

The College

For Free and Open Admissions

VOICE

VOL. XVI • ISSUE NO. 4 March, 1996

CUNY STABBED IN THE BACK BY PATAKI ON FINANCIAL AID

By Paula T. McKeown

Students are being hit below the belt again! The latest round of proposed cuts by Governor Pataki display a prominent disregard for students who rely on financial aid to pay for their education. The following are the immediate cuts affect TAP. Pataki seems to be proposing to do away with TAP for the 96/97 school year. There are a number of proposals.

The first, most significant impact on students is the proposal to consider how much a student gets from the Federal Pell grant. If the student gets the maximum for both Pell and TAP, 50% of the Pell grant award will be deducted from the TAP award. Essentially, if a student gets both, he effectively loses half of one. This affects poor students the most. Because of this, \$1170 will be lost, the maximum Pell award, in grant money for going to CSI per year.

The reason? The Federal Pell grant takes into account other things like books, transportation, lunch, personal needs in relation to going to school. Pataki is trying to say that if you have federal money, you don't need any other money. Once again, we must emphasize how this targets only

the poor student at SUNY, CUNY and State community colleges. This doesn't affect the private schools because the total of their tuition is higher than Pell and Tap.

Secondly, the proposal considers the maximum TAP award at State, City Universities - what the tuition is now, which is \$3,200 per year. According to these proposals, \$3,200 is set as the maximum award. If tuition goes up next year, which Pataki is already proposing a \$250 hike for the 96/97 school year, the person receiving the award has to pay another \$250 out of their pocket. The most money you can ever get is \$3200!

The third proposal indicates students who have had 4 semesters of TAP must have a C average to continue getting TAP. Fortunately, very few students at CSI don't have a C average. However, there are some who have below a C average, so this does affect many CSI students. This is a double whammy! Originally, TAP always offered two additional semesters of remedial work for a student carrying below a C average after four semesters. Unfortu-

nately, this was already taken away in the Fall of 1995.

This is discriminatory. If a student is wealthy enough to pay his own tuition, they can stay and draw on tax money. The poor student who needs TAP has to leave at the end of the 4th semester unless they have a C or better. The standards should be the same for both sets of students.

In 1976, CUNY started charging tuition. There was an outcry of how this affected poor students. Then the state legislation said the poor student wouldn't have to pay by making a commitment to provide TAP. This is the first time since 1976 that our government is renegeing on this promise.

It is vitally important for everyone to realize if this is enacted, all students at CSI will lose 43% of their money, virtually slashing half of all financial aid.

Hawaii, Wisconsin, and Alaska, and maybe as many as seven other states, deduct 50% of Pell from what it costs to go to school, but still give financial aid. By incorporating all expenses, the student still

gets enough back to pay their tuition. Pataki is the only governor in the entire country who includes tuition as an expense.

Unfortunately, CUNY is the only school system fighting back. The Chancellor of Suny was appointed by the Board of Trustees, which was appointed by Governor Pataki. How do you think they will vote? They've already backed the Governor's proposals. Pataki needs to wake up and realize the future impact he is making on New York. A graduate pays 2 1/2 times back in taxes what they get in financial aid. By making it virtually impossible for a lower income student to afford a decent education, New York's economy by decreasing the percentage of college-educated citizens over the next several years.

Remember, CSI is located in the only borough who voted Pataki's way. This could and should threaten his re-election. If these proposals pass through and become effective by the start of the 96/97 school year, voters shouldn't forget.

CUNY is fighting mad!!! We all should stand up and fight back!!!

LET US BUILD A MOVEMENT TO STOP THE CUTS

The Governor once again has chosen to slash and burn CUNY. Proposing to cut over \$56 million from CUNY's operational funds, he will fire scores of staff and fac-

EDITORIAL

ulty, and effectively expel thousands of students, and lock the doors of education on future ones. Once a free and well-funded public university, CUNY is being transformed into a two-tier education institution where "academic standards" legitimize exclusion. These policies, in short, are destroying public higher education and something must be done.

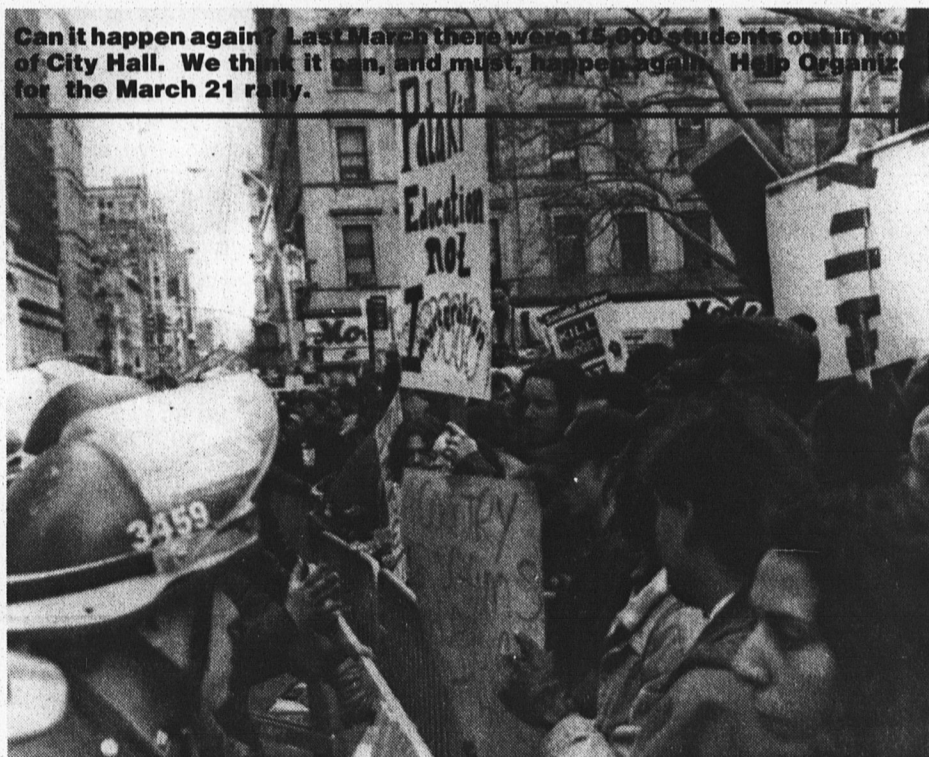
People believe that due to the poor state of the New York economy the cuts are unfortunate, but in the last analysis inevitable. Though seldom heard or read educated economist out there (such as Bob Fitch) proves that enough money exist out there to eliminate the governor's budget. In fact last year in the March edition of the Voice we reprinted an alternative economic tax structure put out by the Communication Workers of America and Economist Fitch. In that piece it was detailed how a shift in the tax burden from working and middle class people to the corporate elites and most wealthy, eliminating the deficit in a year's end. The problem is not if it could be done, but which class in society has the ability to do it.

CUNY is not the only public institution to be hit by the Pataki ax. The city's schools, transportation, sanitation, hospitals and services are not faring much better. Like CUNY, the cost for these institutions are increasing while the service and quality

decrease. For the workers at these places the options are either the pink slip or increased labour. With so many people hurt by these cuts it is very difficult to justify them ethically. Especially as the stock market booms and corporations dance to the tunes of record profits. Infact there is no justification, and that is why students, workers, professors and their respective communities must take to the streets to end these attacks.

A reemerging argument given by the public officials is to rely upon the private sector. They claim that if the government gets out of "politics" and leases it for dirt cheap prices to the private sector, "and they run it like a business," these ailing public institutions will recover. To give cause to their views they point to the "bloated government" and shout loudly about "ineffective bureaucracies" (many of which they worked for and now control) decriing the waste of public money. This is all a politicians trick, a play upon the resentment that working people are feeling towards a capitalist society in which it is increasingly becoming harder to live in.

To rely upon the private sector for salvation is like running into the lion's den to take shelter from the lion. The governor and the mayor can point to the private sector all they want but all that will be revealed are downsizing schemes where thousands of workers and middle management are fired. CUNY administration has already been following the lead of big business, the downsizing began in 1975. Except in the public sector what counts most is not profits (since they do not exist) but savings. You see our education is dispensable to these capitalist politicians.



if it means balancing the budget in which the rich pay less and the worker more.

We at the College Voice want to help build a movement that will defeat the proposed budget cuts. We believe that in a nation so rich in resources anything is possible and can be achieved if the political will is their. We look to those examples, like France, where hundreds of thousands of workers in the streets stopped the attacks by their government. We look to last March when over 15,000 students, teach-

ers, unionist and community members assembled in front of City Hall to oppose the cuts. Let us begin on this campus and move forward until the cuts are definitively defeated and CUNY is once again a public institution open to anyone who has the willingness to learn.

The deterioration of CUNY over the past decade and half is not due to natural causes, but is determined by the economic order and the class controlling capital, ie., the capitalist.

The Struggle for Public Higher Education Intensifies

By JP Patafio

The proposed budget cut of \$56.8 million, partially offset by a tuition increase of \$250 for the next semester, threatens thousands of students with economic expulsion. Such ominous prospects will mobilize thousands of students throughout CUNY to defend their right to an education. Our ability to repel this latest attack will depend more upon the *strategy* of the movement and less upon the *willingness* of people to participate.

Last year's round of budget cuts and tuition increases pushed thousands of people into the streets in dozens of protests throughout the city and state. Besides CUNY students and staff mobilizing,

The administration will enforce any budget cut/ tuition increase given to them by their bosses in government.

The politicians backed by big capital's PR firms and think tanks, have convinced many people that the capitalist economy and the government's budgetary problems are some type of natural law. They say



Retrenchment Committees were organized by CUNY administration at all campuses. Managerial concepts like these should be avoided.

there were thousands of other people throughout the city and state, from trade unions to church and community groups who also held rallies to stop the austerity budget. Though there were some small give-backs by the politicians, in the end the budget went through leaving students and workers the bill and a pink slip. Last year was the first time in a decade that CUNY saw a decrease in enrollment.

New York faces a \$3.9 billion budget gap, however, \$2.2 billion of this gap (56% of the gap) is from last year's budget, where Pataki and the Senate passed Reaganomics-type policies which give huge tax breaks to multinationals and the wealthiest 10% of all New Yorkers.

Though Pataki, and his cohort Mayor Guiliani, are celebrating the decreasing tax burden for New Yorkers an increase in cost for "public services," such as CUNY, demonstrates that only a minority of New Yorkers enjoy such "tax cut" benefits. According an *SI Advance* article (1/15/96; p.A1), New York faces a \$3.9 billion budget gap; however, \$2.2 billion of this gap (56% of the gap) is due to Reaganomics-type policies which give huge tax breaks to multinationals and the wealthiest 10% of all New Yorkers. "Income tax reductions and other tax cuts to be phased in this year under current law account for \$2.2 billion, or 56%, of the gap." It is due to such economic folly that working people find it impossible to attend college or enjoy quality health care, and live in a city where the infrastructure is crumbling beneath their feet.

that some areas of the budget can be adjusted and the economy just needs to work out some kinks before Adam Smith's "invisible hand" creates an expanding, booming economy followed by mass euphoria. This, however, has not been the case. Instead, a systemic series of "budget deficits" starting from the international economic crisis of 1975 have plagued the New York region. The business community and its elected officials have promised that swallowing the bitter pill will pay off in the long run, yet it has only led to anemic conditions with no end in sight.

Therefore, any effective movement must take into account the budget as it relates to the political economy as a whole. In order to defend public higher education (i.e. CUNY), a resounding rebuttal (NO!!) of the politicians and Wall Street's "bad economy/budgetary blues" must be put forward by all working people, middle class and poor. A strategy that is inclusive, uniting the various sectors of society, especially trade unions that have the resources to mobilize thousands of people, challenging the premises of the political pundits excuses for a capitalist economy. A political economy bound to crisis.

Faced with such a fate, politics jump out in front of peoples faces and questions arise about the status quo. No one escapes scrutiny, and the working class, middle-class and poor want to know why they must live in these modern times with such insecurity. How does the saying go, "Most people are two paychecks away from being homeless."

How Does the Administration Respond? - Like Management should!

With a tuition increase of \$500 to offset budget cuts of \$100 million last year, it seems that the end to such draconian measures has not arrived. The Governor, praising the achievements of his administration, has promised CUNY students, staff and faculty a second dose of this bad medicine. The newest budget proposal, waiting to be passed by the state assembly, calls for a 6% budget decrease, or \$57.6 million dollars out of an already poorly funded public

continued on page4

In this Issue

- page 2 The Struggle Intensifies
- page 3 Interview with Meri Kaufman, Student Government President
- page 3 Student Journal - The Case of the Missing Student
- pages 6 - 7 Editorial & Letters
- pages 8-9 **Commentary**
 - Cooperatives: the Wave of the Future
 - Demonic Democrats Don't Deviate From De Script
 - Media Causes Mental Health Problems
- page 11 **Arts**
What was, Wasn't and is
- pages 12/13 **Poetry**
- page 14 On the Bus to Phoenix (experimental prose)
- page 15 **Features**
Newspaper Strike Needs Rank & File Committees
- page 16 **• Reactionary Dogma**
• Which Way Out of the New World Disorder

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Interview with Student Government President: Meri Kaufman

By Louis Bardel

2/9/96 Presently, there are twenty-one schools within the City University of New York, from the Borough of Manhattan Community College to the CUNY Medical School and the Brooklyn Law School. But CUNY, supposedly the working-class bastion of education, has been steadily eroded by the ever-present budget ax.

Starting in 1976, when free tuition was rescinded, the cost of going to a city university has steadily risen, alongside a decrease in the number of teachers and courses offered. Most recently, in the Fall of 1995, the tuition was raised by over \$750. The current cost of a semester's education at CUNY for a resident of the city of New York is \$1600, and \$3200 for out of state residents. But the assault has not ended there; the State Government has proposed another 11.2% cut in operating funds to CUNY for the Fall of 1996, to the tune of 57.6 million. In addition, a huge reduction in Tuition Assistance Programs (TAP), of around fifty percent, has also been suggested by the Cannibals of State government, otherwise known as the Pataki and Guiliani administration. Seventy-nine percent of CUNY families make less than twenty thousand dollars annually.

The College Voice interviewed Student Government (SG) President Meri Kaufman in hopes of finding out what SG will do to fight back and prevent the current strategic strike against the working-class of the City. Student Government collects (approximately \$300,000) annually through Student Activity Fees.

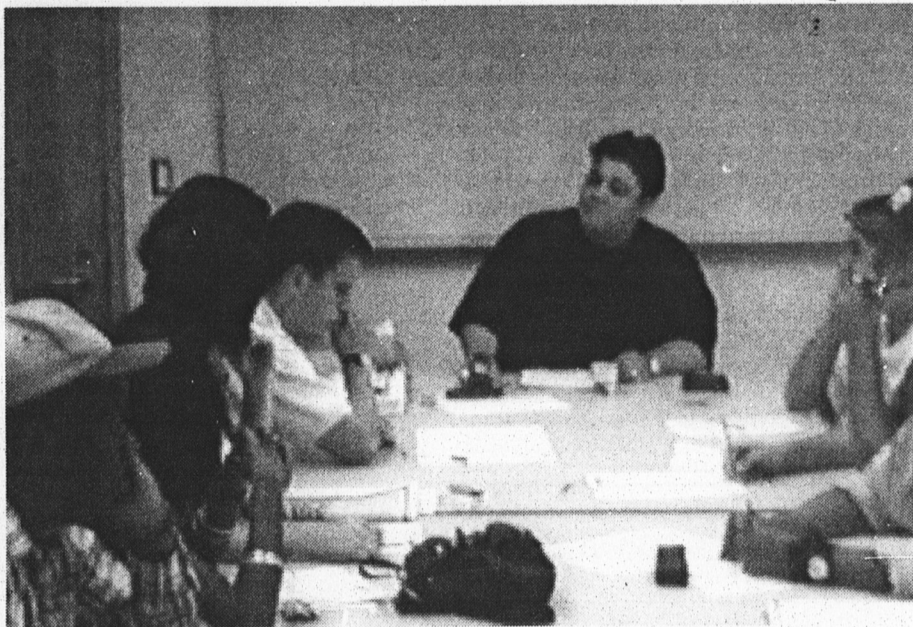
CV: Has there been any action taken by the CSI student Government to mobilize students against the impending budget cuts?

MERI: In a [Student Government] meeting yesterday, it was confirmed to us by Sherman Whipkey [Financial Aid Dept.] and Allen DiBiase [Student Activities], from all the information given to us, that basically it was a done deal [the budget cuts], and there is nothing we could do

about it. But what I want to do is mobilize student government. I think if we start working from within... I think students know what's going down. They hear rumors of what is going on, but I don't think they really grasp the intention of this. Because I'll be honest with you: if it wasn't for financial aid, I wouldn't be through college either. I think one of the basic things that student government wants to do is get the message out. I've heard there's rallies going on. I don't know exact times and dates, but I've heard. I think, as always, the problem is communication on the campus. That's always a problem. I remember a few years ago, and I'm sure J.P. [Patafi] and the whole crew over there [at the College Voice] remember the rally we had, and how it turned out really well. And I think if we go for something on that scale, and we get some petitions going, get letters written... it might not work, but at least they [Administration, and powers that be] know.

CV: Are you referring to the rally for President Volpe [in 1993, that turned out two thousand students on the CSI campus]?

MERI: That was very interesting; I enjoyed it. I don't want it to seem like SG is like, "oh, yeah, its just gonna happen, there's nothing we can do about it." Student Government is open for suggestions, let's put it like that. I know the College Voice, especially, is known for its protests and what not. I think that if we can be willing to work together, and the BANNER, and everybody else, to get this news out to students and start getting them incensed. Because what's happening is that their education is being taken away from them. I asked Sherman Whipkey yesterday in the meeting, because he asked for questions, if you were on Public Assistance, your public assistance would be taken out of your grants, out of your TAP and PELL. That leaves someone in a position, who is on Public Assistance, who



can't get a job because of no skills, to choose between eating and living, or going to school. Of course you know what decision they are going to choose. So I asked Sherman Whipkey what ever happened to the mission of CUNY, which is to educate the working class of New York City, and that seems to be forgotten in the long run. I think once we start educating (students) as to what is going on, then we can work together.

CV: Has the SG taken any action to contact other campus governments in hopes of creating a unified action by all CUNY students against the cuts?

MERI: Yes, we started yesterday; it just seems like people are slow to return our calls. We've contacted Queens College, York College, and about three more. I don't know if we've received callbacks yet.

CV: Will there be any rallies sponsored by the University Student Senate (USS) to

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CV: Will there be any action taken on the CSI campus spearheaded by the Student Government?

MERI: I hope so, and if anybody at the College Voice (has an opinion), I know how much they love that, we're willing to work with them.

CV: What type of action?

MERI: Well we don't want to go around shooting people, even though sometimes it does seem like a good idea, or at least shaking them. But something along the form of that rally [1993, in support of former President Volpe], like standing out front, posterboards and stuff, something that will make noise; it doesn't have to be classy. And [we] start letting people know they [College and State Administrations] are taking away your education, they are taking away your chance for a career, and a goal. I understand that there are abuses in this type of situation; I know people specifically that come to college, they fill out financial aid forms, they fill out student loan forms, as soon as they get all the checks they never come back to class. I understand that. But for the few bad apples doesn't mean you have to take away from everybody. I hope that SG will spearhead something, and I think SG needed something like this to start moving. Because sometimes we get held back by our own red tape.

CV: Let's hope we can reverse the budget cuts.

MERI: Let's hope we can reverse the election of the Governor.

Registration: The Case of the Missing Students

Student Journal

by Marco Sainte

Recent events has shown that the student population in CSI has dwindled over the years. The student population is declining: interestingly enough, it decreased at a faster rate at the onset of the budget cuts. One can easily speculate that the cuts have either caused or made an impact on the dropout rate, but it's not just the unfortunate money deficiency that's causing the problem, though that is the most influential cause.

13,000 students registered for last semester, but only 12,000 have done so for this term. The general consensus is that all of those who dropped out did so because of laziness or an inability to handle the classes. Plus, of course, there's the fact that some have graduated. There are, however, some other factors in this particular situation.

One is the fact that students owing payments from past semesters cannot re-register without paying the former bill in full. For students who simply do not have the money as of yet, this is a very harrowing situation. There are virtually no compromises. Unless you have the money, you are usually locked out.

Students experiencing this have related how this can be an agonizing conclusion to a multitude of punishing situations. For instance, a student can have his or her financial aid folder or the financial aid report misplaced. One would not usually

be notified of such an incident. Then he the she would notice that his or registration papers didn't arrive; however, with the financial aid, one feels safe. Later, the Bursar will say that the unfortunate student did not receive the aid and that he or she owes the college at least \$2000. The student, going to the financial aid office to find out the problem, would be told that they do not have the report, but that all is not lost; all one would need to do is call a particular number to get a new report... which will take two weeks. By that time, registration would be over. (Tip: get a letter of proof from said office. It might help.) Here is what Louis Bardel, a student who has experienced this sort of run-around, has to say about the handing in of reports: "There's a lot of red tape to go through before you get to HES [Higher Education Services]." To be fair, however, as there are few workers in the financial aid office, things tend to get misplaced.

If the financial aid didn't cover everything in the past semester, the student is still in peril; the Bursar wants every cent paid, or no classes. They mean it, too, no matter what the situation. Students can get a kind of leniency to help their registration, however; the Bursar will put on the form, "temporary release," which simply means that the registration will be voided unless one pays within a limited period of time. The student usually has a week to come up with the money in full; if not, no classes. Now the unfortunate has triple

woe, for he or she has no classes, a past debt to pay, and a new bill. Yes, unfortunately, they will be responsible for the bill. The student could always withdraw, but he or she still has the other dues to pay.

The tuition increase is also driving students out of an education in this fine establishment. Students were already struggling with the earlier level of tuition, working at least two jobs. Now, with another increase, students have finally cracked under bureaucratic pressure. Plus, with the decrease in the amount of financial aid funds, the situation is getting desperate. One student, leaving building 1A in disgust after being on line for at least three hours to clear up his records, stated, "Man, do they want me to go to school or not?!"

The Bursar's office feels that it has to be tough when it comes to late fees. Occurring to Mr. Frank, head of the Bursar's office, because of the extremely tight budget, the school needs to get as much funding as possible. This means collecting all money owed to the school by students. This is tough on the low income students, of course, who are scraping to get the bill paid. Having financial aid problems is another blow. Some students have come to speculate on just how serious things are becoming here. Education is already extremely valuable, but now it is beginning to become scarce, expensive, and increasingly difficult to get.

**Organize
Against the
Cuts!**

... The Struggle Intensifies

continued from page 2

university system. For CSI, this would equate to a \$3 million budget gap.

Like their siblings in the private sector, CUNY's top layer of administrators do not get fired, or have their exorbitant wages slashed along with their benefits. As their salaries continue to exceed the cost-of-living increase (unlike most working class New Yorkers). The administration will enforce any budget cut/tuition increase given to them by their bosses in government. After lobbying the politicians, they will plead with students, faculty and staff to be "reasonable" and "accept their fate," that is their *fait accompli*. If their noble efforts do not reach the unruly masses, then their CUNY SAFE Team (more accurately understood as CUNY police), will,

The strongest weapon the faculty union can wield is its ability to strike.

do so with pepper gas, billy club and handcuffs in hand.

Management's Group Therapy

Last semester, CSI administration led a willing, though at times begrudging, team of faculty and students into the Retrenchment Committee to deal with the severe problems facing CSI. The given solution "chosen" by this team-management concept was the firing of forty faculty (euphemistically described as "early retirement"), and the elimination of dozens of courses and whole departments. Other stalwart ideas put into effect by the Committee include the elimination of Sunday classes (something put into effect,) and if need be Summer sessions.

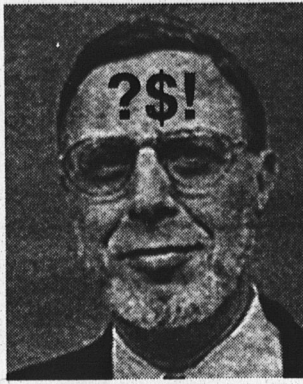
The student and faculty participants pointed to "real-politick" and threw their hands up into the air, exclaiming that nothing else could have been done. These learned professors and ambitious student government "leaders" help to legitimize administration's policies. Did the Retrenchment Committee help any of those students or faculty members locked out of CUNY?

Throughout CUNY administration's best scenario is to have their piece of the pie cut least and indulge in a carnivorous ritual of "slash the other's budget, not my own," pitting campus against campus, education against healthcare, need against need. The pressures of running their own bureaucracy effi-

Socially, faculty can turn the classroom into laboratories of democracy: a space for students to discuss ways to fight the budget cuts and participate in a unified action.

ciently leads them to create budget schemes and political diplomacy that neutralizes any movement out of their control. Politically they are bound to the government and its various political figures.

Though occasionally administrators will sympathize, come to meetings and block with the students against the cuts, clarity about the political role of administration is fundamental. It is a disruptive and oppressive body. Independence of the CUNY administration is fundamental to the success of any movement to defeat the cuts. At all cost the autonomy and leadership of the struggle should be in the hands of



Mohamed Yusef, what is on his mind?

the students and its allies in the working class.

The Faculty Union Must Defeat the Two Tier System!

Last year, many tenured and full time faculty - those recognized by the PSC - did very little on the CSI campus in terms of organizing meetings about the cuts, calling for mass action, or, most importantly, mobilizing their union to fight the layoffs and budget cuts. Not one of these esteemed members of the CSI community helped organize for the mass demonstration that took place last March 23rd. In fact, some of the most powerful members of faculty participated in the administration's Retrenchment Committee, to oversee the cuts.

The professors at CUNY are actually split into a two-tier workplace, where tenured and full-time faculty (higher paid members with benefits,) are fully represented by the union. The plight of adjuncts (cheap labor with no benefits who make up the other 50% of the faculty) is in sharp contrast to their senior piers. The split in the faculty is due to poor policies of the union leadership. Each year the union becomes weaker by allowing fellow work-

continued on next page

Organizing Meeting

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... The Struggle

continued from previous page

ers to be used as cheap and expendable labor.

This does not only apply to faculty. The staff that makes sure that day to day operations of the campus are also split into a two-tier system. A good example of this is the Registration office, where two out of the dozen people that work there are full-time, receiving a good wage with benefits like health insurance, while the other workers are basically seasonal help, called in during the busy times of the semester when thousands of students are registering.

Needless to say, the effects of part-time labor are bad for both worker and consumer (i.e. the student). Adjunct faculty are not paid for office hours; any hours they keep are of their own doing. Hence, students will not be able to talk with their professors if they have a problem. Though tuition is the same for tenured, full-time and adjunct faculty the service should be as well. *Demands around hiring adjuncts as full-time faculty is one thing that the PSC should be doing.*

The social contract of any union is its ability to protect its workforce from the bosses' attacks. What will the PSC do to protect it workers from these cuts? With administration posed to fire more faculty the PSC should put out there demanding No Layoffs.

The social contract of any union is its ability to protect its workforce from the bosses' attacks. What will the PSC do to protect it workers from these cuts?

The union leadership, however, was equally ineffective, having no strategy to defend either the union's own members or CUNY as a public institution. The faculty union (PSC) president, Irwin H. Polishook, placed all of the union's eggs in the basket of the political lobbying game (relying upon the Democratic Party,) and this failed. CSI's union delegate, Mohamed Yousef, even supported those on management's Retrenchment Committee rather than organizing professors who spoke out against the decisions of that body. Now their lobbying eggs are rotten and stink of defeat, and the professors who wanted to fight back are demoralized, placing the PSC in a weaker position.

The political strength of the union is its point of production, both politically and socially. *The strongest weapon the faculty union can wield is its ability to strike.* Socially, faculty can turn the classroom into laboratories of democracy: a space for students to discuss ways to fight the budget cuts and participate in a unified action. After all, the student body will surely join a faculty strike and walkout if the union's political goals include demands that the student body can jointly organize around stopping the budget cuts and the tuition increases. For the union to do this, however, it must radically change the way it does business. For example, it must be concerned with more than the economic issues of tenured faculty.

There are tremendous possibilities for organizing a massive demonstration. What is missing is bold political leadership willing to break the laws that chain us, both real and ideological. Students who participated in last years actions can help to shape that leadership. Students, staff and faculty unite to defeat the cuts.

Help to defeat the Cuts!

If you are interested in how you can help call 982-3102, or drop by the Voice office Bldg. 1C, Rm. 230

...News Strike

continued from page 15

But why, even after all of this, do the strikers continue to follow the MCNU hacks? Given the actions of the petty-bourgeois left in the strike — the sectarianism, the opportunism, bungling and substitutionism — no clear political alternative has been presented to the rank and file strikers. They have been given no choice in leadership.

This makes it clear that, for as much as the workers may place their trust in them, the MCNU bureaucrats have no interest in taking the risks and doing what is neces-

sary to win. They are unwilling to seriously defy the injunctions; they are unwilling to reinstate mass picketing; they are unwilling to confront the scabs and thugs.

Now is the time for the rank and file to look at the state of the strike, and clearly, boldly draw some hard conclusions. Now is the time for the rank and file to organize itself to become the leadership of this strike.

By organizing strike committees run by the rank and file, in the interests of the rank and file, the direction of this strike could be qualitatively changed. Through democratic decision-making at the base

level, workers would have a real say in the running of the strike, and of the union.

Rank-and-file committees could reinstate mass picketing, defy the injunctions, and lay out a militant, class struggle policy for the victory of the strike. But to do this requires the removal of the MCNU skates from leadership and their replacement by these rank-and-file committees. Only the rank and file has the ability and willingness to turn this struggle around.

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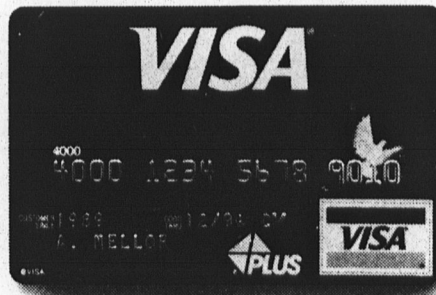


"Some Animals are More Equal Than Others."



"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas."

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The College Voice - Who We Are

The College Voice is a publication committed to the interests of the working class. We as students at CUNY recognize that we are very much part of the multi-racial, multi-national working class of New York City. The severe attacks that CUNY is facing are mirrored by the severe attacks on our jobs, our unions and on our democratic civil rights.

We oppose the poisonous divisions fostered on the basis of race by the bosses who make us fight each other for their crumbs.

We oppose the systematic attempts to reduce women to a defined feminine position.

We oppose the vicious attacks on immigrants who are the most vulnerable victims of the bosses marketplace.

We oppose every form of bigotry on principle as unbecoming our species and recognize that the fight for liberation will be achieved only in the course of combatting these divisions.

We oppose the use of the environment as a source of material goods to be conserved for future commodities.

The College Voice recognizes that it is the system of capitalism based in the private ownership of the means of production that is fundamentally responsible for the fantastic hardship and misery for the vast majority of our species 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 apparatus that insures the domination of the few over the many. The bourgeoisie over the working class.

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

The CV recognizes the necessity for creating a political party of the working class that will organize internationally and will be democratic in its decision making. Grass Roots in its action.

The CV seeks to engage all those who are committed to fighting exploitation and oppression in united front action.

**Though the Voice takes advertisements this "contradiction" is something forced upon us due to circumstance. Ideally we would like to be ad free, however, until that time comes please excuse us.*

'Slash and Burn' Budget

Like the flu season which hits New York each year, the governor has stated that he and his top administrators and advisors have found a projected \$3.9 billion missing for the 1996/97 New York State budget. This brilliant economist should have realized this when he slated all those lovely tax breaks last year. Now the Governor is seeking to close the budget gap by slashing funds from CUNY and depriving the university of its ability to provide quality education. Coming on the heels of the biggest cuts in CUNY's history last year, the effects of the Governor's budget are devastating. Below is a breakdown of what to expect if governor slash and burn and legislators have their way:

- With a tuition increase of \$250 per student, the governor will have achieved his goal of raising tuition \$1000 (and he boast of New York's ability to educate.)
- Financial Aid will be cut by \$59 million, effecting 28% of all CSI students.
- A \$57.6 million cut from the CUNY budget. The estimate made by the faculty union is \$96 million, once mandatory cost increases and items are taken into account.
- CSI faces a shortfall of over \$2 million. In other words, eliminated classes, services, a library not open and with no books, ect.
- Faculty and staff will be fired (I'm sure that encourages

This semester find the time to save your education. Contact the Voice for information on and general knowledge on the cuts.

Student, Faculty and Staff unite!

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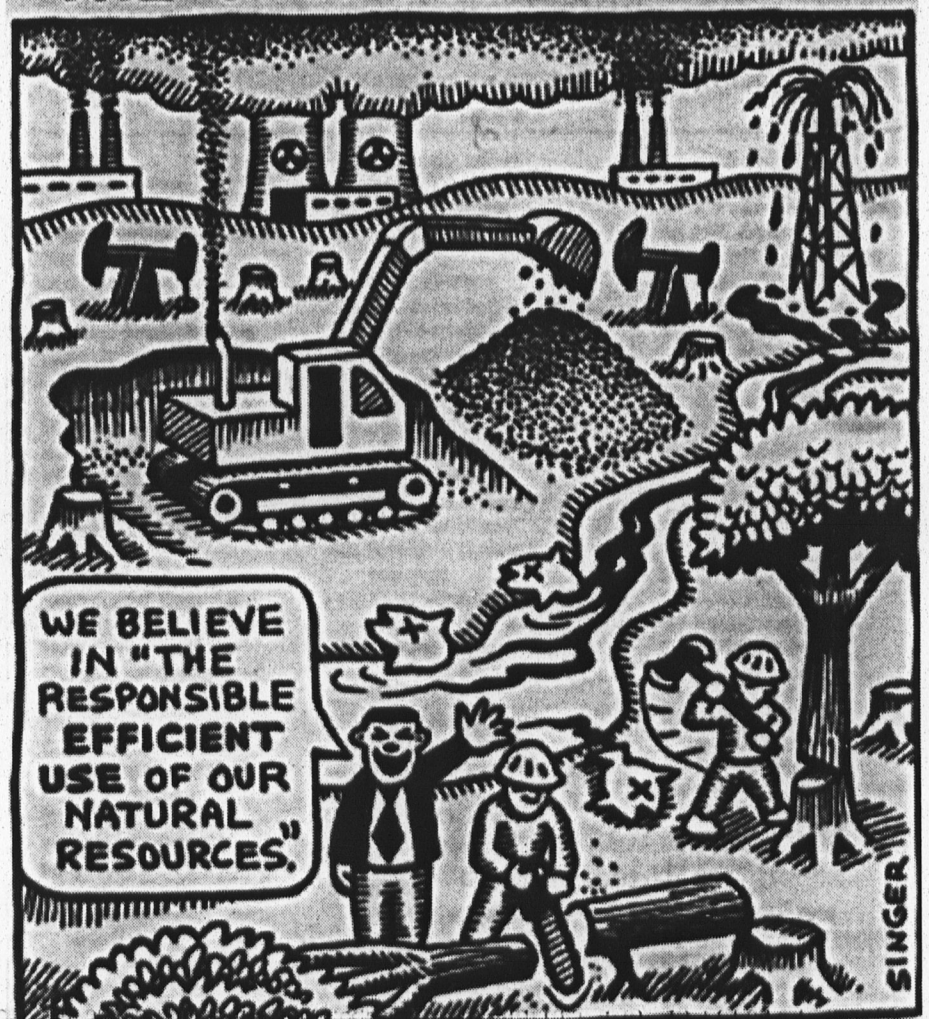
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THE "WISE USE" MOVEMENT



"Rebuttal to the 'Farce with Washington'"

by MC Express

I am writing this letter in rebuttal to the article entitled "Farrakhan's Farce With Washington," written by Roy Rollin and published in the *College Voice*, December 1995. Further, the probability of seeing my response to Mr. Rollin's article in print, I know, is most doubtful but I still do seek to put forth another perspective which should be considered. I am angry because I waited for this issue. I waited for this article for the *Voice's* view on the Million Man March. I waited because I have found the *Voice* to be the only paper on this campus to not pander to mainstream administrative opinions, to be informative, and on the mark as far as activities that affect students in particular and faculty and staff members in general.

How dare you say that the Nation of Islam (NOI) was willing to play ball with the rabid racist like the American Nazi Party! Throughout history people like Mr. Rollin have always had an opinion on who or what causes African Americans should align themselves with; whether they are "white devils" of the American Nazi Party, the Democrat or Republican Parties. The NOI has never refused to become involved in the fight for "Black Liberation," rather it was born out of that spirit.

The NOI is and has always been the heart and soul of what you call "Black Liberation." Practically all of your so-called militants from Malcolm X to

Clarence 17's "Five Percenters," Huey P. Newton's Black Panther Party were once either members of the NOI or were influenced by the message of the Muslims. Mr. Rollin seems to have taken up the same call as practically every other major organization in suggesting what is right or wrong with how African American groups should function. be aware that African Americans are not monolithic in how we all think.

Mr. Farrakhan has always addressed the concerns of African Americans first, there is no secret about that and apology forthcoming for this. Mr. Farrakhan does not represent just that section of the African American middle class, but also the working class, those on welfare and fixed incomes, grass roots organizations, prison inmates, youth, gangs, etc. As far as "black capitalism" goes, if you do not control that economy by way of the banks, Wall St. and the Federal Reserve then African Americans have little, if any, input into so-called "black capitalism," very little if any say over black economic empowerment.

Mr. Rollin alleges that Mr. Farrakhan halls Jim Crow segregation. That is fabrication, Minister Farrakhan is not and never has been for institutional segregation. I

was never for forced segregation but I have seen a lot of African American businesses terminate in the name of civil rights and so-called integration.

Major media was just waiting for Louis Farrakhan to place blame on the American government, to blame white folks and Jews for this or that reason and were shocked when it did not happen. Mr. Rollin, I guess, is not pleased about that. Mr. Farrakhan and the NOI agenda has never let the "great" American government off the hook. As far as Jews, Koreans, and Arabs (all of whom Mr. Farrakhan has dialogue and business ventures with) being used as scapegoats, that is not what I view when I watch TV or listen to the radio or read the dailies. On the contrary, it always seems to be Mr. Farrakhan who is continually being "scapegoated".

On African American women, it has been my experience as a black man in the work place and academic arena to be predominated by black female workers and students. I suggest that black men are the most oppressed sector of the population. Mr. Farrakhan wanted to address men but not by letting women take a back seat and stay home. That is a lie, women were there in droves, not in the march itself but as

speakers (of which they were not given that opportunity during the March on Washington in 1964), spectators, vendors, first aid attendants, security, etc. On the reference made to Mr. Farrakhan's "separatism", I say, "GET REAL." African Americans have always been and still are separated from mainstream everything. Mr. Rollin writes that Mr. Farrakhan had unsuccessfully invited Mr. Colin Powell to attend and address the march. The MMM organizers had invited many dignitaries and personalities, many whom attended and many who didn't. Frankly, I'm pleased he didn't show, because mainstream opinion would have thrown it up in face for associating with an alleged "hate mongerer" and upsetting his political aspirations.

The last thing I would like to address is Mr. Rollin's continual reference to solutions through revolutionary socialist programs. I have absolutely nothing against that, nothing against Karl Marx or Ho Chi Minn, but if the solution to black empowerment means overthrowing the system then we have a problem, because African Americans helped by force to build this country. And if I do nothing else in life of any consequence on these issues, I will not as an African American spit on the graves of my ancestors by condemning the work for all people and that definitely includes African Americans with the help of (like it or not) Minister Louis Farrakhan.

The NOI is and has always been the heart and soul of what you call "Black Liberation."

Response to MC Express "Rebutal"

By Roy Rollin

If representatives of America's ruling rich from Bill Clinton to Newt Gingrich were quick to heap paeans of praise upon the NOI's "Million Man March" it was not because they had any desire "to become involved in the fight for 'Black Liberation.'" Rather, they understood that Louis Farrakhan's program is totally in synch with theirs; shaming and blaming the victims of capitalism's one-sided war on the poor for their sorry status instead of attacking the system that produces Black unemployment, imprisonment and exploitation as a matter of course. For those, like Bill Clinton, who aspire to "end welfare as we know it" and argue that "it's not racist for whites to assert that the culture of welfare dependency...cannot be broken by social programs unless there is first more personal responsibility," Farrakhan's "message" that welfare "subsidizes single women to have babies" and that "Black men are to repent for their laziness" is one that they can live with. Likewise, scapegoating Jews, Koreans and Palestinian Arabs as being "bloodsuckers of the Black community," as Farrakhan does, is far more to their liking, no matter what "practically every...media organization (may) suggest," than "plac(ing the) blame" for racism where it belongs...on the American government. That is why the "major media," far from "scapegoat(ing)...Mr. Farrakhan," was, this time, almost unanimous in their praise for him.

Yet, for his part, "Mr. 'MC XPRESS' is quite pleased that Farrakhan failed "to place blame on the American government" since he is "for utilizing our existing form of government and changing it to work for all people..." Far better, it would seem, to "atone" and take personal responsibility ("with the help of...Minister Farrakhan," of course) for the economic instability and violence running roughshod throughout the Black community than to collectively organize against those really responsible for racism, police brutality and endless assaults on any and every program that remotely benefits working and poor people. To expect that the same "form of government" that has presided over the racist oppression of Black people in this country for over two hundred years is in any way, shape or form capable of

"work(ing) for "Black people is, in fact, to "spit on the graves of (the) ancestors" of Black people in this country. If MC XPRESS has no problem letting the American government off the hook, it is because, in spite of all his bluster and bravado about "empowering" Black people, he has been hooked by the same "mainstream opinions" that keep all working people, Black and white, far and away from any kind of political power. Or as Malcolm X used to say, it would appear that Mr. MC XPRESS has been had, bamboozled and hoodwinked.

Now this may be how MC XPRESS, echoing Louis Farrakhan, chooses to define the "spirit" of "the fight for 'Black Liberation.'" However, it sure as hell was not how "Black militants from Malcolm X...to Huey P. Newton's Black Panther Party" did. That is why Malcolm X broke with "the message of the Muslims," since, when all was said and done, that message was one of abstention and inaction ("non-engagement") in the fight for Black liberation. For their part, that is why the Muslims broke with Malcolm. NOI leader Elijah Muhammad wanted to join in the mourning over the Kennedy assassination in 1963. Malcolm, on the other hand, attributed JFK's death to the climate of hate and violence that the American government had created or tolerated, and wanted to join in the struggle against it. Indeed, after being expelled from the NOI, Malcolm let the world know "that (he) was no longer held in check from fighting the white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslim movement." Or perhaps Malcolm was also wrong to "dare...say" that "the NOI...refused to become involved in the fight for 'Black Liberation.'" Eventually Malcolm came to realize that "you can't have capitalism without racism" and "that it is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system...as it stands to produce freedom...for the black man in this country." A long way from the "spirit" of "utilizing our existing form of government and changing it to work for all people." Likewise Malcolm's "opinion on who or what causes African Americans should align themselves with" was exactly the opposite of that of Mr. MC XPRESS: Malcolm had no use for "the

American Nazi Party, the Democratic or Republican Parties" because he understood that "they all want to exploit (Black people.) The same cannot be said of Louis Farrakhan; for he too only wants to exploit Black people...if only America's racist rulers will let him.

As for the Black Panther Party, Huey Newton, aspiring to "personif(y)...Malcolm X's dreams," pointed out that "we have two evils to fight, capitalism and racism," and therefore "we must destroy both racism and capitalism." Unlike Mr. MC XPRESS, who thinks that "input into so-called 'black capitalism' "is the way to "black economic empowerment," the Black Panther Party argued that, "(we) will not fight capitalism with black capitalism, we will not fight imperialism with black imperialism, we will not fight racism with Black racism. Rather, we will take our stand against these evils with a solidarity derived from a proletarian internationalism born of socialist ideology." It would appear that those "African Americans (were) not monolithic in how (they) think"...vis-a-vis Louis Farrakhan and MC XPRESS since they recognized that "the solution to black empowerment means overthrowing the system." For far from "address(ing) the concerns of African Americans," the majority of whom are wage workers, whose interests are counterposed to those of all capitalists out to exploit and oppress them, Farrakhan, in fact, only "addresses the concerns of" those middle-class Blacks who aspire to replace their white rivals as the exclusive exploiters of the ghetto by "control(ing) that economy by way of the banks..." Needless to say, Black workers will experience little more "black economic empowerment" under "black capitalism" than they, or white workers, for that matter, do under racist run capitalism today, since all bosses must make their workers bite the bullet if they are to cut costs and compete effectively and efficiently with each other, be it at home or abroad.

In the sixties and seventies, the civil rights movement in the south and the ghetto uprisings in the north helped shatter the cold war "consensus" that had held America in its grip since the end of the second World War. Many militant Blacks, inspired by Malcolm, the Panthers and

... militant Blacks, inspired by Malcolm, Panthers and revolutionary struggles throughout the Third World, realized that "the solution to Black empowerment...mean(t) overthrowing the system," the NOI, far from being "the heart and soul of..."Black Liberation," faded from the scene.

revolutionary struggles throughout the Third World, realized that "the solution to Black empowerment" in fact "mean(t) overthrowing the system," and the NOI, far from being "the heart and soul of..."Black Liberation," faded from the scene. However, in the absence of any significant mass struggles for social change in the eighties, when Reagan and Bush began their right-wing "revolution" against the "welfare state," the NOI was able to reemerge as a force to be reckoned with under the leadership of Louis Farrakhan, since they were pushing the same mainstream message of "self-reliance" as was the white right.

At the same time most of the already established Black leaders from Jesse Jackson on down have sold their souls to the Democratic party. Far from fighting against the endless assaults on the Black community, the Democrats have been party to each and every one of them. Farrakhan at least appears to offer something when everyone else offers nothing. Yet as his agenda for the March boldly illustrated, Farrakhan offers no program to help liberate Black people. He speaks *not* in the tradition of Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party (or Martin Luther King, for that matter) but in that of Booker T. Washington and all those throughout the history of Black people in America who sought to make their peace with the racist capitalist status quo instead of overthrowing it. Those who really want to continue "the work of (their) ancestors in helping to eradicate the system of chattel servitude" should join together with working people of all races and nationalities, all of whose livelihoods are under attack by the same racist ruling class, to eradicate the system of wage slavery as Malcolm, the Panthers and Martin Luther King did, rather than seek to buttress it in Black face as Farrakhan and his followers seek to do.

Cooperatives: the Wave of the Future

By HB

In my article, "A Way to Build a Better Life," I talked about economic organizations. I explained that what I mean by an economic organization is an organization that is capable of delivering goods and/or services to the people. These economic organizations, I contend, can not only foster a more equitable distribution of wealth, but also help in the process of redistributing wealth and maintain that redistribution that we so desperately need in our society.

One of the organizations that I mentioned is the cooperative. A cooperative is a business enterprise, association or property which is organized or owned by a group of people for common economic benefit. This, as I said, is just one of the economic organizations which can distribute goods and services. In my opinion, we need all these different types to help in not only facilitating distribution but also to have a diversity of alternatives to choose from. One organization type might be better for one type of economic activity and another organization might be good for another.

In the United States, at the present time, we have about 47,000 cooperatives owned and controlled by more than 120 million members. They did more than \$82 billion worth of business in the United States in 1992. Some cooperatives are large enough to be included in the Fortune 500. They include such familiar names as Land O' Lakes, Ace Hardware, Ocean Spray, Sunkist Growers and Welch's.

There are two types of cooperatives. They are producers' cooperatives and con-

sumers' cooperatives. Producers' cooperatives have been formed in the fishery industry, farming industry, and other industries to a smaller extent. Consumer cooperatives are found in the electric industry, credit unions, grocery industry,

Cooperatives give people a sense of community, instead of a sense of the callous dog-eat-dog world of a lot of our present ways of doing business.

housing industry and others.

By creating cooperatives you eliminate the middle man (e.g. wholesaler). Co-op members are also the owners, so they reap the benefits and the profits.

Cooperatives began over 150 years ago in Rochdale, England in 1844. On October 24, 1884, Rochdale factory workers, in order to control their economic futures, created a cooperative store that sold groceries. They set up business guidelines that formed the basis for the modern cooperative movement.

They include:

1. Open and voluntary membership. A cooperative can work better when it increases its membership.

2. Each member has one vote. Co-ops are democratically controlled. Each member has one vote to decide the co-ops poli-

cies. Control stays in the hands of all the producers or customers, not just with a few people like in stockholder controlled corporations.

3. Co-ops have a non-profit operation. Co-ops operate "at cost" and remain non-profit. In this way they provide their members with a better deal.

4. Return of surplus money to its members. All money left over after expenses, called "margins," belongs to the members. Each member's share of the margin is determined by how much the member uses the co-ops services. This share is used by the co-op as working capital for a while; then, generally, it is paid back to the member in the form of "capital credits."

5. Cooperatives continue to educate. Education is stressed because members might not support something they don't understand.

6. Cooperation among cooperatives. Mutual support helps co-ops operate more effectively with social and community needs.

It's been said that "Cooperatives keep private corporations in line and help prevent run-away costs." However, I think they do even more than that. They give people an opportunity to work together, not only to help themselves to share in the wealth of the community, but to help the community in a lot of creative ways (e.g. education, economic help, etc.) Cooperatives give people a sense of community, instead of a sense of the callous dog-eat-dog world of a lot of our present ways of doing business. They facilitate and ensure a more equitable distribution of the wealth

of the community. They are also more prone to operate in an honest fashion and tend to think more in terms of long-term benefits for its members. Private corporations often focus on short-term profits, while co-ops focus on a more stable future, not just immediate profits.

Other kinds of business exist primarily to make income above operating expense. It's called profit, and they give it to their stockholders and individual owners. Co-ops are formed to provide needed services while some other forms of business exist just to create profits for their owners.

DO YOU HOLD ANY OPINIONS?



DEMONIC DEMOCRATS DON'T DEVIATE FROM DE SCRIPT-

BENNET MAURER

The democrats will be having their convention in August. Unlike the Republicans, this convention will be a total conversion towards their Republican brothers-in-arms, and the American public will see in broad daylight that the only difference between the two parties is the amount of bunting and official party regalia that exists at the party. This will be a total boredom feast. To spare you the details, I will predict in my crystal ball what you all will be missing in August.

Since this party will be so lame, who better than Al Gore to be the host at this democratic disaster by giving out white bread with cottage cheese on it? If that isn't a symbol of how bland the Democrats have become, then what is? Al will also be equipped with pom-poms and his OFFICIAL CHEERLEADING SUIT for the convention. Tipper Gore will make sure that the Democrats' convention is up to her family values platform. She will also serve as the pig of the convention; she will scarf down all the leftover food up so that no waste of the grub occurs. She is perfect for the part.

Other perfect examples of the Democrats are Paul Simon and Paul Tsongas. They are two of the most likely people to induce slumber at any opportunity. Even speed freaks have failed to stay awake around them. Even if someone laced their drinks with uppers, I guarantee that sleep will be the main thing on anyone's mind. They are good reasons for anyone to avoid watching the convention.

Mario Cuomo will be there doing what he does best: giving a good speech. The speech may not contain anything worth noting, but at least he is enthusiastic with the crap that he spews. Listen once to his speech and you will wonder what mongoloid anointed him the "great orator." Whatever comes out of his mouth will be enough to help farms grow in the

Great Plains area.

Jerry Brown, if allowed in to speak, will be there to promote his new talk show on WBAI. I hear that there will be a new format change; instead of talking about the issues, Jerry wants ratings. He will be having Elvis' three-headed lesbian stepdaughter who spotted John Wayne on a UFO about a month ago. Oh, and he will also promote his 900 phone number.

Jesse Jackson will be on hand mumbling his speech as usual. He should come equipped with subtitles to indicate what the heck he is really saying. With Louis Farrakhan having higher Q ratings than Jesse now, I hear that he will dig Rev. Martin Luther King out from the grave and hope that his presence will be enough to sway the black ratings back in his favor. Anything but Jesse ACTUALLY having to work for a living.

Ted Kennedy will be on hand to be the official drunk of the '96 Convention. Like the Rolling Stones or Bob Dylan, he's a survivor, no matter how many man-made chemicals he consumes. Besides that, what else could he really talk about?

Ann Richards should actually be running for president, all kidding aside. Her speeches get to the heart of what ails America today. She actually has intellectual content in her speeches, which makes her not a good candidate. Americans love any serious message wrapped up in show-business shtick. In fact, if Jesus came down on Earth, he would have to MTV-ize his message, add beautiful women, smoke bong and have dyed long blow-dried hair, or else he would just be another failed martyr who tries to save the world. That's why Americans unfortunately won't want to have Ann Richards running for President.

Hillary Clinton will be there, if she doesn't get arrested first. She will be there in hiding because of her reputation. It is

amazing how Al D'Amato's dogs are so busy attacking Hillary, while the holy trinity of Nixon, Reagan, Bush had scandal upon scandal and these watchdogs didn't growl at all for their sins that they committed against the American Public. God must be on their side, I guess. But it is a shame that Hillary has this abuse from her sleazy handling of the funds. That is a damn shame that she did something like that. That is more proof that women are no better than men when it comes to politics. Hillary's handling is more proof that lawyers are ruining our country. Do you notice how Hillary's fashion changed when she became the first wife? Before the election, she was wearing handkerchiefs on her head and tried to portray herself as a woman of the people. But now she dresses like Barbara Bush; in fact, her language and diction have changed to make her sound more authoritative. I guess that is so she could escape from the charges of the Feds.

That brings us to President Clinton, or President Elvis as I like to call him. In this MTV-based, visual-image society, Bill was the perfect candidate. His long hair, his almost-admittance of smoking pot, his draft-dodging in Vietnam and his appearance on Arsenio Hall shows made him the perfect image of the sixties. Sex, Drugs and Rock and Roll!!! The top of the whole Madison makeover was showing Clinton in front of J.F.K.'s grave, which illustrated the whole deal as Clinton as the perfect candidate for the Baby Boomers to elect. Other than that, he is just like a Republican, and his speeches and actions show what is missing in the American public today. They've lost the ability to express themselves spontaneously and have opinions; now they go whichever way the wind blows, and will do anything to get elected or be popular rather than

The Democratic Convention won't be able to tell what issues face Americans today. This colossal cast of mostly out-of-touch white guys doesn't know what is actually facing America today.

standing up for what they believe in. Clinton's Health Care, like his Bosnia decision, proved his inability to stand up for what he believes in. Despite having the morals of a Television Evangelist, I will still vote for him because he is much less scary than the Republican crew that they have over there. Bill has done nothing to provide clothes or houses or jobs for people, but he still is anti-abortion and doesn't have an alliance with the Christian Coalition, so he is the least sleazy of the candidates.

This convention will be so boring that the crashers would fall asleep entering the convention. Can you think of a more bland, lame group of people running for President? This party has lost the direction and steam that was carried by Bobby Kennedy, and since his assignation and the birth of the Holy Trinity the Democrats have spent all their time becoming Republicans. What proof? James Carville and Mary Matlin, the most annoying couple in the world. Mary worked for George Bush and James worked for Bill during the '92 campaign, and yet no member of the press corps has talked about this fact at all. Doesn't anyone find this fact funny?

The Democratic Convention won't be able to tell what issues face Americans today. This colossal cast of mostly out-of-touch white guys doesn't know what is actually facing America today. Get ready to get fed quite well, propaganda-wise, if you really want to view the convention. This is the perfect example of how America has sunk. To think that this drivel will pass itself off as representative of Americans!!!! What ever happened to "A government for the people, by the people"? That phrase has gone the way of the buffalo, by the looks of both the Republican and Democrats.

Media Causes Mental Health Problems

BENNET MAURER

The so-called experts pontificate daily on what is wrong with America today, and they blame every- and anything. The vary of opinions concludes one thing only, that these experts like Americans themselves are totally clueless as to what actually ails us. From the president on down, everyone gets hit by these mental masturbators but all it is just more confusion to mess us up with. The Tuesday Morning Quarterbacks have forgotten one important element in all this madness: that they and the rest of the media may be at fault for many of the mental problems facing America today.

As strange as this sounds, where else do all the miracle drugs get their hype? Where else could one find solutions for just about any other problem that one might face today? Some of these problems that we didn't even know that we had, or will have? Where else can we feel paranoid about

just about any issue? Where else could we be made to feel like we are insignificant children who can't get their shit together? Where else could we be made to feel that if we don't have all of their beautiful products and don't think a certain way that we are freaks and aren't among the cool people? Why, where else but the media, of course!!!!

With all of these answers and all sorts of other questions bombarding us in wave upon wave, how else could Americans feel but indifferent or just confused? Thanks to the information age, citizens now get more information than ever before, proving that all America can do anymore is create propaganda. America can't build anything or make anything anymore... not even our bombs. The nation is nothing but a bunch of broke bullies and all that we can do is feed the people with facts and data that no one ever suspected would be necessary to survive or cope in this world.

With all this data coming at us faster than a MTV video, Americans are getting cerebrum overload. We don't have the time to interpret what is necessary to function in this world. But how could anyone have a chance to decide what is important when all this is coming at us at supersonic speed? What can we do? How do you think that Homer Simpson or Archie Bunker became the people that they did? From too much consumption of the media.

Individuality and independent thought are totally not necessary anymore. Just as long as one knows all the cool new catch phrases or wear all the clothes that we're conditioned to wear, everyone is accepted and becomes a member of all the accepted people. You may not be happy, but at least you are accepted.

It has become so ridiculous, what has occurred from all this media bombardment, that individuality and being different have become evil and no one in the media is willing to try and do that. Then the rest of the media will bash you because of this. Lenny Bruce once stated, "After the commies will be defeated, America will run out of countries to conquer and this hostility be focused on each other." Isn't this obvious today?

Most of the major corporations own media outlets and have many products to pimp to the consumer. Thus the message from the medium that we are talking about and the products are connected. The

medium supplies the headaches and the commercials provide the cure. Along with this, these corporations also have demographics which have all the stats on what Americans think and feel and do every minute of the day, and because of this data, we could say the media controls everything that we do or say and think and feel. What else are these demographics used for then? Surely not to try make this world a better place? Those secret-room meetings where they all align together and plot this shit (the feeding process) have to be years in advance. They have been doing this for so long that they have it down to a science and it has been perfected. Joseph Goebbels is smiling in his grave as I speak.

Just look at the language that is used in all the advertisements that run. They are done to make everyone feel totally unhappy about their lives if they don't get that product. How else could you explain all the women get their titties larger by throwing sacks of chemicals, from the same company that makes household stuff, in their breasts? Why, that is Dow, of course. The men feel like they have to consume products or else they won't get all the women or be considered cool by their peers? The rest of the language that the media uses talks down to us, almost like Americans are children. That also has to be reason for the massive mental health illness problem. If not, where else could this problem arise from?

I know that bashing the media is one of the best spectator sports in the nation at the present time. So why not add this charge to the mix? This has to be a major reason why that Americans are feeling so inadequate and the massive indifference that is spreading around the country faster than the AIDS virus.

The media has given a Godlike status to material items if you get them. Then, when that gets lost in the shuffle, the next items are fed to us; then the crap gets disposed of and along comes the next set of items which follow the same pattern, and the end results of this are garbage sales and the dump in S.I.. The smell is the result of this disposable society. It figures that this is one of the most visible sights from outer space, the smell included.

Now, the disposable vibes have been passed down to the people. We treat all Americans as if they were as disposable as the items we purchase. It is it any wonder that Americans are really so fucked up?

When the media portrays this country as a hopeless situation, consumption and fear are part of the aftereffects of the bombardment. When this type of scene occurs, one can only think of Orwell's novel 1984, the "Big Brother" description is just that. The citizens of this novel get so frightened by the telescreen that they feel the need for authoritative, father-like figures to look after them. That is what Big Brother is supposed to signify. Today's politicians' speeches reek of that type of thing. One need only listen to Rudy Giuliani, Pataki and the rest in order to see what I mean.

These things all contribute to America's mental health problem. Like all other issues that occur in America, it will get thrown under the rug, or else we will act like ostriches and put our heads in the sands and pretend that it will disappear. So laugh at me if you will, but the mental health problems are coming towards you if you believe and trust the media.

...New World Disorder

Continued from p.10

were besides themselves, seeing their once-mighty rival, the Soviet Union, in disarray and finally dismembered altogether. Meanwhile, the Stalinist Communist Party found itself being pulled down from the summits of power and banned by the Stalinist-turned-traitor Boris Yeltsin. The Western media had a field day as statues of Lenin were toppled all across the Russias while the old Tsarist tricolor replaced the red flag. Four years later, however, Yeltsin is even more despised than Mikhail Gorbachev, the man he muscled out of the way, once was, while the revamped Communist Party wound up scoring a smashing success at the polls in December elections.

In spite of the fact that the pro-capitalist parties had billions at their disposal for extensive advertising and monopolized the media, few of them could barely scrape up the necessary 5% of the vote to make it into the parliament. The Communists, on the other hand, relying only on grass roots activism, rode a wave of working class indignation to grab the lion's share of seats. In industrial regions, the Communist vote reached almost 30%; coal miners, who were striking by the score across Russia and the Ukraine for billions in back wages, massively voted Communist. The same held true for workers from the national minority regions whose lands have been torn apart by the squalid nationalist blood feuds that restoration and counterrevolution have unleashed.

Not too long ago, many of the same miners were staunch supporters of Yeltsin, as were the various nationalities. The realities of restoration, however, have made all of them long for the "good old days" under "communism." For the past four years have seen a drop of 60% in production, while last year alone saw a drop in real wages of over 20%. A quarter of Russia's population now lives below the poverty level and while the birthrate has fallen to hardly more than half the death rate, life expectancy for men has fallen from 64 to 57 as diseases associated with poverty have made a comeback (like TB has in the poorest sections of NYC). In other words, not only has the cost of living gone up but the chances of living have dropped as well.

Yet for the pundits of the press, used to singing paeans of praise to the madness of the market, the personal failings of Yeltsin, rather than those of capitalism itself, are what's to blame for this sorry situation. That, or the ingratitude of those slovenly Slavs for the wonderful ways of the west. After all, they must have gotten too used to all the freebies that the USSR had to offer and just can't get used to the idea of working more and getting less for it the way Americans do. For his part, Yeltsin has blundered his way from crisis to catastrophe. But the truth of the matter is that capitalism can only be restored at the price of mass misery for Russian working people, just as it can only be made more "cost-efficient" and "competitive" where it already exists by similar methods.

This is now recognized just as much by Russian workers as it is by the French. For unlike most of the Eastern European countries, where the former ruling Stalinist parties all now go by the name of "Social Democracy," the Russian party still sports the "Communist" moniker along with all the trimmings associated with it; red flags, hammers and sickles, icons of Lenin and the legacy of the Soviet Union. And that is precisely why Russian workers still chose to vote for a party that still goes by the name "Communist" in a country where "communism" has been blamed for anything and everything imaginable.

However, when all is said and done, Russia's Communist Party is no less reformist than the French trade union leaders are, being led by former Soviet bureaucrats who have made their peace with the post-coup status quo almost as easily as they did "détente" deals with the

west when they still called the shots. Top party leaders are as at home with international financial tycoons as is Yeltsin. However, they too sit on top of a restless and militant working class base that is not. The latter voted, not for capitalist restoration with a human face, but for restoration of the Soviet Union. That is, the restoration of a society in which full employment and free and decent health care, housing and education are taken for granted, not taken away by a government that is willing to sell anything and everything that isn't nailed down to the West. Only what's needed to do that is a genuine communist party; one that bases itself upon the politics of the Bolsheviks who led the October Revolution, and not upon those of the Stalinists who set the stage for the bureaucratic degeneration and capitalist counter-revolution that followed.

America: Business as Usual?

At the same time that workers in France and Russia express their indignation against the Contracts on their countries, workers in America appear to be powerless in the face of endless assaults on their living standards. Militant strikes at Caterpillar and Staley were defeated, not because the workers refused to fight, but because their leaders turned and ran away as soon they got the chance to. And the story remains the same whether it be Lane Kirkland or John Sweeney who calls the shots for the AFL-CIO.

When Kirkland's hand-picked successor, John Donoghue, talked of "building bridges," he didn't have in mind extending the hand of organized labor to the struggles of the unorganized: the Blacks, Latinos, women and gay people who make up the majority of the American working class. He was talking of continuing to extend it to the same Democratic party politicians who work hand in hand with the Republicans in dishing out the layoffs, cutbacks and givebacks instead. For his part, Sweeney, who talked about "taking over bridges" in impotent petty bourgeois protest politics instead of taking over factories like the sit-down strikers who built the CIO to begin with, is no less committed to yuppie Democrat Clinton and "lesser-evil" politics. Thus Sweeney, who came to power in a palace coup from above in order to ward off any rank-and-file revolts from below, will have nothing to do with any efforts to build a labor party. Already \$35 million in union funds have been earmarked for Clinton's re-election campaign while only \$20 million is slated for organizing the South.

Not surprisingly, Sweeney hopes that workers in the U.S. never follow the examples set by their French and Russian brothers and sisters. For massively confronting their exploiters and oppressors on both the political and the economic planes would threaten his power and position almost as much as they threaten those of the ruling rich. But events in France and Russia on the one hand, and the U.S. on the other, prove that it is Sweeney's approach that is a dead end, for without struggle there can be no progress. And without a political party and program independent of the bosses in any and every way, one which combines political and economic struggles into a united assault against capitalism, the working class is getting into a fight with one hand tied behind its back. Clearly Sweeney has no intention of getting into any fights with the bosses any more than Kirkland did, or the French or Russian trade union and party bureaucrats did either. But the same cannot be said for the millions of American workers who, no less than their Russian and French brothers and sisters, are clearly fed up with worsening wages and declining living standards regardless of which of the twin parties of capital calls the shots. It is now up to them to make their voices heard, just as the French and Russian workers did.

...New World Disorder

Continued from last page

the former Soviet bloc the once vaunted "Swedish model" of the so-called welfare state, has brought them the Third World. And with the Soviet bogeyman no longer around, workers in Western Europe have suddenly found that those very "welfare states" they took for granted for the past forty years were now up for grabs. The result was that the realities of class society made the class struggle once again assume center stage. And the specter of "communism," pronounced dead and buried by Boris Yeltsin from on top of a tank turret back in August of 1991, appeared to be emerging once again as well.

Worst of all for the world's ruling rich, the old mole of revolution was discovered to be alive and kicking as the exploitation and oppression that their system bases itself upon provided fertile ground for further burrowing away at it. The truth of the matter, however, was that the class struggle had never ceased in the first place. Perhaps it only looked that way to the short-sighted, since at times it appeared to be so one-sided. That is, on the part of those who, while denying the class struggle's existence, waged it with a passion against the poor. Yet it was only in the minds of their PC-pushing lackeys, ensconced as they are in their ivory towers, that the class struggle had ever ceased. For the world's workers, while they may have been down, were far from out.

France: "We Don't Care Where You Get the Money"

Nowhere did the power of the organized working class make itself felt as it did in France. Through militant mass action, French workers not only showed that "politics" need not be confined to electoral charades and parliamentary horse-trading, but that it is in fact still possible when millions of working people refuse to accept those parameters to begin with and take their fate into their own hands. When the bosses and some of the more tame trade-union bureaucrats whined that social welfare measures were no longer affordable, the workers responded en masse with the battle cry of "we don't care where you get the money, it's not our problem." They thus smashed yet another rotten idol of contemporary conventional wisdom; that slashing payrolls and paychecks to boost profits is the only game in town.

Following a five-million strong one-day strike by public sector workers in October, French workers and students fought back with a series of massive demonstrations and powerful strikes against the right-wing Chirac-Juppe government's version of the "Contract on America" throughout November and December. On one day alone, over two million workers were on the streets in the largest demonstrations seen since the 1930s. While the government constantly attempted to whip up anti-union sentiment, public support of the strikers consistently hovered around 50-60% in spite of all the inconveniences caused by the strikes.

Trying to balance the budget on the backs of the working class in order to meet guidelines in the Maastricht agreement, the European equivalent of NAFTA, the French ruling class instead found itself confronted with the largest strike wave seen since the pre-revolutionary situation that prevailed in May-June of 1968. Then almost 10,000,000 workers were on strike, occupying factories by the score and the fate of French capitalism appeared to hang by a thread. It was only the craven capitulation of the reformist Communist Party and its partners in the trade union bureaucracy to General DeGaulle, who had fled to Germany in search of loyal troops (much like Louis XVI had tried to do during the French Revolution), that allowed the ruling rich to stabilize the situation and stave off revolution.

"All Together!"

Unlike 1968, when the Gaullist government had gone after student protesters and opened a Pandora's box of proletarian protest, this time around the bosses tar-

geted France's extensive social security system which is jointly administered by the unions and the state, thus threatening the cozy niche of many a trade union bureaucrat. So, with not a few perks to protect, the union tops were forced to show some sign of strength. But with 12% of the population officially unemployed, the union ranks were interested in a lot more than just blowing off steam. Following the lead of the railroad workers, they proceeded to form on-going rank-and-file strike committees to administer and extend the strike. "All together" soon became the rallying cry of millions of French workers as the strikes spread throughout the public sector.

Unfortunately, in spite of all their fighting spirit, they lacked a political party and a program that could have brought out workers in the private sector alongside of those in the public sector and turned the struggle against austerity into a struggle for workers power. Lacking such leader-

ship - and none was to be provided by the mass reformist parties of the "left" - the so-called "Communists" and "Socialists," whose leaders have far more in common with perspectives of the capitalists than with those of striking workers, were forced to settle for a draw. The government agreed not to gut the national railroad system, mainly as a divide-and-rule ploy to end the strikes, but it remains committed to the Juppe plan... with or without Juppe.

Nonetheless, France's rulers know that they must tread carefully lest they provoke another massive strike wave. For the mood amongst workers is that the struggle is anything but over. Indeed, in some areas of the country strikes continued throughout January. They also found an echo amongst workers in Belgium, where 60,000 came out in Brussels in December to protest government attacks on the welfare system, including a proposed package of \$4 billion in cutbacks affecting pensions and pay.

"Communist" Comeback in Russia

If events in capitalist France showed that the working class is still a force to be dealt with on the economic plane, events in Russia, where capitalist restoration is in full swing, show that the same still holds true on the political plane. Boris Yeltsin, the foremost figure of the democratic counterrevolution, was dealt a deadly blow at the ballot box by workers no longer willing to see their living standards gutted in exchange for promises of pie-in-the-sky prosperity once the miracles of the market worked themselves out. After more than five years of free-market misery, "communism" can no longer be scapegoated for anything and everything, especially when it comes to woes exclusive to capitalism such as unemployment and homelessness. For while the Stalinists may be associated with plenty of unpalatable practices when they were in power, the planned collectivized economy they presided over made sure that unemployment, hunger and homelessness were not among them.

Back in 1991, Washington and Wall Street

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1. Standard & Poor's Insurance Rating Analysis, 1995; Lipper Analytical Services, Inc., Lipper-Director's Analytical Data, 1995 (Quarterly).
2. Source: Morningstar, Variable Annuities/Life 8/30/95.
3. Of the 2,578 variable annuity funds tracked by Morningstar, the average fund has annual expenses of 0.78% plus an insurance expense of 1.24%. Source: Morningstar, Inc., for periods ending December 31, 1995.
4. Standard & Poor's Insurance Rating Analysis, 1995.

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What Was, Wasn't and Is

Stephen Shedrowitz

Flashback to 1965: High School Graduation! Then, Staten Island Community College (not exactly an exclamation point - definitely not what it is today as CSI), and what? Hangin' out on the corner? Me and da' guys in Sou' Beach? So I guess South Beach wasn't exactly the cultural capitol - but I must have picked up something there - between my parents, teachers and friends. I looked for culture - you know:

absol.

the training and refinement of mind, tastes, and manners;

the condition of being thus trained and refined;

the intellectual side of civilization. - **Oxford Universal Dictionary**

Yea, go and see Dylan LIVE in some dive West Village coffee house over near Mulberry - even if you didn't know who Bob Dylan was - hey! he sounded pretty good - and Joannie (Joan Baez, my cousin's best friend) said he was cool, man, and he was! Imagine not knowing Bob Dylan from diddy? Then again the Beatles had just hit town and you know we weren't too too cool - us Staten Islanders.

But what's this got to do with Staten Island? Simple - There wasn't any - I mean any culture, here. There were no plays, no poetry, no music, no art. So, everyone that lived on Staten Island and was looking, and wanted whatever something, went to the "City." It was called the City then but by its rightful name, Manhattan.

Yea, some people went to the Peppermint Lounge - but others found their way to Greenwich Village. It was like a beacon, with its clubs, coffee houses, and hangouts. Odd thiong - you see 'ban the bomb' signs and 'PEACE' signs - you didn't see that on Staten Island, whatever the hell they meant! (that's how gullible and naive we all were, back then). If you looked deeper - I mean really deep, you came across something nobody ever told you existed - and it bothered you, because you didn't understand. Sometimes it was straight out - sometimes it was 'sing-song' but whatever way it was, it was **real**. You didn't even know what to call it then. (History calls it poetry, and the people that did it, the 'Beats'). But at that time it was just, well, reality!

Eventually, you stumbled, strayed, or became really adventurous and discovered that **other** world - a world so wierd,

so different, so out of context that it sort of scared you - but excited you, all the same: the **East Village**. A place that everyone, not just your parents, told you, DO NOT GO!

BINGO!

By total shear accident you and anyone else with half a brain saw - culture, in the raw - in the making; the Real deal! From the start of the 'so called' Hippies, to words and statements that were so alien to you and your culture: 'be ins', 'see ins', protests (about political things?), to down to earth poetry and prose that, well made you think. Allen Ginsberg wasn't the greatest poet of his times - but when he hung out in the East Village, well, he excelled! Something had started, something bold and original - an explosion! Words and Ideas - said in public, in a format that grabbed the imagination of all who would open their minds. Modern poetry and prose as we know it today found its roots.

Then came **Vietnam**. The horror that was and is, is always war. 'Yet as bad as Vietnam was, I believe it was the primary factor in the development of our culture as we know it today. One part of that culture flourished - flourished to a height never before attained in our Western Civilization - the right to free speech - and that right took on new and improved meaning. Poetry and prose, argument, protest, and revolutionaries took on new meaning. So maybe, just maybe, we today owe the Hippies, or 'flower children' something we don't even comprehend. STOP THE WAR, STOP THE WAR took on a meaning totally unparalleled in our society - in our culture! We all remember the now famous photograph of a girl putting flowers in a soldiers rifle. But what we don't remember is the flowering of the spoken word.

The early Seventies of the Vietnam era brought about vast changes in the way we view our culture. President Johnson set up the NEA and NEH. Protest was ever rampant in the streets. Students virtually took to arms. And, poetry and prose was flourishing! There wasn't a cafe, coffee house, bar, park, or street corner in the Village that didn't have some form or another of poetry, prose and declaration statement. Words were king!

So what's all this got to do with Staten Island? In the early Seventies, a group of

people got together and formed THE ART LAB on Norwood Avenue in Stapleton. Art on Staten Island?? WOW!! Then came something that re-

and banging out what they felt - maybe never to be released, or maybe their next hit!) That was twenty five years ago. Yet regardless of

Yet as bad as Vietnam was, I believe it was the primary factor in the development of our culture as we know it today.

ally blew my mind - a coffee house on Staten Island - just like the village - the **EAST VILLAGE**, that is! On Staten Island! Six people, six Staten Islanders got together and started a **real** coffee house! It was never ever done before, and unfortunately to me, never seen since.. However, we Staten Islanders owe a heavy debt of gratitude to the founders of this unique establishment. Located on the corner of Beech and Bay Street in Stapleton (now occupied by a Subway sub shop and the tail end of a guido bar, 'The Creative Arts Center,' as it was called,, started because six Staten Islanders - just six, pooled their meager resources for the benefit of us! A dark cavernous place - seemingly black painted tin ceilings, allowing a college student such as myself a place to hangout! - a place to explore **our** culture! In Staten Island! Poetry, prose, folk music - heavy heavy exposure - without it I wouldn't be me today - and so alot of others here too.

My fondest memory of this special place unfortunately has nothing to do with poetry and prose - but with music, which in its own right is a form of poetry, and I'll allow myself the liberty of name dropping - just to show you what was then and is not now. My cousin Nancy came to visit me from the Bronx. Her bestest friend was Joan Baez - who no longer lived on Staten Island but was 'in town.' She was here to meet a friend of a friend, a Staten Islander who was going with singer and song writer Bruce Cockburn, who's close friend also came along, Joni Mitchell. Think of all these now superstars - hangin' out, drinking coffee, (laced with whatever you brought with you - BYOB - under your coat!, and grabbing a guitar that someone else happened to have, just hangin' out,

all who attended, it couldn't be sustained, it died - in spite of the music, in spite of the poetry, in spite of the people. And I haven't even spoken of the poetry! Too many people, too numerous, too many names. Part of me died with that place, and, with it, I ran - from Staten Island. I think perhaps many others did the same. A long void started here, and continued and continued and...

In the mid-Seventies, the war over, a new generation came about and with it the feeling of being empty. Void. Apathy. No direction. Imagine seeing your kid sister in a 'bar' with nothing to do but being there, and that was it - the total excitement - the total of **our** culture.

It's as if its a magic number though, six people, got together, yet a different six this time, on the lower East Side of Manhattan - below Houston Street, because it was cheap, available, and **now**. Enter **ABC NO REO** - what a hole - down the street from a matzos factory, a bodega across the street, a shooting gallery - yea, a **real** one - right next store! This was crazy! We all needed this like a hole in the head. Being the only one that knew how to use a hammer, and they were my **friends** - and friends are friends, right? I mean like I learned this in South Beach, right? So **ABC NO REO** got started. Very shee-shee, very 'the thing.' Failure, I thought.

I was wrong - people came out of the woodwork! Junkies and drunks and around the corner, poetry? Who would believe. So, lets name drop again: Lorie Anderson gave her second performance ever at ABC NO REO. Ever hear of Jennifer BLOWDRYER, or the Vampire of the EAST VILLAGE, or Shasha FORTE? No, I thought not. They all have vastly different names now, today.

Look on the book jackets in the library - you know 'in' the novels of the day. That's where they are now - under their own names, of course.

Next Episode - THE NEW BEGINNING, STATEN ISLAND BECOMES IT'S OWN

Visit the Poets House

Jala Peno

Searching for revolutionary representation? Seeking inspiring constructions of the word, rhythmic exultations, and angry rants? Lovely poems of affection? Does the work of men and women trying to steer the verbal form of communication and linguistic intercourse turn you on? Looking for entertaining philosophy? Hot for new ways of travelling in and out of the abyss? Questioning devinity? Alive? Horny? Do you feel like attaching a definition to your personal reality in hopes of becoming perfect?

Check out the Poets House Library located in Manhattan on 72 Spring St. The Poets House has over 30,000 volumes of poetry in it's stacks that invites the public to join in on the oral art. Poets House is open to the public Tuesdays through Fridays from 11am until 7pm and Saturdays from 11am until 4pm.

There are books of poetry, criticism, journals and chapbooks, ranging from this season's newest commercial publications to books long out of commercial print. There are also many poetry books collected from universities and independant presses that offers a comprehensive alternative to the tele-vision maelstrom. The Poets House archive also contains hundreds of audio tapes from decades of poetry events that will illuminate the fun and

science of the Spoken Word.

There is open space dedicated to poets who choose to write or listen. The Poets House is open to anyone who wishes to use it. There is also access to reference materials, typewriters and an active bulletin board.

There are open forums for discussion and the chance to build your poetic circle of friends (e.g. networking for the economic revolution). A program called Parallel Lines "looks at the connection between poetry and other disciplines" such as music. There are over thirty different poetry programs with bilingual presentations as well.

In addition there is a collective project between Poets House and the Public Library of New York. Poets House has opened its doors to the public since 1986.

For more information visit the Poets House or call them up at 212-431-7920. Become involved and things happen.

**Spike
"Art"!**

Upcoming Poetry Events at the New Dorp Regional Library

Saturday March 23 at 2:30 - Poetry Reading by Eamon Grennan.

Mr. Grennan is one of the most acclaimed Irish poets of our day. He has written four books of poems, including *As If It Mattered* and *So It Goes*.

Saturday April 13 at 2:30 - A discussion of Classic American Poems led by Donald Laub.

Saturday April 27 at 2:30 - A poetry Reading by Donna Masini. Mrs. Masini was raised on Staten Island and is the winner of the 1993 Barnard New Women's Poet's Prize and is the author of the recently published *That Kind of Danger*.

Saturday May 18 at 2:30 - Poetry Reading by Nina Kossman and Russian Poets. Ms. Kossman is a young Russian emigre, scholar and poet who will read the original Russian and her own translations. She won the 1995 UNESCO/PEN Short Story Award.

New Dorp Regional Library
309 New Dorp Lane
Staten Island, Ny 10306
Admission Free

*wheelchair accessible

A Fiery Comet with Glass in It

by Sin-wise Sailor L.

He was a White Owl .38 special ready
to explode from his intestines - On
A Saturday night leave; Righteously kind...a quarter of nine

He knew many fowl hen mind,
Slept with hundreds of men around his cot,
had sex with maybe ten (girls?)
The only crazy saints he could find - of his lot...

Grease my Palm! in his sarcastic hour
"I want great big glorious nuclear bombs - (For Queen Dour) -
at my disposal" he raged on the drunken deck
"To blow us beeking for the pristine chapel...education is worth
shit!

if the King of Kings interests the Navy protects!...."

(Love Many, Trust Few, Always Paddle Your Own Canoes
- said Grandma on her evening death bed) —
"Searching for a higher consciousness - Grandma said appropri-
ately

other than Green Pac Mans High
Consuming Bigger and Better shores and thighs" - loneliness is
saved

by a tall glass of Stolichnaya forever more -
when I think of her...(Grandma was a crazy saint)

Love your bottle absolutely - can you hear my sigh? Let me
wipe your Mongering Class (away) completely...Starting Yester-
day, today is to late! I can't masturbate on High - no more!
In the land where feasts are - held for a minority chosen lot!

So Feast or Bust and fair Barter you dig? Class War till War is
gone!

Regurgitate Love - or Bust - (A Feast of Friends
you have to dig for) is a must

No large tangled webs...Build your stubborn world alone -
WALK AWAY!

if you must (Guarantee you'll find a fleet again.) or
Bust?

Decipher the man made and abound with transparent loud
hounds,
Sniffing for the mystic fix,

Gun pointed Toward the Recruiter's

Trick
"Spirituality is consciousness of pulling the physical"
Click the trigger! -

feeling Good in the joy - of who? and what? and where?
Why? and when? Is where I dig - off with your powdered Whig
and circle 'round...bring your gun and your glass...Get
Hard!

Johnny got no Money
Missouri.

Goodness Johnny, where have
you been
Johnny, where have you been,
Johnny
There was a stabbing in a bar,
Goodness
A shot in the Bay streets
And a man named Archie who
visited Paris
Brilliant motherfucker of mam-
mon bleak.

January.

Young Wolves

I remember raindrops of blood
Falling on the tongues of the wolfpack-
Electricity-raging flames-
Murdering a link of the rusted chain.

Time ticked like melting wax
Over the shell, molding
An imprisoning wall
That was dying to breathe.

Goliath's hands crashed down on our skulls,
Cracking the hardened clay from our dreams.
A memory from the city streets
Turned a heart of gold into a walnut.

I released the ocean of sadness
In my mind, Flooding our soil.
Upon raising my jaded head to the sky,
The moon reversed its smile and cried.

Chains of smoke like barbed wire floated
overhead and landed on our crowns.
Holding on to the neglected branches,
We raised a toast to never die.

Hands gathered and swirled in the red rain.
Sculptures made of flesh walked
Through the invisible soul.
We craved to feel the loss of touch.

Through darkness, I could hear
The breathing and rapid heartbeats
Of confusion playing a symphony
For the memory of the parting breeze.

We stomped on the misty bark
that fell during the sunrise.
The wind stirred madly, releasing every
particle of rust within our haven's core.

We escaped and split in between
corroded scenes of trees.
We healed our broken wings and dreams
With every step outside our prison doors.

Outside, over the edge,
We looked down and roared,
Echoing a call like a wild beast
Who waits for his fall.

Through ages of death, neglect, and despair,
We came together like a pack of
Starved crazed rodents, gnawing
On tomorrows hidden doors.

Tom Henry

Fish

A Chameleon Form

Eats a Pizza
Smiles at Life
Plays the role

Eat a Dole
Drink a Clinton
Smile at Springer

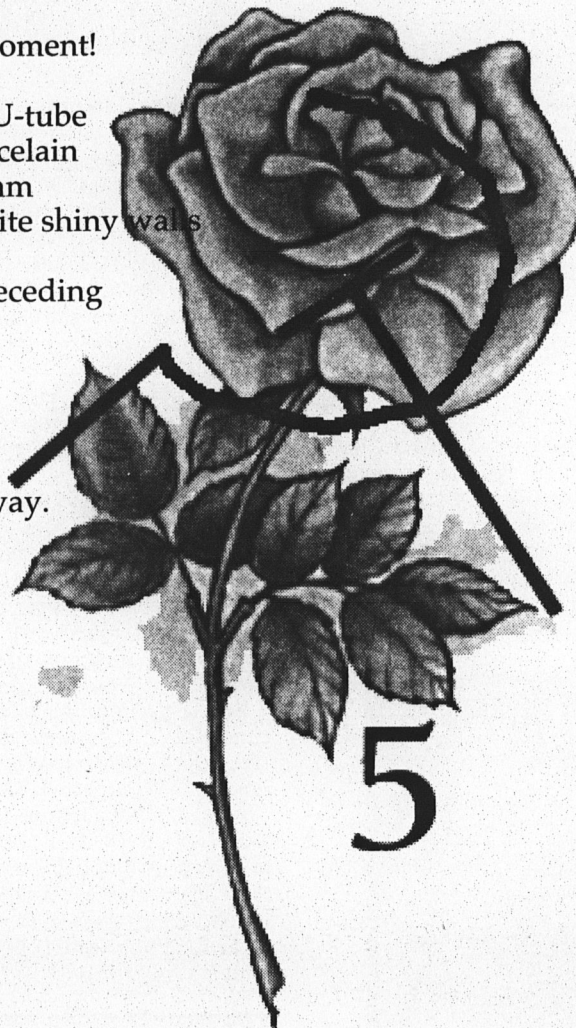
An Amorphous Financial Aid Student
Gets stuck in a Financial Toilet Bowl

Calypso
Whirligig Mercury
By Weathervane

A bad sign

Open my eyes
 fall out of the lotus
 just as large noses arrive and a green-side lion eye to a human
 eye
 in the head of a great cat which is no longer a lion.
 Everyone by me,
 through me,
 punching fists at me laughing
 in or toward my face, even infants.
 Christ, too young for that cynical laugh.
 That visicolor from behind the lids is all over the room -
 climbing up the wall all disjointed like lightning streaking
 but it's green!
 And the chair with a sweatshirt over the arm is first
 a vibrating dancing couple
 and now a murderous striking pair engaged,
 locked in the fury of one frozen near-death moment!
 What a scene!
 Skeletons climb and slide on the pole of that U-tube
 under the sink and meshing into the cold porcelain
 and I can hear their bones clicking dead rhythm
 as they eye their reflections in the smooth white shiny walls
 and grin mad grins.
 And all the while I thought of my gumlines receding
 and all my money depleting
 and all the negativity of the world
 (that leaves the mind's eye frozen-focused
 on death until that day)
 is with me
 and I cannot sleep until all these ghosts go away.

Adam Tamarkin



Song

by Eavan Boland

Where in blind files
 Bats outsleep the frost
 Water slips through stones
 Too fast, too fast
 For ice; afraid he'd slip
 By me I asked him first.

Round as a bracelet
 Clasp the wet grass,
 An adder drowsed by berries
 Which change blood to cress;
 Dreading delay's venom
 I risked the first kiss.

My skirt in my hand,
 Lifting the hem high
 I forded the river there;
 Drops splashed my thigh.
 Ahead of me at last
 He turned at my cry:

"Look how the water comes
 Boldly to my side;
 See the waves attempt
 What you have never tried."
 He late that night
 Followed the leaping tide.

Poetry

LB

Don't you know
 The poetry inkwell is famous for healing?

Poetry is searching for that perfect word
 Poetry is language
 Poetry is universal beat
 Poetry is hot as mouth
 Poetry is bop, is rap, is warrant,
 is county, is warmth,
 and cold freezing slick
 Bodiqua airport - Holy Toledo - 109 miles
 Over a billion served

Macrobiotic-Cleveland

Fiberoptic violin symphony of crosstown blues
 wrestling with Jesus

Round the Erie Lake - I feel.

Bright Orange

by gabriel lopez

The sun is bright orange today,
 don't you get it.
 The sun is bright orange.
 Your mother told you it was
 yellow,
 but its not, today it is bright or-
 ange.

Bright Orange is the color of
 the sun today,
 although your teacher insisted
 as well that it was yellow.
 And yes soon, your boss will
 come along,

and he will demand
 that it be yellow too.

But, oh my friend, you and I
 both know,
 that the sun is of a
 bright orange.

And Heaven forbid you
 should question,
 but I do believe even
 God himself,

in his
 majestic holiness,
 But definitely not without evil
 intention,
 proclaimed that

the sun
 was blindingly white,
 or doubly
 dark,
 or even occasionally a
 fiery red.

But you and I, my friend,
 yes, you and I, both know
 that the sun is of a bright or-
 ange, today,
 the sun is bright orange.

cycles

come inside
 enjoy the ride
 we live to be
 we are to breath
 we gave ourselves
 we give alone
 we learn to fear
 what we're not
 we are the ones to sacrifice
 we are real only to be fake
 we lie to only realize the truth
 we are blind to what we see
 we hear only to ignore
 we stopped only to begin
 we are youth
 we are the ones
 to save
 we regret
 only to regret

Tom Fucaloro

On the Bus to the Phoenix

"Your soft face, your gentle demeanor—Innocent intelligent streetwise talk looking to get whipped—and to whip... Would you ride with me uptown looking for the mystic fix... In the dead of night your obelisk wine gets me high."

-Janet Raile

By Gutz Pyre

This February was the latest edition of the Poetry readings at a place called the Garden in the Forest, an Art gallery located in St. George. Once a month it has become a winter haven for the orally inclined. The emcee without a microphone was the man who runs the place, Stephen Shedrowitz.

First to read was Guillermo Echanique, a.k.a. "Will Winn," who specializes in individual, vulnerable, and sometimes harsh poetry. This month he was experimenting with various Japanese forms of poetry like Tanka, one interesting poem was called, "Monday Morning Quarterback."

Then came the infamous, "CrackAss," a.k.a. "Doc," with topics such as 'Colostomy bag babies,' and he's got a crack in his ass to match the one in his heart.' And the artist known as, "Dart Man," formerly known as "Napalm Death," he's interested in Deathmetal for its medicinal qualities. He has a deep guttural voice that growls at his "fucked up family." He deals in topics such as Domesticating demons, fare hiker's Revenge, mental health, and the entertainment quality of watching people on the train. Asking such pertinent questions as, "How many words can you spell from the phrase 'Vaginal Superiority?'" Hijacking forties and drinking forties you dig? "Me myself and I till the day I die."

OK.

There was a guitar player Chris Lang singing about hearts that follow the fashion of romance, and twirling with ghouls. "Picasso Pub singing the Gospel Truth,

My Love for you will run true
Forever fresh and new
Redefining, desire

For a moment with you
Lonely nights not lived in
On till on is gone
Hoping our dreams come true
For a moment with you"
Dancing with your confidant, your a hungry slave to icy fires—boo hoo Chris.

Adam Tamarkin plays Base. Reads Prose and Poetry. Let's say Adam is interested in the mind, memories and the future. "Because I too hear voices and children and the cries from old lovers...and unborn babies, and I feel new lovers and old friends...yet to experience for real what the light of day can do to the virgin soul. I hear and feel all of these things at night when the moon is out big and yellow...I take big breaths and stare straight ahead of me at what appears to be an infinite puzzle of events and words and numerous petty things when in fact for everyone else it is only the moonlight and I am just too caught up in all of this." What a scene!

Al Peters, comedian-poet extraordinaire talking about Black History month and Rent Parties. Impersonating a victim of the Drug Plague: "God is not looking and tonight I have enough money for a hit."

"It's 10 o'clock, do you know who is running your Government?" and stopping to talk to a woman watching to tell

her, "I ain't crazy honey, I'm just foolish. My country is in pain, the madness has to stop—COINTELPRO." Got it?

One amused participant who did not read, that has aname but I forgot it, said, "Everybody must know how to love eachother, but we have to worry about paychecks and trying to communicate with co-workers...Power is not the same as Creativity."

POETS NEED SUPPORT, put a dollar in the donation box-everyone.

The NEA is being destroyed.

Stand up Anthony Mondella wearing Pumas straight outta Three-mile island.

The NEA is being destroyed

Revealing darkness
Arms of his consciousness
Vying for his attention
No dimensions just intentions
Sniffing out the rottenness...check out Anthony at a Comedy Club near you.

By the way Al Peters says we are the Light, you have a responsibility.

Anthony, from the Cargo Cafe, Shore Inn, Stand Up New York, and maybe more...writes about darkness in the poetry hour, and laughs his ass off in the Comedy night. He read "Why," by Annie Lennox==doubts falling from our mouths.

LOVE YOU PAIN LOVE YOUR PAIN
KILL IT KILL IT!

Peaceful Johnny searching for the ancient Love fix, ran home, and walked back in to a sea of applause..."Your Up!" said Stephen. Can't read peace signs in the dark, "I dream of a woman who isn't there."

Seeking revolution in a body, patience runs high. "Your scent is kind like your Humanity, the current is so strong, My Aroma." When I fuck like Jesus?

I drink \$1.99 perfume this evening (me, Gutz, the writer of this joint), Johnny and Adam T., both members of the Future Chicken Farmers, sing Hitchcock songs together, with bongo drums. "Everytime I check the clock it's after midnight," and "If I knew what I

wanted I'd take it."

Where are the woman poets?

Where are the women poets?

Here comes Gabriel Lopez, he seems to like to let the ashes fallwhere they may. And he rise like a phoenix who knows he's right? Getting drunk every night. "The sun is of a bright orange, It ain't dark today"

"Slave three minutes after your borne...How dare I raise my independant voice?"

Well he does, just don't burn down the place, ok Gabriel?

"A cobra sleeps now beneath the lilies
The tiger pounces
The Butterfly is not focused." Copy-Cut-Paste-Print.

I seem so empty, we don't have to have sex. The Games have just begun.....

Thefirstfemaletoread,
Marguerite..."Dream in Vermont,"
Chicory-god-like meaty supporting hands, Big Bang clud-lifted me today into the soft green-Reflections pine needle-Go girl!

Swallowing meteors
Belly is exposed to the dome of night
I bid me enter o ravished

night...Bruised bled and bare, No betrayed heart in shards...oozing a soul,
Giver her a mudder fukin' hand...

Johnny Losch says momma apoligize for invading my space. I love you momma but I am irate! Thoughts are multiplied back and forth again an' again

Energy to feed me
That fine line between intelligence and sanity

Try living with your God your ultimate glory

He, John, interacts with yo'face...chasinfg faces generic hard-on, spacial dynamics, voluntary expression...The beings that share this wonderful planet...Swinging their union fists?

Electronics - no sound is the goal?

Riddled by phones, beepers, computers, and a fucking money from a wall via plastic cards.

John has strategic depressions.

Finally, don't fuck with rainy day formalities. The artist lights up the dark white page-Feel Good.



sarah jessica parker
eric schaeffer
elle macpherson

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Newspaper Strikers Need Rank-and-File Committees

This article is taken from Workers' Voice (Vol. 3, No. 1. — Spring 1996).

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, January 31 — With the New Year, the strike against the Detroit Newspaper Association (DNA), the joint management which runs the Detroit News and Free Press, carries on.

Strikers remain optimistic and swear "no surrender." Picket lines still exist, but they do not compare to the mass pickets and "Solidarity Saturdays" of last September and October. As the strike has progressed, many members of the Newspaper Guild (the union representing the journalists) have crossed the picket lines, including notable columnists Bob Talbert and Mitch Albom. However, over 80 percent of the 2,500 unionists remain on strike.

Dozens of arrests have been made for damage to property. Cops have rioted against strikers time and again. But the courage and strength of the majority of strikers has yet to be broken.

But as we enter into 1996, Detroit Newspaper workers are faced with a hard choice: continue to follow the current leadership and go down in defeat, or organize themselves into a movement which can take over and lead this strike to victory.

The state of the strike today

Since November, the Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions (MCNU), the federation of Detroit Newspaper unions, has scaled back the number of pickets. Much of this is due to militancy of the workers themselves.

On Nov. 11, hundreds of angry strikers and supporters, frustrated over the stalemate between the DNA and the MCNU, decided they had had enough with "peaceful, legal" picketing. At one distribution center after another, angry strikers gave the DNA a small taste of their anger and power. By the next morning, at least five sites that distribute the scab papers were laid waste. Some places were reminiscent of a war zone, with electric generators overheating and burning out, and scab automobiles turned upside-down. This show of militancy and working-class power frightened the DNA ... and the MCNU.

The next rally spelled the beginning of the end of the militant pickets. In place of the regular all-night "flying picket" duty, the MCNU porkchoppers introduced their "strike paper," The Detroit Sunday Journal.

As a "strike paper," the Journal leaves much to be desired. Although there is a marked pro-labor slant when it comes to the strike (which is lacking in any of the bourgeois media in Detroit), the Journal is more a caricature of mainstream bourgeois print media. It was designed as the next step in the "corporate campaign" being pursued by the MCNU. The role of the Journal was to attract advertisers and cut into the profits of the DNA. Starting with an initial circulation of 300,000, it became the third largest newspaper in Michigan.

Throughout the strike, the MCNU has relied on a strategy of pleading with people to "unsubscribe" to the scab newspapers. In some sense, this part of the strategy has been successful. In the first three months of the strike, the DNA lost \$50 million in profits. But the DNA has made it clear they intend not only to defeat the strike, but to bust the unions as well. They have a war chest of over \$200 million, which is meant to last for the duration.

From the 1994 San Francisco newspaper strike to the recently-defeated struggle of the locked-out Staley workers, "corporate campaigns" have been a disaster. The strategy of relying on the big corporations detracts from the need for mass mobilizations to defeat the bosses.

In November, the leaders of the MCNU offered to return to work on a concession contract previously offered by the DNA.

However, they had two exceptions: amnesty for picket line violence, and the right to continue negotiations. The DNA flatly turned the offer down. This should have been a signal that the strategy of the "corporate campaign" was not going to defeat the DNA. Five months of urging readers to cancel subscriptions, and advertisers to stop doing business with the scab papers, only resulted in the DNA coming back harder at the bargaining table.

In light of this, the move to the Journal shows that the MCNU misleaders have learned nothing since July. Strikers need to see that these tactics have failed and that a new strategy is necessary to carry this strike forward.

Instead of the Journal attempting to be another bourgeois paper in Detroit, it should be a militant "strike paper" with a hard working-class editorial line. It should be a mass organizer for the Detroit Newspaper strikers, not a lingering shadow of the pre-strike News and Free Press.

Instead of the Journal running articles on the front page about how the new leader of the Detroit Police Officers Association wants killer cops Budzyn and Nevers freed, it should run articles about the necessity of shutting down production of the scab papers and presenting a militant way forward.

Looking for an easy sell-out

The labor skates of the Metro Council of Newspaper Unions don't want to militantly confront the bosses and the scabs. Throughout this strike they have cooperated with the cops, including the infamous Sterling Heights Police Department, which had been receiving tens of thousands of dollars from the DNA to attack the picket lines.

The bureaucrats have complied with every injunction and extemporary "ordinance" invented by the cops to restrict

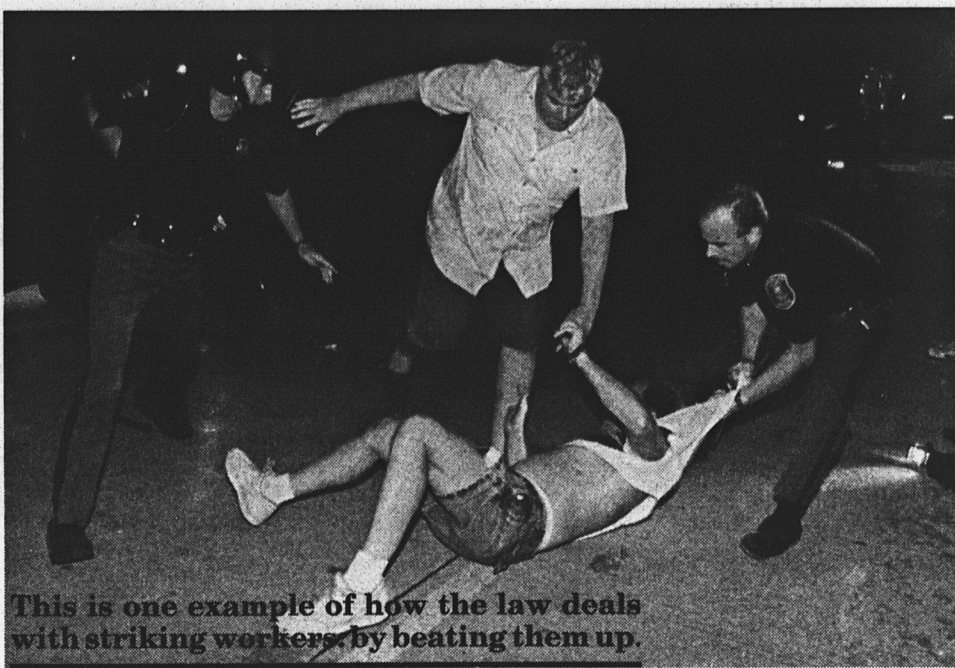
Strikers remain optimistic and swear "no surrender." Picket lines still exist, but they do not compare to the mass pickets and "Solidarity Saturdays" of last September and October.

picketing. The MCNU tops have continuously held the workers back from unleashing their power on the picket lines, in order to maintain a "peaceful" posture in the eyes of the "public." As one MCNU leader said, they didn't want any "bad press!"

But the strikers themselves made it difficult for the MCNU bureaucrats to sell out the strike quickly. The strikers' militancy forced the MCNU to begin a series of "Solidarity Saturdays," including a mass picket of almost 3,000 the first night, Labor Day weekend.

The Metro Detroit AFL-CIO, in conjunction with the UAW, mobilized thousands to stop the production and distribution of the News and Free Press. That night, the main production facility in Sterling Heights was shut down — no one got in or out. The earliest that copies of the Sunday scab paper were able to hit the stands was 2 p.m.! (The paper got out of the Sterling Heights plant at 8:30 a.m. on Sunday, after the lines had dwindled down to a few hundred picketers.) A few weeks later, the DNA was forced to ferry out the News and Free Press via helicopter, because of mass picketing!

Since then, the MCNU fakers have scaled back the militant pickets and reined in the rank-and-file workers, encouraging them not to struggle. They were somewhat successful in this. Through use of a "carrot and stick" method — "militant" phraseology combined with red-baiting and cop-baiting of militant strikers and supporters — the MCNU was able to diffuse much of the potential backlash from the canceling



This is one example of how the law deals with striking workers, by beating them up.

of "Solidarity Saturday."

But with the New Year, the MCNU has been forced once again to call occasional half-hearted pickets and demonstrations against the DNA. These have been relatively low in attendance (200-300 by reports of the bourgeois media), and have resulted in some arrests. While many workers face 1996 with no prospect of income — and with no prospect of victory — the MCNU misleaders are still able to maintain their positions even though they have done everything in their power to derail militant action.

The "militant" alternatives

The Detroit Newspaper strike has become a central focus of much of the left in the area. Most organizations which claim to adhere to some form of Marxism have attempted to intervene in this strike — mostly to no avail.

One of the most pernicious groups to intervene in this strike is the centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and their "Strike to Win Committee" front group.

Because of their posturing as "militants" and "Trotskyists," the RWL has brought down the hard blows of repression on to the heads of militants and leftists who support the strike.

Where the RWL has been an example of petty-bourgeois "militancy" in the strike, most of the middle-class left have been an example of capitulation to the MCNU bureaucrats at all levels.

Groups like the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and Solidarity have chosen to defer to the MCNU bureaucrats for leadership, rather than organize rank and file workers. Other groups like the Spark and the Communist Voice Organization disagree in the abstract with the betrayal of the MCNU, but are doing nothing concrete about it.

The Trotskyist League (sic), which to its credit has been (until recently) consistent in its appearance on the picket lines, has preferred to subordinate its ostensibly Trotskyist paper program to the program of liquidation by subjecting itself to the whims of the "labor (liberal) left." With the exception of one leaflet, which appeared on the day of the first mass picket, the TL has remained totally silent in the strike.

It has preferred to bury itself in the liberal "Labor/Community/Religious Coalition" in support of the strike, and the loyal opposition "Unity VICTORY Caucus" (UVC), which it helped form. Rather than asserting class struggle politics — in favor of its twisted version of the "transitional method" — these centrists grovel before the union bureaucrats and other

labor skates of the MCNU.

The flier which announced the organizing of the UVC made pleas to the MCNU fakers to adopt its proposals of mass pickets and shutting down production at the Sterling Heights plant. The Unity Victory Caucus did not propose rank and file committees as an alternative to the top fakers.

The UVC, while still in existence, is nothing more than a paper organization of middle-level union leaders propped up by fake leftists. For all its cries of "No retreat, no surrender!" the UVC has failed to muster any support among strikers. At a Thanksgiving Eve rally called by UVC, only about 30 people showed up, half of whom were other leftists!

Build rank-and-file committees to save the strike!

If one were to draw up a balance sheet of the successes and failures of the first six months of the Detroit Newspaper strike, several conclusions stand out.

Clearly, the "corporate campaign" of the MCNU porkchoppers has fallen on its face. For all the pleas of "unsubscribe!" and "don't advertise!" the scab Detroit News and Free Press are still printing. The attempts of the bureaucrats to pick the pockets of the DNA clean have failed. For all the losses in profits and subscribers, the DNA is no closer to concession than in July. Even if the scab papers were to lose most of the remaining advertisers and subscribers, they would still print.

Even if you take their wallet, they still own the factory. Even if they were to lose profits again like they did in the first three months of the strike, it would not bring the DNA closer to the table. Six months have passed; it has yet to work.

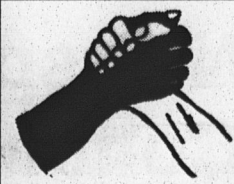
Early on, when the DNA proposed a revised contract to the MCNU, it was not because of the "corporate campaign," it was because of the militant confrontations of strikers against the cops, Vance Security thugs and scabs. It was because the strikers threatened their property, their means of production.

This is the key thing to remember. If the DNA were to lose its capacity to produce, it would quickly be convinced to bargain in good faith. Mass picketing, plant occupations, sit-down strikes and other forms of mass workers' action are essential to the victory of the Detroit Newspaper strikers. Only through those means have genuine gains been won in the past.

But the MCNU misleaders have no more interest in generating mass action than they have in losing their privileges. They remain a parasitic bureaucracy that feeds off the dues base, and makes back-room deals with the cops. Remember, at the last "flying picket" duty, held in November, these "tuxedo unionists" called off the picket early because the strikers wanted to physically confront the scabs and company thugs.

Continued on page 5

The College Community



Reactionary Dogma

"There are a handful of Neo-Nazi living on Staten Island and they must be stopped."

By Rosa Liebknecht

Recently Staten Islanders have been exposed to neo-Nazi racist literature. This time, these racists linked it to the recent murder of Gus Ferrara, by three youths (two black, one Hispanic) opportunistically taking advantage of a bloody murder. Once again the ignorance and hate of these bigots is lucid.

Their real intention is to take the prejudice against blacks and turn it into a racist movement. Their strength is not their ideas (if you can call this trash an idea) but the fact that politicians and the capitalist class have long divided working class people around gender and ethnic lines. The goal of racist ideology is to divert the working class from the real cause of violence in capitalist society, the class divisions that pit the property owners of finance and industry against the ownerless worker whom they hire for the lowest wage possible.

Recently Presidential nominee Pat Buchanan stood by "his man" who addressed white supremacist and neo-Nazi's because "Larry Pratt is a devout Christian." In defending himself Pratt stated that he is not a racist because he has one black friend and a minister in his church is black. The logic of these morons. His "close black friend" is the reactionary political figure Roy Innis, someone on par in accepting racist US ideology as much as Clarence Thomas. I'm sure some Nazi's had a "Jewish friends" but does not stop him from being a Nazi, and on that basis driven into the sewers where he belongs.

The fascist running around Staten Island must be crushed. With these uncertain economic times where insecurity is dominant in one's life those most divorced from society, on the fringes (an ever increasing number) will respond to strong sounding responses. Yelling over and over that it is the Jew, the black person, the gay person, the unionist, the communist, the liberal they have no solution but death. Let it be them first into the

**NO PEACE
FOR RACISTS!**



grave.

It is alive and well, especially here on Staten Island a conservative mostly white borough dominated by upper-middle class politics. The Borough President never responds to racism unless it has to do with scoring political points.

What has any of the politicians done about the recent incidents with these neo-Nazi's on Staten Island. Will it take a murder for them to respond? We do not have to wait to find out, because if you fight against racism that means you actively fight against it. In yourself, at your job sight and at times when needed as mass actions in the street.

The fight against racism is not just about race, it is about the economy, a fight between the capitalist (all white males) and the working class (a diverse pool of nationalities, ethnicities, gender.) When we demand that blacks, nor women should be discriminated against it is not just for their job but for every person's job. Every working person wants a job, a decent one where they have respect and equality at their workplace. As long as the capitalist class has control over production (i.e., jobs) then working people will always be caught in the musical chairs of pitting one group against another for the job.

In the end the fight against racism, fascism is the fight for socialism. A system based upon the needs of the workers, of the vast amount of society. It seeks to end discrimination where it begins, in the ownership of capital (e.g., industry, labour.) It is for a future society where human welfare, environmental harmony and peace prevail. Where the working class democratically controls and decides how the economy will function. It is a place where your lover can be white, black a male or a female, from any corner of the globe. Let us smash racism and replace it with a socialist society.

Which Way Out of the New World Disorder: Capitalist Chaos or Socialist Order?

by Roy Rollin

It wasn't all that long ago that academic apologists for America's ruling rich were busily proclaiming the "end of history" and the "collapse of communism." Between 1989 and 1991, what had long passed for "communism" (i.e., Stalinism) quickly collapsed like a house of cards, first across Eastern Europe and, eventually, in the Soviet Union itself. After more than seven decades of ongoing "cold war" conflicts, not all of which had went the way of the west, all the world appeared to be on its knees before the "miracles" of the marketplace. Now that the "end of ideology" was apparently a reality, class struggle and revolution could be proclaimed to have been banished to the museum of antiquities once and for all as well. For what the "triumph of democracy" really meant was that bourgeois parliamentary politics, based as it is upon the permanent passivity, apathy and nonparticipation of the majority, was the only game in town... a game in which the only players are those whose wealth and power permits them to participate in the first place.

With the USSR finally out of the way, George Bush's "New World Order" began to emerge from the carnage of the Gulf War. For its victims, the people of Iraq, the "New World Order" was the same old imperialist slaughter that Third World peoples had long experienced at the hands of the west. What was new was the *carte blanche* that the US now had to bomb (and, today, to continue to starve) a Third World country back to the stone age. This was something they could only dream of doing during the Vietnam War, when Soviet strength had to be constantly and carefully considered by Pentagon planners as part of the picture.

Likewise, "national liberation" struggles in the Third World appeared as if they would also be a thing of the past. For without their powerful patrons in Moscow to provide them with muscle, workers and peasants from Central America to Southeast Asia found that they were forced to surrender at the negotiating table and at the ballot box the things they had won on the battlefield. Had the "American Century," considered by many to have been dealt a death blow in the sixties by revolutions in the Third World and urban unrest at home, been given a new lease on life? For many on the "left," no less than for those who make a living off of lying for the right, the answer appeared to be in the affirmative... so much so, that they

rushed to sign up as supporters of imperialist intervention as a "lesser evil" in Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti.

"Global Restructuring": Bringing the "Third World" to the First Two

Like the "American Century" before it, the "New World Order" has proven to be an order built on sand. Instead of the peace and prosperity it promised with the ending of the cold war, capitalist restoration and democratic counter-revolutions in the former Soviet bloc have brought

Instead of the peace and prosperity it promised with the ending of the cold war, capitalist restoration and democratic counter-revolutions in the former Soviet bloc have brought with them fratricidal slaughter and mass misery on a scale not seen in Europe since the Second World War.

with them fratricidal slaughter and mass misery on a scale not seen in Europe since the Second World War. While the wars in what used to be Yugoslavia and Chechnya have claimed the most lives and caused the most damage, countless other nationalist blood feuds and similar such sordid squabbles now rage across the former USSR as well. Then there is the economic instability and immense immiseration which what the experts entitle the "transition to the market economy" has brought with it as its inevitable by-products.

For the Third World, debt bondage and underdevelopment remain business as usual. Country after country groans under the weight of IMF-inspired austerity programs that "privatize" (i.e., pillage and plunder) those sectors of the economy that might have been able to provide some degree of economic independence for the countries concerned (i.e., oil in Mexico, tin in Bolivia). In other words, Wall Street keeps the cash box closed until those resources that were previously considered off limits become fair game for the financial sharks of the West

while their local stand-ins get to sift through the leftovers. For the masses of workers and peasants, not even the crumbs are on offer anymore.

Counter-revolution in the East Encourages Cutbacks in the West

Many, no doubt, would consider this to be pure and simple extortion or blackmail were it put into practice by the local loan shark. Its employment by the corporate kingpins who call the shots on the world market rather than the local street corner, however, goes by the name of "free enterprise." And its victims have not been limited to working people in the former Soviet bloc or in "Third World" countries like Mexico or Bolivia either. Picking up where Reagan and Bush left off, Clinton and Gingrich have taken aim at any and every modest social gain still on the books in the US... even though there weren't very many there to begin with. This, of course, goes hand in hand with "downsizing" and "restructuring;" getting fewer people to produce more profits by paying them all less to begin with.

In order to compete with low-wage workforces, like those of the US and the UK, where living standards were savaged by the Reagan and Thatcher decade of decadence, West European bosses have now begun to wield the axe of austerity against social programs long taken for granted in that part of the world. For, be it in the so-called first, second or third worlds, the perspectives of the ruling rich are one and the same: private profit before public need, untold riches for the few and endless misery for the many, without even a pretense of trying to smooth over the differences. And while the international employers' offensive may have preceded the collapse of Stalinism, the former Soviet bloc was itself a victim of that offensive. Whatever its shortcomings may have been, its demise has only further emboldened the appetites of the ruling rich, be it east, west, north or south.

However, as 1995 drew to a close, it began to become clearer to those on the top that those on the bottom, be they in Western or Eastern Europe, were no longer willing to go along with those arrangements, as massive struggles by their intended victims rocked the continent. For capitalist restoration in the East, instead of bringing

continued on page 10