

THE COLLEGE VOICE

Volume 18 • Issue No. 3 • March 1998



FOR FREE TUITION AND OPEN ADMISSIONS



YES MASTER, THE DESTRUCTION OF CUNY IS UNDERWAY.

Board of Trustees Chairperson Anne Paolucci and Interim Chancellor Christoph Kimmich.

COMPLICATED ACCESS PREVENTION

WILLIAM WHARTON

The transition from the ideologically charged anti-CUNY rhetoric of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's "State of the City Address" to a concrete assault on access to public higher education has been completed with breathtaking speed. On March 23rd the CUNY Board of Trustees (BOT) will vote on ratification of the Comprehensive Action Plan (CAP), which will radically redesign the mission and function of the University system. The document has been hastily prepared by interim Chancellor Christoph Kimmich under the approving guidance of BOT Chair Anne Paolucci and Vice-Chair Herman Badillo. Over the past week the CAP has wound through various committees and has been changed and re-written several times with the final version still not available for public review. Essentially the document that will transform the university system has been hidden from public view, with only the privileged powerful few privy to the sinister final version.

The CAP is being presented by Kimmich as "an effort to develop an overarching policy concerning the preparation of students for college level work at the City University of New York." Even the use of a word as simple as "student" within the introduction to the CAP is a misnomer considering the manner in which the layering of remediation will force a redefinition of what a student is.

Kimmich described this program and its relationship to Open Admissions during a speech he delivered to the Association for a Better New York on March 11th. In the speech he stated that "Open Admissions' was undertaken at a moment of optimism and abundant public funding" and that "having seen limits to this, as to any other, initiative, we are less optimistic. And we certainly enjoy less abundance."

I. Tyranny of Testing

The mechanism for enforcing the CAP program is the institutionalization of standardized testing. The tests facilitate the layering process of admissions to the university system. While some testing is centered around the functioning of the remediation, the other part of the testing puzzle comes in the collection of SAT scores from incoming freshmen is meant to improve the "perception" of CUNY. CAP essentially seeks to direct all students that require remedial help into either the Community Colleges or Immersion

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“... or does it explode?”

Nigerian Born Scholar Denied Tenure

DEVON BLINTH

Late last semester Dr. Onwuchekwa Jemie, a well known authority on the life and writings of African-American poet Langston Hughes and CSI's only Black professor in the English department was denied tenure. The official reason for his termination was that he had not published during his five year period as Associate Professor.

However, he is currently in negotiations with Howard University Press over publishing his almost completed manuscript, "Death Row: New Versions of African-American Urban Folklore." Over a twenty-five year period he has published numerous books and essays, among them, "Langston Hughes: An Introduction to the Poetry," and "Toward the Decolonization of African Literature" considered by many to be a seminal work on the emergence of post colonial African literature. Noted literary critic Harold Bloom and preeminent African American studies scholar

Prof. Henry Louis Gates Jr. were impressed enough with Jemie's work on Hughes that they reprinted entire sections of his work in each of their collections of critical essays.

While completing his Ph.D. at Columbia in the early 1970's, Prof. Jemie helped initiate and later led the Black and Puerto Rican Studies Program at Borough of Manhattan Community College in the wake of a wave of student strikes which washed over CUNY during the Spring of 1970. He remained at BMCC until 1973 when he was appointed Associate Professor of English and African American Studies at the University of Minnesota where he published his first book, "Biafra Requiem."

But Professor Jemie longed to return to Nigeria. So one year after the end of the Biafra War in the 1970's he saw renewed opportunity, in his homeland, returned there, and was appointed Chair of the

"Numerous scholars agree that Professor Jemie should have been given tenure long ago."

Department of Communications at a university in the city of Enugu. By 1980 he had risen to the position of Dean. In 1982 he left the ivory tower to try his hand at journalism and co-founded and edited the "Guardian" newspaper, now the leading newspaper in Nigeria. He served on various boards. But his opinions began to run counter to the dogma of the military junta in power and he was forced to flee, literally packing his family up and departing within three days unable to close out many of his affairs. He arrived in the US and essentially had to start his life all over again. He was hired by CSI in 1993 and soon after began work on "Death Row"

Based on his scholarship and work in

journalism the English Department recommended tenure, this recommendation was forwarded to the Personnel and Budget Committee (a group comprised of department heads and other high level bureaucrats) who voted to reject tenure. Professor Jemie appealed

this decision to the appeals committee who in turn upheld the decision of the English department and recommended tenure, and President Springer, who is the final arbiter in such decisions, overruled the decision of the appeals committee and denied tenure for Prof. Jemie. Numerous scholars agree that Professor Jemie should have been given tenure long ago. One professor who spoke on the condition of anonymity said, "his (work) shows that he is amply qualified for tenure, and has been for more than twenty years."

As for Jemie he says he plans to continue his teaching and scholarly work

SILENCE OF THE LAMBS

A CONCERNED MEMBER OF THE FACULTY

Every time I see 1960's images of White people beating, shouting at, or threatening a Black person, I wonder where those White people are today. Whatever happened to the twenty year old White man whose face represents White racism? Today, he is perhaps fifty years old. I guess he now says he is not a racist.

This introduction is not meant as an appeal to the good side of the CSI community. It is just a thought that always comes up to my mind every time I think of the situation of Americans who have African blood running in their veins.

The point of this article is to attract the attention on a subject that seems to have remained beyond serious analysis. Using the tools of sociology—a discipline which looks at the values embedded in institutions—I will try to open up the debate about the delicate issue of race at CSI, lest it continue to fester. The occasion that prompted this article was no less than the president's choice to overturn the recommendations of the Appeal's Committee in the Jemie case, in addition to the Jeffries incident. The "facts" as they have been told by Devon Blinth and others, will only be the starting point of this very interpretative piece. It is after all for meaning and value that I will be looking in this small scale community of ours.

For a student of sociology, race is perhaps the easiest thing to study and the most difficult. The easiest because one cannot but notice race at the primordial visual level. Blacks can't hide their background. It is also the most difficult because after one has identified those

"... when flippantly the president mentions that professor Jemie was, she heard, a tribal chief, she should have been aware that was precisely the attitude and language of imperialists and racists."

with African ancestry, the task of looking at how an institution functions in order to marginalize them is quite arduous.

As for CSI, the number of faculty and staff members who are descendants of Africans is very small. It is really important at this point to think about the number of African-American faculty and staff at CSI. Out of about 400 their number does not exceed 10—less than that in fact. Now, other than Professor Calvin Holder of History, there is only one Black person, Prof. Roberta Vogel of SEEK, with that title. TWO out of more than 150 full professors.

Another Afro-American at CSI is Prof. Charles Thomas who teaches in the PCA. Professor Thomas waited quite a long time for his tenure and his promotion.

Under "People of Color", CSI can brag to have a number of faculty and staff members. The administration has tried to spread as much of them as possible and make them most visible. For example, non-tenured and junior faculty are part of the Search Committee to hire a new Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences.

At this point, I have just pointed out a few "People of Color" at CSI to illustrate an important point: they are so few, that

one is surprised. It will also be helpful to say that Dr. David Traboulay, holds the title of full professor. Like Holder, Traboulay is an immigrant from the Caribbean. He is of Asian-Indian descent. Professors Holder and Traboulay have in the past been asked by faculty of color to represent them. This administration has selected junior and non-teaching faculty of color as minority representatives on committees.

At CSI, perhaps reflecting some larger social process, the phrase "People of Color" is often used to describe Blacks, Latinos, and Others. A number of functions have been organized at CSI which directly caters to this group. The phrase is not without reminding us of its kindred "Colored People" which was of usage until a few years ago.

Pause for the moment to observe this fact. Why are there so few people of color in the higher ranks of faculty administration and staff? Why are they consigned to the lower levels?

For those who don't see the point in the quantitative, I will soon shift my analysis to the qualitative. But before that, I would like to attract people's attention to the fact that Afro-Americans

are not a hard to find group in America, especially not in New York City. Their absence at CSI is blatant, and I am talking now about American-born-and-raised Blacks, and not about immigrants. Why? Well, the question should be reversed. Is there a difference between the natives of a country and those who have immigrated to it? Is there any? Of course, there is; and those who don't see it should stop reading right at about this point.

The events that surrounded Dr. Jeffries' coming to CSI tell more about CSI than the happy face multicultural memo written by the president. Dr. Jeffries is a professor of Ethnic Studies at the City College of New York, and despite Springer's comment still holds a teaching position at CCNY. He lectures, he talks, he writes, he debates. One can disagree with some of his ideas—as I do—without having to get hysterical over one lecture about defending Open Admissions. One lecture was not going to change the minds of students about life—it is too much power to concede to Jeffries. So, how can one explain the hype?

Let's just look at the way the whole thing was constructed. First, there was a memo from the president warning CSI of a potential crisis. This memo came in tandem with another sent by Dr. Fred Naidler in which he asked CSI people to go to Jeffries' lecture and hear what the man says—this without mentioning anti-Semitism. Another memo by Hillel, a Jewish group on campus, relayed the same ideas.

The Banner, CSI's official newspaper, came out with an issue one day before

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THE MORE THINGS CHANGE . . .

The following is an excerpt of an interview originally published in the December 17, 1990 issue of the *College Voice* under the headline "Professor Struggles With Racism"

CV: How long have you been at CSI?

Troupe: I came here in January 1971. It will be twenty years this coming January. I came here from Ohio University where I'd been teaching and before that I was at UCLA.

CV: Why are you leaving?

Troupe: I'm leaving because of the fact that the University of California at San Diego gave me a position there, and wooed me for about four years. They gave

American full professor at this school. I think it's a shame that I'm the only African American, it deserves more.

CV: Did you have any difficulty being promoted?

Troupe: I had difficulty. I think at this school African-Americans have difficulty. That's not to say I don't have some people who support me at this school. I do, including (former) President Volpe who supported me a hundred percent. He really has and I am not saying that because I am being interviewed. The people in the department have supported me, but there are others in this school who don't like my style. They don't like that fact that I



Quincy Troupe former professor at CSI.

me a substantial reduction in my teaching time. They gave me everything I asked for. As of now I have a novel to finish, I have a new book of poems called *Weather Reports* and I have a new book that's about half finished. I have a memoir of my father and I'm going to write Hugh Masekela's autobiography and I'm writing some films so I needed a reduction in my teaching time.

CV: You've been here for almost twenty years. How long have you been a full professor?

Troupe: I've been a full professor for about two years now. I'm the only African

have dreadlocks. They don't like the way I dress. They don't like the fact that I'm outspoken, that I'll say what's on my mind. They don't like the fact that I'm an African American, and don't try to be something other than that. I'm proud of being an African American. There are people who don't like that at this school. I think there is a lot of racism at this school.

CV: Racism among the professors?

Troupe: Oh sure, among the professors here. They won't say it, they won't admit to it. That's why I always preferred white southern rednecks above so-called north eastern establishment liberals. I know how

"I'm proud of being an African American. There are people who don't like that at this school. I think there is a lot of racism at this school."

a white person from the south feels. They tell you right up front, there is not the behind the back thing. Here there's a lot of camouflage, there's a lot of confusion and people don't come out and say exactly what they mean, what they feel. There's no reason why we should not have more African American full professors at this school.

CV: How do you become a full professor?

Troupe: You have to be reviewed by your department. Your department has to recommend you. They have to vote on it and send it up to P&B (Personnel and Budget committee) and then they vote on it. P&B is comprised of the heads of each department of the university, the president, dean of faculty and a couple of other people.

CV: So this is done within the school.

Troupe: Yes, so if you have a bunch of narrow minded people then you won't get anything. They won't care what you've done, they'll find something that's wrong with it. Sometimes it's not at all racial. It could be a white professor that they don't like. There are a few here that they don't like that they won't promote. So it doesn't come down to whether the person has been a good teacher or has done their work. It comes down to whether they like you. That's a shame that happens across the country at too many universities. You have a lot of dead beats who are full professors who only protect themselves. You have a lot of mediocre people. Sometimes people who are excellent and great are not promoted because they do a lot and people are envious and jealous and all kinds of things. Some of that came into play with me -a little bit of jealousy that I'm a Black person, that I'm an outspoken person, that I'm a well known writer and that I'm not your stereotypical Black person. I don't conform, I speak my mind and they don't like that.

CV: How do you feel about being the most successful and widely published professor and yet having problems becoming a full professor?

Troupe: Very strange. That's one of the reasons why people in San Diego and

other schools started to recruit me several years ago. They said, "You're not a full professor, you should be a full professor, why aren't you?" I said I don't know why, so they started to recruit me. I've been recruited by a lot of major universities for that reason. They felt that I was, and I was, a little frustrated and angry as are some of my other African American colleagues at this school-frustrated and angry. I didn't have any kind of recourse so it was just really frustrating. That's not to say there's not racism in other schools across the country. There's racism across the board in higher education and across the board in the United States. Even though they don't want to admit it, that's what it is. This is a very racist country. It's getting better but it's still racist. CSI has a lot of good points but there's also a lot of racist people here. I know who they are. They will never come out and admit it, that's a big problem. They tend to look at African Americans, know matter what they do, as some kind of sub people. No matter what you do, what you publish or how you're regarded outside of the university they tend to look at you in a strange distorted sort of way.

CV: You've recently won an award. What is it for?

Troupe: I won the American Book Award for Literature for the *Miles Davis* book. It's the second one I've won. There's only two people that have won two. I won the first one in 1980 for my book of poetry *Snake Back Solos*.

CV: Is there anything that you haven't done that you would like to do?

Troupe: I have an idea for a play, but I just can't seem to get excited. I just want to write a play so badly. Now I've almost finished a screen play so I feel I can do a play. I like to write in all areas. I wrote a script for the *Miles Davis* radio project which is in seven parts. It came out this year. It's a seven part documentary about *Miles Davis* I wrote the script for *Danny Glover* (who is a narrator) and I'm proud of that.

Silence of the Lambs

"Why are there so few people of color in the higher ranks of faculty administration and staff? Why are they consigned to the lower levels?"

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Jeffries' lecture. The front page claimed that Jeffries had made some anti-Semitic comments. Professor Holder who had previously accepted the invitation to moderate the talk pulled out. The historian discovered Jeffries' true nature through the Banner.

Since that day, Jewish organizations

have been harassing Student Government members. Threats of physical violence were pronounced against them individually and collectively. The administration has remained silent.

This detour will hopefully capture the level of dialogue available at CSI. Imagine if Jeffries were invited to speak at Medgar Evers, would the response have been different? A different view of

CUNY emerges: that of a separate but equal CUNY. The absurdly small number of African American faculty and staff, the fragility of the "People of Color", made Jeffries' visit more like a fight against anti-Semitism rather than racism. Why?

This is not to agree with Jeffries' ideas about Jews in general. Only to point out the fact that because one is Jewish, one would feel uneasy about Jeffries' insistence on "Jews" in his speeches. I will also say that anti-Semitism is a definite social ill which must be uprooted, just like racism.

Everyone knows that New York city has a large Jewish population. But more than the pure numbers—New York has

more Blacks and Latinos—it is in the history of Jewish immigrants that one can find explanations for the great number of Jews in colleges. It is under specific socio-historical conditions that the Jewish community used education as a means of upward social mobility. This had both a positive effect (status in America) and a negative one (assimilation). Some would say that both are positive, it's up to the individual to make up his/her mind about the subject. Jeffries is thus wrong to attack Jews—not all of whom are rich, intellectuals, or politicians—because of some essential Jewish quality. But, one must realize that Jeffries

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WHERE IT ALL BEGAN...

1969 STUDENT STRIKE FOR OPEN ADMISSIONS

In April of 1969 250 students from the Black and Puerto Rican Student Community took over The City College of New York and renamed it Harlem University. The students were spurred on by their conviction that the City University should be open for all people. They articulated this vision through the creation of the following program which would forever change the face of public education. Education would no longer be for the privileged few but, as a result of the vision and sacrifice of these students, it would be opened up to the needy many. The buildings were held from April 22nd to May 5th.

WE DEMAND:

1. A School of Black and Puerto Rican Studies

This school will be controlled by the community, students and faculty. The courses and programs offered at this school will be totally geared to community needs. For the first time we will be able to study our true past history in relation to our present condition. We will know our heroes and our culture which has been denied us by the present racist society. The school will bring about an increased understanding of the political, social and economic forces which work to exploit us in this society.

2. A Freshmen Orientation For Black and Puerto Rican Students

Since Black and Puerto Rican children are alienated and destroyed in the New York City School System, by the time that those few of us reach College we find that we suffer from many basic problems. For example, because of racist attitudes of the teachers throughout the City, our children turn out graduation from high school without being able to read, write or do simple mathematics. These racist teachers teach our children that they inferior and not worth educating.

3. That the SEEK students have a determining voice in the setting of guidelines for the SEEK program, including the hiring and firing of SEEK personnel.

SEEK is a program which recruits Black, Puerto Rican and other minority people who otherwise would be unable to afford a college education and the opportunities which are opened by such an education. Yet there is a fault to be found in the program. The fault is that the teachers, counselors and tutors are not really accountable to the SEEK students. What the students demand is that they have a determining voice in setting the guidelines for the SEEK program, including the hiring and firing of SEEK personnel. For up to now, SEEK personnel has not been accountable to anyone.

4. That the racial composition of the entering freshmen class be racially reflective of the high school population.

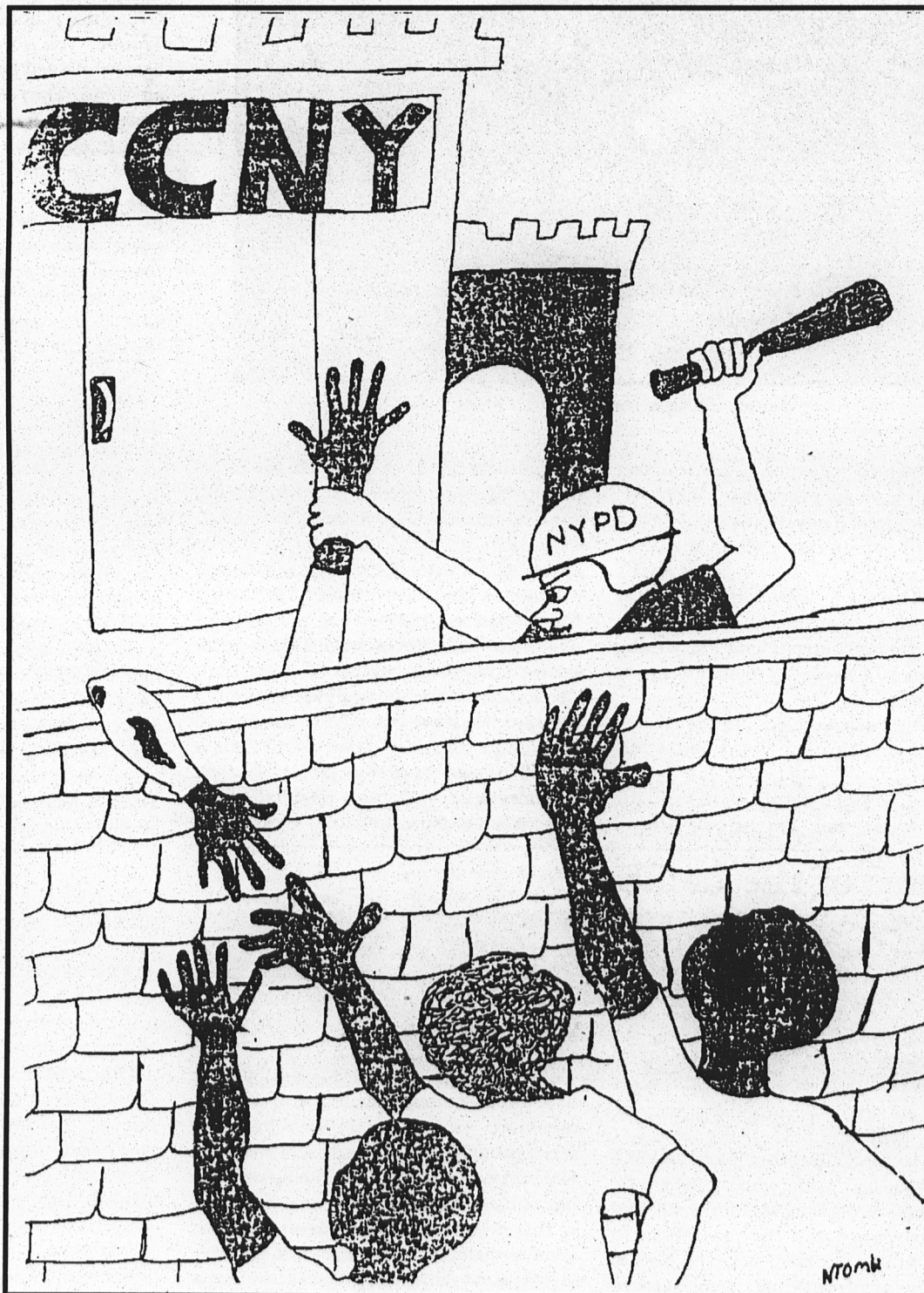
This demand is the most important of our demands. At present, Blacks and Puerto Ricans comprise 40% of the high school population. Yet at City College (now renamed Harlem University) there are only 9% Blacks and Puerto Ricans and 91% whites (day session) — even though City College is located in Harlem which is 98% Black and Puerto Rican. Along with these shocking figures comes the fact that 95% of all Black and Puerto Rican people are working class and pay for all schools including the colleges directly through their taxes. Beyond the fact that we pay for the college and are excluded from them is the abuse to which are children are subjected to in the High Schools. At present the schools, with the aid of their racist teachers force our children to drop out at fantastic rates (84% of all Black and Puerto Ricans are forced to drop out). This forces our children to take the lowest positions in the society.

Others are drafted against their will to fight a racist war in Vietnam which kills our children in far greater proportion than our numbers. The few that manage to struggle through are advised to seek vocational diplomas, general diplomas and to join Job Core training centers. This is done by the people who run the city to promote white privilege. That is the ruling class forces our children out of the high schools so that their children can be the only ones to attend college. We demand that this abuse stops. Our new admissions policy would guarantee high school graduates a seat on the entering freshmen class at City College regardless of their high school grades. By high school graduates we mean holders of all types of diplomas. Our new admissions would also allow people who have graduated in the past to attend college. Every person entering through our spe-

cial admissions would receive checks and the proper courses to overcome individual deficiencies.

5. That all education majors be required to take Black and Puerto Rican history and the Spanish language.

This demand is designed to deal with the attitudes of teachers towards Black and Puerto Rican children. City College produces 40% of the teachers in New York City. We find that a teacher will be better able to teach and relate to our students if he has some understanding of the social, economic and political oppression under which they live. The demand also requires that he take a course in Black history and a course in Puerto Rican history. The demand also requires that teachers take Spanish in order that they may be more effective when teaching Puerto Rican children.



Original artwork from the 1969 student strike at City College.

THE CURRENT STUDENT DEMANDS: AN OPEN ADMISSIONS PROGRAM FOR A DEMOCRATIC CITY UNIVERSITY

This is a list of demands made by students in the CUNY system today.

We Demand:

1. Defend and Extend Open Admissions

Open admissions has guaranteed that every New Yorker with a high school diploma or G.E.D. can attend a college in the City University. A victory of the Civil Rights Movement, Open Admissions meant working people, the poor, people of color, and immigrants whose segregated, inferior public education may have failed to adequately prepare them for college level work would not be denied the chance for a decent education a second time by being denied access to the college. Since Open Admissions was won in 1970, more than 450,000 students have earned their degrees from CUNY. Since 1970, more people of color have graduated from CUNY than from any other institution in the history of this country. Open admissions has been one of the most significant democratic educational achievements in this country since Reconstruction.

2. Stop the Plans to Stratify CUNY by Race and Class

Because the city's public school system reflects and reinforces racial and class inequalities, any plan to establish a few elite colleges with descending tiers to a non college immersion basement is inherently racist. Community colleges should not be used as remedial dumping grounds. Open the senior colleges to students who are prepared for college work, but may need some remedial work. No non-college "institutes" CUNY must be a public university responsive to the communities it was created to serve.

3. Full Academic Support for Incoming Students

Integrate developmental (remedial) programs into the regular CUNY instructional program. No warehousing of ESL students and students of color in low-budget, non-college institutes. Students should earn college credit when they can do college work, including credit for language learning. No time limits. Graduation rates based on two years and four years are not meaningful for CUNY students. Students, not CUNY, the Trustees, or the Mayor should decide how long to attend college. No tests designed to enforce artificial time constraints. Reconstitute and enhance programs such as SEEK and College Freshman Immersion. Open Admissions requires a commitment to retain CUNY students. No "deferred admissions". The Mayor, the Manhattan institute, the Trustees, and the CUNY administration are arguing over whether developmental instruction should be turned over to private contractors or run by the CUNY administration as non-college language immersion institutes staffed by non-union, adult education instructors paid only half as much as adjuncts. In either

case, removal of students from college instruction and college campuses and college courses and college credit into such institutes eliminates the democratic content of Open admissions and violates the mission of CUNY to educate "the whole people". Unionize all instructional staff including Research Foundation and continuing education instructors with union wages and full union benefits.

4. Full Financial Support for Full and Part-time Students

CUNY should be tuition-free as it was for more than a century when the student body was almost entirely white. A stipend should be available to students who continue their education in the university. As a first step, use the current budget surplus to roll back tuition. Make available full tuition assistance programs, and more financial support for part-time students. Use all tuition money paid by students in developmental classes to finance improved developmental programs. In recent years, politicians, their hand picked appointees on the Board of Trustees, and the CUNY administration have made it more difficult for all but the affluent to attend CUNY. The CUNY education is now one of the most expensive among public universities nationwide. As tuition has increased, tuition assistance programs have been drastically reduced. More students are forced to chose between dropping out completely or attending part time. Financial difficulty is the leading cause of students leaving CUNY. No student should be forced out of CUNY because of inability to pay CUNY's exorbitant tuition. Education is a democratic right, not a privilege reserved for the affluent.

5. Full Support for Public Assistance Recipients

End workfare as we know it. New, union-busting, punitive workfare regulations are driving students receiving public assistance from public education programs. Education, particularly college education, not dead-end forced-labor, can



CSI Student Protesters at Borough Hall

help people to rise out of poverty.

6. More Full-time Quality Instruction

Improve the ratio of full time instructors to adjuncts. Major cuts in CUNY's operating budget have reduced full time faculty by 50% and increased the number of part-time, low paid adjuncts to nearly 60% of the teaching staff. This is far above the national average of 40%. CUNY adjuncts are not paid for office hours or even given office space. Immediately convert 2,300 adjuncts to teaching positions in order to raise the CUNY fee to the standard of the national average for public colleges.

7. Democratic Election of CUNY Trustees

Students, faculty, and the people of New York should control CUNY. The current board is dominated by Wall Street millionaires who want tax-cuts for the rich through budget-cuts for the rest of New York.

8. Appropriate Assessment of CUNY Students

No racist tests or phony standards to exclude students and downsize CUNY. Last May the Trustees demanded that passing the infamous CUNY Writing Assessment Test be a requirement of graduation from all of the community colleges. This test has been widely discredited for its bias against ESL, African-American, and Caribbean-born students, and for its failure to measure basic writing proficiency or predict college suc-

cess. Restore faculty judgment and academic integrity to the placement and assessment process. No testing procedure is acceptable that disproportionately excludes people of color and has itself, failed every test of validity and fairness.

9. Improve Public School Education

Under prepared students reflect the failure of the public school system. We need better schools, K-12, not more tests to exclude students from college.

10. Celebrate Open Admissions

Let April 22, 1998 be proclaimed Open admissions day and celebrate throughout the city with political demonstrations and other acts of resistance and mobilization. We will join with people of the communities who depend on CUNY: high school students, labor organizations, civil rights organizations, welfare rights organizations, religious groups, CUNY students, full time faculty, adjuncts, adult education instructors, students and staff to fight to defend and extend Open Admissions.

Endorsed by the CUNY Coalition
For Open Admissions

call (718) 982-3082

for more information

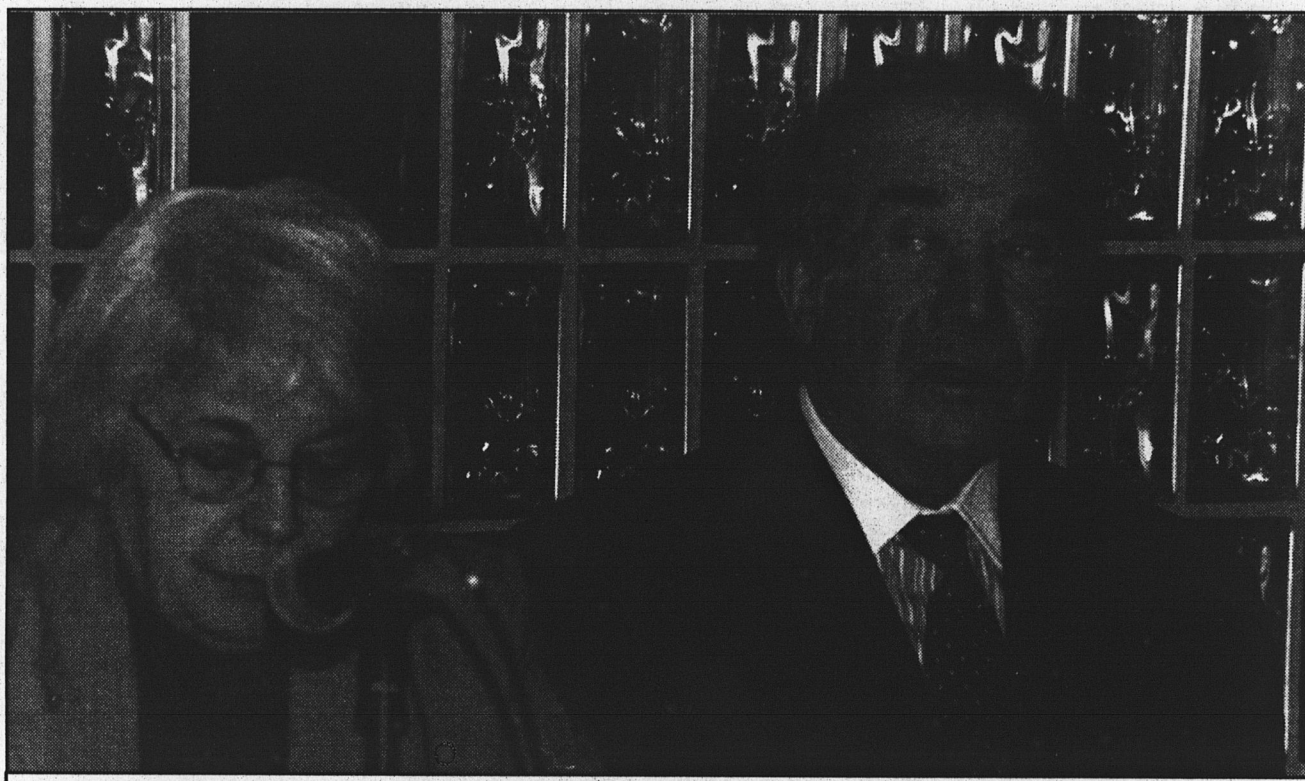
PROPOSED NEW ADMISSIONS CRITERIA AT THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK: ETHNIC AND ENROLLMENT CONSEQUENCES

DAVID LAVIN

Introduction.

The open admissions policy initiated in fall 1970 grew out of a number of concurrent national and local trends. The decade of the 1960s was one of intense national preoccupation with issues of equal opportunity in American society. Partly, that concern flowed from the civil rights- and other social movements that aimed to improve the status of blacks and other minorities. The prominent place of such issues on the national political stage was due as well to the commitments of the liberal establishment then in power. That establishment had faith in the idea that social policy should and could be used to advance equity in the United States.

These national tides flowed through New York City, and a number of strong local currents added to their urgency. Higher education was one of the most important arenas in which issues about equal opportunity were contested. At the City University of New York, minorities were starkly underrepresented. In view of the changing educational requirements of the New York labor market, and unequal educational opportunity in the City's primary and secondary schools, minority students were poorly positioned in the intense competition for limited seats in CUNY colleges. This foreshadowed a gloomy outlook for their life chances. The open admissions policy was designed to improve chances for socioeconomic mobility in New York's minority communities.



Anne Paolucci and Herman (Badman) Badillo two of the architects of the CAP and BOT members.

necessary for entrance to the pool of those eligible for postgraduate study. Open admissions broadened the path to senior colleges. It guaranteed that high school graduates with a least an 80 average (in college preparatory courses) or rank in the top 50 percent of their class would be accepted at a senior institution (though not necessarily the one of their choice). The high school rank criterion was created to help assure that graduates

the program. In effect then, the original open admissions model was quite inclusive, reaching across a wide spectrum of New York's ethnic communities.

Though it is beyond the scope of this report, long-term studies of this open admissions policy have demonstrated that the opportunities created by the pr hundreds of thousands of students, who were able to earn college and postgraduate degrees and who subsequently went

many elements of the original program. Notably, admissions policy changed. Entry to the system's senior colleges became more difficult. Whereas an 80 average or rank in the top 50 percent of the high school class had been required to guarantee admission to a bachelor's program, in the aftermath of the fiscal crisis, rank in the top one third of the graduating class was required. As access to senior institutions diminished, CUNY changed from an institution where freshmen enrollments were mostly in bachelor's programs to one where these enrollments were centered in community colleges and associate degree programs.

A noteworthy change in academic policy also occurred. This concerned standards for academic progress. Students were required to have attained a 2.0 or "C" average (the minimum required for graduation) by the time they had completed 25 credits. Those not meeting this standard were subject to probation and dismissal. Relatively few colleges in the United States impose such a requirement at such an early point in students' academic careers. In effect, academic progress standards at CUNY are among the most stringent in the nation.

The fiscal crisis also led to the end of the University's ideal policy of student financial aid: free tuition. One consequence has been to extend the length of time required to complete college, especially for many low income students with adult responsibilities (i.e., employment and/or child-rearing) who are typical of the CUNY student body.

In the 1990s CUNY has further narrowed access to bachelor's programs, by

Table 1. Number of Skills Tests Passed by Race/Ethnicity:
Fall 1997 First-time Entrants to Bachelor's Programs
Performance on Skills Tests

| | Passed All | Failed One | Failed Two | Failed Three |
|----------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| White | 54.9 | 27.8 | 11.8 | 5.5 |
| Black | 35.0 | 33.8 | 19.8 | 11.4 |
| Hispanic | 31.7 | 32.7 | 22.0 | 13.7 |
| Asian | 33.6 | 33.2 | 29.2 | 4.0 |

Source: City University of New York, 1997 Cohort File

The Original Open Admissions Model

In its original form the 1970 open admissions model aimed to broaden access to higher education for groups that had been underrepresented in the University. That model was baccalaureate oriented. It was based on recognition of the fact that the bachelor's degree is typically a more valuable credential than the Associate degree. It has greater value because it produces more economic benefits in the labor market and because it is

from heavily minority high schools could have greater access to baccalaureate programs, while maintaining access for those who would have qualified for admission even without the new policy. Although these admissions criteria did indeed bring about a dramatic increase in the minority presence in CUNY senior colleges, one of the ironies of the policy was that it brought in even more white students, at least in the initial years of

on to reap the economic benefits that educational attainments produce in the labor market (See for example, Lavin, Alba, and Silberstein 1979, 1981; Lavin and Hyllegard 1996).

The Stages of Open Admissions

In its initial form, the open-admissions policy lasted for only five years. In 1975, under the storm clouds of the New York City fiscal crisis, CUNY received an intense buffeting which swept away

OPEN ADMISSIONS UNDER SIEGE

limiting to one year the amount of remedial coursework that may be taken by entrants to bachelor's programs. Now in 1998, new proposals have been made that would further limit admission. Under one scheme, students needing any remedial work (as measured by CUNY skills tests in reading, writing and math) would not be admitted at all to a senior college or BA program.

Another proposal (tentatively labeled the "Comprehensive Action Plan"), currently in an early stage of development would set up a more elaborate testing apparatus that could be used for selection purposes, though just how it would be used is not specified. In addition, rather than set up hard and fast categories of admission or non-admission, the plan appears to create conditional categories in which students needing remedial work might be placed in summer remedial programs or other programs during the academic year. Their entry to mainstream college work would be dependent on their demonstration of "academic competence" (as measured by yet to be defined criteria).

The aim of this paper is to analyze the consequences of these proposals if they were to take effect. First, we shall address the proposal to admit to senior colleges only students not in need of remedial work. Later, we shall comment on the so-called CAP proposal.

A Method for Assessing Policy Proposals

Given the demonstrable importance of CUNY for minority educational opportunities in New York City, any change in admissions criteria may well affect long-term socioeconomic attainments. We shall consider how new admissions proposals may affect access to higher education for the major ethnic and racial groups comprising the student body.

To make this assessment, we have asked the following question: What would have been the effects of a new admissions model if it had been applied to a recent entering class? We have done this for the most recent class, the fall 1997 freshmen. By looking at the performance of these freshmen on the three CUNY skills tests, one can estimate what the impact would be if it were applied to future applicants.

Among 1997 entrants to bachelor's programs, clear ethnic gaps in skills test performance are visible (table 1). More than half of whites, but only about a third of black, Hispanic, and Asian students passed all three tests. Since these tests define the need for remediation, those who do not pass all of them would no longer be admitted under the new proposal. This means that just under half of white freshmen would have been excluded and that approximately two-thirds of minority entrants would not have been admitted had the proposed admissions model then been in effect. How would the estimates described above affect the numbers of students enrolled in bachelor's programs? Answers are given by translating into actual numbers, the percentages shown in table 1. Overall, 8,273 freshmen entered these programs in fall 1997 (table 2). Had the proposed admis-

sions model been in effect, only 3,313 of these students would have been admitted—a 60 percent decline in the size of the class. Under such a draconian impact, the continuance of some CUNY institutions is an issue that would undoubtedly arise. Inasmuch as minority

students would be far more heavily affected than whites, those institutions with the highest proportions of these students are the ones whose viability would be most in question.

"In an institution like CUNY where the creation of opportunity for disadvantaged students has been an important consideration, an admissions standard should minimize the number of excluded students who actually would have succeeded."

Efficiency is an important issue in assessing selection criteria such as college admissions requirements. As we are defining it, an efficient selection mechanism is one that has a negligible error rate. In an institution like CUNY where the creation of opportunity for disadvantaged students has been an important consideration, an admissions standard should minimize the number of excluded students who actually would have succeeded. To address this issue, we considered data for an earlier cohort, the 1988 freshmen, examining the association between skills test performance and eight-year graduation rates from CUNY.

The data show a clear linear relation between graduation rates and the number of skills tests that students passed (table 3). Rates are highest among students who passed all skills tests. However, what may surprise some is that substantial numbers of students who fail one or more tests later graduated. For example, among blacks, a fifth of those who failed all of the tests actually gradu-

ated, and more than a quarter of those who failed one or two tests subsequently earned diplomas. Among Asian students, graduation rates are especially high for those who initially failed skills tests. Indeed, among all minority groups the number of graduates who initially failed

skills tests exceeds the number of graduates who initially passed all of their tests. Therefore, among minority applicants, the use of this selection mechanism would exclude most of the eventual graduates from these groups. For example, among blacks one third of all graduates initially passed all three skills tests, but two-thirds of graduates initially failed one or more of their tests.

It is hard to see how one could justify the use of a selection standard that bars so many successful bachelor's program students.

The ethnic and enrollment consequences of the CAP proposal are more difficult to specify, because it makes few precise statements regarding admissions. However, the proposal does stipulate at least the following: 1) Students who do not pass skills tests (the number is not stated) will be assigned to basic skills programs prior to enrollment in college; 2) Before being allowed to enroll for a degree, students will be required to certify their academic competence by passing a test or tests to be designated by the University.

The CAP proposal will erect a new layer of tests (SAT, TOEFL) in addition to the current skills tests which may be

used to select students for admission to degree programs. Those not admitted cannot be said to have been denied admission, since they may later be able to qualify, contingent on their success in passing competence exams.

Inasmuch as any skills assessment will have a disproportionate effect on minority students, the latter may be expected to be over represented in summer or other pre-enrollment programs. While there is no way of knowing in advance, many students may be discouraged by a new layer of testing and new hurdles on the way to regular college enrollment. This may diminish the proportion of students who eventually enroll. Such an outcome would fall more heavily on minority students.

The issue of English as a second language (ESL) has not been addressed in these analyses, and a few comments are in order. Although ESL courses may not be designated as remedial, there would presumably be time limitations on such coursework. It is hard to believe that one or even two semesters would—for many students—be enough to acquire facility in English. But even if ESL students are somehow excluded from admissions restrictions applying to others, this would benefit Hispanic and Asian applicants, but not blacks, since the latter are overwhelmingly native speakers. Thus, blacks will stand to be the most disadvantaged by any new proposal to limit admissions, if it differentiates between those who do not meet skills requirements because English is their 2nd language and those who do not meet them for other reasons.

The overall effect of admissions proposals currently under consideration by CUNY will be to diminish ultimate educational attainments. Diminished attainments will weaken the earning power of thousands of students, and this result will have the long run effect of reducing the income pool available for tax payments.

Table 2. Effects of Proposed New Admissions Criteria on Enrollments in Bachelor's Programs, by Ethnicity

| | White | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Total |
|---|-------|-------|----------|-------|-------|
| Actual Fall 1997 Enrollment | 2,574 | 1,983 | 2,248 | 1,468 | 8,273 |
| Entrants Under Proposed Admissions Criteria (passed all skills tests) | 1,414 | 694 | 712 | 493 | 3,313 |
| Number Barred from Admission | 1,160 | 1,289 | 1,536 | 975 | 4,960 |
| Percentage Decline | 45.1 | 65.0 | 68.3 | 66.4 | 60.0 |
| Actual Ethnic Composition | 31.1 | 24.0 | 27.2 | 17.7 | |
| Projected New Ethnic Composition | 42.7 | 20.9 | 21.5 | 14.9 | |

Source: City University of New York, calculated from 1997 Cohort File

COMPLICATED ACCESS PREVENTION

Continued From Front Page

Institutes and away from the Senior colleges. The program then seeks to "limit remediation within each entry level to what can appropriately and successfully be achieved within a university system." CAP then uses a series of standardized tests to measure student accomplishment. The use of testing in this manner will lead to transformation of both the mission and the functioning of the university system.

A. Community Colleges

For a student entering a Community College that requires remedial help, at CSI 80% of incoming freshmen fail at least one placement test, the process under CAP would go as follows: Students would take the Skills Assessment Tests (Mathematics, Reading and Writing), then those who need "additional skills development" will be "required" to complete either a summer or intercession skills program or an intensive skill program offered during the semester. Students viewed as needing more work will be required to continue to participate in intensive skills/immersion programs "before academic work begins." At this point, students that actually make it into remedial programs will be on the clock, faced with specific time limits in which they must complete their work. Remedial students will then be expected to complete their remedial work "within the equivalent of one full-time year" and will be prohibited "from repeating a remedial course after receiving a failing grade twice in that course." Professor of Psychology at City College of New York, Bill Crain has stated that this one year limit on remediation will be "robbing thousands of students of their chance to develop their minds and pursue their life ambitions."

Those students unable to complete their remediation within this time period will be "referred" back to Intensive skills programs. Those students that actually complete their remedial work will be subjected to yet another standardized test to assess their worthiness to enter college level classes. The test that will be used for this exit requirement has yet to be developed. Community College students will therefore be put on the academic clock and subjected to at least two standardized tests.

This plan will thereby transform the Community Colleges from centers of education and transformation into educational ghettos policed by standardized tests. Professor of Political Science at York College, Peter Ranis recently wrote that the "one year maximum for Community College remediation effectively destroys educational access and the very existence of the CC's." These tests will create the layers that will section off the Community Colleges and provide pitfalls for students to achieve their goals of a college degree. By setting up these academic hurdles we are moving from the process of empowering students to one of restricting life expectations.

B. Senior Colleges

At the Senior Colleges, on the other hand, the goal is to entirely eliminate remedial programs. The document "charges" the presidents of senior colleges with the duty of providing remediation only through "intensive skills immersion programs in pre-collegiate modules and through continuing education." In addition to this, once the

CAP is implemented remediation will be limited to one semester and "college presidents...are presently authorized to eliminate remedial course offerings on their campus." Indeed the College Council of the College of Staten Island has already taken steps to comply with the ideas of the CAP by allowing remedial students to repeat a class only once. Students will also "be expected to complete the remedial courses that qualify them to enter college level (courses)...in one year."

The Senior Colleges through the elimina-

line. Indeed, Hostos will most likely be the first CUNY campus to be closed as a result of CAP program which will warehouse students and, as stated earlier create an entirely new definition of the word student. There will now be College level students (broken up into Community and Senior college students), remedial students (ESL and regular college students) and Immersion students. Each of these groups have distinctive characteristics and as CAP goes into to full effect, specific life possibilities.

II. CAP Institutionalizes Racism

"As many colleges throughout the nation move away from using SAT scores as an admissions requirement due to its flawed nature, Kimmich proposes that it be instituted. This measure can be seen as nothing less than an attack on students of color, poor students and women."

tion of remediation and the eventual institution of entrance requirements like minimum SAT scores are held up as the jewel of CUNY. The centerpiece in which the enlightened few will be able to educate themselves unhindered from the needs of the troublesome remedial students. As the Open Admissions strike opened the university to all citizens CAP seeks to keep the highest educational accomplishments reserved for those that have either benefited from positive public school experiences, are extremely enlightened or are doggedly persistent and able to climb out of the educational ghettos known as Community Colleges.

C. English as a Second Language

The requirements for English as a Second Language (ESL) students is even more regressive and centers around the placement of students into Immersion Institutes. CAP calls for the construction of a CUNY Language Immersion Institute "to increase opportunities for students at the lowest levels of English proficiency." Utilizing even the most elementary logic one would have to question how ESL students are going to learn English when they are segregated in Institutes with other students who cannot speak English. ESL students will also be put on the academic clock with a one year time limit and will be "prohibited ...from repeating an ESL course after receiving a failing grade twice in that course."

As was witnessed with the attack on Hostos Community College this summer, ESL students will be the first on the CUNY firing

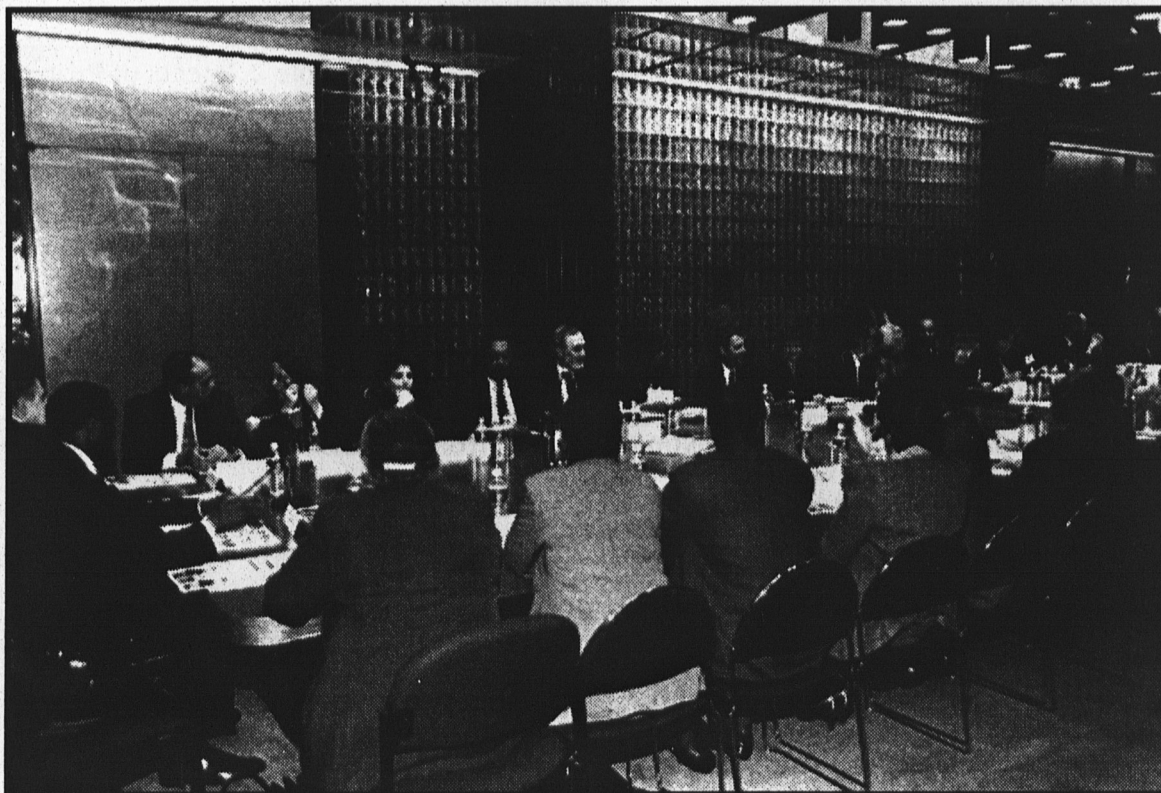
The test does not allow ESL students the ability to re-write their material, does not allow students to use a dictionary and forces students into a timed exercise in language that is not their primary one. The real truth of the matter is that the supposed "educators" on the BOT that continue to use tests as assessment tools are disregarding the prevailing research which shows that single measure testing cannot accurately judge future performance. Instead assessment based on a portfolio method in which students can re-write their work and work closely with the true conduits of education, the faculty, provides a much more effective measure of English proficiency. As opposed to the CWAT, portfolio assessment replicates the real life conditions of college work. Few if any Native English speaking students hand in first draft papers. The art of writing is the ability to re-assess and re-draft your work, making improvements as the process goes along through the use of tools such as dictionaries and thesaurus'.

B. SAT

As part of the Admissions sections of the CAP all incoming high school graduates will be required to submit SAT scores "to better evaluate their academic preparedness." The plan also calls to "phase in minimum SAT scores as an admissions requirement for most students." The College Council at CSI has already introduced this CAP requirement and Professor Alfred Levine felt the reporting of SAT scores "will help the prestige of CUNY." When questioned about the racial, class and gender bias of the SAT by students Jeff McGraham and Neil Schuldiner at a recent meeting, Levine agreed with their assessment of tests flaws but encouraged them to support the measure anyway.

Indeed a recent study conducted by the College Board which tracked 1.1 million students taking the 1997 version of the SAT proved that these biases do exist. The groups that scored the highest on the test were Asians (1056) and Whites (1052) with

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Board of Trustees

PROTESTERS SHUT DOWN BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETING

KEITH HIGGINBOTHAM
OF HUNTER ENVOY

Evoking images of protests of the past, students calling for "an end to educational apartheid," effectively shut down the February 23 CUNY Board of Trustees' public meeting in an effort to call attention to the threatened end of open admissions throughout the system.

Organized as a rally "To Take a Stand," close to one hundred students marched, under police escort, from the Hunter campus to the East 80th Street CUNY headquarters. Outside of the headquarters, nearly one dozen police vehicles and twice as many officers rallied in response to the students, setting up barricades in anticipation of the protest. Once the students arrived, the police listened passively to their chants of "No CUNY, no peace" and, "What do we want? Education! When do we want it? Now!"

A handful of students were admitted to the Board chambers where they joined the media and various representatives from educational organizations before the meeting managed to get started. After several perfunctory statements, the Board chairperson, Anne Paolucci, praised a Mr. and Mrs. Weissman for their recent donation of \$10 million to Baruch College. Near the middle of her statement, one of the students in the audience leapt up and cut her off, asking why the \$10 million could not be spent on saving open admissions. After a moment of surprise, CUNY S.A.F.E. officers escorted the student out of the room as he repeatedly called out,

"End educational apartheid!"

Once the meeting resumed, Mr. Weissman was called on to make a statement and he began by remarking that the actions of the protesters reminded him of the protests in the 30s against Hitler and Mussolini. A student immediately interjected with, "You're in the same company, motherfucker!"

Paolucci immediately threatened to take the meeting into executive session, to which the public is not allowed access. Weissman had barely resumed his statement before a student leapt from the audience and attempted to grab a microphone from one of the trustees. The S.A.F.E. officers, now expecting trouble, responded instantly, using the 'swarm' technique to wrestle the female student to the ground before carrying her from the room.

Paolucci once again called for restraint and issued another threat about clearing the room. Instantly another student leapt from the audience and made it to the center of the Board meeting table before being 'swarmed' by S.A.F.E. officers and forcibly removed from the room. As the officers left the room, chants from the outside crowd became audible.

The latter two students were detained by S.A.F.E. officers and handed over to city police. Both were arrested and charged with criminal trespassing. Both students are long-time activists and have had advanced training in non-violent protesting.

Following the last outburst, Paolucci closed the public meeting and set the meeting to reconvene behind closed



A Viking-like CUNY activist mounts conference table at a recent CUNY Board of Trustees meeting

doors. Students in the audience, chanting slogans as they were slowly shuffled from the room by S.A.F.E. officers, reformed once outside and took up strategic positions to insure the safe handling of the arrested students as well as maintaining a presence in front of the CUNY headquarters. After a short and tense stand-off with city police, the students marched back to Hunter College where a speak-out was set up to inform students on the campus about the current situation regarding

open admissions.

When the Board reconvened behind closed doors, Dolores M. Fernandez, an expert in bilingual education and teacher training, was unanimously appointed as interim president of Hostos Community College. The previous president, Isaura Santiago-Santiago, resigned under pressure last month after Board members accused her administration of graduating students from Hostos without proper English proficiency.

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the lowest scores coming from African Americans (857) and Puerto Ricans (901). The class divisions are equally dramatic with students coming from households earning between \$10,000 and \$20,000 a year receiving an average score of 918 and students coming from households earning more than \$100,000 a year scoring an average of 1130 on the SAT. The test is also discriminatory based on gender with females scoring an average of 40 points lower than males. Just as important as these studies are longer term profiles which have shown that the SAT is not an accurate determinant of future academic success.

As many colleges throughout the nation move away from using SAT scores as an admissions requirement due to its flawed nature, Kimmich proposes that it be instituted. This measure can be seen as nothing less than an attack on students of color, poor students and women.

III. Neutering the Faculty

Another way in which the CAP will fundamentally transform the functioning of the university is through the transfer of assessment power from the faculty to the stan-

dardized tests. The transfer will result in a shift in the educational goals of the university. Instead of teaching remedial students how to read and write, the goal may become teaching them how to pass the standardized test. The two are not necessarily the same.

SG Senator Colleen McGraham works as a tutor in English and stated that "I spend a lot of time teaching students tips to pass the CWAT which do not necessarily help them to become more proficient in English." Students like McGraham are also part of a larger labor strategy which seeks to limit the amount of full time faculty positions and even limit the use of adjuncts. Bright undergraduate students can be employed to provide tutoring to students for the price of \$8.00 per hour, far less than a full time professor or even an adjunct.

The CAP therefore taps into the longer term trend in downsizing the faculty at CUNY. We have seen the number of full time faculty drop precipitously from a 1974 level of 11,268 to the 1995 level of 5,342. During the same time period the amount of part time faculty has grown from 4,924 to

6,340, administration has moved from 305 to 347 and part time other Instructional Staff from 631 to 1,143. The student population has fallen precipitously from a 1974 level of 252,000 to a 1995 level of 205,000. The organizational re-shifting of CUNY is thereby tailor made for the CAP measures which marginalize faculty assessment of students and emphasize testing assessment of students.

IV. Conclusions

The content, tenor and political motivations of the CAP program are in fundamental opposition with the needs of the student body and communities which CUNY serves. It is quite fitting that Kimmich would choose to address a meeting of the Association for a Better New York, a group of corporate leaders, because that is exactly the audience the CAP is designed to placate. The visionary students, community members and faculty that constructed the project called Open Admissions were responding to the material and cultural needs of their everyday lives. Today the maintenance of an open university has become an even more vital struggle in the

face of corporate downsizing, the consistent need for job re-training among workers and the desperate for the creation of activists and intellectuals influenced by their experiences among poor and working class communities.

The CAP is the first in what will certainly be a long line of measures aimed at destroying this vision. The hasty and irresponsible manner in which the CAP proposal was designed, without significant input by students, faculty or community is a signal of the fact that bureaucrats and conservatives have taken full control of our university and are seeking to enforce their will upon us. While we must immediately resist the implementation of the CAP proposal, our vision should also be directed towards longer term goals. Our goals, the goals of students, progressive faculty, workers and community members, should center around the redefinition of CUNY as intellectual space dedicated to addressing the real needs of our lives not those of corporate America.

STUDENT LIBERATION WEEKEND

ROBERT LAURO

Friday, February 27th at 4:00 PM, I joined about 90 others on a CSI Student Government sponsored weekend of seminars. We boarded two buses for a two hour+ trip to Kutsher's Country Club in the Catskills near the town of Monticello, New York. My fellow travelers seemed to represent a cross section of CSI's student body. As an example of this diversity there were members from various clubs, musicians, student government senators, publication

reporters, editors and photographers, new students, old students and transfer students, some as young as nineteen and others older, like me, forty - nine.

Two main themes were uncovered and explored and eventually revealed their interconnectedness. One was diversity and what that means to each of us as a person, as a member of the group, culture, tribe or race. The other dealt with the issues surrounding Open Admissions. This encompassed CUNY's plans toward reducing admissions through various administrative techniques. Some of these

are GPA requirements, requiring 80% high school averages and 1100 SAT scores for new students, reduction and eventual privatization of remedial instruction. This issue was the catalyst that gave the group singularity of purpose transcending any differences that many had heretofore perceived as something which separated us as students.

More than twenty representatives from cultural groups were identified among us. When asked with which tribes each person identified themselves, there were almost as many tribes named as persons in the group. We were African-American, Cherokee, Irish-American, Haitian, Jamaican, American, human, Puerto Rican,

you get the idea. Learning how we thought about ourselves and how others felt about us, helped me to see our uniqueness. I saw that as a group we had as many similarities as differences. After meeting and talking with people I realized that our supposed differences were more about our individual world views, than our differences as humans. Yes, and though this feeling of solidarity is a welcome one, we cannot deny that "we are what we think."

During daytime hours we attended seminars regarding the history of CUNY and learned how the open admissions policy was brought about by the people in the Harlem community who supported students at CCNY. They wanted, rather, they demanded that the CUNY environment include the people where the college is located. That they were successful is borne out by our very presence at the retreat. We also had some exercises in how to act and react during demonstrations. It began to feel real at this point. Role-playing showed us just how easily groups, whether the police or demonstrators, adopt violent behavior toward the opposition.

At night, when we had free time, many activities were available. We had a party Friday evening celebrating the birthdays of three students Shenika Aspinall, Mark Gray, and Morgan Healey. A swimming pool, video game room, gymnasium and two clubs were there for our enjoyment. Sounds of the DJ brought students together for dancing on Saturday night, proving that there are no limits to the abilities of CSI students to have a good time within an educational dynamic! I must give a personal round of applause to all the women at the retreat who, on Saturday evening, brought a sense of beauty, grace and fashion.

The main focus of the weekend was however, open admissions. How do we, as student leaders, get the message out to the student body, our parents, and the community at large. That community is nothing less than the metropolitan New York area. Anyone remotely interested in what is taking place at CUNY must see the effort of the governor, mayor and, by extension, the members of the CUNY Board of Trustees, to dismantle, bit by bit, open admissions. Putting the hiring of professors on the basis of the percentage of students who graduate, rather than by the number of students in the university or those in need of remedial instruction, guarantees that certain dynamics occur. Some of these are, placing emphasis on the students who, on admission to CUNY, are more academically accomplished than others. Raising "standards" results in more jobs for professors and the administration by subtracting those who need assistance which raises the percentage of graduates. This doesn't translate to more students getting degrees, it only makes the percentage larger. Once open admissions is abolished, either by reduction of the pool of high school graduates admitted or by academic dismissal or by allowing students to wither and die through benign neglect. The working class and poor will have no way to get out of poverty or a subsistence existence.

This means that we, today's students, must pay back the debt incurred back in 1969. This also means we must not only work together but ask our parents and alumni for help in making sure that Governor Pataki, the agenda of exclusion, privatization and the certainty of an elitism in society are met head on by a united body of students, faculty, and concerned citizens.



SOUTH ASIAN CULTURAL CLUB

Presents a Day of Cultural Dances

You are invited to participate and learn about the culture of a whole other world.

Enjoy traditional food and Mehendi Art (hand tatoos).

Thursday, April 30th

Campus Center

1:30 to 4:30

Open Admissions?

RALLY

This is a question that should be on every individuals' mind. Why? Only because open admissions, at the City University of New York schools, effects everyone in the state of New York for many reasons. The matter of direct observations will show that, once there are requirements to attend CUNY schools, mass numbers of people, in our city, will start to regress, rather than progress, in proportion to the other large cities of our nation. But the way it appears is, people such as the Mayor of our great city, Mr. Giuliani, and others in higher places, would like to make it more difficult for people, of all minority groups, to enter school at the college level. Maybe these same people will benefit if the population of New York was left in the dark about the things that are taught in the CUNY system. When I spoke to people, on the College of Staten Island campus, I expected to get a larger number of people willing to contest those who wanted to standardize our, already disorderly, educational institution. That was not the case. People were eager to agree with the Mayor's proposal to end open admissions. I could not believe this in the least. If you take a look at where I was when I asked this question, you would be startled. Why would

you be so surprised? Because I asked this question in places on the CSI CUNY campus. I was not at the S.I. Ferry Terminal, or Wall Street, or even on Park Avenue (places that I'd expect people to want to change things that have nothing to do with them directly). I was in buildings

high school. It is what people do with the chance that they are given that counts dramatically. I, personally, strive to be the best because I am aware that I am fortunate to be a college student. Maybe the answer is placing standards on the pupils that are here already. The answer is not restricting people to limited possibilities, with a placement test. I might have been discouraged if there was a required entrance exam. The higher powers would like to put a damper on the

society. What will happen when the younger generations are not able to have the opportunities that so many before them had? I can tell you that I do not want to see the result of no open admissions. Governor Pataki, and Mayor Giuliani would love for the CUNY schools to shut down. This will aid in their plans, where the rich get richer, and the poor people fight for food to eat. That is why you should not want the open admissions, at C.U.N.Y. to cease. The only way we can stop this proposal, is if we, as people, regardless of race, color, creed, religion, gender, or sexual preference, put our differences aside, stand together as one, and fight to the death for what we all believe in... OPEN ADMISSIONS in the CUNY system.

"It is what people do with the chance that they are given that counts dramatically."

like 2A, talking to people on the Bursar, and the Financial Aid lines. I spoke with people at the C.S.I. library, and mostly at the campus center, reaching a wide variety of people. These are the places where the negativity came from. How can anyone want to terminate open admissions, when the reason that they are here is because of open admissions. The students that attend CUNY schools, while agreeing with the recommendation of having open admissions come to an end, are selfish individuals. These people obviously do not want others to have the same opportunities that they did. A college degree is something that everyone should have a possibility of obtaining, regardless of what their grades were, or how high they scored on a placement test. My view is coming from a point where I was given the opportunity, despite my grades in

goals, and dreams, which everyone in this country shares. This dream is to live in a prosperous civilization, happily. I am not viewing this as a problem for the black, hispanic, or any other minority community. I am stating this for the benefit of all communities, in all areas. We must attack this problem like a severe plague, because the outcome of this decision will effect everyone in

crappy high schools are punished for something that is not their fault and their future is essentially blocked."



Mayor Declares War on CUNY

BRAD SIGAL
OF CCNY'S THE MESSENGER

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has declared war on CUNY. After a year of attacks on Hostos and the community colleges, he explicitly called for the end of open admissions and "a return to higher standards" in the CUNY system. In announcing his budget proposal on Jan. 29, Giuliani called for eliminating all remedial classes from CUNY, which he acknowledged would decimate the community colleges, cutting the number of students by 75 percent. In his January 14 State of the City address, Mayor Giuliani called the open admissions policy a "failure" and the cause of a "destruction of standards." "This is a system that needs to be dramatically changed if we are going to help people and not give them false, phony expectations," Giuliani said. Open admissions is the 28 year-old policy that guarantees all graduating high school seniors a seat in a community college. Under the current plan a high school senior needs an 80 average to attain a seat in a senior college. Baruch College, which is held as a model by some Board of Trustee members, has a requirement of 1200 on the SAT.

Before open admissions went into effect, CUNY's students were overwhelmingly white. Open admissions transformed CUNY into the multinational, predominantly Black and Latino institution it is today. Under the mayor's plan there would be a required entrance exam for all applying to CUNY. There is currently a placement exam for all incoming students, but this is used to determine whether incoming students will enter into a 4-year school or community college, and which remedial classes a student needs to take. The mayor's plan would eliminate remedial classes entirely from CUNY, and would use the entrance exam to reject all students who need remediation.

According to Brooklyn College student Carolyn Connelly, who attended the Feb. 3 Board of Trustees committee meeting, where these issues were discussed, "Remediation is the core of the open admissions policy. Even though many of the city's high schools in poorer neighborhoods do not prepare students well for college, this should not be used against the students who went to those schools and need remediation but want to go to college." She said, "Ending remediation at CUNY means that students at

There was a mixed reaction at the January 27th Board of Trustees meeting. According to one of the primary opponents of open admissions Herman Badillo, there are enough votes to end the program. But Badillo doesn't have the complete backing of the Board. Even Board Chair Anne Paolucci publicly stated support for open admissions after the Mayor's State of the City speech; she was joined in that position by faculty representative Sandi Cooper and student representative Mizanoor Biswas.

Interim Chancellor Christoph Kimmich has taken a middle of the road stance on the issue. At the first Board meeting he presided over, Kimmich supported SAT requirements for senior colleges, using community colleges as tools for immersion, and using the same standards for admissions for both transfer students and freshman. On open admissions however, Chancellor Kimmich was vague. Kimmich

said in the Hunter Envoy, "The mayor raises interesting ideas about the future of CUNY, and all ideas must be explored." When asked about this statement, Felipe Pichardo, a member of the CCNY Coalition, responded, "This ambivalence on open admissions can only be seen as opposition to open admissions and support for the mayor's attack. It will take a firm commitment to defending the principles behind open admissions in order to defeat the mayor's plans." Many students who heard about the plan voiced concern that it will transform CUNY into an elite institution. A Hostos student stated that he was the first in his family to attend college. While wanting improvement in education, he points out the successes of CUNY. "CUNY is a last chance for a lot of people. Where is my younger brother going to go?"

Mirella Affron's Selective Amnesia

GEORGE ROZOS

The following is an expanded version of an article printed in the *ADVANCE* of 2/27/98 under the title 'CSI's Belated Raising of Standards Masks a Self-Serving Rationale.'

One of the first news items (besides Clinton's sexual misadventures) that hit me in the face upon arriving back home after a semester's leave of absence from CSI was a front-page full-length headline in the *Staten Island Advance* (February 6, 1998) which read: 'New CSI: Keep Up or Get Out.' "Well," I said to myself, "What an irony, CSI is finally shaping up now that I have resigned and I am on my way to empty my office." But as I started to read the article the hidden agenda behind this apparent move for academic excellence began to dawn upon me.

Vice-President for Academic Affairs Mirella Affron, the chief CSI source for the *Advance* writer was quoted as follows:

"When [Richmond College and Staten Island Community College] merged, we requested a waiver from CUNY's standards and regulations with regard to academic demands... When we took a look at our academic policy, we found that CSI had the most relaxed academic standards of any of the [CUNY] community and senior colleges."

Affron was providing background for the virtually unanimous (45-4-0) resolution of the College Council the day before to adopt the Board of Trustees' guidelines for "academic dismissal" of those CSI students (numbering about 1500) who cannot meet the new academic standards.

Unless she was misquoted, Affron's statement is a gross distortion of truth due to a 20-year lag between the first and second sentence of her statement between the time when CSI requested the "waiver from CUNY's standards" and the time when Affron and the senior luminaries of the College Council woke up to the realization that "CSI had the most relaxed academic standards of any of the [CUNY] community and senior colleges." During this 20-year period neither she nor other senior faculty made any effort to improve low standards but, on the contrary, welcomed them. Drones of low-standard students were systematically recruited from surrounding high schools through intensive annual forays into S.I. neighborhoods. All this was rationalized by a moralistic and pseudo-humanitarian credo of social duty toward the disadvantaged and people of color who were, in turn, tracked into newly instituted vocational programs. The recruiting efforts of the participating faculties were appropriately recorded in their personnel files under the label of "service to the community."

What Mirella Affron seems to have forgotten is that we ourselves were the principal beneficiaries of this socio-educational remedial operation. It was those victims of social injustice, whom CSI recruited in great numbers because of "waiver from CUNY's standards," who did us the favor rather than the other way around. By keeping the body count of students growing, CUNY budget allocations to CSI high, and the ratio of bureaucratic to teaching costs expanding to cumbersome levels

through hefty additions to social and remedial services, recruits kept faculty jobs secure and the administration turf growing. Now, with political screws on tight and the carrot of new faculty lines made contingent by the Board on graduation rates and academic dismissals, she and our senior faculty have suddenly awakened to the realization that for the last 20 years "CSI had the most relaxed academic standards of any of the [CUNY] community and senior colleges." It is difficult to imagine a more flagrant example of betrayal of those needy groups

that we professed to care for and who had helped save our jobs in difficult times; or a more transparent case of self-serving hypocrisy than the nearly unanimous decision of the faculty and administration to adopt the "academic cleansing" resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Through her more than a quarter-of-a-

century career mostly as an administrator - first at Richmond and then at CSI - Mirella Affron dutifully implemented, and later presided over, this unfortunate socio-educational admission-and-



Mirella Affron

remediation operation. As it turns out this operation proved an abysmal failure. The economic cost of remediation is only one aspect of it, which enjoys publicity because of its political dimension. Far more insidious and irreversible are the institutional costs: Liberal arts programs have been destroyed in order to accommodate dubious vocational ones aimed to serve those low-standard recruits who are now ineligible; faculty geared

to serve the old open enrollment low standards constituency become increasingly difficult to renew; committees entrusted to hire new faculty (the "blood-money" used by the Board as an inducement to kill open admissions) are stuffed with people who are unequipped both psychologically and intellectually to choose their betters -

a prerequisite for raising standards in an academic environment. Last but not most entrapping is the near impossibility to dismantle those segments of bureaucracy, which have been growing at a compounded rate over the years to serve the bankrupt social-economic project of open admissions-remediation. In short, raising standards of admission is only one of many ingredients for attainment of overall excellence.

This brings me to the final and perhaps most important point. Recognizing failures of the past and taking responsibility for them does not mean that the original worthy aims of educational visionaries have to be abandoned. The baby of educational opportunity for ALL should not be thrown out along with the dirty water of intellectual incompetence and self-serving bureaucratic hypocrisy. Educational leaders trained in the liberal arts should be sensitized to the distinction between means and ends and to the fact that worthy ends are easily corrupted by unworthy means entrusted with their implementation. Much like the well-meaning project of Affirmative Action, well-meaning intentions can easily turn into abominations by stupid and corrupt bureaucracies. During my long tenure at CSI no creative thought (to my knowledge) has been expended concerning ways of implementing imaginatively open admissions-remediation. No creative thought was generated around integrating promising low-standard recruits to educational environments representing "excellence." Nor was ever a consensus reached on such collateral, or prerequisite, items as the contents of general education; or the meaning of "excellence" in a public institution of learning catering to a highly diverse student population. Instead, administrative energies were used in a combination of aggressive recruitment of low-standard students and their herding into hastily conceived remediation classes under the department of English.

It is precisely this overlooking of institutional complexities and the mindless holding on to formulas handed down from above that caused the derailment of a well-intended project. Educational institutions are not military bureaucracies and their functionaries are (hopefully) not in the same class as bureaucrats of infamous military-bureaucratic complexes who follow orders to the letter and when something goes wrong plead innocent for having to "follow orders." Mirella Affron, the last remaining of the three chief architects of the implementation of the failed admission-remediation policy at CSI has obviously not earned passing grades for either good reasoning or imagination. (The other two, Ed Volpe and Barry Bressler have been ignominiously removed from the academic scene.) Since Affron is not willing to take the time-honored and honorable course of resignation, she should follow the same route of "academic dismissal" like the one decreed by the Board for her students of low academic standards. Twenty years of probation is far too long, much more generous than the one afforded our students with a low GPA.

1997-1998 Edward J. Rehberg Memorial Prize for Poetry

The prize which carries a monetary award, will be presented to the CSI student whose poetic writing, in the opinion of the faculty committee, is judged best among the entries submitted. Students are invited to apply for the award by submitting three recent poems-typed, twenty-five lines, minimum total for the three poems

Submissions which should include the poet's address and phone number, should be sent to:

Rehberg Award Committee
c/o Mrs. Mary Ann Cadawas
PCA Department, Room 1-P-203
College of Staten Island, NY 10314
or dropped into College mail, or brought directly to
Room 1-P-203
Office Hours: Monday -Thursday 9:00am-4:00p.m.
Phone: (718) 982-2520

Deadline for submissions is
Tuesday, March 24, 1998.
The results will be announced
in April.

FACULTY BENDS OVER, STUDENTS GET F***ED.

In a courageous move to obey CUNY-central's wishes—not even orders—CSI's faculty moved to make life more difficult for students. Chair of faculty senate Michael Greenberg introduced the motion to make new standards the rule at CSI. Professor Greenberg is also chair of the History department and has been a left-wing professor, consistently assigning readings and directing discussions with a clear progressive bent.

The students' surprise at Greenberg's attitude towards them was not quite as real as their disgust. Although this article is not an attack against Greenberg, his behavior towards students is symptomatic of the feelings and attitudes of those faculty members who were present at the meeting and who did not oppose—not even one—the motion.

Open Admissions in CUNY was obtained through the struggle of students in the late sixties. The policy to open CUNY resulted in higher enrollment which led to the hiring of faculty. The demand for professors was such that many got a tenured position without having a Ph.D. Some others got special favors and became full professors without ever having a doctorate. Who? A look at the CSI catalog will suffice to answer any question one might have on the subject. The faculty was always very supportive of students in those days of great contention. Since then, a lot has happened...

It is not about raising standards...No, of course not. It is about ending Open Admissions, it is about cutting back funding for education, it is about privatizing CUNY! Yes, privatizing CUNY. Case in point: the new IDs which were co-sponsored by MCI and Citibank. Under the leadership of this right-wing BOT, CUNY is being sold to the corporate world.

The latest wave of the attack against CUNY which became palpable in the early 90s resulted in cuts in a few departments at CSI. Students fought hard against the loss of faculty—marched on City Hall, CUNY-central—because they knew that it was the quality of education that would be jeopardized. What did the faculty do? Nothing. They jiggled and wiggled, and then approved. The proportion of courses taught by adjuncts increased. Needless to say that the overworked and underpaid adjuncts—who had no power whatsoever in effecting policy—were in no position of protesting choices made for them by their departments. Some adjuncts became very disenchanted with teaching at CSI, especially that they had no prospects of getting a permanent job. Others were just too happy to get a job that the idea of thinking about the students was perceived to be a 'threat' against their chances to get reappointed.

The fact is that the changes that have been occurring—Giuliani used the term

'revolutionary' about what's to come—leads one to think that after the poorly performing students will be eliminated, the number estimated at about 10-15% of the student body, a great number of courses would be eliminated too. The idea that this will only affect remedial courses is as foolish as our professors. The adjuncts teaching introductory courses will also be affected. This will in turn shrink the size of departments and programs. Some programs could lose the number of courses required to be accredited...What is the faculty doing? They are—every single coward of them—waiting for their retirement, their promotion, their tenure, etc. What about their duty to educating the sons and daughters of the city who need it most?

Now, the problem of raising standards seem to have been solved by the BOT without any discussion or debate. The faculty—who consistently ask students to think, react, and other nonsense—has not engaged in any real debate. Other than the pathetically simplistic and shallow "Some students are beyond help" nothing of substance was ever discussed. Did they discuss

manuscript ready since he was hired in the mid-seventies. What about others...What standards should we use? Can two journal articles in 20 years stand as great academic achievement? Especially if what these professor have to show for in terms of services to the college community are the kind of bureaucratic 'facilitation' which has hurt students so much.

It is true students do not have a say in the hiring and promotion of professors at this college. Why? Because the administration is afraid that its total control of the faculty could be weakened. Students with some sense of what the politics at CUNY are, and who see the larger picture, realize soon enough how incestuous the administration-faculty relation is. From Affron down to Greenberg, the faculty seems to be interchangeable with the administration. Not all of it, but those who actually become administrators are the least student-friendly—only if students can be used to get some more power. How many a professor has 'suggested' that students complain to the chair of a department about their colleague's behavior. What ulterior

exchange. Because these individuals are engaged in political games which include self-promotion, reputation-making-and-preserving, networking, and the rest, they can't afford being criticized on their 'intellectual' work which is the very source of their job position and their 'authority'. The attempt by someone like George Rozos to encourage intellectual life at CSI was just pathetic. It is not only that these people don't write, it is also that there is no other value and use to their 'production' than their career-development. It is this totally instrumental view of intellectual work that made these people amenable to the calls for vocationalization of CUNY. The tenets of the human sciences preclude their true practitioners from reducing knowledge to practicality.

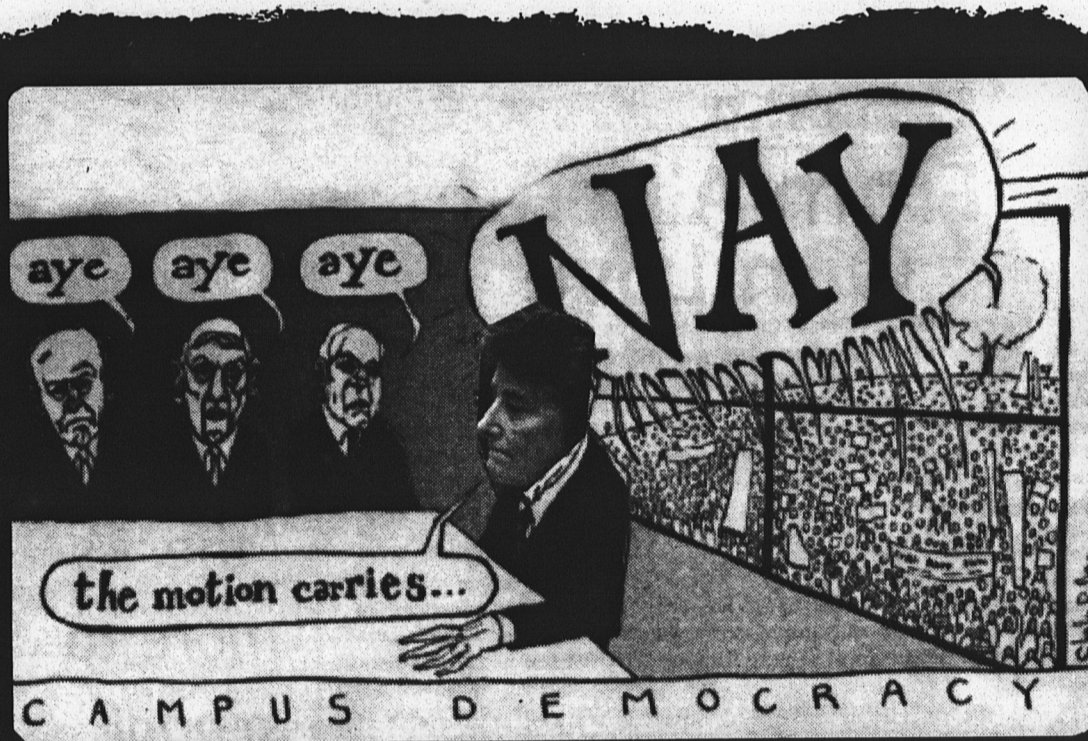
Students are not totally oblivious to this situation. In this case, who wants to be a college professor? Students are discouraged, in more ways than one, from pursuing a graduate education—and I'm not talking about the CSI education program, the Environmental Science, the Film or Liberal Studies. For students to have graduate education in their prospects they need

to have a structure which encourages and rewards academic excellence. What have our professors done over the years? In other schools, graduate students serve as Teaching Assistants and provide a considerable help to students. What do graduate students do at CSI? They can't be assistants to professors who are not writing and who don't think the students are capable of anything. This, plus the fact that the library cannot 'sustain' graduate study and raising the standards becomes a joke played on students.

After having studied 'revolutionary' change with some application in history class, one learns

that those who call for change always have a personal interest. When the faculty needed to protect its interests it called on students and workers to unite. When the administration needed to pass its devastating measures against students, it called on the faculty.

For a long time, students have thought that the faculty was on their side. First, because professors are academics interested in promoting a certain view of the world which is both analytical and critical. Second, because the teachers are workers who experience the same pressures on their job as the rest. Third, because some of these teachers have been consistent in trying to keep the flame of knowledge and



the impact of the cuts on the quality of education? The number of students per class—they voted to encourage those large courses taught by promotion-hungry productivity-oriented faculty. The impact of those graduates who go on to become area school teachers on the quality of CSI students? Who should be responsible for what they call the poor quality of student? No, not the faculty...God forbid!

All right. Now that students have to respect certain guidelines, what about the faculty. What about the faculty? We have yet to find one book published by professor Greenberg—for example...After doing some research, it appears that he's had a

motive? These members of the faculty do not have as their primary interest the pursuit of scholarly work. They often publish a few journal articles, edit or co-edit a reader or anthology, and that's it! Some actually have MBA's in addition to their Ph.D. which proves that the privatization of CUNY is no accident.

These same elements—not only those alluded to above—play an important role in the hiring and promoting of faculty. In sociological terms, they constitute a tight communication network. They were successful over time in chasing away scholars such as Paul Rabinow, Richard Barsam, the list is endless. How so? By creating an environment which deters intellectual

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RADICAL HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONSERVATISM

THE MESSAGE OF LEONARD JEFFRIES

WILLIAM WHARTON

Arriving amid swirling controversy created by irresponsible journalism, attack literature and a manufactured riot atmosphere Leonard Jeffries spoke at the College of Staten Island (CSI), well he sort of spoke. Instead of the Williamson Theatre the forum for Jeffries speech was shifted to the Administration Building (1A) room 106, thanks to the blundering of the CSI Student Government led by, you guessed it, me. Despite these distractions, Jeffries delivered an improvised version of his speech to a crowded room of 70 students, a sprinkling of bureaucrats and the campus version of the Gestapo. Within the text of his presentation Jeffries continually treaded the line between a genuine sense of radicalism and firm commitment to integrate into the system.

Leonard Jeffries - Deconstructing National Icons

Jeffries set the tone for his speech as the students filed into the room to listen to him. After being informed by fellow panelist Ron McGuire that the event had been canceled by the Student Government, Jeffries was disappointed because he had wanted to speak on Staten Island for some time. He told the crowd, "We can't force our way onto campus but we want to force our way into to your mind, to get you to start to think."

Jeffries then began to deconstruct the national symbols that have been created within American history by ideologically charged historians looking to institutionalize a feeling of Americanness among the masses. The price for doing this, was a glossing over of the reality of both the individual actors of history and the framework within which they operated. He correctly stated that, "I don't want to learn about Washington and the cherry tree, I want to

learn about Washington and the plantations that he had, why he had them; when we deal with our history. These things are there. Lincoln the emancipator, he was a vacillator and a pragmatist the emancipators were the Harriet Tubmans and the Fredrick Douglas. If you want to learn about a great white emancipator we look at John Brown." This analysis is not only good history, it will hopefully provided the bright young minds in the room with an intellectual springboard from which they can approach the subject of American history.

As Jeffries moved on, he defined a term he used throughout his discussion on American history. He described his concept of "the people" stating that "I'm talking the Native Americans who have something to say about slavery; this is not there land this is the land taken from them and put into the hands of rich white men." His orientation became even more clear when he shared the fact that "The wealth of the nation did not come from these rich white men it came from the working of African peoples to death; the wealth of this nation was founded on our sweat." This orientation towards the African contribution to the wealth of this nation is commonly used by many of our disappearing History professors in American History introductory classes.

Jeffries then extended this basic analysis by attacking yet another national icon, the Statue of Liberty. Customarily looked upon as the beacon of opportunity for immigrants, Jeffries described the manner in

which this identity was constructed and revealed the origins of the statue. Jeffries felt that "The statue was there to acknowledge the liberation struggle that took place during the Civil War at which African peoples took the cutting edge." He continued, "The Frenchman said lets now honor America because slavery is over; the original notion of the statue of liberty was a black woman holding the chains of enslavement in one hand and the chains of enslavement in the other hand and the chains of enslavement down at her feet and he changed it because he knew that America could not handle a black heroine." Students were shocked and amazed by this revelation, and many later felt that this statement was the one that left a lasting impression. The misrepresentation of the Statue of Liberty is indicative of the way in which racism has become deeply imbedded within our national history and consciousness. The "statue story" is also related in a manner in which the American capitalist has expropriated wealth from the African-American community first for free, via slavery, then in a condition of virtually wage slavery. In the eyes of the ruling class it is more important to erect a statue that will draw in more workers from abroad by providing them with the allure of opportunity in exchange for their cheap labor. Given this environment, a symbol of the liberation of the most historically oppressed group in America would put a system maintained by psychological intimidation at extreme risk.

"The status quo is literally infested with racism and only when this structure is upset can we begin to move in a progressive direction."

ment down at her feet and he changed it because he knew that America could not handle a black heroine." Students were shocked and amazed by this revelation, and many later felt that this statement was the one that left a lasting impression. The misrepresentation of the Statue of Liberty is indicative of the way in which racism has become deeply imbedded within our national history and consciousness. The "statue story" is also related in a manner in which the American capitalist has expropriated wealth from the African-American community first for free, via slavery, then in a condition of virtually wage slavery. In the eyes of the ruling class it is more important to erect a statue that will draw in more workers from abroad by providing them with the allure of opportunity in exchange for their cheap labor. Given this environment, a symbol of the liberation of the most historically oppressed group in America would put a system maintained by psychological intimidation at extreme risk.

Leonard Jeffries - Feeding the System

While Jeffries acknowledged the historical damage that had been done to African-Americans by the white dominated system, he provided students with little help in regards to radically restructuring the system. While he praised the Populist movement of the late 19th century which he felt "opened up the system", Jeffries program for change was really one firmly entrenched within the capitalist system. He informed the students that "the hundreds of thousands of you that have gone through the city university have the power to determine the future of New York." This future is one that in Jeffries mind, can be transformed by the electoral system. He chastised the students for not supporting candidates like Al Sharpton and felt that the electoral system was a key mechanism for students to utilize. "Sharpton could have won that election if you had woken up and you would have had an advocate for the City University."

While Jeffries articulated his demands for reparations for African Americans, Native Americans and the Irish, he began and ended this conversation with simply the preparation of a document. He then provided commentary about his Jewish fraternity brother "Mike Moscow", he praised Moscow because "he found his niche in labor law, in economics ...was appointed to head of the Federal Reserve in Chicago one of the most important institutions in the world." While this institution may be essential to the ruling elite in this country, the Federal Reserve will do very little to improve the lives of those students that were listening. The replication of Mike Moscow's will not fulfill the true goals of the University of producing the shock troops that will transform society.

Earlier in the speech, Jeffries began play-

Continued on Page 19

Silence of Lambs

Continued from Page 3

is arguing for a Black essence. It is Jeffries' methodological and theoretical position that leads him to make certain controversial comments. One could as easily point to the Austrian-born Zionists who have also looked for a Jewish essence in their attempt to create a new identity (Israeli). In the same line of reasoning, either one tries to understand Jeffries in his context, (dis)agree with him, but at least understand him, or one closes one's mind, and remains ignorant of the experience, aspirations, and also contradictions of Blacks in America today. Springer's multiculturalism is a liberal construct which has also had numerous critics.

Now, back to Dr. Jemie. Here is a scholar who has been widely published and whose career is exemplary. We are asked to believe that he is not worthy of CSI. If there had been more Black professors with enough political sense to stand up to racist manipulations Jemie's case would be a non-issue. However, when the acting Dean says that Jemie "should

go take a seminar at Harvard or whatever," to improve his chances elsewhere, and when flippantly the president mentions that professor Jemie was, she heard, a tribal chief, they both should have been aware that, that was precisely the attitude and language of imperialists and racists.

A number of lies were spread about Jemie while he was going up for tenure; from the most outrageous, to the plain ludicrous.

At this point, let's just say, for the sake of the argument, that Jemie was denied tenure not because of racism but because of his character. For those who don't know the man, he comes out as being a tad British: reserved, polite, and courteous—Ivy League. He is also very calm and he speaks with clarity. I personally find him to be an honorable man.

A problem, as I see it, could have arisen because certain members of the department were just jealous of his outstanding scholarly production. Who? Not those who don't care about students and who live in the clouds because they have

published two or three books. Probably the other ones, those who don't have a Ph.D., those who published two or three articles in small journals, those who didn't publish anything. If one looks at the members of the Appointments committee of the English department, the picture becomes clear. David Falk and the committee owe Dr. Jemie and the college community an explanation of why their support for him was lukewarm when their support for others less qualified had been more generous.

For these individuals, a tenured Jemie could have asked for an expansion of the curriculum to include more African related material. Jemie could have demanded the hiring of more Black adjuncts, etc.

In these situations, it is often the case that the Black person is more qualified than most people holding higher positions. Would the situation have been different if Falk were Black?

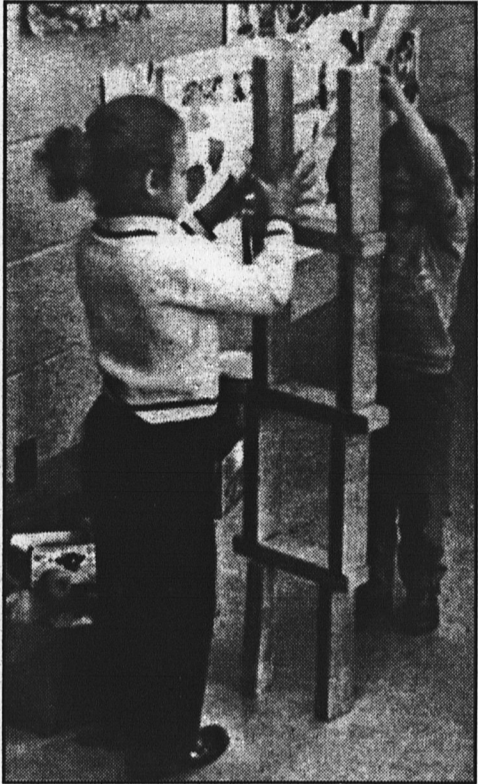
Obviously, if's don't quite make the cut when reality is assessed. But facts...

A few semesters ago, Jemie was faculty advisor to the College Voice. At that time,

it was perhaps thought that a Black teacher, radical by his very Blackness, but easy to manipulate because he didn't have tenure, would be the ideal person to oversee the then socialist core that ran the Voice. However, Jemie acted like a true gentleman: he voiced his concerns but respected the freedoms of students. According to an Associate Professor, Jemie was punished because he couldn't control the Voice. Jemie eventually left the Voice to occupy himself fully with his scholarly work and his teaching.

At the end of this article, and after having raised more questions than I answered about racism at CSI, I would like to encourage people to write to the Voice and actually take on this issue. I hope that the president herself would see that in the interest of the college, a frank discussion is more valuable than empty clichés about multiculturalism. I think that the issue of racism is so important that she must explain her decision to all of us. We deserve it.

CSI STUDENT GOVERNMENT APPEALS FOR CHILDCARE FUNDING



COLLEEN MCGRAHAM

Following up on one of the main demands of the Student Union slate during last year's Student Government elections. Promising to fight for "Childcare for all Students" the government has worked to formulate funding alternatives for the financially strapped Center. The latest strategy for funding, formulated by SG President William Wharton and Childcare Director Cynthia Murphy, is to tap into the over \$500,000 held in reserve by Auxiliary Services.

The immediate request is for a grant to the Childcare center of \$70,000 for this fiscal year. When questioned about how he came up with this number Wharton stated that "it reflects approximately half of the operating deficit of the Center for this year." Without this "donation" of funds the Center may be forced to cut back on the infant/toddler program or radically reduce their hours of operation across the board. Currently the Center provides quality child care to over 200 children on a flex time basis, the largest childcare center in the CUNY system. There are currently 4,000 children on waiting lists for daycare throughout CUNY.

The Auxiliary Services Corporation is basically in the business of expropriating money from students. This they accom-

plish via their commission from the Barnes and Noble controlled bookstore; revenue from the cafeteria; and the big bucks they take in from parking decals and tickets. Following harsh criticism from the Student Union, Auxiliary Services has begun to run an image campaign to let students know what the group does. Using this opening created by student activism, Wharton presented the request for funding at a recent meeting and told the Board members that "if they even want to joke about this body being relevant to the student body they must fund the Childcare Center."

The proposal will now be voted upon at the next Auxiliary Services meeting the April 1, rm 227 most likely on Wednesday club hours. The students of CSI must begin to put pressure on the Board to vote in favor of the proposal. If you cannot attend the meeting, which has yet to be scheduled, you should call Auxiliary Services at (718) 982-3035 and register your support for the proposal. The possibility for funding is far from definite and ominous signs abound. At the same meeting wherein this proposal was made Auxiliary Services proposed an investment of \$200,000 of reserve money in the Stock Market. So the next time you bite into a Cafeteria burger stop and think of whether you want your money going to fund childcare or in the pockets of a greedy Wall Street broker.

**SUPPORT STUDENT GOVERNMENTS
REQUEST FOR \$70,000 FUNDING FOR THE
CHILDREN'S CENTER AT THE NEXT
Auxiliary Services Meeting
April 1, Wednesday
2:30 pm Rm 227 -1C
or call in support 982-3035**

PROTEST TO SAVE OPEN ADMISSIONS KEEP THE DOORS OPEN

STUDENTS, FACULTY AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS WELCOME

Support the 10 Demands

- 1. Defend and Extend Open Admissions**
- 2. Stop the Plans to Stratify CUNY by Race and Class**
- 3. Full Academic Support for Incoming Students**
- 4. Full Financial Support for Full and Part Time Students**
- 5. Full Support for Public Assistance Recipients**
- 6. More Full Time Quality Instruction**
- 7. Democratic Election of the Board of Trustees**
- 8. Appropriate Assessment of CUNY Students**
- 9. Improve Public School Education**
- 10. Celebrate Open Admissions**



WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29TH

PLACE AND TIME TO BE DETERMINED

FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL (718) 982-3082 OR 982-3091

THE SPECTER OF LEONARD JEFFRIES

WILLIAM WHARTON

Written: March 8, 1998 1:00 am

Over the course of the last week the ominous specter of Leonard Jeffries has loomed high above the College of Staten Island. Like some incoming racial hurricane, Jeffries has been pinpointed as the greatest source of racial division that exists in America today. In order to hammer this point home his words have been graphed from speeches and plastered throughout the campus. Students who voted for this man to come to campus, an opportunity they had offered to 20 or 30 other speakers, were instantly vilified as conduits of anti-Semitism and racial prejudice. This experience has led to some very healthy and unhealthy situations and has raised the issues of identities via racial categorization, free speech in a Democratic society and the institutionalization of racism within the college itself.

The first issue of racial categorization has been one of the most prominent aspects of the controversy surrounding the appearance of Leonard Jeffries. Skin color and religious practice have been transformed into instantaneous political positioning among and by individuals who might not otherwise associate themselves with one another. Participants within, and I'll include myself in this, the debate marvel at the fact that a Jewish professor actually supports bringing Jeffries to campus or that a member of the Black community is in opposition. As a result of this every Black or Jewish person becomes an instantaneous representative of each of their respective communities and thereby becomes responsible for every action or position taken by their particular group. Jeffries himself is perceived by outsiders to be the sole spokesperson of the Black community, the ultimate embodiment of what it means to be Black and defend Black interests. Every Black Student Government member is also seen as the elected representatives of Blackness and is thereby held accountable for Jeffries' words. I myself am caught in some kind of confusing position, not really able to defend my Blackness or my Jewishness. Political ideologues and opportunists are left to decry how I am "manipulating the Black students for my political agenda", a blatantly racist statement which assumes the existence of an easily manipulatable group based on skin color.

In reality, none of these categorizations can be used to neatly box people in and assign them universal values and political positions. We can begin to unravel the mystery of these emotion ridden days if we come to several understandings. First, the groups demarcated as Black and Jewish do indeed exist in society today. To deny this would be multiculturalistic suicide rooted in the continuation of the existing power structure of society. We may, however, be able to agree on the following ideas which will further our discussions. The first premise is that although these groups do indeed exist, they do not exist as all encompassing monolithic entities. In other words someone may identify him/herself as Black but

"... each and every year millions of children encounter this culturally biased, overtly racist experience which glorifies white Europeans as civilized and cultured and denigrates Native Americans as backwards and heathenous. This event, this constant unrelenting assault on the consciousness of our youth goes by without even a peep from our supposed defenders of racial harmony."

that does not necessarily imply that there is a universal set of politics, culture or values that arise out of this self identification. Just as, in the same sense, my whiteness does not necessarily produce a specific set of politics, culture or values as a result of self-identification. Problems arise when we understand that self-identification is not the only form of identification. Another and many times more imposing form comes from societal identification and treatment as a result of that identification. I may choose to identify myself as an Irishman and associate myself with the struggles of Irish people throughout history, but in this and other situations I am simply white and treated as such. I am then assigned a universalized set of values and judgements and I am expected to act accordingly. If I do not, it is deviant behavior to be suspected. In this sense the same people that are outraged that Leonard Jeffries is attempting to reduce whole sectors of people to skin color and assign them universal values, i.e. ice/sun people, are utilizing the very same logic.

The second point to explore is that of a free and open discourse within the parameters of a Democratic society, what this means and how this has to be defended. The issue of student outrage over the invitation of Jeffries, which has centered around the Jewish student community, is both an understandable and necessary one. Understandable in the sense that as a result of

multiplicity of damaging historical experiences, any person that is perceived to be anti-Semitic is seen as a serious threat to community survival. However, the First Amendment and the manner in which it secures at least some free flow of societal information, is the lynchpin in the prevention of any further state sponsored terror against the Jewish or any other community for that matter. As such, it cannot be selectively enforced in the case of Leonard Jeffries but must be preserved

and applied in a particularly liberal manner within the confines of the University. A free flow and exchange of ideas will lead to the formulation of a society that is prepared to truthfully address the fundamental inequities that exist within its very fabric. At CSI we will have the opportunity to analyze and challenge one voice that has emerged from the Black intellectual scene and from the City University itself. The social and political ideology that underlies the First Amendment is that of trust in the ability of the vast majority of people in the country to make the correct and just determinations on how our society is organized. It is my firm belief and that of others that this is a true expression of the General Will of the people which can be translated into a sound society only when informed decisions are made. One cannot make an informed decision based upon reading four quotes excerpted from a seven year old speech made by Leonard Jeffries. CSI students will have the ability

to make an informed intellectual judgement on Jeffries only after hearing his speech tomorrow and evaluating it based on their historical knowledge, political values and life experiences. Only the full application of the First Amendment will allow this to happen and only an informed student population will be able to make sound judgements. Indeed, a utopian vision of a free and open society can only be translated into reality if the university is

a centerpiece of those same values. In this sense, the prevention of the systematic elimination of particular groups will be determined by the openness of a society not by its ability to silence its critics.

The necessity of the protests and critical examinations of Leonard Jeffries lies in the fact that as a human community we should reject the ideas of racial categorization that we explored earlier. We can do this by providing Jeffries with sharp challenges and also by rejecting the

notions of racial universality that are presented to us on a daily basis. The majority of these presentations, however, emanate from the corporate controlled TV, textbook publishers and print media which continue to portray people of color as inferior. While Jeffries assertion that "Jews are like skunks" is biased and wrong it is just as wrong when a young child opens their first history book and reads the fantastic story of how Columbus "discovered" and civilized the savages. Indeed, each and every year millions of children encounter this culturally biased, overtly racist experience which glorifies white Europeans as civilized and cultured and denigrates Native Americans as backwards and heathenous. This event, this constant unrelenting assault on the consciousness of our youth goes by without even a peep from our supposed defenders of racial harmony. A child's first experience with the history of this country is therefore one of racial domination. Intellectual genocide such as this must be first directly confronted and then eliminated in the societal workshop that CSI should represent.

Finally the issue of the institutionalization of racism is one that should be the focus of debate following the departure of Leonard Jeffries. Certainly all of us can agree that Jeffries is not the source of all racism that exists in society today nor are the social possibilities that he preaches a reality. Given this fact, the discrimination of students on the basis of race that exists on campus, but seems to have been on hold for the past few days, continues unabated. It is delivered in the books we read, the classes we are offered and the professors that come before us. Even a cursory examination of the racial composition of the faculty will deliver a crash course in concept of exclusion and homogeneity which prevails within this university. The call for all people of good conscience to reject anti-Semitism is a just and valid one but should not be used to diminish the realities of institutionalized racism. Jeffries is correct in his assertion that the political, economic and cultural systems upon which this country is based were developed in order to protect white skin privilege and alienate people of color (enslaved Blacks and oppressed Natives) from the American project. In order to fundamentally transform this situation we need to search out and find political issues and areas in which we can challenge the status quo. All people of good conscience should therefore be more than eager to embark on this journey.

We can begin this process by first rejecting a universalistic notion of identity described earlier and allow individuals the ability to formulate and express positions that may deviate from a social perception informed by racial categorization. Secondly we must firmly position ourselves within a project which institutionalizes the ability to speak and express ourselves in a free and open manner. This will necessitate sacrifices from all of us and does not infringe on any of our other

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THOUGHTS ON ACCESS

STUDENT GOVERNMENT SPEAKER SERIES

ELVIA ALVARADO'S FREEDOM IS IN OUR HANDS

ROBERT LAURO

Last November many of us here at CSI were privileged to hear Elvia Alvarado speak. Her self-conscious manner at the beginning was due, she explained, to her lack of formal education and very scant knowledge of English. She spoke to us through an interpreter. He was a faculty member clearly at odds with her message. He continually made faces whenever Ms. Alvarado gave a point of view he seemed to be in disagreement. Luckily, there were many bi-lingual students in the lounge to make certain that the translation was accurate. This faculty member seemed most condescending whenever Ms. Alvarado spoke of the sexism of her community being a hindrance to making the peoples' situation less onerous. I found his interjection of his feelings while translating most distracting and unprofessional. It did, however, add weight to her statements.

Ms. Alvarado, once she established a rapport with the students present, warmed to her mission of coming directly to us, the people of the United States. Her graphic imageries of conditions now present in Honduras had shaken most of us. The Honduran government, long a puppet of U.S. government military interests and U.S. corporate interests, has pushed the largely peasant population from arable lands to marginal existence in mountainous regions. This is being done in order for U.S. agribusiness, namely United Fruit using many aliases, to use Honduras's best farm lands for export of cash crops. These are mainly bananas, tobacco and various fruits we eat out of season.

She spoke next about the tragedy of using 10 to 14 year old peasant girls in factories that produce the brand name clothes we wear. The tragedy is the use of these little girls as factory hands in plants that are not subject to any health, safety or environmental laws. attempts by anyone to increase their wages, reduce their hours or organize in any way is dealt with violently. These girls burn out physically by 14 and are simply discarded. Another young girl replaces her. These young girls are uneducated and illiterate when then enter and exit the same way.

Why am I writing about this?

Many CSI students at this lecture/seminar were hearing these facts for the first time. one could feel the sense of shame that these things are taking place in our name. The corporations, the Honduran authorities, the Honduran landholders who maintain an almost feudal plutocracy, are backed by the rich of this country.

This group has used the U.S. military as its private police force throughout the world. However, Latin America is considered their private domain and has influenced U.S. foreign policy towards the same view. The one exception, also mentioned by Ms. Alvarado, is Cuba. The Cuban people pay a very high price for being free of U.S. domination. Students at CSI asked her what they could do to right the obvious wrongs done in our name. Ms. Alvarado feels that getting her message out to the people will in turn have us bring opposition and pressure on our government to end these practices. She wants the U.S. military out of her country so that the Hondurans can work out their own problems.

There is a quicker way to accomplish her goals. If we really want to put an end to this kind of child exploitation then we have to put our money where our mouths are. Rather, don't put our money where these practices take place. How, one may ask? Boycott corporations and their subsidiaries that make their products by these means whether in Honduras or Bolivia or Zanzibar. Nothing speaks to these corporations louder than loss of market share or goods no longer profitable. This means we have to be willing to do without that \$200 air Jordan's, Nikes, and a list of name brands in clothes. How many are willing to do this for a 12 year old girl who may never know what caused her life to improve?

How many of us give lip service to these people pleading for us to stop hurting them, but still go out and buy the products made by little girls for a dollar a day? There is no difference between the scum who make huge profits off these kids labor and the person who knowingly buys these products. One can't exist without the other. Now YOU know about it! What are YOU going to do?

LEADING BY EXAMPLE ...or STUDENT APATHY IS SURED BY SAME.

ROBERT LAURO

Thursday, February 19th dawned with the promise of yet another abnormally warm winter, for this area. It also held a more personal promise for other students and me. Howard Zinn, world renowned author and lecturer, would be speaking on this date here at CSI.

To cut to the chase, his lecture was informative and worth the hour of my time to attend. Much of what I learned from this lecture came not from anything Professor Zinn said but rather what was not said. What was not said remained locked away in the minds of those professors who could not find the time to attend this lecture. Principally I'm referring to the History, Political Science, Sociology and Economics departments of CSI. There were about three or four professors at the lecture along with perhaps sixty to seventy students myself included.

Yet, I hear the same old story during the five semesters that I've been at CSI about "student apathy", low turn out at

events, etc... Could it possibly be connected to the absence of professors in the aforementioned departments?

How many more students may have attended, had some of these professors at least taken a few minutes during their classes to publicize the lecture? How many more students might have attended had the professors mentioned that they would be at the lecture? What might the results have been if these professors engaged in a question and answer session with professor Zinn and students? How many students' minds would open due to this kind of learning experience?

We will never know and the real pity is that many may not even care. Not students kept in the dark by professors who are too busy to attend or attempt to encourage students to do so. It's easier to sit in an "ivory tower" with a stack of paperwork as a prop for teaching students and bewails "student apathy." In no way would I be correct in saying that the professors at CSI are either the direct cause of this condition. They can be, if they so choose, be part of the solution.



Historian and one of the guest speakers for A.C.C.E.S.S. Howard Zinn (on left) and Mark Gray (on right). We want to say good-bye to Mark who has resigned his position on A.C.C.E.S.S. Also, The College Voice thanks him for the hard work and effort he put into bringing speakers to campus to stimulate and educate.

So long Mark and Good Luck!

PROFESSOR LEONARD JEFFRIES AT CSI...

A LESSON IN FREE SPEECH ?

ROBERT LAURO

CSI, March 5, 1998.

The appearance of CCNY's Professor Leonard Jeffries here at CSI gave those who chose, so many lessons in history, political action and current events. Most importantly, it took the covers from those on campus, be they administration or students, along with outside confrontationalist from the island, who "talk the talk" but can't or won't "walk the walk". Anyone can say, "I'm in favor of free speech," and actually believe it. That is, as long as you are in agreement with the person who is speaking or the views that the speaker is extolling.

Such was the case with the Professor Jeffries fiasco. As simply as I am able, I'll report what I saw and heard of the (non)? event. Student Government has a series called A.C.C.E.S.S., which brings noted speakers to campus from various academic disciplines.

From the very onset, when the administration (and those who believe whatever they read, see or hear from the media) learned that the Student Government had contacted Jeffries to speak to us about the open admissions crisis, the SG was made to look like advocates of racism! In other words, not only did the administration feel that a fellow CUNY professor was a racist, but anyone who listened to his words was also a racist. This reminded me of McCarthyism during the height of the cold war. Their term was 'fellow traveler.' The purges of Hollywood writers, the House Committee on un-American activities, red baiting, are all products of this kind of thinking. Unfortunately for those students who wanted to develop an informed opinion based on what Jeffries himself said, not someone else's interpretation, this tactic is still as formidable as ever.

There are groups of students who opposed or took issue with, not what Dr. Jeffries said but what the media reported he said. This went so far as taking words out of context as in the "Jews Are Skunks" headline of "The Banner", coincidentally published just prior to scheduled talk. Some of these students went as

far as bringing outside agitators onto this campus. On closer look at what took place on the day Dr. Jeffries appeared, I'm not so certain coincidence played much of a role. The administration allowed people on campus to protest and/or otherwise disrupt a student activity. They then used their presence on campus to try to have the event canceled because security was fearful of a confrontation.

His speech was "postponed" ostensibly because there wasn't anyone on the faculty willing to moderate the event. Why must a faculty member moderate a student event? Any competent person at CSI should be able to perform this function. Security, beefed up and waiting for a pretext to call it off, was spared the decision of whom we can hear speak because the Student Government president, William Wharton, made the mistake of postponing it. Luckily, the students themselves took matters in hand and simply began a dialog with Dr. Jeffries in the hall of building 1-P. Security then escorted Dr. Jeffries into building 2-A and puts him in room 106, a small registration room. John Hudacs, Vice-President of Operations, attempted to bring SG president Wharton to 2-A 106 without informing the students of Dr. Jeffries' location. Wharton, acceding to the desire of those students who wanted to hear Jeffries speak, informed those present where he was going. The on-again off again event was on-again! This news quickly spread throughout the CSI campus. This reporter, who was off campus until 3:15pm learned that Dr. Jeffries was speaking at 2-A. It was then that I, along with a few students, hurried over there to hear him speak.

Those who were there to disrupt his speech were a minority. They would interject baited questions and remarks, only to leave hurriedly when, not getting a reply in kind, they received instead historical analysis of events pertaining to their remarks. I can report that Dr. Jeffries stuck to his reasoned analysis on the topic of open admissions. He gave a deep history of CUNY and why open admissions is such a worthwhile and

important concept for CUNY students to uphold. For those who missed his talk, I'll be playing an edited version of his main points on my radio program. (WSIA Mondays from 6 PM until 10 PM.) Dr. Jeffries maintains that the only way we can keep our university open to all socioeconomic classes is by inclusion. This means inclusion of all cultures, religions or ethnic backgrounds represented at CUNY. Inclusion of neighborhood and community groups that will listen to our ideas and join in our demand that state and federal governments keep access to education open to all. Inclusion means without regard to financial, familial status or need for remediation.

I'm certain that you'll hear all kinds of reasons why Dr. Jeffries was treated in such a shabby and unprofessional, un-academic manner. My gut feeling is that this college has become a political weather-vane that points whichever way the money-winds blow. This translates into allowing political-economic pressure to become more important than a free and open exchange of ideas. I believe this exchange was one of the hallmarks of real learning. It was one reason I have held academia in such high regard. This is my belief despite my 35 years of working with many who regard educational insti-

tutions as places where people lack common sense or can't 'make it' in the 'real world'. This kind of mentality applauds Dr. Jeffries' treatment at CSI.

Finally, to those who went around saying, "I don't agree with him but defend his right to say it," where were you? To those who took issue with his past remarks (whether out of context, verbatim or media hype) why weren't you there to challenge those statements? To those students who used a club fair as a litmus test on who is and who isn't a racist, students see right through your petty grab for power. The entire issue of how the clubs are used bears investigation.

I have witnessed various machinations by those who start clubs and those who oversee the clubs. Without getting too far afield of the subject of this article, suffice it to say that this reporter will be looking more closely at the club issue. I'll be doing this as a reporter for both publications, THE COLLEGE VOICE and THE BANNER. I will also be conducting interviews with club presidents, members of student government and interested students in my capacity as news director at WSIA. Too many students have used clubs as their private domain to allow this to continue unexposed.



MIKE BESIO

RADICAL HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONSERVATISM THE MESSAGE OF LEONARD JEFFRIES

Continued From Page 14

ing the game that has and will continue to feed into the dominant culture of oppression that has created fixed class position among the vast majority of African-Americans. This strategy is that of comparative oppression. After deftly correcting a student who questioned him about "the Holocaust", referring to the Jewish Holocaust, Jeffries then compared the suffering of Blacks and Jews historically. He informed the group that "I would have rather died in the ovens, a thousands times over rather be worked to death generation after generation." My question to Jeffries is: Why choose either? The vast physical and psychological damage that was done to Blacks via slavery is one of the most glaring under recognized travesties in the history

of mankind. The Jewish Holocaust was one of the greatest tragedies of the 20th century and represents the power of the state mobilized for the purposes of obliterating a specific group of people based on religious affiliation. It was mass genocide and is a tragedy that will take many more generations of Jewish people to fully recognize and repair the damage. Attempting to repair the Black Holocaust by classifying it as more devastating than the Jewish Holocaust merely shifts the focus of the oppressed from their oppressors, namely the ruling elite.

What's the Message?

The message Leonard Jeffries delivered to CSI is that we must begin the intellectual task of reopening and reexamine the history that we have taken on as our own. This task is essential if our goals are truly those

of anti-hate. The perpetuation of national myths that are empowered on the backs of Blacks and Native American is institutionalized hate that is programmed in our minds and the minds of our children. This programmed hate can be activated at a moments notice as the situation presents itself. Addressing racism will not come through pseudo liberal policies of multiculturalism but through a program of racial justice. Anti-racists should set their sites not on calming race relations because this is the environment in which racism festers. The status quo is literally infested with racism and only when this structure is upset can we begin to move in a progressive direction. The program for repairing race relations will be one of recognition, analysis and action.

Concerning the issue of comparative

oppression, we must have a clear historical perspective on the situation. The connection that binds these two tragedies together firmly is the capitalist system of production. Both events occurred at points in which capitalism had gone into overdrive and humanity became less a function of a system of morals and more a function of profit motive. This should be the point of unity between these two historically oppressed groups. Instead of battling against one another for the position of the most historically oppressed, we should all begin to take a more critical view of the system that produces these inequities and perpetuates them historically. While Leonard Jeffries came to CSI to tell students to wake up, we the students of CSI should tell him to wake up to the system that has been oppressing all of us.

Yac's Views

by John Yacobellis

"If you have a 4.0 GPA, you can get any fucking job you want."

HASSLES
OF REGISTERING
AT C.S.I.

The registration process at the CSI campus is the single most dreadful experience a student can have.

Wondering if a class is open when they arrive is nerve racking. When a person takes a day off or leaves work early, he/she expects to be compensated with a pain free process. This however is not the case with returning students to CSI. Returning students are required to fill out this form and that, then wait for a registration form to arrive in the mail.

Now sometimes the U.S.P.S. is not reliable enough to deliver. I myself have been the victim of this conspiracy. Late or even undelivered mail was the problem. I decided to take off a semester to go back to work and replenish my bank account. In doing so, I was changed to a "returning student." I did not realize my standing would be changed from continuing student to returning student.

The difference is this, continuing students get priority registration. That means he/she has registration in the beginning when all classes are still available. Whereas being a returning status student means he/she must wait until the busiest period of registration when almost all the classes they want are closed or have fewer than four seats remaining. That is the hectic part, knowing that only a certain amount of seats are left, waiting on line for an hour then finding out the class you want is closed. The frustration is increased as one must run around to get a signature from their advisor in order to register for classes.

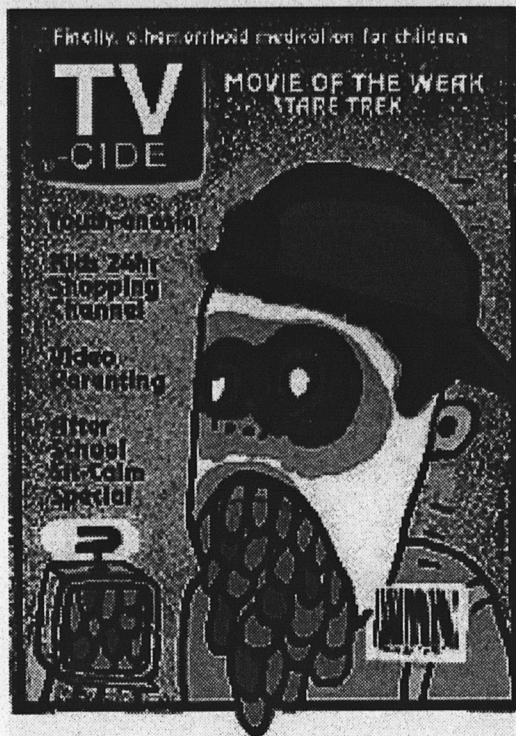
If the class is closed when you get there, which is often the case, then you must go back through the process of finding a schedule that fits your life, which can take some time. Then you have to track down the advisor, sometimes they cannot be found, to get another signature, then to return to registration only to

find out now that class is closed.

Another point to make is the lack of respect one receives when one finally reaches the counter. It doesn't matter if the first hundred people were total jerks, these people are here to serve you and are here because you want to go to school. Not the other way around!

We must make "Real" hours at all the windows involved in getting into school eg. (college testing, registrar, bursar, financial aid) for people with families and responsibilities that are not physically able to make it during afternoon hours. This means having windows open when people can get to them, like at night, after 6:00 pm. Also devising a plan to reserve seats by phone until such times that people can get there. We should also make it possible for advisors to handle appointments according to the student's schedule.

We should have direct computer access to scheduling the whole process with the student. Already there are other schools using on-line registration, with some simple personal information you can register yourself without ever seeing those crabby old people at the counter. These simple actions could ease the troubles surrounding the registration process, not only at the College of Staten Island but throughout the entire college system.

PARKING ON
THE CSI CAMPUS

The issue of campus parking should be a big concern to most students who own a car and use it to get to school. More parking decals than the amount of parking spaces on campus are being sold to students at an alarming rate of \$25 dollars per semester. That is quite a large sum of money considering you are not

guaranteed a spot. In addition to this the cost of paying a fine if "caught" in the wrong spot at the wrong time, \$40 dollars in some cases. That's more than the cost of the original parking decal, not to mention the fact your vehicle can be towed at your own expense.

Many students cannot afford another expense due to the already unheard of high cost of college campus life. Some of these issues include high prices at the cafeteria and vending machines, and the outrageous cost of buying books for class, which will be confronted at a later date.

When talking with students, it was the overall consensus that the parking on campus is a joke. When asked if it is fair that students are not allowed to park in staff or faculty areas, all said no it was not. But when I asked the staff/faculty their side of the story, they felt strongly that they should be allowed to park anywhere they want to due to the fact they are here for the students.

Well if that's the case, then give up the spot for the student so She/He can get to

class on time. Its not like the person teaching the class is going to miss something. Only the student will miss out on valuable class time, notes and participation due to the fact that an hour and a half was wasted trying to find a parking space just to get to class.

Some students walk across the campus just to get to class from where they parked. That is ridiculous. While interviewing people walking to their cars, I spoke to Heather Maloney, Vice President of the Women's Republican club. She had all the makings for a great interview. The class she was attending that day was in building 3-S. Can you guess where I met her?

Heather had parked in parking lot 5, she was walking clear across campus to go to class. When asked why she had done this, her response was "the lots closest to the buildings where classes are held are always filled, I've even seen fights break out because people were so fed-up with looking around for a spot." These people are supposed to be adults in college? "Yes, I myself have circled the lots looking for parking sometimes for more than an hour, It is very frustrating." Also interviewed was Gerianne Laurino. She and Heather both said that lighting on campus was very bad and is the perfect situation for someone's vehicle to be broken into or worse, stolen.

The S.I. Advance published an article in the September, 17 1997 issue concerning the parking issues on C.S.I. Andrea Jay wrote: "I was moved to tears when I drove around for 45 minutes twice a week looking for a parking space because the college sold 10,000 more parking stickers (\$25 each per semester) than spaces available.

SPECTER OF LEONARD JEFFRIES

Continued From Page 17

rights exercisable and guaranteed under the Constitution. Finally we can take a critical view of the issues that shape our everyday lives and create a society where tolerance is preached openly but rarely practiced privately or institutionally. We must move the issue of race from its customary position of under the rug to the forefront of the table at CSI. This transfer of positions will be the most painful, most heart wrenching operation many of us will face in our lives here at CSI but also one of the most necessary ones. After successfully completing this process we may be able to hand over a society to our children which has no need to judge on the basis of skin color or religious. If we deal with these issues in a serious,

a utopian vision of a free and open society can only be translated into reality if the university is a centerpiece of those same values. In this sense, the prevention of the systematic elimination of particular groups will be determined by the openness of a society not by its ability to silence its critics.

intellectual and proactive manner we can move forward but, if we allow these issues to be swept aside for a more "comfortable" agenda which allows people to return to their positions of dominance and submission we are merely perpetuating inequities. Blaming one person or group which, Jeffries has been accused of, is wrong and reversing that situation and disregarding issues is just as damaging and wrong. Accepting the notion that racism still exists, has everyday ramifications and will be combatted by the struggle for racial justice, while being quite uncomfortable for some, is the only manner in which we can seriously deal with the future of our society.

SOUTH ASIAN CULTURAL CLUB

INVITES YOU TO A CULTURAL DANCE PARTY

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22

6:00 P.M.

GREEN DOLPHIN LOUNGE

CSI STUDENTS FREE ADMISSION

ALL OTHERS \$6

FACULTY BENDS OVER, STUDENTS GET F***ED.

Continued From Page 13

truth alive. But, now that the situation is quite different, students have started to realize—since the early 90s—that the faculty has completely given up on its soul. People like City College graduate Holder have given up on those who just happen not to have had a chance at a 'normal' education. The Honors program, elitist program, which uses public money to create an environment not even available in the best private schools, is this president's golden egg. The program is anti-democratic. It is the embodiment of everything that CUNY has fought against. It should be stopped.

At this point, let's just reiterate the main points hopefully made clear by this article. The current attack on CUNY's Open Admission—in the context of attacks on affirmative action—although launched for purely economic reasons by the corporate-political system, has found in the CUNY faculty a quite servile executor of its own delayed demise/incorporation. CUNY faculty was hired when affirmative action increased the demand for teachers—and no one cared about lowering standards (students or teachers) then. As a whole, the faculty has been very tame, and administrators—a number of whom started off as educators—have accomplished a good job in securing allegiance to a hierarchical power structure. Concerns of productivity and profitability expressed in graduation rates bring down college education to the

level of production of goods and services through the process of vocationalization of CUNY. However, as this article tried to suggest, this is not necessarily intellectually and, I should say, humanly acceptable. Anyone who has been as superficially trained in social science as a CSI student,

The Honors program, elitist program, which uses public money to create an environment not even available in the best private schools, is this president's golden egg. The program is anti-democratic. It is the embodiment of everything that CUNY has fought against. It should be stopped.

would tell you that one cannot eliminate non-vocational education without having to suffer from it in the long run. Compartmentalization of knowledge has allowed college teachers to dismiss criticism directed at them by ignoring it altogether. And even those who will eventually read this article will most probably do nothing.

As students, we have gotten tired of the total disjunction between the theory and the practice of our teachers. At our college, we have a number of self-proclaimed 'radicals' whose names are known. We would like to see their radicalism in action. Enough Talk! It is not enough to lecture about Third World Women, Blacks, the Labor Movement, the Education of the Oppressed, and God knows what else. Our ears have gotten used to the way teachers rationalize their inaction through talk.

Enough Talk!

Why did you criticize Greenberg after voting for his motion? Who do you think you're fooling with your pathetic moves?

Students have had enough. It is clear that the faculty is an enemy and must therefore be treated as such. Those mem-

bers of the faculty who are interested in action must join students now. Working within the constraints of administration controlled, impotent college council has shown its limitations. The council has become the instrument of the BOT, and thus of corporate-political machinations and interests. It is amazing that no structure exists

which represents CSI-faculty without any interference and representation from administration. We hold the—good hearted—faculty responsible for its lack of political intelligence. Those who have been the prime actors of the attack against students would have to be eliminated if the situation is to change.

We call on students to remain vigilant, and continue the struggle against the forces of evil represented by the faculty who suck up to CSI administration who suck up to CUNY BOT who suck up to the politicians who suck up to the bankers who get richer—whatever happened to the Asian tigers now, and to the stupid theories about Confucian-ethic-modernization?? We need to fight back at every level, especially in the classroom by questioning and criticizing the faculty. Under these circumstances, students must speak the only lan-

guage the faculty understands: as consumers and buyers of a service, we require that YOU raise the standards. Not just by making exams more difficult, but by putting in the effort to actually TEACH! We want at least what we paid for. Less than that and we will demand that you be reprimanded by your masters—the administration. We have nothing to lose but our career plans, and we have our lives to win back.

The All Mighty Economy—the one that works for them—is now said to be strong. What will happen when things will be less rosy? Will they send the dogs?

Members of the staff have long remained silent. They have now started to join students. A few administrative assistants have joined the struggle, as well as some buildings and grounds people. We must continue to grow.

Students! We must not believe what our teachers tell us. We must not trust them until they change their ways.

Students! We must remain united and continue our just struggle against all those who are leading our society to its death by killing millions of souls.

The College Voice has been, and will continue to be, at the forefront of the battles to come. Join the Voice, join CSI's firing squad, those students who will not bend over. For those who want to complain about this article send your e-mails directly to collegevoice@usa.net. For those who want to join the Voice, the door is wide open.

MINORITIES AND THE GLASS CEILING

GEORGE SPRINGER

My aim in this article is to highlight one of the problems which minorities and women face today; the glass ceiling. I have chosen this topic because of a comment which a peer in my class, who happens to be a minority, stated, "I do not believe there is a glass ceiling." Upon hearing this, comment and getting the shock of how some individuals who are deemed as college material can be so unenlightened, I believed it to be necessary to clear up this erroneous misconception through my own research.

One would have to be oblivious to the obvious not to be able to see that my peer must be existing in an intellectual vacuum which seems to threaten to engulf CSI totally. Of course, my academically dysfunctional classmate, must have been raised on the Horatio Alger myth which carries the unmistakable message that no matter what the obstacles, the individual will triumph at whatever it is he so valiantly attempts as long as he lives an exemplary life.

The term the glass ceiling was made official by The Wall Street Journal in 1986. It has since found its permanent place in the English language, it is described as the artificial institutional barrier which blocks women and minorities from advancing to the top- in corporate, labor, government and other institutions throughout the American workplace. As with any institution, this institutional structure depends on a measure of deception and invisibility, of which my cerebrally challenged colleague and some others have apparently fallen for. Ignorant of the glass ceiling, they only become aware of it when they crash against it.

Within the struggle against the glass ceiling there is another struggle going on, the struggle of minority women. The glass ceiling for women has many different levels, women do bump into the glass ceiling, but some women do it harder than others do. For example, black women bump into a lower and harder glass ceiling than white women. They have been forced to struggle harder against the glass ceiling than any other minority women. A black woman, no matter how many feminist struggles have been won, is still viewed as being black, a fact which she can't change. She will have to struggle against sexist male domination and the tactics of a racist society controlled by whites. The bottom line is that in corporate, political, and academic America, minority women, especially black women, are still disenfranchised. A brief history of the disenfranchisement that blacks have faced when compared to other minority groups. According to Stephen Steinberg, author of *The Ethnic Myth*, "In effect, a caste system evolved in industry that designated certain jobs as "Negro jobs" and relegated black workers to the lowest paying, menial, and not infrequently, back breaking or dangerous jobs. Rarely did blacks rise to skilled job levels or to supervisory positions." From this information one can easily realize that the jobs which were termed as "Negro jobs" pertained to both the black male and female.

Since these jobs were deemed Negro jobs they were the lowest task of all, no white man or white woman or any other race or ethnicity would be caught doing

them. Instead white women were monopolizing the jobs in the garment industry and any other job which only whites were good enough for. The most seemingly lower class white woman was still regarded as being superior to any black woman.

In 1890, 96 percent of black women were employed in just two occupational categories: agriculture and domestic or personal service. The struggle could never have been the same even in the 1960's, black women, like all blacks, struggled just to be recognized as human and to be seen as equal to their male counterparts, a battle on two levels. Meanwhile white women were burning their bras in public squares and screaming the feminist ideals of our time. White women when threatened by the policies of affirmative action in higher education and in other professions became staunch opposers of this policy. If blacks



Paul Schutzer/LIFE

Rosa Parks

had been allowed at the turn of the century to compete for industrial jobs with millions of immigrants, they would have been able to share equally in the battle for the rights of all women, but these black women were not even viewed as human by their white female counterparts.

The white activists did have a lot to fear from the policies of affirmative action being applied too strongly to blacks. They did have a particularly high stake in higher education.

A tactic used by those who wish to give token homage to affirmative action is to hire minority females. Since they are perceived as less "threatening" than their male counterparts, thereby being used to marginally prove that, "I'm not a racist, some of my best employees are minorities, just look at all the women on the shop floor". The hypocrisy of this statement is deleterious.

Many blacks and members of other minority groups such as Hispanics would love to worry about bumping their heads against the glass ceiling, however, they cannot even get a job so as to be able to get through the door. "Women currently make up to 45.3 percent of the work force, according to the Bureau of Labor statistics. Minorities make up 21.5%. After the double

counting of women minorities is eliminated, 57% percent of the labor force consist of women and ethnic minorities. Yet women have only 5 or 6% of the higher management jobs, and minorities have even fewer."

According to John E. Anderson Graduate School of Management at the University of California-Los Angeles (UCLA) and Korn/Ferry International, an executive-search firm, in the Nations 1,000 largest companies, women and minorities hold less than 5% of the top jobs, a sparse increase from 10 years earlier when the number was under 3%.

In 1990, a survey done by Catalyst, a non profit New York group which studies women's business issues, unearthed the fact that women made up less than 5% of the senior managers at more than half the Fortune industrial 500 and Fortune service 500 companies. Another study done by the same survey group, which was released in 1993 found that only 5.7% of the seats on the corporate boards of directors were being held by women and that more than half of the companies had no women whatsoever on their boards. In fact at the time of this study only one Chief Executive Officer of a Fortune 500 company was a woman; Linda Wachner of Warnaco, Inc., a New York-based clothing firm.

A study done by The Bureau of Labor based on the reviews of federal contractors from the Nation's top 1000 corporations, found that as the corporate ranks got increasingly higher the number of minorities and women diminished. Those who were found in positions such as Vice President or above only 6.6% were women, and 2.6% were minorities.

The problem of the glass ceiling does exist not only in corporate America but also in the membership of trade unions. In total America has about 16.4 Million union members, 38% are women, 15% are black and 7.5% are Hispanic, yet only three women actually sit on the 33-member Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Two of the women are minorities, but only two black men are on the council.

Pertaining to the Federal government nearly half of the white-collar employees are women, however 1 in 10 supervisors are women. In private industry, according to a report published in the 90's, the "barriers" are not at the top but at "gateway" levels, several notches below the top positions. In private industry, minority women were found to be promoted less than white women with the same qualifications are. A survey done of the finance industry by financial women international found that 71% of female vice presidents believed a glass ceiling existed, while 73 % percent of the male executives denied its existence. It is also found that today black males earned 75 cents for every dollar made by their white counterparts. The figure for black women was 66 cents for them vs. white males. Hispanics earned less than 74 cents for every dollar earned by whites.

In academia, women now comprise 54.7% of the nation's college students and receive a third of the Doctorates awarded each year. Minorities comprise 21.2% of the enrollment and receive more than 14% of the doctorates. Yet only a quarter of the professors are women, only 3.2% are black, 2.3% are Hispanic, 4.2% are Asian Americans and 0.7% are native Americans.

In spite of the stats shown above, women are still being steered into jobs typically considered "women's work".

Through-and through, 99% of the secretaries in America are women. So are 98% of the kindergarten teachers, 97% of the receptionist, 96% of the child care workers, 94% of the nurses, 92% of the bookkeepers, 91% of the bank tellers and 90% of the telephone operators. Similarly minority students here at CSI are being steered into areas where they are deemed to do better, vocational programs, such as the social work program. The Sociology department is slowly being phased out to make room for the social work program. It seems that the powers that be have concluded that minorities do better in vocational programs than they do in liberal arts. They are now trying to convince minorities, women and anyone else who will listen to give up Sociology and major in social work. On the surface this may seem very helpful in assisting minorities in their endeavors, but beneath the surface this policy stinks of covert segregation. The liberal arts emerged as a "education for leadership" for well rounded individuals who were able to escape the "make-a-living" attitude, this of course was usually the aristocratic gentleman who did not have to get themselves caught up in the "vulgar" arts of production. Through this detachment scholars were created who were able to detach themselves from the mundane existence of the masses and cultivate theories in the realm of the abstract and then apply them to society in a physical, material and dialectical way and so be able to criticize the ideas of that time and the institutions which gave them credibility. Similarly today, the true student of liberal arts has the ability to step out side of the mundane and analyze and formulate their own theories and ideas with freedom of thought and intellectualism. By steering minorities away from the liberal arts and phasing out the Sociology department, CUNY is guilty of working hand-in hand with the political leaders of our time in the oppression of minorities and maintaining the euro-centric status quo of which each and every minority in this country has to labor under. By covertly robbing minority students of the ability to think critically and objectively and forcing them to get caught up in the vocational track of life, our "great" leaders are free to exploit the masses of minorities without any true intellectual or social criticism. I am a minority and I will not allow myself to be segregated against and forced into a wanna-be Sociology department such as the social work program. I urge every minority to resist the attempts of the Sociology department to assimilate what they view as the liberally weak into vocational drones. The policies of CUNY in the last decade have been anti-minority in every way possible.

At the College of Staten Island, as was highlighted in the February 1997 issue of the College Voice (CV) in an article written by Dr. George Rozos who taught Sociology at CSI, "Italian-Americans are conspicuously absent in high administration, and grossly underrepresented among tenured faculty and in those vital committees which, in effect, decide how affirmative action is to be implemented." In a speech given by Dr. Springer her statisticians in an effort to

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JOB JUGGERNAUT? FOR WHOM?

WILLIAM WHARTON

A recent report issued by the U.S. Labor Department and reported on in the March 7th edition of the New York Times, outlined the "Job Juggernaut" that continues to sweep across the nation. Headlines announced that 300,000 new jobs had been created in February by the surging U.S. economy. With the unemployment rate dipping down to 4.6%, a 24-year low, Deutsche Morgan Grenfell economist Edward Yardeni felt that "What is amazing isn't the demand for workers but the ability of the economy to keep delivering." The prospects for college degree holding workers must therefore be extremely bright in this seemingly tight labor market. In reality, there is a hidden underside to this numbers which relates directly to attempts to downsize and restrict admission to public universities.

The data provided by the Labor Department showed that 52,000 of the new jobs that created last month were temporary employment. The New York

Times viewed this development, temporary employment, as a "possible forerunner of more permanent hiring" and quoted a Chicago Federal Reserve report that verified this perception. Unfortunately, the 52,000 newly employed temporary workers cannot share in this perception as they take their places in new low wage, no benefits and most likely non-unionized temporary job. When we examine the permanent jobs that were developed by this "job juggernaut" we find that 146,000 came from the expanding service sector.

Later in the report we find more bad news for our potential college graduates delivered by Princeton economist Alan Krueger. When questioned about the shrinking labor pool, Krueger stated "If growth were coming from college-educated workers, we'd be exhausting the pool." Well if college graduates are not participating in this "job juggernaut" who is?

According to the report, the real growth area for employment has come from high school dropouts. Indeed the rate of unemployment among this group has been slashed from 11.9% to 7% over the past

eight years. This structural trend has increased sharply over the last year which has accounted for two fifths of the overall eight year decline.

Increasingly we find that while economists like Krueger decry the dangers of using up the college educated labor force, the reality of the conservative political agenda is something entirely different. Closing down access to higher education is a formula that is entirely in line with the demands of the current labor market. The expectations for a high school dropout as opposed to a citizen with a college degree are entirely different. As temporary, part-time and service sector jobs are created so to must life expectations be tempered through the destruction of outlets for intellectual empowerment. The fight for the university can therefore not be confined to simply keeping the doors open, it must be squarely focused on challenging the system and creating an economic structure which will allow citizens to rise to the highest level of their intellectual, social and political abilities.

"Closing down access to higher education is a formula that is entirely in line with the demands of the current labor market."

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW REPEALED IN MAINE

WILLIAM WHARTON

After months of buildup, which resulted in campaign expenditures of over half a million dollars, Maine voters decided to repeal a crucial civil rights law which protects gay men and lesbians from discrimination in hiring and on the worksite. In a contentious and sometimes downright nasty campaign, anti-gay rights forces led by the Christian Coalition scored a major victory in their campaign to eliminate gay rights legislation nationwide. Citing lower than expected voter turnout, pro-legislation group, Maine Won't Discriminate vowed to continue the fight to institutionalize these civil rights guarantees.

The legislation in question was a gay rights amendment to the Maine Human Rights Act. The act prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation in employment, housing, credit and public accommodations. It had previously passed the state legislature and been signed into law by Maine's independent Governor Angus King in 1997. Following this, the Christian Civic League of Maine, working in conjunction with the state chapter of the Christian Coalition, garnered enough signatures to put the bill on public referendum. Maine voters were then presented with the following question on the ballot; "Do you want to reject the law passed by the Legislature and signed by the governor that would ban discrimination based on sexual orientation with respect to jobs, housing, public accommodations and credit?" Only 30% of the states registered voters took part in the February 10th vote and the law was repealed by a margin of 52% to 48%. The Maine repeal leaves only ten states with laws banning discrimination based on sexual preference, Rhode Island (1995), Minnesota (1993), Vermont and New

"...If a Maine businessman or landlord wants to discriminate against a person because of their sexual orientation they should be able to do so."

Jersey (1992), Hawaii and Connecticut (1991), Massachusetts (1989) and Wisconsin (1982).

Executive Director of the national Christian Coalition, Randy Tate felt that the repeal was a "clear victory for people of faith" and that the "American people rejected the notion of special rights based on sexual activity behind close doors." Project development coordinator for the Christian Civic League of Maine, Cyndee Randall felt the vote was, "a very grass-roots effort and we don't see this as an end by any means." In November 1997, Civic League Director Michael Heath went further stating that "We believe it appropriate to discriminate against people if they are wrong. We believe it is especially true for the small businessmen or landlords...If a Maine businessman or landlord wants to discriminate against a person because of their sexual orientation they should be able to do so."

Support for the law was produced by Maine Won't Discriminate and spearheaded by Governor Angus King who appeared in state wide televised appeals to support the legislation. National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Director Kerry Lobel felt that "The right wing again used a divisive campaign to sell the lie of 'special rights' at the ballot box." Despite outspending the opposition by a margin of 5 to 1, pro-civil rights organizers were soundly defeated by a Christian Coalition program that emphasized personal con-

tact through a door to door campaign. Bill Coogan, President of the Maine Civil Liberties Union, felt that "there's going to have to be some negotiating in the next session of legislature with the Catholic Church, and whatever caveats they want in the legislation are going to have to be put in there to bring them around." Although the Catholic Church had neither supported or rejected the bill, they publicly consider "homosexual behavior" to be a sin but feel that sexual orientation "by itself cannot be considered sinful."

What this campaign truly reveals is the weakness that exists within the civil rights movement itself which has suffered as a result of the multiplicity of factions that have developed since the 60's. While the Christian Coalition can forge alliances with many other groups and mobilize a

force of hundreds of volunteers, progressive groups are left to rely on mainstream politicians like Angus King and a high priced program of Television ads. The failure of isolated identity based groupings like those that exist within the homosexual community demonstrate the glaring need for coalition based work between a variety of oppressed groups around a program for liberation. This program should reflect the possibilities of creating a society that is centered around the need to protect the rights of minority groups not sanction discrimination in the manner the Christian Coalition chooses to advocate. A movement from the factoring of the 90's into solidarity in the 21st century will not be a simple one. It will require the opening up of honest, critical discussions of class, race and gender, subjects most Americans, progressive or not, would soon sweep away then deal with. This conversation will necessarily be an uncomfortable especially for those of who have enjoyed privileged positions in the current structure of society but will produce organizations capable of a radical transformation of our society into a far more egalitarian project.



Bigots delirious at the prospect of discriminating against gays and lesbians just for the hell of it.

ON THE ROAD TO JERICHO '98

AMNESTY AND FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS FREE THE MOVE 9!

August 8, 1978. That morning, hundreds of heavily armed police attacked a MOVE house located in the Powelton Village section of Philadelphia. They opened fire on the MOVE members inside. They pumped thousands of gallons of water and tear gas into the house to force the MOVE people out.

During the hail of police gunfire, cop James Ramp fell dead with a single bullet in his back. Nine members of MOVE were framed for the murder of this cop. Each was sentenced to 30 to 100 years in prison. The MOVE 9—Debbie, Janine, Janet, Merle, Delbert, Phil, Mike, Chuck and Edward Africa—have been in prison since 1978 for a crime they did not commit. They are now among the political prisoners listed by the Jericho '98 project.

MOVE and the Power Structure on a Collision Course

MOVE was founded in 1972—the same year that Frank Rizzo became mayor of Philadelphia with a promise to clamp down on rebellious elements in the Black community, as well as white radicals, hippies and other “social misfits.” Rizzo was already infamous as the head of Philly’s vicious police department during the turbulent 1960s. One of the most notorious actions by Rizzo’s cops was a raid on the Black Panther Party headquarters in 1970. In a sick attempt at humiliation, the cops lined up the Panthers against a wall and ordered them to drop their pants for a photographer.

MOVE—with their politics of denouncing the system and totally rejecting its authority—and the power structure were clearly on a collision course. The Philadelphia Inquirer described MOVE as “railling against anything that smacked of the system.... Its members were disruptive and tumultuous, abrasive and unyielding, hurling obscenity after obscenity at the system they despised.”

The authorities began a campaign to destroy the MOVE organization. Between 1974 and 1976, there were over 400 arrests of MOVE members, resulting in bail and fines of more than half a million dollars.

MOVE women who were pregnant were a favorite target of the police. On May 9, 1974, two MOVE members were attacked by police, arrested and held overnight with no food or water—both women had miscarriages. On April 29, 1975, Alberta Africa was held spread-eagle by four cops and kicked in the stomach and vagina repeatedly by a fifth. As a result of this, Alberta had a miscarriage. On November 5, 1976,

Rhonda Africa, who was nearly nine

months pregnant, was beaten by police. Rhonda went into premature labor and gave birth to a bruised and injured baby who died within minutes.

On March 28, 1976, police attacked Janine Africa and several other MOVE

members in front of their Powelton Village headquarters. Janine was thrown to the ground with her 20-day-old baby Life in her arms and stomped on until she was nearly unconscious. Life died as a result of a crushed skull from this beating. The police denied they were responsible and claimed Life probably didn't even exist since there was no birth certificate. No charges were filed against the cops who murdered Life Africa. District Attorney Ed Rendell's office filed charges against six MOVE members who were beaten and arrested that night.

Many of the confrontations between Philadelphia police and MOVE members took place around their Powelton Village headquarters. The pamphlet *25 Years On the MOVE* describes MOVE's analysis of

the situation in the spring of 1977:

“MOVE foresaw the possibility that Philadelphia police could storm their 33rd Street headquarters, kill those inside, and blame the victims for their own deaths in an operation similar to the type of government terrorism used against the Black Panthers.

Information from sympathetic sources inside city government confirmed that plans for some type of police operation had indeed been made. To safeguard the Philadelphia base, MOVE staged a major demonstration May 20, 1977 on a platform outside their house. They

demand the release of their political prisoners and an end to the violent harassment by the city.

“We told the cops there wasn't gonna be any more undercover deaths. This time they better be prepared to murder us in full public view, cause if they came at us with fists, we were gonna come back with fists. If they came with clubs, we'd come back with clubs, and if they came with guns, we'd use guns too. We don't believe in death-dealing guns, we believe in life. But we knew the cops wouldn't be so quick to attack us if they had to face the same stuff they dished out so casually on unarmed defenseless folk.”

The Siege at Powelton Village

In her book “Attention, MOVE! This is America!”, Margot Harry describes how the major confrontation between MOVE

and the police developed:

“Rumors flew through Powelton Village on May 20, 1977 that the police were on their way to evict MOVE members for its refusal to allow inspections.... Two hundred cops were dispatched to the MOVE house.... Police surrounded the house and began what would turn out to be a one-year siege of the MOVE headquarters. Police sandbagged apartment windows across from the MOVE house and also established an extensive blockade of several streets around the MOVE house.... A large percentage of Blacks in the community supported MOVE, as did a significant number of whites. For many of these, MOVE's headquarters became a center of resistance.”

During the siege, the authorities stepped up their attempts to crush the MOVE organization. On May 24, Judge Lynne Abraham issued warrants for 11 MOVE members for riot and possession of an instrument of crime. City personnel were telling MOVE off the record,

“We'll kill all of you before we let your people out of jail.” A federal agent told MOVE the FBI planned to infiltrate and destroy their organization. On September 1, 1977 the FBI handed down indictments against MOVE founder John Africa and Alfonso Africa on phony charges of bomb-making and gun-running. They were based on “information” from an FBI informant. (On May 13, 1981, the FBI arrested John Africa and nine other MOVE members in Rochester, New York. They were extradited to Philadelphia. In July of 1981, John Africa and Alfonso Africa were found not guilty by a jury.) Philadelphia politicians and reporters went to Virginia where MOVE had purchased a large farm. They spread vicious rumors about MOVE. As a result, the realtor demanded MOVE pay off the entire mortgage at once. They were unable to raise the money and lost their farm.

Ten months into the siege, and with MOVE showing no signs of backing down, the authorities attempted to starve MOVE into submission. In March 1978, the city shut off water to the MOVE house and stopped deliveries of food to them. Hundreds of cops sealed off all access to the MOVE house. Sharpshooter posts and machine gun nests were set up on nearby houses. People who tried to rush the barricades to deliver food were beaten and arrested by the police.

In a recent interview with the RW, Mumia talked about his experience in covering the siege as a radio journalist: “No one dared talk to the MOVE people. You talked to the police chief, you talked to the mayor, you talked to the district attorney.... I don't think it was so much officially verboten [to talk to MOVE] as the presumption that the other side had nothing to say that was worth hearing. Almost a dehumanization of the other side, if you will. And I think that was what irked me the most. These were people, literally, with their lives on the line. And I think that's also what irked my bosses the most, because that part of Philadelphia wasn't supposed to hear those voices.” The radio station Mumia was working for criticized him for not being “objective”—and he



was eventually forced to leave the job.

The Police Assault

The attempt to starve MOVE out did not break the resistance of the MOVE members. A compromise agreement was hammered out by some officials who feared that the siege was sparking widespread anger at the police and support for MOVE. But on August 2, Judge DiBona ruled that MOVE had violated a 90-day deadline, and signed bench warrants authorizing police to arrest most known MOVE members, whether they were in the house or not. Three days later, police stormed into a Richmond, Virginia MOVE home at gun-point and arrested Gail and Rhonda Africa for their alleged failure to leave a house they were hundreds of miles away from.

The police prepared to take MOVE out by force. Margot Harry's book gives an account of the military-style police operation against MOVE: "The assault began in the early morning hours of August 8, 1978. Six hundred cops surrounded the Powelton Village house, including Rizzo's sharpshooters from the stakeout unit. A bulldozer first destroyed the protective fences MOVE had constructed around the house, then a crane was deployed as a battering ram, punching out the wooden slats MOVE had nailed across the windows. Cops actually went into the house at one point but found no one. All of the MOVE members were in the basement.

"Firemen then axed down the wooden slats across the basement windows and turned on their deluge guns. Within minutes water in the basement was so high that MOVE adults had to hold babies, young children and some of their dogs over their heads to prevent them from drowning. Shortly after 8 a.m. there was an outbreak of gunfire that lasted for about two minutes. Officer James Ramp fell dead and other cops and firemen were wounded....

"From 8:30 a.m. to 9 a.m. the deluge guns continued to flood the basement and

minutes later the MOVE people climbed out through the basement windows, drenched, shivering, and staring down the barrels of the stakeout unit guns. The women and children went first. The last to come out was Delbert Africa, one of the most militant and well-known MOVE members. Naked from the waist up and with arms over his head to indicate he was surrendering and had no weapons, Delbert Africa was grabbed by one stakeout officer who smashed him across the face with his helmet, grabbed him by his dreadlocks and held him down while three other cops beat, kicked, and stomped him. Since the whole thing was being filmed by TV cameras, other cops pulled the four off Delbert Africa but he says the beating resumed once he was out of public view and in their custody."

In a column written for MOVE's newspaper *First Day*, Chuck Africa wrote: "I was shot twice in the arm by police with a automatic weapon.... I was thrown face first in the back of a police wagon and tortured during the ride to the roundhouse at 8th and Race. A stakeout cop and detective stayed in the back of the wagon and beat my heart with a leather slap-jack with steel inside and I was beat in the testicles."

MOVE Members Railroaded, Cops Go Free

Nine MOVE members were tried for the killing of the cop Ramp. Even before the trial began, they were convicted and sentenced by the authorities and the media. At a press conference right after the assault, Mayor Rizzo declared: "The only way we're going to get rid of them is to get the death penalty back in, and I'll pull the switch myself."

When the trial began, the accused MOVE members were defiant. Several weeks into the trial, the judge told the defendants they could answer only yes or no to his question of whether they would obey his courtroom rules. When the defendants answered with "We'll do

what's right," they were expelled permanently from the courtroom and tried in absentia.

As soon as MOVE members were arrested, the authorities destroyed the house. It was leveled by bulldozers on August 8. This prevented MOVE from proving conclusively that they did not shoot Ramp, but that he was killed by police gunfire. During a preliminary hearing, MOVE presented a motion to dismiss the charges based on this destruction of evidence. Their motion was denied.

Just after the police attack, Mayor Rizzo held a press conference and displayed weapons he claimed were taken out of the MOVE house. But shortly after the May 20, 1977 demonstration in which MOVE members brandished weapons, police entered the MOVE house as part of the agreement reached between MOVE and the authorities. They found the "weapons" were inoperable dummy firearms or road flares disguised as dynamite. From May to August, the house was under 24-hour police surveillance. The police knew that MOVE had no weapons inside the house. No fingerprints of any MOVE members were found on the weapons that Rizzo displayed at his press conference.

MOVE points to videotape evidence that shows the police commissioner "actually handing, passing rifles through our basement window to fellow police officers!" This film was presented in a pre-trial hearing to dismiss the charges against the MOVE 9 but the judge denied the request despite the videotape.

The MOVE 9 were convicted largely on the contradictory testimony of the police who attacked them and a doctored pathologist's report. All the initial reports from the police, the press and the pathologist who conducted the autopsy indicated that the bullet that killed Ramp entered his body and traveled downward. Thus, it could not have been fired by any MOVE members, since they were all in the basement of their house at the time of the shooting. But the prosecution presented a pathologist's report that was altered so that it would appear MOVE had fired the shots that killed Ramp.

The accounts of two radio reporters, Richard Maloney and Larry Rosen, were disregarded by the judge. Both heard the first shot come from a house across the street, where they saw an arm hold a pistol out of a second floor window. Even the city's own negotiator, Walt Palmer, says the police opened fire on MOVE. He wrote in the *Philadelphia Tribune*: "I don't care if you don't like the way MOVE dresses, how they eat garlic or run their dogs, people have a right to live. The moment one person's rights are denied, all of our rights are in jeopardy. Look at Nazi Germany. It started with small deprivations of rights."

The nine defendants were convicted of murdering Ramp, of attempted murder, conspiracy and seven counts of aggravated assault on other cops and firefighters. And on August 4, 1981, almost three years to the day after the police assault on MOVE's Powelton Village headquarters, a judge delivered the sentence: 30 to 100 years for each of the defendants, despite the fact that they had no prior felony convictions. Two people who had been in the house were not convicted because they were not MOVE members.

Consuewella Dotson Africa was tried separately because authorities thought she was only a MOVE supporter. She refused to disavow MOVE and was sentenced in a separate trial to 10 to 20 years.

In contrast, the cops who beat Delbert Africa almost to death went free. One of the cops never stood trial. In the case of the other three cops, a judge intervened before the trial even started and acquitted the three, claiming that the cops were acting in "self-defense"—even though the police's own video showed that Delbert Africa had nothing in his hands when he came out of the MOVE house and was set upon by the cops.

Then, on May 13, 1985 the Philly police dropped a bomb on the MOVE house at Osage Avenue, setting an intense fire. Of the 13 MOVE people in the house, 11—six adults, five children—were killed. The fire spread through the neighborhood, leaving 61 row-homes totally destroyed or gutted.

FREE THE MOVE 9!

The MOVE 9 appealed their case to the Pennsylvania and U.S. Supreme Court. These appeals were both denied. Most of MOVE's legal papers from the Powelton Village attack were destroyed when the authorities bombed the MOVE house on Osage Avenue on May 13, 1985. In the early '90s they hired an attorney to begin the process of filing a Post-Conviction Relief Appeal (PCRA). But the courts have repeatedly postponed a decision on the MOVE 9's PCRA petition.

The MOVE 9 and other MOVE members in prison have had to endure harsh treatment at the hands of authorities intent on forcing them to back down from their revolutionary beliefs.

MOVE describes the conditions of its imprisoned members this way: "At prison locations in the remote areas of Pennsylvania, MOVE members have endured years of repeated physical and mental abuse. Delbert, Carlos and Chuck Africa were kept in solitary confinement for over six years for refusing to violate MOVE belief by cutting their hair. MOVE women Janet, Janine, Merle, Debbie, Consuewella, Sue and Alberta Africa upheld their religious belief by refusing to give blood samples and were repeatedly put in solitary confinement, sometimes for as long as three years. Sadistic prison guards were delighted to inform Delbert, Janet, Sue, Phil, Janine and Consuewella Africa that their children were killed in the police assault on May 13, 1985."

Despite threats and years of solitary confinement, MOVE members have not backed down. In a letter published in MOVE's newspaper *First Day*, MOVE women held at Muncy Prison wrote: "MOVE people ain't in prison for committin' no crime, we ain't criminals, we're in prison for puttin' out the truth about this corrupt government, for confronting this lyin' murderin' government uncompromisingly.... People should do whatever you gotta do to get justice and don't stop til you get it. People gotta stop believing these judges is right, just, fair because until you do you'll always have judges sanctioning the May 13th bombings, the Rodney King beatings, the extermination of the SLA, the Black Panthers, Wounded Knee and another whole race of people virtually extinct and enslaved on reservations like the government got the American Indians."



The Move Bomb Site.

JERICHO98



**MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO DEMAND AMNESTY AND
FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
MARCH 27, 1998 - WASHINGTON D.C.**

**Get More Details About the Trip to Washington D.C.
Find Out How You Can Get Involved
Learn About U.S. Political Prisoners
Buses will be leaving from CSI Friday morning
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Call to sign up your name or stop by the Student Government office.

Call the CSI Student Government (718) 982-3082 or
the College Voice (718) 982-3091 for further information

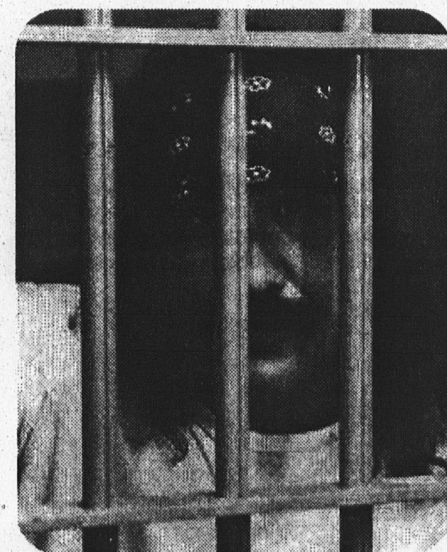
**SOME OF THE
POLITICAL
PRISONERS
CURRENTLY
BEING HELD IN
US PRISONS:**



Mumia Abu-Jamal



Janine Africa



Leonard Peltier

German Students Fight Cutbacks

By SASHA KIMPEL BERLIN - SOCIALIST ACTION

Last year saw the development of the broadest and deepest student movement in years in Germany. This has taken place against a background of cuts and plans to make university education more elitist and more tailored to the requirements of business.

Two-thirds of German students have to work. Only 15 percent still get some financial help from the state. Budget cuts in recent years have led to worse study conditions, with larger cuts still to come.

The aim of reforms proposed by the government is deregulation, under the guise of efficiency and autonomy. Access to university level education will be more difficult. The number of students will be limited and new selection procedures will be introduced together with tuition fees of about 1000 Deutschmarks a semester (US\$1800).

Another aim is to attract private capital in return for more direct influence on research and course content. The "lean university" is to be ruled by managers, with less possibility for the students to influence their education.

The result would be a deterioration of the standard of education and an elitist conception of the university as being for the socially privileged students, with far fewer working-class students than even at present.

The latest wave of protests was started by new students in the little university town of Giessen who were angry that they were excluded from an overcrowded class of 600 students. They occupied the student council building to protest against the miserable conditions. Over the next few

weeks, more universities also went on strike. At the beginning of December there were about 170. The main demands were:

- The right to free education for everyone
- An end to the cuts and money for a better university
- Democratization of the universities
- Scrap the new High School Bill, which includes student fees.

During the strike lots of working groups on different subjects, both education issues and wider social issues, were formed. Local, regional and two national demonstrations were organized, attracting between 5,000 and 11,000 people.

At the start, most students thought the main thing was to appeal to the public, the government, or the bosses and just explain that they are doing the wrong thing. Such illusions were increasingly dispelled, even when the government kept claiming solidarity with the students and said that their

reforms would make every thing better.

Activists were increasingly politicized and radicalized. The national demonstration on Dec. 18 in Bonn, which drew 30,000 people, showed that the mood in the movement was getting more political and angry about the general political situation in Germany, and looking for political alternatives to the government's economic policies and theories on education.

The argument for students to form a common movement with workers and the unemployed gained ground. Trade unions officially supported the students; some even mobilized on a very small scale for demonstrations.

In parliament, only the Social Democratic Party (PDS) expressed passive support for the movement. All the other parties have national or regional responsibility for implementing government education policy.

The movement itself had no democrati-

cally elected leadership in universities, cities, and on a national level. Discussion of organizational tasks often took precedence over the political discussion of how to go forward and what to do. A national meeting of self proclaimed leaders of the strike failed to formulate common demands or to agree on the next steps for the movement.

After nearly six weeks of protests by the students, the movement collapsed at its political peak. The participants realized that it would be a long-term fight, and the lack of support beyond the student movement led to demoralization.

But the movement was an encouraging sign that young people are no longer accepting the deterioration of their social situation and prospects. None of the major demands were fulfilled, but further mobilizations are possible in 1998, though on a new basis. Revolutionaries should be in the forefront.



MINORITIES AND THE GLASS CEILING

Continued From Page 22

blow the presidents trumpet lumped highly distinct minority groups under one large umbrella: "Black, Hispanic, Puerto Rican."

Affirmative Action was implemented to alleviate inequities between privileged and underprivileged within gender and ethnicity divisions. Springer was able at this time to disregard this fact and consummate her record of providing "opportunities" for "Minorities and Women." The interesting question was who were the ones implementing the policies of affirmative action, "what is the ethnic-religious, race, and gender identity of individuals in high administrative positions and of those entrenched through appointment, seniority or tenure, in key positions (i.e., appointments, budget, search and recruitment committees)? They are the ones who ultimately decide not only how the abstract concepts of affirmative action are to be applied in their institution, but also how the statistical assessment and final judgment about the application of affirmative action are to be presented to the board of trustees, the educational committee and the public at large. Since there are both judges and executioners of decisions about affirmative action, it is only fair to ask that the ethnic-religious, gender and race identities of these powerful individuals and composition of the committees to which they belong, accurately reflect the intentions of their legislators. In short, affirmative action does not make sense unless it applies equally to the top as well as the bottom of the hierarchy of an institution. In this way the natural inclination to favor members of one' groups in

the course of decision making can be neutralized."

By leaving the realm of the abstract I shall now elucidate and debunk the practical implementation of affirmative action here at CSI. In 1976 Italian Americans were mandated as an Affirmative action category, and so whose employment was to be brought to pass with the equal fervor as that of "Black, Hispanic, Puerto Rican, Asian or pacific islander, American Indian or Alaskan native" minorities and women. Some of the above mentioned categories are not immediately relevant to CSI, but the Italian American category is. The community, which the college is based in, is one, which is dominated by Italian-Americans, yet the college hiring practices do not reflect this. Yet Italian Americans are blatantly absent from tenured faculty, and in important committees, which determine the implementation of affirmative action. Instead they have been reorganized to the "classified staff category, i.e. low grade employment group composed of clerical and maintenance workers with 122 "opportunities" (as against 9 "opportunities" in "professional staff", 5 in "faculty" and 0 in higher administration categories). For a true implementation of the affirmative action, the problem of the glass ceiling must be dealt with and a reconstruction of the composition of the crucial faculty committees must be implemented and not just a token effort.

Outside of CSI on a more macro level according to a new report by the American Council on Education, only 11.8% of the nation's college presidents are women;

5.5% are black; 2.6% are Hispanic; 0.4% are Asian American; and 0.8% are native American. Interestingly enough nearly half the black presidents were at historically black colleges or universities. Also, of the college presidents appointed in the last four years 14 percent were female.

From observing the above researched material one can realize that there are barriers, which prohibit women and minorities. These barriers are somewhat different in the political world from those in the corporate world. A study done in 1991 found that both minorities and women tend to end up in so called "staff" positions, such as communications, public relations and human resources. These job do not have any real impact on the companies financial success such as sales and production; minorities and women have been found to be shut out of these areas.

Since their representation at high levels is so sparse, women and minorities often lack the mentors and role models that are systematically provided to white males. They are often excluded from the informal communication networks, where whispers of job openings are first heard. It may be as simple as a touch football game on Saturday evenings in which women cannot partake or a few rounds of golf every weekend where blacks and women have trouble enrolling. This is so because the entire corporate or institutional culture, particularly at the top, simply tends to perpetuate itself in its own image, since that image is largely white and male, so is the culture.

The prognosis for the future paints an uphill battle to even dent the glass ceiling. It is believed that women and minorities

will continue to increase their strength in the labor force. And that retirement by men will make non-Hispanic white males less than 40 percent of the workforce by 2005. Yet no sudden breakthroughs are predicted any time soon, only dents. Women and minorities will continue to bump into the glass ceiling while trying to push themselves past middle management positions, in frustration some will drop out and try to start their own businesses. No new legislation is expected to be passed, since the major laws against discrimination are already on the books. The most positive form of change, which is deemed to come about, is that as the wives and daughters of male executives bump into the glass in their own companies, law firms or universities they will tell their husbands and fathers about it and push for change.

Hopefully my class peer, the Dunkin' Donuts manager, will realize that he has not even been placed in a position to even see the lowest beam of the glass ceiling. Yet I feel a touch of guilt for shattering his utopian view of corporate America, after all it seems he has achieved his desired station in life. To be the manager of a major branch of Dunkin' donuts which has a dynamic staff of two of which he is one.

The Bureau of labor statistics state that by the year 2005 women and minorities will increase in the work force by 62%, is it a matter of social justice or business sense to shatter the glass ceiling or both? Can America afford not to take advantage of the Nations fastest growing resource of labor?

BLACKSHIRTS AND REDS: RATIONAL FASCISM AND THE MURDER OF COMMUNISM

MICHAEL PARENTI

The following is an excerpt from Parenti's latest book. He will be speaking at the College of Staten Island on Wednesday, March 25th at 2:30 pm in the Williamson Theater, at the Performing Arts Building.

Over a century ago, in his great work *Les Misérables*, Victor Hugo asked, "Will the future arrive?" He was thinking of a future of social justice, free from the "terrible shadows" of oppression imposed by the few upon the great suffering mass of humankind. Of late, some scribes have announced "the end of history." With the overthrow of communism, the monumental struggle between alternative systems has ended, they say. Capitalism's victory is total. No great transformations are in the offing. The global free market is here to stay. What you see is what you are going to get, now and always. This time the class struggle is definitely over. So Hugo's question is answered: the future has indeed arrived, though not the one he had hoped for.

This intellectually anemic end-of-history theory was hailed as a brilliant exegesis and accorded a generous reception by commentators and reviewers of the corporate-controlled media. It served the official worldview perfectly well, saying what the higher circles had been telling us for generations: that the struggle between classes is not an everyday reality but an outdated notion, that an untrammelled capitalism is here to stay now and forever, that the future belongs to those who control the present.

But the question we really should be asking is, do we have a future at all? More than ever, with the entire planet itself at stake, it becomes necessary to impose a reality check on those who would plunder our limited ecological resources in the pursuit of limitless profits, those who would squander away our birthright and extinguish our liberties in their uncompromising pursuit of self-gain.

History teaches us that all ruling elites try to portray themselves as the natural and durable order of things, even ones that are in serious crisis, that threaten to devour their environmental base in order to continually recreate their hierarchal structure of power and privilege. And all ruling elites are scornful and intolerant of alternative viewpoints.

The truth is an uncomfortable venue for those who pretend to serve our society while in fact serving only themselves at our expense. I hope this effort will chip away at the Big Lie. The truth may not set us free, as the Bible claims, but it is an important first step in that direction.

RATIONAL FASCISM

While walking through New York's Little Italy, I passed a novelty shop that displayed posters and T-shirts of Benito Mussolini giving the fascist salute. When I entered the shop and asked the clerk why such items were being offered, he replied, "Well, some people like them. And, you know, maybe we need someone like

Mussolini in this country." His comment was a reminder that fascism survives as something more than a historical curiosity.

Worse than posters or T-shirts are the works by various writers bent on "explaining" Hitler, or "reevaluating" Franco, or in other ways sanitizing fascist history. In Italy, during the 1970s, there emerged a veritable cottage industry of books and articles claiming that Mussolini not only made the trains run on time but also made Italy work well. All these publications, along with many conventional academic studies, have one thing in common: They say little if anything about the class policies of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. How did these regimes deal with social services, taxes, business, and the conditions of labor? For whose benefit and at whose expense? Most of the literature on fascism and Nazism does not tell us.

Plutocrats Choose Autocrats

Let us begin with a look at fascism's founder. Born in 1883, the son of a blacksmith, Benito Mussolini had an early manhood marked by street brawls, arrests, jailings, and violent radical political activities.

Before World War I, Mussolini was a socialist. A brilliant organizer, agitator, and gifted journalist, he became editor of the Socialist Party's official newspaper. Yet many of his comrades suspected him of being less interested in advancing socialism than in

advancing himself. Indeed, when the Italian upper class tempted him with recognition, financial support, and the promise of power, he did not hesitate to switch sides.

By the end of World War I, Mussolini, the socialist, who had organized strikes for workers and peasants had become Mussolini, the fascist, who broke strikes on behalf of financiers and landowners. Using the huge sums he received from wealthy interests, he projected himself onto the national scene as the acknowledged leader of *i fasci di combattimento*, a movement composed of black-shirted ex-army officers and sundry toughs who were guided by no clear political doctrine other than a militaristic patriotism and conservative dislike for anything associated with socialism and organized labor. The fascist Blackshirts spent their time attacking trade unionists, socialists, communists, and farm cooperatives.

After World War I, Italy had settled into a pattern of parliamentary democracy. The low pay scales were improving, and the

trains were already running on time. But the capitalist economy was in a postwar recession. Investments stagnated, heavy

"... you know, maybe we need someone like Mussolini ..."

industry operated far below capacity, and corporate profits and agribusiness exports were declining.

To maintain profit levels, the large landowners and industrialists would have to slash wages and raise prices. The state in turn would have to provide them with massive subsidies and tax exemptions. To finance this corporate welfarism, the populace would have to be taxed more heavily, and social services and welfare expenditures would have to be drastically cut—measures that might sound familiar to us today. But the government was not completely free to pursue this course. By 1921, many Italian workers and peasants were unionized and had their own political organizations. With demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, factory takeovers, and the forcible occupation of farmlands, they had won the right to organize, along with concessions in wages and work conditions.

To impose a full measure of austerity upon workers and peasants, the ruling economic interests would have to abolish the democratic rights that helped the masses defend their modest living standards. The solution was to smash their unions, political organizations, and civil liberties. Industrialists and big landowners wanted someone at the helm who could break the power of organized workers and farm laborers and impose a stern order on the masses. For this task Benito Mussolini, armed with his gangs of Blackshirts, seemed the likely candidate.

In 1922, the *Federazione Industriale*, composed of the leaders of industry, along with representatives from the banking and agribusiness associations, met with Mussolini to plan the "March on Rome," contributing 20 million lire to the undertaking. With the additional backing of Italy's top military officers and police chiefs, the fascist "revolution"—really a coup d'état—took place.

Within two years after seizing state power, Mussolini had shut down all opposition newspapers and crushed the

Socialist, Liberal, Catholic, Democratic, and Republican parties, which together had commanded some 80 percent of the vote. Labor leaders, peasant leaders, parliamentary delegates, and others critical of the new regime were beaten, exiled, or murdered by fascist terror squadristi. The Italian Communist Party endured the severest repression of all, yet managed to maintain a courageous underground resistance that eventually evolved into armed struggle against the Blackshirts and the German occupation force.

In Germany, a similar pattern of complicity between fascists and capitalists emerged. German workers and farm laborers had won the right to unionize, the eight-hour day, and unemployment insurance. But to revive profit levels, heavy industry and big finance wanted wage cuts for their workers and massive state subsidies and tax cuts for themselves.

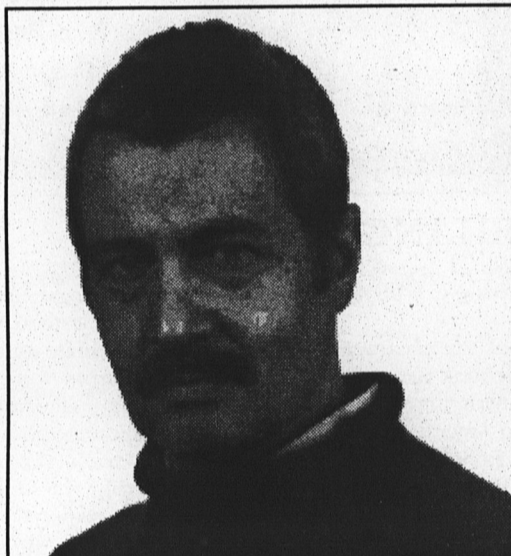
During the 1920s, the Nazi *Sturmabteilung* or SA, the brown-shirted Stormtroopers, subsidized by business, were used mostly as an anti-labor paramilitary force whose function was to terrorize workers and farm laborers. By 1930, most of the tycoons had concluded that the Weimar Republic no longer served their needs and was too accommodating to the working class. They greatly increased their subsidies to Hitler, propelling the Nazi party onto the national stage. Business tycoons supplied the Nazis with generous funds for fleets of motor cars and loudspeakers to saturate the cities and villages of Germany, along with funds for Nazi party organizations, youth groups, and paramilitary forces. In the July 1932 campaign, Hitler had sufficient funds to fly to fifty cities in the last two weeks alone.

In that same campaign the Nazis received 37.3 percent of the vote, the highest they ever won in a democratic national election. They never had a majority of the people on their side. To the extent they had any kind of reliable base, it generally was among the more affluent members of society. In addition, elements of the petty bourgeoisie and many lumpen proletariats served as strongarm party thugs, organized into the SA stormtroopers. But the great majority of the organized working class supported the Communists or Social Democrats to the very end.

In the December 1932 election, three candidates ran for president: the conservative incumbent Field Marshal von Hindenburg, the Nazi candidate Adolph Hitler, and the Communist Party candidate Ernst Thaelmann. In his campaign, Thaelmann argued that a vote for Hindenburg amounted to a vote for Hitler and that Hitler would lead Germany into war. The bourgeois press, including the Social Democrats, denounced this view as "Moscow inspired." Hindenburg was re-elected while the Nazis dropped approximately two million votes in the Reichstag election as compared to their peak of over 13.7 million.

True to form, the Social Democrat leaders refused the Communist Party's

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Michael Parenti

OPPOSE THE INTERESTS OF US IMPERIALISM DEFEND THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ!

JP PALATTO

As the President and the Pentagon postpone plans to slaughter the citizens of Iraq, people in the US need to consider whose "interest" will best be served by this potentially savage act of aggression. Before embracing State Department propaganda, believing that Iraq will threaten the US with "weapons of mass destruction" and "biological and chemical weapons" examine what "interest" is best served by this disinformation. The answer is simple and undismissible - US imperialism.

Iraq a Superpower?

With an armada of 3 aircraft carriers, battleships and destroyers, 25,000 to 50,000 troops and hundreds of warplanes, tanks and missiles one would think that the US is about to engage in a war with a nation the size of China, or the former Soviet Union, not Iraq.

Just seven years ago the US slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Iraqis in a relentless bombing campaign that lasted over sixty days. Very little ground troop movement was needed by the time all the "smart bombs" stopped falling because the country had been utterly devastated. It was clear that Iraq's hyped-up military was no match for the "weapons of mass destruction" exacted by the US war machine.

After the 1991 Gulf Slaughter half of Iraq's tank division was eradicated, the air force (small to begin with) was flown to Iran to prevent its destruction and has not been returned. The Iraqi army consists essentially of the National Guard which is numbered between 10,000 to 20,000. The relatively small amount of missiles (the famed scud missiles) in Iraq's arsenal are hardly a threat to even Israel with all the defense weaponry in place throughout the region. To illustrate the point most clearly, during the 1991 war Iraq fired just 59 scud missiles while the US flew over 110,000 sorties, dropping nearly 90,000 tons of explosions.

Farce becomes tragedy when the US threatens to use nuclear weapons in the region if "provoked" by Iraq's military might. Has the Pentagon lost its mind in its lust for war thinking that nuclear weapons are even considered an option? Upon closer examination it is clear that Iraq is not the only target of US aggression. Similar to the dropping of the nuclear bomb in Japan the target is beyond the borders of Iraq. There are deeper motives beneath the desert surface and beyond the shores of the Gulf.

Insipid Biological Warfare

At the end of Gulf Slaughter '91, the US via its fig leaf, the United Nations, engineered an embargo against the Iraqi people with the hope of organizing the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. This policy has only resulted in the deaths of over a million people, including 600,000 children and the strengthening of Hussein's regime. Though the White House is constantly stirring up the specter of "hidden" chemical and biological weapons; the real biological warfare is performed by the US through the insidious mechanism of the embargo.

By not allowing Iraq to sell, oil, its main source of income, the infrastructure

destroyed by the 1991 blitzkrieg has remained dilapidated. Poisoned drinking and bath water, lack of basic medical supplies and massive malnutrition due to lack of food has led to misery and death across Iraq. As a result of the embargo it is estimated that between 200,000 and 700,000 infants have died from preventable diseases, such as cholera and diarrhea. Indeed, the Administration's policy is a form of biological warfare upon the people of Iraq.

Many claims reported throughout the corporate media to the potential of Iraq's chemical and biological weapons inflicting death and misery go unchallenged, yet little is mentioned about the deliberate destructive policies of the US against the people of Iraq. Is it not a form of biological and chemical warfare to poison people with contaminated drinking water as well as to withhold medicine that can save their lives? There were no roundtable discussions about the death and misery of this policy.

As for the "biological and chemical" weapons there are questions as to how

current "crisis." When one gets beyond the propaganda of the US state and its media mouthpieces and considers why Iraq is about to be decimated again, there seem to be two objectives for the current imperialist move. One is the failure of US Mideast policy, while the other is overcoming the Vietnam syndrome.

After the US led 1991 slaughter the US objective was to maintain a workable coalition in the Mideast around a pax-Americana program. The US would usher in "peace" between Israel and the Palestinians and lead the nations in the region around an economic program leading back to New York City, the finance capital of the world. The other objective of current US foreign policy is to isolate Iran and have their imperialist rivals in Europe and the Far East (Japan) boycott the region. Things did not go according to plan and the US now finds itself with a failed policy.

The "peace process" between Israel and the Palestinians has failed. Israel led by the belligerent Netanyahu, has increasingly

vent other imperialist nations to invest in Iran, while the Israel/US bloc has crippled any progress with regard to other Arab nations.

Due to the instability in the region, the US had to temporarily pull back from its war plans. Nations allied to the US, like Egypt and Saudi Arabia, are worried about possible internal upheaval after thousands rallied against US imperialism. In Palestine the Iraqi flag was carried and increased conflicts with Israeli troops, reminiscent of the intafada, resulted. There is no lack of contempt for US policy in the Mideast since it results in further impoverishing the masses and fosters no democratic institutions. The resources and profits do not benefit the workers and peasants in the area, and they believe, in one way or another that the US and their puppet regimes are to blame for their predicament. Indeed, the US is gearing up for a war with the entire region to make sure that the situation remains unchanged.

This is why the American public is presented with a debate between air strikes or US troop deployment. The ruling class knows that eventually troops must be used in war, and that means body bags containing US soldiers coming home, like in Vietnam. Now if the casualties remains Black and Hispanic the racist US ruling class will not be to upset, but bullets do not discriminate and the dead bodies will be from all across the land. Like their junior partners in the Mideast, they know that war brings the risk of social upheavals and possibly revolution. Questions will be asked whether US soldiers should defend undemocratic monarchs and bloody dictators; the unconditional support for Israel's racist and oppressive policies towards Arab people; working class and poor peoples' sons and daughters dying while the rich protect their children from harm; and eventually why are we fighting against our working class brothers and sisters in other nations for the sake of banking and oil profits.

The Alternative is Beyond Capital

The constant tension in the Middle East has less to do with ethnic rivalries, either Jewish or Muslim or national borders, but is a direct result of imperialist policy, mainly on the part of the US. For peace to exist imperialism must cease.

The geo-political significance is great for US "interest." Besides supporting the Israeli state, the US has helped to maintain some of the worst and most undemocratic oil-garchies in the world. It is little significance to our pious democratic leaders here that we help to maintain anarchistic kingdoms in Saudi Arabia, or Kuwait. It is clearly the capital that the bankers and oilmen wish to control.

The "national interest" so frequently sounded off by politicians, media pundits and corporate executives is a projection of their ruling class interest alone. Behind the hypocritical denunciations of "dictatorships" and the fight for "democracy," is the strategy to maintain their positions of power, and to funnel the capital into their coffers. The duplicity of the US is lucidly illustrated when one investigates the their



many really exist and to their effectiveness. Commander in Chief, Anthony Zinni, as well as UN Inspector Chief, Richard Butler, are unsure how much, and where such weapons exist (NY Times; Sunday, Week in Review, 2/21/98). Besides the psychological effect of instilling fear into the American public many military strategist concede that such weapons are as reliable as the direction of the wind, and do not pose the lethal threat the US State Department makes them out to be.

Perhaps the best example of Iraq's chemical weapons was illustrated Defense Secretary, Richard Cohen. He held up a bag of Domino's sugar declaring the equivalent amount of anthrax sprinkled overhead could kill millions of people. The use of an everyday household item as an analogy for anthrax is something even Hitchcock could not have conceived.

The Hidden Agenda

Of course, the control over the oil in the region is the basis of all US strategies in the region, but there are other reasons for the

drawn fire from all the Arab nations. Even its closest ally in the area, King Hussien of Jordan, was burned by Israel's failed attempt to kill a Hamas leader on its soil. There is not enough space here to go into detail about the deteriorating "peace process" but certainly US influence in the Middle East has been severely weakened by Israel's ideological agenda.

As US influence wanes in the region Iran's has grown in stature. One example of this is the attendance by Mideast nations to the respective major conferences sponsored by Iran and the US. While many American allies in the region boycotted (due to US support of Israel) the US event held in Qatar, attendance to Iran's conference was a success. Also, other imperialist powers are doing business with the "enemy." While a section of US capitalism is angry about losing business to foreign competitors, namely France and Russia in multi-million dollar oil deals, the State Department has held steadfast to a policy of isolation. In short, the US is unable to pre-

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Going Nowhere: The Capitalist Bind

—VICTORIA STANHOPE

A few months ago, I read a Mother Jones magazine interview with Arlie Hochschild, a sociologist, on how work is encroaching upon time spent with the family. Hochschild has recently written a book called *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work*. Her argument is that people are spending ridiculous amounts of time at work at the cost of their family life, not always because they have to but because they want to. She interviewed employees of companies with family-friendly policies and found that they were actually choosing not to take advantage of family leave and flexible hours. However, she did concede that the poorer you were presumably because you have a lower paying job, then the more likely you were to want more time at home. All of this is true to some extent, I think, but it has implications beyond just the family—it affects community and activism. Basically, if you aren't earning a buck, what you are doing is not valued. The psyche of capitalism produces a compliant population that will devote most of their lives to the workplace.

What does this extreme work ethic mean for women as they enter into the workplace place in ever growing numbers? Hochschild recognizes that income level shapes one's experience of work drastically. Many women have always worked because they had to support their families. These may be the people who would prefer to spend more time at home given less interesting jobs and probably less feel-good activities. Instead they are forced to put together as many hours as possible to deal with the decline in wages. Middle-class women came to the workplace later in search of power, self-esteem, stimulation and identity. They found these things, but there was a price to pay—an expectation that non-work life

will fit around your job. Hochschild refers to this as feminism's "stalled revolution." Women changed and took on new identities, but the workplace and the men who control it have not evolved, which means women still have to do the work of their old identity, i.e. caregiver and homemaker.

So what of the women Hochschild writes about, who choose to spend more time at work despite family-friendly policies? I think in white collar management jobs, the workplace can be a pretty rewarding place to be. Expenses, travel, events, incentives and a feeling of accomplishment all contribute to this. Again, the place that generates income is the place that is made the most rewarding to be. So, even if there are family leave policies in place there is still the overriding sense that work is the real place to be where real things get done, where one has an important identity. Given the pressures of home life, the lack of appreciation for care giving, and the lack of support from male partners, no wonder some women chose to skip the little league game for a budget meeting. They are merely mirroring the behavior of the generations of absent fathers before them. Until feminism challenges the capitalist assumptions of the workplace and the supremacy of the dollar, the revolution will indeed be stalled.

The work ethic is especially fierce in the United States where capitalism is at its most unrestrained. Huge income disparities are tolerated because the promise of the great "American Dream" convinces people that they all have a shot at the big time if they just work hard enough. This focus on intense individualized amassing of resources means that unpaid work, including activism or caring for a family, is marginalized. And, unlike family life, which still gets lip service from the policy makers, the person who has no traditional family ties and devotes much of her time to paid work is given barely any credit in this society. Last election,

hordes of professional politicians, who spend all their time campaigning and being politicians, were blithely claiming their most important role was as a "mother" or as a "father." The reason was that Capitalism has in the past relied on people taking care of families for free. The nuclear family has been the infrastructure that has fed and clothed and produced children for the head of the family while he works. Politicians are still plugging family life but not offering realistic options in an age of two wage-earner families. The woeful lack of quality affordable care for children, the elderly, and the sick is all part of Hochschild's stalled revolution. As feminists, we have challenged some of the patriarchal assumptions propping up the capitalist workplace but have not been able to replace them with a system of care that is viable for women.

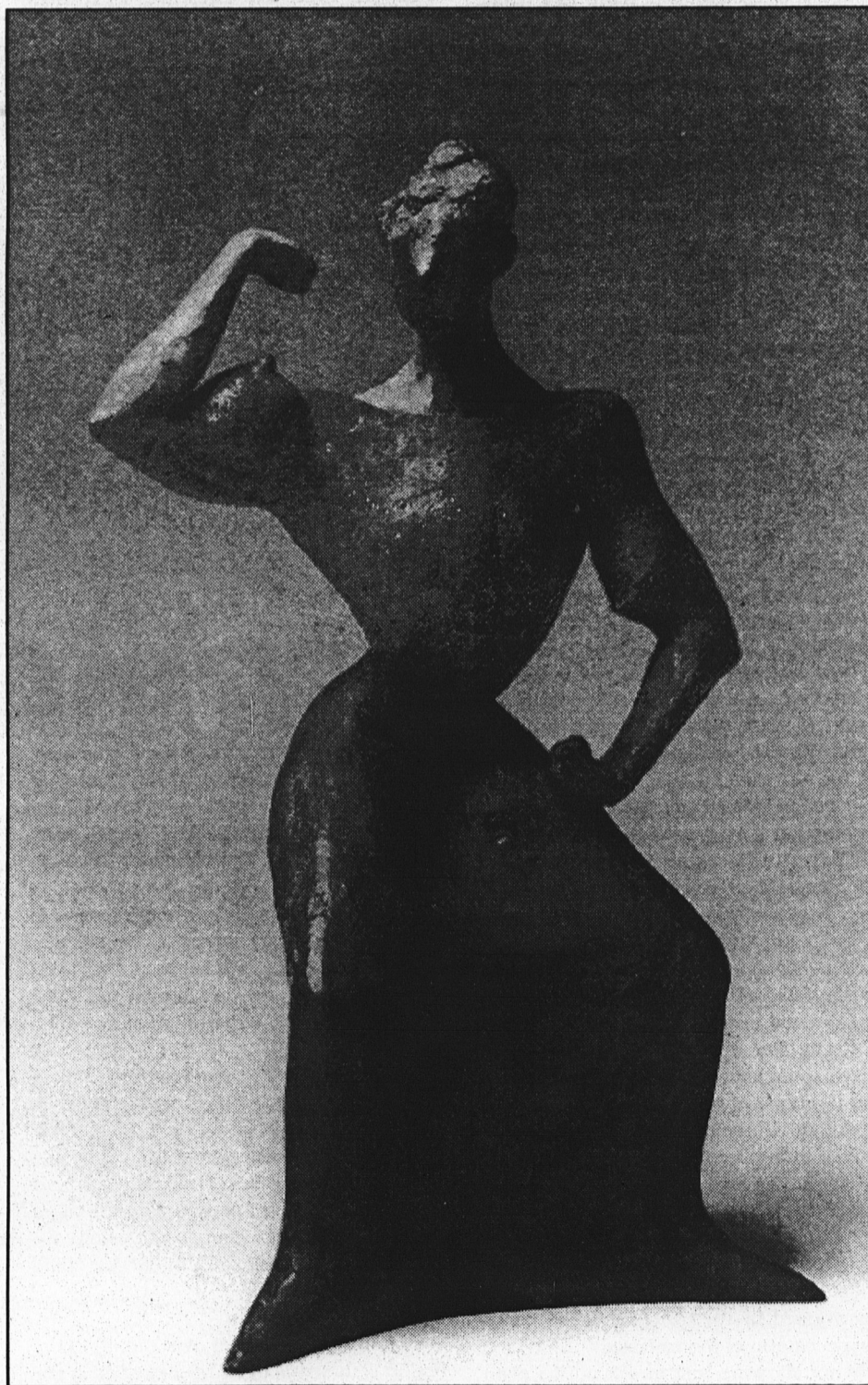
Capitalism controls not only the amount of time and resources we have for non-paid work but also the way we think about it. And, unlike family life, political activist work that is unpaid is given short shrift in our society. People

who devote their lives exclusively to activism are presumed not to be capable of getting "real" job or too selfish to care for a family. This former is especially true in Washington, DC, where politicians can get paid and everyone identifies themselves according to their paid work. The type of volunteerism endorsed by corporations and government is merely "do for free what the government and big business should be doing," as endorsed by Colin Powell and Newt Gingrich. This work is direct service that attempts to pick up the pieces of communities decimated by poverty and lack of government assistance. So capitalism has us in a bind—it only supports and venerates activities that further its own insatiable goals and demands. The many important activities that contribute toward people's fulfillment and happiness go uncompensated, which means that in this system they are hard to do. We are on a treadmill with no time to stop and figure out that we are going nowhere.

Thquotes

Rumors are flying
Circulating again
He said, it said, what was really said
No one knows
But...
What was she thinking
that we know
And I quote
"It's not at all the way I thought it would be."
End of quote

By Elé



Doing It All

BY LAURA BUTTERBAUG
WITH THANKS TO ANNE BRODSKY

"I'm starting a new support group," mused my friend Christie. "It's going to be called 'LALDIA' - Lesbians Against Laura Doing it All." My girlfriend told me she "gave at the office" when I knocked on her door unexpectedly, momentarily not recognizing me. I gave away my copy of *Meditations for Women Who Do Too Much* because I never had time to read it.

Do I do too much, or does too much "do" me? Activism can be energizing, creative, and meaningful. But activism can also be demanding, confusing, and depleting. Like most of us, I work full time. When I get off, there is an endless succession of meetings, phone calls, background work, meetings, e-mail, another meeting. Little time is left for the pursuits that make me feel passionately engaged with myself, such as writing, hiking, cooking, and music.

Increasingly afflicted by the symptoms of what a friend calls "FMS" (Fear of Missing Something), I blamed myself. I thought if only I was better - a better time manager, more organized, wasted less time, etc. - then I would be able to do it all: work full time, be an activist, be a good girlfriend, keep the house clean, take dancing lessons . . . But as FMS started to tighten its grip, I began to realize it's not just me. The rising cost of living (meaning more work) and the rising threats from right-wing backlash against feminist values (calling for more activism) are thrust on top of the normal demands and joys of life such as family and friends, housekeeping, and hobbies. The resulting workload increasingly stretches everyone's capacity to balance quality and quantity of life.

I have been searching for a solution to this juggling act. But what can be cut out to achieve more balance? Job? Without my job, I can't live. oob? Without oob, my life isn't worth living. Activism in the GLBT community? Without that, our very lives are at risk.

Activism is especially seductive because of the urgency of the work, the sheer volume of work that needs to be done, and the pleasure that comes out of being part of the greater good. But as word gets out that you're willing to volunteer, suddenly you're on everybody's mailing list and the work only becomes more urgent, more voluminous, and less pleasurable. As the pace quickens, more people burn out and drop out of activism, and the work becomes even more urgent and voluminous. With so few people doing so much work, it's easy to fall into a mode of thinking that says "If I don't do this, who will? We'll all go to hell in a handbasket if I don't go to this meeting. It's a good thing I'm here to handle this crisis." But a constant crisis mode is not sustainable, except for the few people that get off on the adrenaline and power rush that comes from "doing it all." (And those people's mental health could be called into question.)

Spending time with friends, the hobbies or pursuits that give depth to my

life, and taking care of my health and home have often ended up being sacrificed to the crisis of the moment at work or one or another activist organization. The resulting feeling has been that I have a full and busy life, but also a life lacking in fulfillment and dimension. For example, this summer I helped chair the first Maryland state-wide conference for GLBT organizations and friends-a triumph bringing together over 200 activists from across the state. But what stands out the most about the summer? Lacking time to visit friends or the laundromat, the pile of dirty laundry grew to such proportions that I start to converse with the seething mound. "How's it going, Stinky? Feeling playful today? Get it - playful? As in 'gamey'?" At the same time as I felt good about being part of making activist history in the state, I derided myself for making stupid jokes to a pile of dirty socks and stiffened t-shirts.

The urgency of my FMS finally hit home when I took a vacation this summer with my girlfriend, supposedly a chance to get away and reconnect with each other. After a summer of "Not tonight, dear, I have to go to a meeting," I realized that when we finally got together, I barely knew her. More frightening, after a summer of silencing my spirit's

pleas for balance and play, I barely knew myself. I became aware that my relationships with my girlfriend and with myself had metamorphosed from something playful and intimate into support systems for my increasingly crisis-driven level of functioning. My passionate and creative spirit-a big element of what makes me an effective activist-was being extinguished by the weight of my work and activism.

How can I be an activist and still maintain a sense of myself? The pace of activism was in opposition to the passion that drew me to activism in the first place. My daytimer was increasingly carefully orchestrated and planned, with little room for spontaneity and flexibility. A moment spent at work felt like a moment stolen from the statewide conference; a moment spent fixing dinner felt like a moment stolen from oob. No wonder my creative spirit felt doomed! Being an activist requires a frenetic pace of meetings, e-mails, phone calls, and planning. Being an artist requires (for me) solitude; a feeling of balance and well-being; and time to be quiet and to observe. Between activism and creativity, something had to give.

It all fell into place during a Saturday afternoon fall bike ride, a favorite hobby which passed me by this summer

because I was "too busy." As I rode slowly along, I enjoyed the scent of the pine trees, felt the gentle wind playing around my arm hairs, and watched individually colored leaves waft from their trees to the ground, only to be pushed back up into the air by that playful wind. From behind me, a growling grew in intensity until zzzz0000mmmm - a huge Harley roared past. For a second I wished I were riding that bike, gobbling up 100 miles of scenery in the time it would take me to see 10 miles. Then I visualized the difference between the bicycle's pace and the motorcycle's as a metaphor for choosing levels of engagement. The slow, determined pace of the bicycle created an opportunity for me to achieve a level of engagement with the road, the season, and my solitude that would never be achieved on a motorcycle zooming across the landscape. And without engagement, the creativity and passion which sustain me, would continue to elude me.

Since then I've been working on setting boundaries to slow down the pace of involvement, to permit a more intimate level of engagement with myself and my life. The level of my commitments was setting my boundaries, instead of me setting the boundaries for my level of commitments. Being part of the greater good can be intense and powerful. But in reality, setting aside an actively created self-identity and substituting an automaton reacting to causes is sacrificing the greater good. Intersecting with the greater good by choice rather than inertia became a maxim I decided to try to implement.

I eventually decided to cut back on two of the gay rights organizations to which I previously had devoted significant time. The result for them has been the loss of my contributing efforts and voice; the result for myself has been feeling calmer and more deliberate. At the same time, my passion and creativity is slowly reviving, breathing new life into my sense of self and my outlooks. I've also quit talking to laundry, and started playing my bassoon and working out every day. I started buying flowers for my table, and scheduled time in my daytimer to smell them.

Adapting myself to make the best of an overworked situation, however, is not a very satisfying solution to the problem of too many demands on my time. Adapting myself is, after all, another individualized response of the "If only I were more . . . variety, to what is a systemic problem of more women having to choose among work, activism, and health. Activism is too critical for us to choose to give it up in order to remain healthy. Restricting my level of activism is an evolving personal response which I have chosen at this time to maintain my health and creativity. I hope to continue evolving towards a goal of sustaining work, activism, and health not in tension but in balance. As more of us start to evolve towards creative solutions, perhaps this goal can be sustained.

I Wear The Revolution

Hope dEEp c1995

*Mind the revolution
I wear it on my dress
In the rustle of the folds
In my dress
In the gentle clanging
Of my dangling earrings
In the shift of the weight
Of my stance*

*I felt myself marching
In the rally
As I listened
To a girl's voice
And took her seriously
And kept quiet*

*Until she finished her thought
I shouted the shouts of defiance
As I wore a crown of women's
kisses And honored their body
Because I honored their Soul*

*These things
They're marked on my cloth
Laced on the hems of my Spirit
Children's words
Are dotted in my hair
Like flowers
And each inner revolution
Each daily justice
Is sewn onto my convictions
Till they drape and flow
In wondrous ease.*

EDITORIAL

The Mayor and his appointees on the Board of Trustees have declared war on CUNY students. Under the cover of "standards" Giuliani has called for the elimination of open admissions and remediation. This rhetoric comes from the same man who has cut funding to the public schools system to the tune of nearly \$1 billion, while proposing to spend tens of millions on school uniforms—this as roofs are caving in at some city schools.

In addition to the tremendous financial burden that has been placed on the backs of CUNY students over the past few years, cuts in the operating budget have worked to radically transform the mission and functioning of the university. The resulting vocationalization and adjunctification of CUNY are dangerous long term trends which must be directly addressed. Cuts in the operating budget have been directly translated into cuts in departments CUNY wide. The mission of CUNY has been re-routed from one involving the cultivation of critically minded working class youth into pre-packaged corporate assembly parts. "Marketability" has achieved primacy over well rounded individuals.

The process of Adjunctification has created a new breed of professor within CUNY. Adjuncts are the intellectual equivalent to indentured servants, scurrying from campus to campus teaching classes, unable to conduct office hours and barely able to make even the most modest attempt at developing a mentoring relationship with students. In addition to this, the high number of adjuncts in areas of remediation has placed the student population that needs the greatest amount of attention and work outside of the classroom with the instructors who, can provide the least.

Quite comfortable working under the cover of night, the new Chancellor Christoph Kimmich, acting on orders from the Board, is presenting the Comprehensive Action Plan (CAP) as the blueprint for a new CUNY. However, this hastily prepared, undemocratic document amounts to little to

more than an attack plan aimed at downsizing the university by placing limits on life possibilities. Indeed, the CAP plan seeks to institutionalize racial, class and gender bias tests, neuter the faculties ability to provide careful assessment and demonize and segregate large sections of the CUNY population. The CAP proposal is so wretched that resistance to it is now coming from all sectors; students, faculty, workers and community.

The politicians and their apologists would all like us to believe that CUNY students are unmotivated and lazy, yet the mere fact that they continue to come to CUNY despite the daily hardships they face, speaks volumes to the dedication and desire of these students to learn. The politicians are ignoring the obvious; the issue they should be addressing is the complete breakdown of the public schools system. But to avoid public outcry against the devastating budget cuts they have shoved down our throats, the politicians have cloaked their attack in the rhetoric of "increasing standards", but how in hell are standards increased by cutting the budget and locking students out? We have yet to receive a satisfactory answer to this question.

If these politicians are sincere about the issue of standards then they should get off their butts and address issues of poverty and overcrowding in the public schools system. But these people clearly don't give a damn about how or what we learn because the agenda has been set and it's all about closing access to the poor and working class of New York to the University. Giuliani, Paolucci, and Badillo should be put on notice: students are becoming hip to the fact that we're being pissed on and told that it's rain. To the bureaucrats we say, the working class and poor students of CUNY will not accept the policies of educational apartheid you are attempting to shove down our throats. We will resist! To the students of CUNY we say, the University is YOURS! Now is the time to seize it!

THE COLLEGE
VOICE



FOR FREE TUITION AND OPEN ADMISSIONS

| | |
|----------------------|------------------|
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Know us: The College Voice is a monthly journal published by the students of the College of Staten Island.

Visit us: Our office is located at 2800 Victory Boulevard, Room 1C-230, Staten Island, NY 10314

Sue us: Opinions expressed are those of the writers and not necessarily shared by anyone else.

The College Voice is a member of the Columbia Scholastic Press Association, The Associated Collegiate Press and the College Media Advisor

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THE COLLEGE VOICE WHO WE ARE

The College Voice (CV) is a publication committed to the interests of working people. The working class is composed of all those people who own nothing but their ability to perform manual or mental labor and are forced to sell it for a wage. As students at CUNY, we recognize that we are a part of the multi-racial, multi-national working class of New York City. The severe attacks that CUNY has undergone are mirrored by the endless assaults on jobs, wages and living standards of working people, as well as by the attacks on trade union, democratic and civil rights.

We oppose the poisonous divisions fostered on the basis of race by the bosses, who make Black and white workers fight each other for the crumbs off their table...even though it is the workers who produce all the wealth.

We oppose the systematic attempts to reduce women to a defined "feminine" status, that serves to legitimize the special oppression they face as women and the additional exploitation they undergo as workers.

We oppose the vicious attacks on immigrant workers, who are the most vulnerable victims of the bosses job market, and who are thus used to drive all workers wages down.

We oppose every form of bigotry, on principle, as unbefitting humanity and recognize that the fight for human liberation will be achieved only in the course of combatting these divisions.

We oppose the use of the environment as a source of short-term profit and plunder by the ruling rich regardless of the consequences for the majority of the world's population.

The CV recognizes that it is the capitalist system, based upon the private ownership of the means of producing the wealth, that is fundamentally responsible for the fantastic hardship and misery that the vast majority of our species undergoes across the globe...in the midst of plenty.

The CV recognizes that this contradiction, far from being some "natural" condition, is one maintained by the armed power of the capitalist state (army, cops and courts) and ideological apparatus (media, church, and schools) of the capitalist class that insures the domination of the few over the many; of the bosses, who produce nothing and appropriate everything over the workers, who produce everything but appropriate nothing.

The CV recognizes the possibility and the burning necessity for creating a society in which the productive forces are democratically organized through the cooperative association of workers and production is based on human needs instead of private profits in harmony with the environment.

The CV recognizes the necessity for creating a revolutionary party of the working class, based upon a program of militant mass action and class politics, that will organize internationally against world capitalism and its multi-national corporations and fight for a socialist revolution against them.

The CV seeks to engage all those who are committed to fighting exploitation and oppression in common action against the common enemy...capitalism.

Letters

Letter to the Editor

by Brenda Lovelace - Medical Technology Major

If you never got involved before, it is imperative that you get involved now. Our future is at stake. I am writing this to talk on behalf of Leonard Jeffries. This is not about anti-Semitism. This is about anti-Minorities and anti-Immigrants. There is a conspiracy to keep minorities out of the workplace, to take away our education and opportunities. Who knows what is next perhaps our freedom and our rights? Our ancestors fought long and hard in order for us to have the right to vote, freedom of speech and the right to choose. Are we just going to sit still and let them slowly take it away from us. I do not think that anyone could have delivered such a strong and powerful message. His words were spell-binding and force you to wake up to the truth and to your surroundings.

If Jeffries offended anyone in anyway, I am apologizing for him, I am sorry he hurt you. But, I ask you not to stand in our way. This is a fight for our lives, our children's lives and for the survival of our race.

We are all immigrants. This country belongs to the Indians. We should all go back home but for me, I don't know where home is.

Come on now, why are we complaining about Jeffries? I mean don't we ourselves teach our children to be racist? Don't we teach them to discriminate against others? Blacks are inferior and Whites are superior. Jeffries is a product of society. You mold him. Why get mad at him? After all, he is not the one that participated in the Holocaust or the massacre of Indians and Blacks. Let's expose racism for what is. Bring it to the surface. Why keep pretending it does not exist? Stop suppressing it, it is only festering and building up. Racism is a walking time bomb and anything can trigger it. It will be the return of the repressed. Let's bring it to consciousness and deal with it. Racism has been created and therefore can be destroyed. I only want to learn about the past not relive it, I do not want to be enslaved. Nobody wants to repeat another Holocaust, massacre of Indians and Blacks or whatever other races experienced such tragedies. I judge people by what I see and hear because you cannot always trust people's writings.

An election is coming up for Student Government in April and I urge you to support our current Student Government and consider re-electing some of them.

There are two senior senators on the Student Government who are really fighting very hard for us. They make it their duty to keep us informed about current issues that are effecting all of us. They are Billy Wharton and Colleen McGraham and they have been called traitors to their own race. They are fighting for what is moral and I feel we should support them. They are fighting for the disadvantaged students.

If we do not wake up now we could be stripped of all our possessions. I ask you to forgive Jeffries and the Student Government. Maybe Jeffries has been racist in the past, but even he came to realize that racism has no place in our society.

The Student Government as a whole is made up of some of the nicest students on this campus. If you decide to participate in this struggle please do so non-violently. We are all in this together, we are all brothers and sisters.

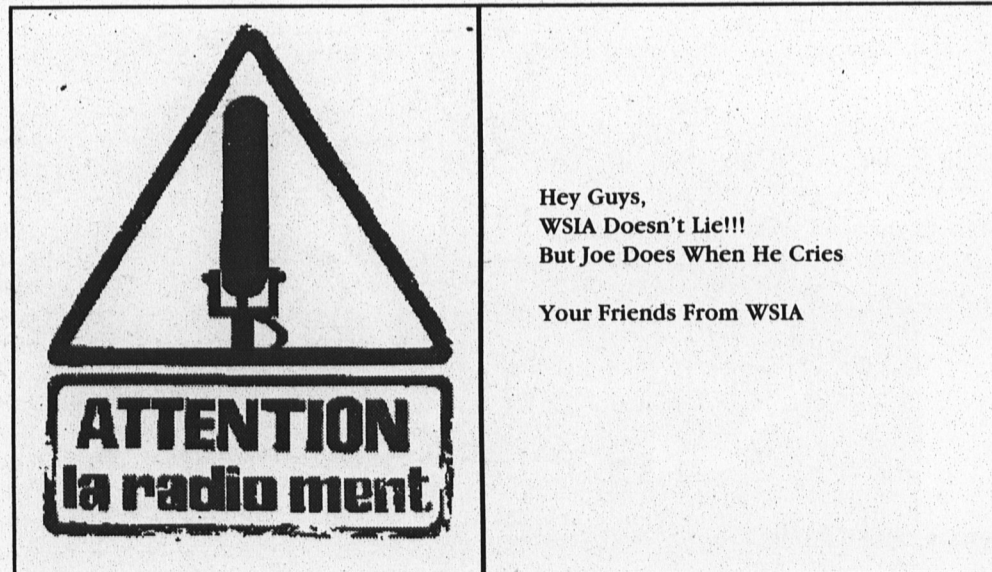
Letters -College Voice,

Besides being responsible for Global Warming are CUNY students are also responsible for the shooting of Buffalo in Montana and the slaughter of wild horses and wild burros throughout the West? Would ranchers back the destruction of forests and the killing of animals competing with cattle for forage if caring people, everywhere, didn't eat beef or horse meat?

Hamburger eaters might think about: dead pets and animal excrement processed and fed to cattle, slowly incubating mad-cow-disease, the agonizing death of animals (including family pets) caught in rancher traps, rancher/cattle ravaged public lands, disappearing rain forests, vanishing species, e-coli, etc....

New York voices may not be heard where cattle interests control lawmaking and the media (across much of the West.) But, what you don't eat could have an impact in the West and around the world.

James Griffin
P.O. Box 2394
Fallon, N.V. 89407



CSI ACCESS Student Government Speaker Series

ALL EVENTS ARE CLUE CERTIFIED
FOR MORE INFORMATION PLEASE CALL 982-3082

MICHAEL PARENTI

Author of "Democracy for the Few". Parenti is considered a leading voice among political progressives. He discusses the problems of imperialism, corporate economic power and the invented reality of news and entertainment media.

MARCH 25TH
2:30PM-4:30PM
WILLIAMSON THEATER I-P

POLICE BRUTALITY

CARL DIX OCTOBER 22ND COALITION
NICHOLAS HAYWOOD PARENTS AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY

A panel discussion on police brutality.

APRIL 2ND
1:30PM-3:30PM
GREEN DOLPHIN LOUNGE/BLDG I-C

CUNY In Crisis: Open Admissions

RONALD MCGUIRE ESQ.
PROFESSOR LEONARD JEFFRIES

As a student in 1969 Ronald McGuire helped to fight for open admissions. This forum will discuss the History of CUNY and student's involvement in beginning Open Admissions.

APRIL 2ND
6:00PM-8:30PM
CONCERT HALL I-P

LOUISE TILLY

WOMEN AND SOCIALISM
BETWEEN THE WARS

Professor of History at the New School for Social Research discuss the role of women and socialism between WW I and WW II.

APRIL 9TH
1:30PM-3:30PM
RECITAL HALL I-P

Blackshirts . . .

Continued From Page 28

proposal to form an eleventh-hour coalition against Nazism. As in many other countries past and present, so in Germany, the Social Democrats would sooner ally themselves with the reactionary Right than make common cause with the Reds. Meanwhile a number of right-wing parties coalesced behind the Nazis and in January 1933, just weeks after the election, Hindenburg invited Hitler to become chancellor.

Upon assuming state power, Hitler and his Nazis pursued a politico-economic agenda not unlike Mussolini's. They crushed organized labor and eradicated all elections, opposition parties, and independent publications. Hundreds of thousands of opponents were imprisoned, tortured, or murdered. In Germany as in Italy, the communists endured the severest political repression of all groups.

Here were two peoples, the Italians and Germans, with different histories, cultures, and languages, and supposedly different temperaments, who ended up with the same repressive solutions because of the compelling similarities of economic power and class conflict that prevailed in their respective countries. In such diverse countries as Lithuania, Croatia, Rumania, Hungary, and Spain, a similar fascist pattern emerged to do its utmost to save big capital from the impositions of democracy.

OPPOSE THE INTERESTS OF US IMPERIALISM



Iraqi women with their children.

Continued From Page 29

policy towards Indonesia.

In that situation, the US talks of defending "national interest" and helping "President" Suharto during these difficult times. The media sugar coats this dictator who killed a third of the population of East Temor, and who took power (with the help of the CIA) in 1965 through a coup against the "communist," ie., thousands of people who disagreed with US foreign policy. He has ruled since, crushing resistance

and growing filthy rich while most of the population remains in utter poverty. Where is the embargo, or threats of attacks for the sake of democracy? Why is not the media critical of that dictatorship and why is there no national media coverage exposing Suharto's atrocities? The IMF billion dollar bailout to Western/US banks can not be bothered with talk of dictatorships, war and democracy, hence the duplicity of US foreign policy.

For there to be true peace and justice in the Middle East the solution must begin with the withdrawal of US involvement in the region. This must include the selling of US military equipment and training to all the nations in the region. America is primarily responsible for the astronomical arms buildup in the region, including Iraq. The US must also end all support for Zionist Israel, a settler state with ambitions to expand its borders and increase its dominance throughout the area. It must be made clear that the only "interest" served by present US involvement include those of the rulers in the region and the capitalist here.

The way forward for the majority of Americans is to oppose the militarization of society and to demand that money be spent on universal healthcare, free and quality education from kindergarten through the university. Before any peace movement can take hold Americans must refuse the State Department's war cry and demand that peace be based upon economic justice and equity and not upon the needs and desires of the capitalist class.

Culture and Resistance



MOMA: Color Splotches and the Avante-Garde

LOUIS BARDEI

Some of the best artists the world has ever seen arise from the French Revolution. Between 1789 and 1799 more artistic works that have a purpose, a message, a narrative, were produced than in the whole 100 years of art currently exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA). The revolutionary period engravers are especially strong.

After eighty years of Rousseau and Voltaire, European society was in a state of unrest and flux. New social and political images and symbols were commonplace and were readily being borne. Produced in the excitement and danger of radical change, the works are exemplary. They worked during a time when

better, more progressive state: that is, a republican celebration.

There are always important social issues for artists to take on as subjects for their work. It usually is not to the violent degree of the Bourgeoisie severing Louis Capet's head in front of a whole city, but exciting critiques of societies and their systems can always be done through art. Socially relevant art is exciting. Art for art's sake, usually is not. This is why Jo Baer's seven foot by five foot blank white canvas currently on exhibit at MOMA offends me. Its mindless, it lacks

splattered on the side of a building?

With all this negative criticism out of the way, I can say there are actually some very good works at MOMA; they are in the minority, though. But they make the trip uptown worthwhile (by the way, CUNY students are admitted to MOMA free with a current student ID.)

*Socially relevant art is exciting.
Art for art's sake, usually is not.*

The Rockefeller Sculpture Garden has a bronze woman on a pedestal, who is

seven feet tall, buxom, with huge hands ("Standing Woman," by Gaston Lachaise), which strikes me as intense and stately —

she has wombrismo; but the most impressive work in the garden is the Rodin sculpture of the writer Balzac. Impressive because of the interactive art that accompanies Rodin's work: We are given a seat placed two feet into the ground allowing us to view the sculpture from a low angle. From the sitting position Balzac looks huge and imposing.

Two works by Diego Rivera, one large painting and one smaller composition study, are worth viewing. The painting, "Agrarian Leader Zapata" (1931), a narrative piece about agrarian workers uprising against their sword-wielding landowners, shows the worker-peasants downing a military man from his horse and taking the four-legged beast for their own. The horse is clearly symbolic of the means of production. Dressed in peasant-white, the workers carry nothing but hoes, scythes, and bows. "Man At The Crossroads" (1932) is more conceptual. The central figure, a worker, stands between two opposing ideals: industry and rusticism. One finds on the side of rusticism a representation of friendship and a depiction of the sun. On the side of industry we see competition and the moon. What is fascinating about the piece is that the moral is not so clear cut. In seemingly happy rusticism we also find hard migrant

employment; conversely on the side of seemingly harsh industry we are shown middle-class prosperity. "Man at the Crossroads" is a contrast piece; it reminds me of Nietzsche's essay on the

*CUNY students are
admitted to MOMA free
with a current student ID.*

Appolonian/Dionysian duality. Diego is working in this vein, showing that Man (individual, as well as the larger population) has within him certain antagonistic tendencies that fight for his allegiance. We can ask the Utilitarian question:

Which tendencies serve the greater good?

Henri Rousseau's "The Dream" (1910), set in a verdant, musical jungle, is grounded in a naked white woman reclining on a couch. The work is pleasantly surreal in the juxtaposition of the woman in the jungle, two images usually considered strangers to each other. I imagine the woman in a salon, and her dream has turned the space around her into a tropical forest. The area is not wild, though; rather, it is infused with curiosity, music, and shadow. Picasso's "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon" is similarly fantastic, but has a grotesque edge to it; it is a Manichaeistic world. Sight of the dark side calls to mind the famous quote of Blake's: "The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom." The pale gentility of females, consuming two-thirds of the composition, has a strange, unfriendly parallel: similar nude forms, but they wear wicked, exotic, angry, daring, knowledgeable masks. All the eyes of the figures in the composition focus on the viewer as if petitioning for his complete attention.

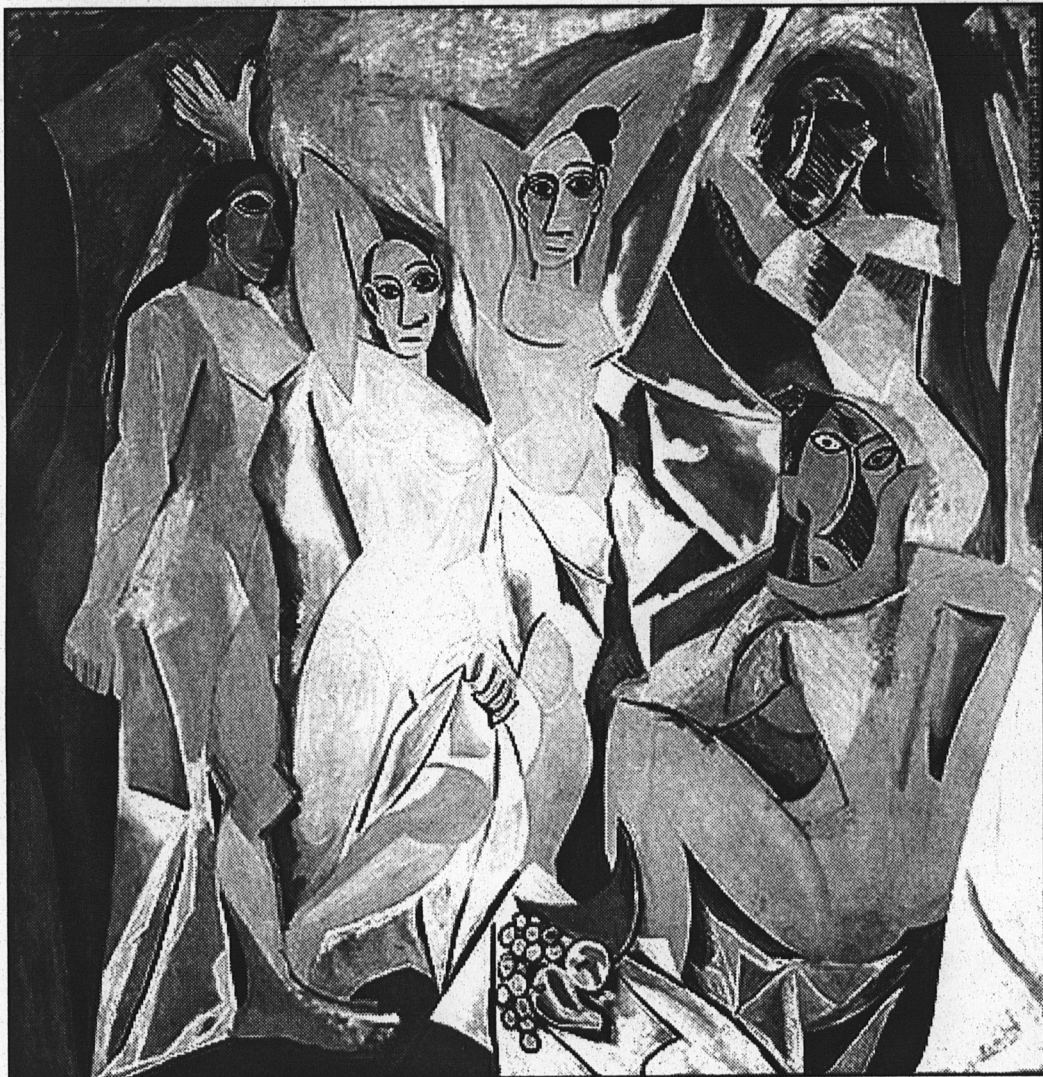
Wilhelm Lehmbruck's sculpture, "Standing Youth," stands nine feet tall. The figure is also naked and strikes a thinker-like pose. Most striking about this sculpture is its sheer breadth: From bottom to top the figure becomes more broad. The subject is raw-boned, lanky, swift and athletic looking; he has thin ankles and long, well defined muscles. I imagine "Standing Youth" spending his time reading books, debating ideas with others, running track, and banging on the basketball court (beaucoup assists and alley-oops set up and made.)

Art that I appreciate is propagandistic and truthful, didactic, sexual and sensual, iconoclastic, visionary and constructive, blatantly political and not historically revisionist. They also have social currency, a trait that characterizes the exemplary art of their predecessors, the French Revolutionary engravers. Common ground between the good works at MOMA and the engravers is that they are located in concrete human experience. When form becomes uniform, as is the case with much of MOMA's collection, art suffers. A colorfield like one of Rothko's, no matter how dynamic the hue, pales in comparison to the drama and tension of Rivera or an engraving depicting the destruction of royal symbols on the Place de Vitoires. The eighteenth century French engravers have shown us what cutting edge art can be. (The rough and tender work of the eighteenth century artist David should also be included in the good European art pantheon.) Naturally, the content of the old masters has become dated and some of it was reactionary but we should not overlook their commitment to the drama of psycho-social reality. It is now up to the painters, photographers, graphic designers, pamphleteers, and other artists of today to find the new relevant subjects but take heed of their elders; the new art world can only benefit. It must...

What follows is the Modern Establishment:

"It was with utmost reluctance that I found the figure could not serve my pur-

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Picasso's "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon"

civil skirmishes, marches, and social antagonisms were highly visible.

An excellent information source for engravings made during the French Revolutionary period, is Lynn Hunt's book, "The Family Romance of the French Revolution." Modern artists could have all learned a lot by examining some of the engravings found in Hunt. For example, Jasper Johns might have created something better than an empty beer can if he studied "The King Digging at the Champ de Mars (1790)," or Roy Lichtenstein could have progressed past cartoons if he had seen "Festival of Federation" (1790). "The King" is a psycho-political work portraying the patriarch Louis XVI as a common man. "Festival" is what was a visionary piece illustrating the site of a constructive meeting among citizens to inaugurate a

social currency. Actually, seventy percent of MOMA offends me for this reason. Much of the work at the museum lacks ground in actual events, history, or philosophical concepts as expressed in real human life.

The mindlessness and apoliticism produced by the likes of Roy Lichtenstein, Ellsworth Kelly, Jo Baer, Jasper Johns, Mark Rothko, Robert Rauschenberg, Willem de Kooning, and Franz Kline, would make the supercilious Jacques Louis David give a smug chuckle, and rightly so. "Look at the colors and the strokes. Don't you see the mood, the emotion?" my friend asked me, pointing to a bright, bland Rothko painting. The answer is yes, I do see emotion. But so what? Do I need to visit MOMA to stare at splotches of paint the likes of which can be found carelessly

IMPERIALISM AND HIGH CULTURE IN EUROPE

FUN-HEE YOO

Is it not true that even within the experience of imperialism, the deeply antagonistic relation between the colonizer and the colonized is in fact an overlapping, interdependent relationship that connects the adversaries in many, usually unacknowledged ways?

Edward Said.

Europe in Africa:

Imperialism is an ideology and a practice. In their practice of imperialism, European nations came to exert an immense amount of control over other cultures. We will be interested here in the colonization of Africa and its repercussions. We will be looking more specifically at some of the consequences of the colonization of Africa on European culture.

European colonization of Africa led to an accumulation of objects of "ethnographic" interest. So-called primitive objects were assembled in important collections. These collections were made by culturally biased European eyes during their colonial journeys into Africa. They constituted, however, a primary source for important movements of thought in Europe.

European imperialism, in search of raw materials for its expanding industries, forced African people to change their lifestyle. This parasitic dimension will be carefully examined here. Our purpose is to show that paralleling European parasitism in the material sphere, was a cultural parasitism. Cultural raw materials were also transferred to Europe, digested by European bourgeois consciousness, and reflected in the cultural sphere in Europe. The use of African art in modern Europe is what concerns us here. A new 'meaning' is given to primitive sculptures that suits European imperialistic ideology. The de-contextualizing and the re-contextualizing of African art, uprooted from its

original material reality, to fit the universalizing bourgeois ideology is exemplified in this article by the Cubist school.

For the modern European artist, the world is a supermarket, in which one can acquire consumption goods, without paying heed to their origin; the objects

have a life of their own. Alienated labor, and the fetishism of commodity typically

bourgeois, shaped the European absorption of the Africanness of the sculptures. The Cubists were bourgeois individuals, with a bourgeois consciousness that developed in bourgeois lands. Their truths are the truths of this specific historical era and their ideals fall within the logic of their social relations. Some philosophers pointed out that the Cubist artists developed an aggressive art which assaulted the seemingly immovable "facticity" and permanence of the object world, while encouraging a more active sense of its human production and reproduction.

The lived hegemonic position of European imperialism involved a dramatic process of development. It was a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits. Its internal structures were highly complex. It had continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It was also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not all its own.

Under these conditions, we think that the thesis of cultural imperialism, generally accepted, can be construed to accommodate the contradictions within the colonizing culture, and to make these a source for emancipation for the colonized. Artists are part of a cultural expression that is specially conscious and active on the political level. With Cubism, Africa entered in the modern consciousness as a constitutive, power-demanding, emancipatory force. The inclusion of Africa in the European minds, can be seen as one of the factors that led to the freeing of African Americans from their bondage, i.e. the movement for the emancipation of slaves.



The Ecole de Paris was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the most important art 'school.' It included artists of great value. It comprised such characters as Picasso, Dali,

Africa in Europe:

These modern artists were primarily attracted by the plastique configuration of African art. It was, however, the art's

spirit that was captured by the modern Cubists. This spirit, was not specifically African, but universal. The forced humanistic universalization is the correlate, and other side of the Janus-faced imperialistic colonialization, and therefore control, of non-Europeans, materially and culturally. Of course, there was no African origin of Cubism, but African "influence."

These artists considered African sculptures only as works of art. They felt that, by its very presence, African sculpture had an existence in space free from all the established resemblances. The sculpture had value not because it did not look like, but because it did not look like any object or model known to them. It was itself, a creation in a sculptural medium. Picasso defined Cubism as an art dealing primarily with forms; when the form is realized, it is there to live its own life.

Both African and Cubist works of art existed through their own invented forms, used for their own meaning and not to copy natural objects. Each form was something new, particular to the artist, his own. The African sculptor thought of his/her work as a communal property, usually with religious significance. The Europeans enforcing the commodification of the artwork, stripped it from its spirituality. Let us review some of the ideas behind Cubism and link them with the theoretical developments of the time.

Bourgeois culture of which Cubism is a rebellious tendency—and therefore still grounded in it by its very act of rebellion—contains as one of its strongest constituents Humanistic ideals. The humanist paradigm holds that on basic human issues, there is no difference between primitive man and civilized man (original classification), the same psychological compulsion is behind the endeavors of the modern artists to abstract nature (the difference is superficial). The practice of the missionaries is an expressions of such attempts towards universalization.

In the modern age, dominated by the cult of the individual, all art activity, with full cognizance of the unconscious impulses, became a glorification of individuality. The desire to express a personal experience, to search for individual truth, and to create imaginative, inventive works, new and personalized works, motivated modern art to a much larger

extent than African art. The Cubist artists rebelled against the early mass production and mass consumption that alienated the individual from the community.

It was the time of Freud, who introduced new concepts for studying human behavior. Einstein's theory of relativity was revolutionizing the commonly held views on the universe. All this was reflected in art. The artist's questions

were translated into Cubistic painting. A bottle (representing reality) was decomposed into parts which lost their identity with the bottle, and were used by the artist as new elements in paintings that became a new reality. The interchangeability of parts, the assembly line, and the supermarkets are the other side of this new reality.

Modernist artists rejected representation and symbolism for direct unmediated declarations. The work of art wants to be itself not a mere look alike. This conceptualization of art had two general effects. First, any meaning-giving action was thought to be subjective. Second, it helped phenomenological approach to art: to grasp the essential qualities of things (or artwork) without any presuppositions, analogies, associations, etc. Picasso's idea that when a painting is achieved, it is there 'to live its own life' is formally comparable to the African animistic beliefs.

Artists of great personality and imagination have usually reacted against the prevailing schools. The Cubists rebelled against the accepted, conventional art styles, and went further as they sought to express the inner self not only liberated from conventional art but from inhibitions as well. African artists were thought to have produced works in such complete freedom.

Africa in the World:

We have made some of the necessary connections between the modern Cubists and the African artists. Our hypothesis, linking the European imperialist venture in Africa with the development of radical art movements in Europe, can seem a little bit eccentric. The usual treatment of the intersection of a colonizing country and a colony, deals with the changes in the colony's culture. This fact is not



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The Power of the Arts: A look Into the Impact of Creativity in Mass Movements

ANGEL MARTINEZ

The Central Park Summerstage in New York City has been a favorite place of mine to view absolutely stunning, stirring performances, free of charge. One of my most vivid musical memories of the showcases was the space-jazz ensemble known worldwide as The Sun Ra Arkestra. Assembled on the stage was a gathering of strong, dedicated musicians, singers and dancers under the guidance of the musical revolutionary, Sun Ra. The joyous cacophony that opened the show mutated into a universe-wide party with a message of love.

The dedication of the Arkestra's members has become legendary - unlike other ensembles, Sun Ra in his lifetime had managed to maintain longtime musical companions. In the liner notes to "Sun Ra and his Arkestra: Live at Montreux", Bob Blumenthal writes: "Arkestra members have stayed with the 'home band' in surprising numbers, a situation which in many cases has limited the notoriety of excellent musicians ... but also provided the leader with an essential workshop for his most daring notions."

Those notions were clearly shining on that summer day.

The arts inside any political movement have the power to bring people and groups together. The energy sustained by the Arkestra was possible because the "essential workshop" was sustained by their dedication to music and the messages of bringing people together. Their



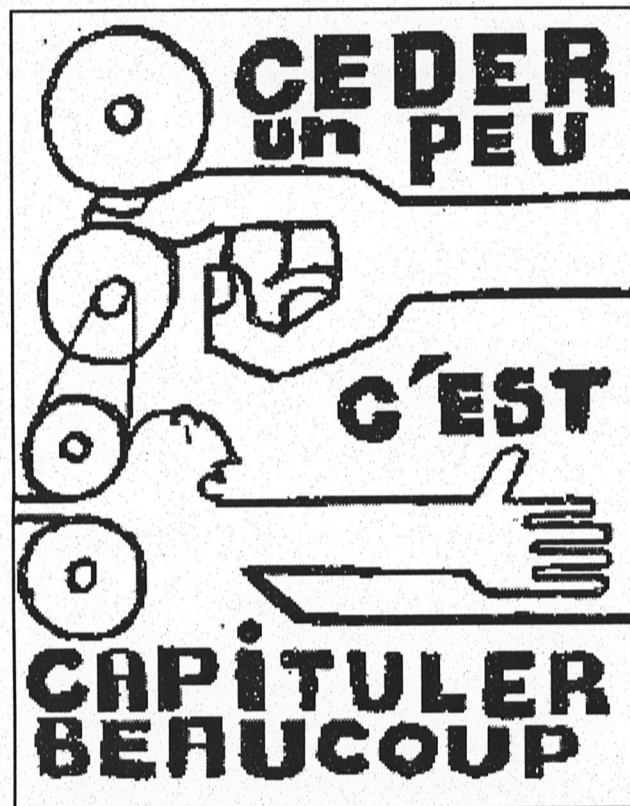
"The Struggle Continues"
Art from Paris, May 1968.

music came out of the heritage of jazz, a music created and performed by oppressed people for oppressed people—by the musical sounds a mass movement can be created. The creative energy that sustains mass movements comes forth in two ways. First, cultural expression as a part of political education can build and maintain a movement. Second the arts are a way to educate activists about ongoing and previous struggles.

A movement with a strong artistic component serves as a source of revival. In other words, the arts breathe life into a movement. The African National Congress, as but one example, maintained a cultural section to bring the revolutionary message to the South African people and rally people worldwide to their cause. Billy Bragg, as another example, uses his words and music as a lively political education in his recordings and concerts. His activism is in his songs, in which he manifested popular expression at venues such as the Metro Toronto 1996 Days of Action. Activists will ultimately forget the minutes to last week's meeting, but you will for many years find an activist singing along to the tunes of the ANC and Billy Bragg. What this means is that political education impacts most greatly on those people who can tune into it through ways that call out the broadest number of activists.

It is also important to realize that the arts are profound because

of their connection between the creator and those witnessing the creation. That is, the poem or the song or the story calls out to one's own personal and group experiences. Liam O'Flaherty, in his novel *The Informer* utilizes vivid imagery to explain the struggles concerning the title subject. The story was



"To yield a little is to capitulate a lot."
Art from France, May '68.

MOMA . . .

Continued From Page 36

poses...But a time came when none of us could use the figure without mutilating it." —Mark Rothko (1958)

"Modern culture has recorded in many ways the breakdown of traditions and the pervasive sense that civilization has needed virtually to reinvent itself. In many ways, therefore, the disruption of literary form has inevitably created a radical new sense of style. The typical hero becomes the antihero (a conspicuously ordinary person), "plots" often seem to go nowhere, poems strive to achieve a more subjective language, and the world in which a story is set loses any impression of solidity. The conscious view of an ordered reality has yielded to the fluid psychology of the unconscious and the physics of relativity. The most important literary convention has always been artistic integrity, the illusion that the framed world of an art work has a special wholeness to it. Now this is repeatedly exposed as pretense." —Harvey Birenbaum, literary critic (1997)

IMPERIALISM AND HIGH CULTURE . . .

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denied here, it is only reinforced and complemented, by looking at the repercussions of colonization on the colonizers' culture. Our purpose was to show some of the unacknowledged ways in which this cultural exchange occurs. Scholarly papers and wisdom acknowledges these facts but guards them from the general public by many institutionalized entities: museums, colloquies, and other instances of High Culture. The African Americans, in their process of emancipation, had a lot to do with setting the record straight, by giving African Art its *Lettres de Noblesse*. The point here is not to give African Art a place in a pantheon, but rather to retrace the process and the ways by which it is today part of Western culture.

African thinkers looked at themselves, when thinking about emancipation, and found themselves shaped by the Western

culture in ways that they could not count. An example would be African nationalisms which developed in the twentieth century. The nation state was a European invention, imposed on the African peoples. African thought was totally changed by the intervention of imperialist powers, and so was European thought. We restricted our inquiry to sculpture and painting, but African influence on European culture is present in music, food, clothing, philosophy, religion, and many other fields. The Europeans went to Africa, took the raw materials they needed and took also cultural objects that they processed in Europe and sold them throughout the entire planet. This fact is both an act of oppression and an act of uniting oppressed peoples from different cultures.

drawn out of the author's own experience in the struggle of the Irish people and it was able to convey a message that may not have been understood any other way. The novel, as well as other progressive works, has the power to strengthen beliefs and ideas because it is based on actual instances of struggle.

The creative arts must be an essential part of any mass movement because they will serve to build and keep a movement of people to bring forces together in struggle. The struggle continues because of the myriad of ways to express the truth. No matter how it may be told, the truth must be made known.

There are significant historical examples that illustrate the power of the arts. One labor movement in particular had gained a reputation for encouraging the arts among its members, who wrote and collected songs and published songbooks to raise the spirits of workers at their gatherings and in their struggles. It is perhaps as famous today for its repertoire of labor songs as it is for its political agitation. Many who have studied labor history are familiar with the movement—the Industrial Workers of the World.

Upon hearing of the attack on Open Admissions over 30 members of the Unitarian Church sent this letter to Chairwomen Paolucci in protest of her acquiescence to the Mayor's proposals.

You can help fight the CAP and other attacks on Open Admissions; simply cut the letter out and send it. You can also help by informing your parents, community leaders, religious leaders... just about anyone who will listen!

Let them know about the damaging effects that the end of Open Admissions will have on our communities. Pass on a copy of the letter to others and ask them to send one as well.

Thank You,
The CV Collective



Anne
Paolucci

Anne Paolucci, Chair
CUNY Board of Trustees
535 East 80th Street
New York, NY 10021

Dear Chairperson Paolucci:

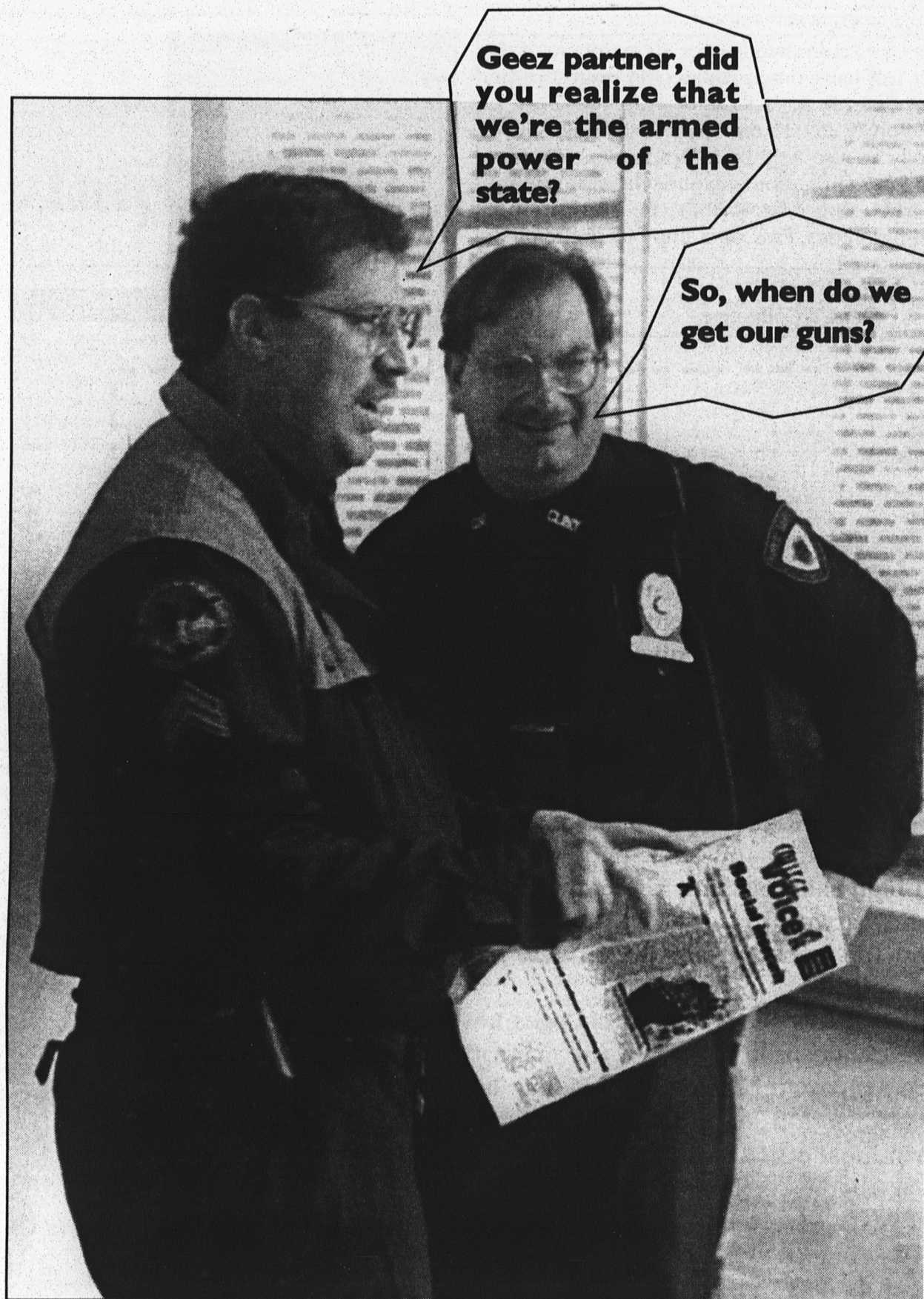
I am deeply disturbed to hear of the extreme, radical changes that you and the Board are making to our beloved City University on all its campuses — especially targeting those that serve the greatest proportion of poor, working class, immigrant and minority group students.

You and the Board are turning your backs on Open Admissions. Open Admissions was a great victory for working class and middle class New Yorkers. It was an outgrowth of the Civil Rights Movement and inspired many other states to follow suit. And now, when more and more people need a quality university education in order to fill high skill jobs and keep America's economy strong, you are dismantling CUNY and barring the door to hundreds of thousands of students that would attend over the next 10 years if you were not destroying their opportunities.

Your reasoning is faulty. Facts show that all colleges have "remedial" or preparatory courses; CUNY students are low income, the majority are Black and Hispanic and often have been poorly schooled or have recently immigrated, and they work very hard at CUNY; CUNY grades have deflated, not inflated; CUNY requires 30% more course work than most other schools including Harvard; CUNY's degree is a 5 1/2 year not a 4 year degree so the graduation rate should be adjusted accordingly; the past several years' severe budget cuts have degraded the quality of education at CUNY; the Writing Assessment Test should never have been used as a graduation requirement as it is only a placement test; child care and tuition aid have been cut back while use of adjunct teachers has increased. Students attend part time because they must work, often full time, as CUNY tuition right now is way too high for poor people including single mothers rearing children for whom the CUNY degree is the only way to assure their families a living wage.

I am outraged and I will do everything in my power to support Open Admissions and full funding for CUNY and for needy students. One in every six households has a member attending CUNY. Remember, education raises standards. Throwing people out of school lowers the quality of life for them, our city, and our nation. It bespeaks a meanness that is unworthy of your responsibility as the governing body for this great university. Please let me know what you plan to do to moderate your actions and restore Open Admissions and funding to CUNY.

Sincerely,



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