spring 2020, I was unable to verify the date of Faculty Senate action. Digitization of *The Reporter*, the official campus newspaper, does not cover that period at this time. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. 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 in “A Stormy Spring” (*UB Today*, winter 2005, summarized in <https://www.buffalo.edu/ubreporter/archive/2010_03_10/flashback.html>. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. Richard Siggelkow, *Dissent and Disruption: A University Under Siege* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books. 1991). [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
73. 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 spawned 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! [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
74. 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 Fort Bragg, the US Army Command and Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, the Air War College in Montgomery AL, and the National War College in Washington. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
75. 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](http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~fczagare/Snyder%20and%20Diesing%27s%20notes.htm), accessed July 8, 2020.

Campbell was originally offered a full professorship in 1994/95, but declined 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).

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). [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
76. 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. The Trojans were far better known representatives of USC than its academic schools and departments. See Steven B. Sample, *The Contrarian’s Guide to Leadership* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2002). 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](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steven_Sample#University_of_Southern_California_presidency), accessed July 5, 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
77. 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.’ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buffalo_Bulls_women%27s_basketball>, accessed July 5, 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
78. <https://catalog.buffalo.edu/courses/military_leadership.html>, accessed July 5, 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)