



## CSI students fight cuts

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

**O**n March 20th the Student Union took a bold step forward in our program in defense of higher education. Gov. George Pataki has targeted CUNY for extinction by proposing a \$400 tuition hike, a 12% reduction from TAP financial aid and \$57.6 million in cuts from the operating budget. Today CSI students demonstrated that they will not lie prostrate in the face of these malicious attacks. The road forward must be paved with student unity and student action. This event represents a turning point political character of the student body of CSI. Traditionally thought as one of the most apathetic campus in the CUNY system, CSI students came out in force to demonstrate what can be done if we unite and pursue a plan of direct action. This program was entirely organized and carried out by students. Members of the Student Union worked on every aspect of this event from the banner to the speakers list to the reservations.

To open up the event Student Union member, Vice President of the Women In Science Club, and ex-Editor in Chief of Student Life John Pae, gave a strong speech focusing on the effect that the tuition hike would have on our society. Pae chose to look at the effects that the

cuts will have on our immediate future, while also examining how the cuts will play into the long term prospects for future generations. He stated that "We must defend education not only for our future but for that of our children". The next speaker was College Voice Managing Editor and Student Union member Manjula Wijerama. Wijerama examined the role that Wall Street has played in the cuts by exposing the fact that "balancing the budget has meant billions more in profits". He also took a hard line on the role both the Democrats and Republicans have played in the budget cuts by "dazzling the working class with anti-poor, anti-immigrant and racist demagoguery".

Speaking of Democrats, the next person to up was Democratic candidate for mayor Reverend Al Sharpton. After missing the Mayoral Forum set up by the College Voice, Sharpton contacted the Union and expressed his support for the student movement and his wish to come to campus. Sharpton called for student unity by stating that "Pataki is betting on you (the students) talking about your differences instead of uniting". "The issue is not who you like, but if you like yourself" stated Sharpton as he called for unity among all groups of students. Managing Editor of the Third Rail and member of the Student Union Colleen McGraham was next and she shared some of her personal experiences con-



Above right and below left: Student Union holds rally on March 20th at the Campus Center against the proposed cuts.

cerning the tuition hikes of the past. When she entered the College tuition was "\$600 a semester" and as a result of the annual attacks on higher education it currently stands at \$1600 a semester.

Diane Isaac, a member of the History Club, the African Studies Club and the Student Union stepped up to the mic next and delivered a powerful speech which exposed the falacies of the Welfare Employment Program. She felt that the Workfare program was "educational genocide" and outlined the way in which every person "is susceptible to having to go on welfare". In closing she stated emphatically that "Workfare is like slave labor, and it is not the way!" Nicole Sabado, Project Coordinator of NYPIRG, followed and stated that the \$400 tuition hike would be a disaster for "some households who have no room in their budget to send their children to college".

Aya Fubara, Director of the Pluralism and Diversity Program, questioned the values our society, a society which seems to place more value on building jails than educating its citizenry. Furthermore, she stated that "if we do not fight these cuts this year you can guarantee that they will go through and that there will be

more for years to come." Fubara closed by telling the students that "the power is in your hands right now!" Betsy Aguilar, of High Society, told the crowd that "education is something serious and should be fought for". Aguilar then encouraged students to "get their degree and show you fought for your education". Next up was everyone's favorite ex-DJ of WSIA Bennett Maurer aka Ben-Lite who delivered a speech that was both socially uplifting and redeeming. After raising the question of what controlled substance Gov. Pataki had been inhaling, Maurer stated that "we have to fight for our education". After finishing his speech, Maurer continued his program of terrorism against the amplification equipment of CSI by sending the microphone over the podium onto the floor.

President of Project Poverty Outreach and Student Union member, Joanne Gallo was next up and she used her speech to examine the class dimensions of the latest attack on higher education. Gallo felt that if current trends continued "education is going to be a privilege accessible only to those that have money". CSI professor Harry Kasan was next and

*continued on page 2*



### IN THIS ISSUE:

- Student Union • CUNY Students Under Attack
- Board of Trustees • Debate on Yugoslavia
- "Generation X?"

*Continued on Page 2*

# The Student Union

Along with the entire CUNY student body, the Student Union is under attack by the state and city government.

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

The initial mission of the Student Union has been accomplished at the College of Staten Island. The first phase of making any significant changes on a college campus or even in society is to get the questions that you are asking put onto the table. In other words, if the Union speaks about 24-hour access, the starting point to achieving our demands for access is to force each party involved in the functioning of the school to deal with the issue. In addition to the 24-hour access issue, the Student Union (SU) has taken the proposed \$400 tuition hike and forced it onto the table. From the forum we held in February, to the constant interaction with the student body, to the March 20th rally on campus and finally to our promotion and work to make the March 27th City Hall rally a success, the SU has consistently pushed the attack on students by Gov. Pataki to the forefront.

## Educational/Speak Out

The Educational Forum sponsored by the Student Union on February 13th, provided the student body with desperately needed information. The information provided by the SU was not confined to facts and figures about the cuts, rather it provided the students with a plan of action. Education and activism are two elements that are sorely missing from the political scene at CSI. Defending students rights and promoting pro-student activities should be the mission of every group on campus. Unfortunately, we have fallen short of this goal. Union

## ...CSI students

(continued from page 1)

he issued the warning that "the idea of democracy can be dismissed by the 20% of society that owns 80% of our economy". Kasan stated that the economy is telling us that "we don't need you people anymore". Prof. Kasan finished by stating "If you don't fight for your right to an education it will not be there!" Photographer of the College Voice and the Banner, Jeremy Condit delivered a short speech in which he stated that "he actually liked it here (CSI) and that there are people that want to take this away from him and he doesn't like that".

Naton Wells, from High Society, followed up by examining the fact that "private colleges like Yale and Harvard are supported by private corporations while CUNY depends on state funding". Wells told the crowd that "all power is knowledge and knowledge can change society". Prof. Barry Lituchy of Kingsborough Community College was up next and he began his speech with an examination of the culinary pleasure of our cafeteria. Lituchy instructed the students about "a ruling class who wouldn't mind

speakers such as Rob Lauro, Lou Bruschi, Manjula Wijerama, Naton Wells and Sarah Hussian provided students with information about the cuts and campus issues. Topics that were discussed included the 24-hour access issue as well as other demands that the Union has been pursuing with administration, the role of Wall Street in the attack on higher education, the ACE test which CUNY Chancellor Ann Reynolds is promoting, the need for unity among student groups and the program for action that the Student Union is promoting. By linking all of these issues together, the Union speakers provided the students in attendance with a precise overview of some of the areas upon which CUNY is being assaulted.

In order to continue our standing policy of providing every student with an opportunity to express their views and concerns, the Union turned the event over to students. One student, Namor Young, expressed her concern about the day care facilities to which the Union membership informed her that the issue had been taken up with the Administration. The student was informed of the positions given by both Vice President Carol Jackson and Student Government (SG) president Joe Canale, concerning the day care facilities. Basically, their (Canale and Jackson's) policy is no policy. The waiting list for child care services continues and the issue would be buried under the massive weight of the bureaucracy if not for the efforts of concerned parents, the administrators at the Child Care Center and the Student Union.

Abusing our democratic principles to

using us as cattle". He stated that this event was "a great first start" and described the CUNY system as "a ready made organization". Sarah Husain, Senior Editor of the College Voice and Student Union member, ended the presentations by stating that "everyday students feel the consequences of these cuts". Husain called for "all students to unite and come out in force on March 27th!".

As stated earlier this event represented a political turning point at CSI. The Student Union demonstrated that students can organize and run a major campus event on their own. The Union exercised control over student space and turned that control into a positive display of student power. After the event a Union member was asked "which part of administration organized this event?" after a brief chuckle the member informed the confused student that the event was a Union event with no administrative planning. In addition to this, the program cost the students of CSI nothing. While part of the \$6,000 pizza initiative was being doled out in the Green Dolphin Lounge, the Union held a 2-hour long rally for the grand total of \$0. Student creativity and ingenuity fuel the Student Union's program not the Student

the max, SG president Joe Canale, informed the students that he had gotten the ACE test canceled and continued his anti-Union diatribe. Once again, Canale reinforced the relationship he chooses to place the SG in, with regards to the Union and the student body. This relationship is an adversarial one unity. The truth about the ACE test is that it is most certainly not canceled, but has merely been put on hold as the result of a power struggle between the Board of Trustees and the Chancellor's office. All in all, the event succeeded in its main goal of providing information to the student body, while also providing them with an outlet for activism.

## Student Union under attack

Along with the entire CUNY student body, the Student Union is under attack by the power mongers on the State and City levels of government. Locally however, there is special form of harassment reserved for the Student Union by various members of the establishment. The established powers in Administration and the Student Government take the threat of student unity as a very serious matter. They attempt to harness every organization on campus into their bureaucratic reigns. The Union, by virtue of its coalition status, has managed to escape these controlling measures by promoting mass participatory democracy. We do not run meetings like the Administration, we don't break up tasks like the Administration and we do not believe in individualization of the power structure. Due to the fact that we reject these notions, we are branded by both the Administration and some students as radicals. If the rejection of the ideals and principals of those that are oppressing us is radical, then we are full fledged radicals of the highest cloth.

The attacks have come from many different fronts, some being public, while others involved the backdoor dealings of campus politics. The first attack came against our flyer distribution campaign. Stating that we were not a "recognized organization", lower level Administrators have refused to stamp our signs as

## Activity Fee.

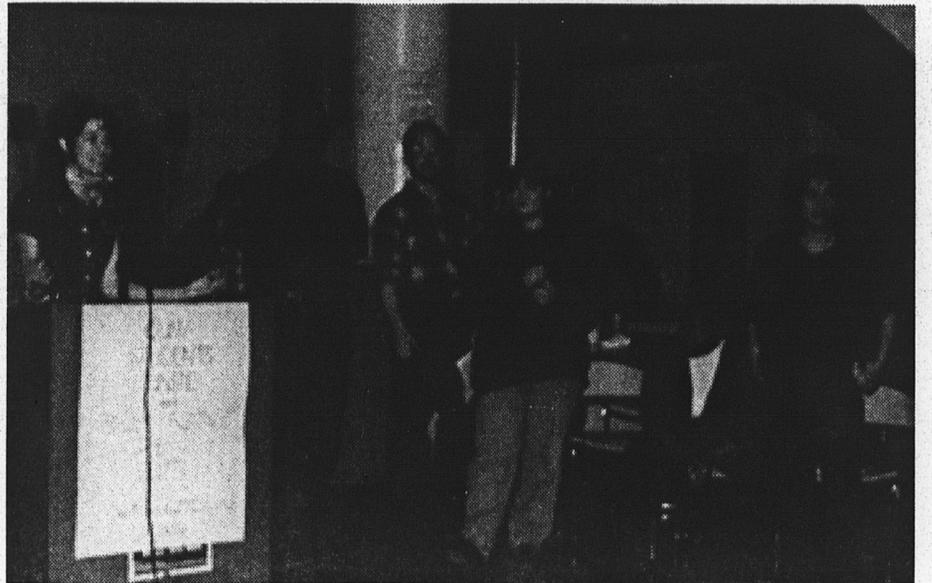
The road that lies ahead for both the Student Union and the Student Body is precarious one. A road filled with attacks upon the foundations of education for the

"approved for posting". Because of this inaction, the signs that we posted concerning our meetings have been torn down from bulletin boards campus wide. Following this bureaucratic blockage, SG president Joe Canale launched a full fledged investigation into the ways in which the Union was making copies of their flyers. Instead of spending time fighting and organizing against the tuition hikes, as SG publicly states as its goal, Canale spends time and money to cut off the operations of activists campus wide. Thanks to a network of concerned Students, Faculty and Administrators, the Student Union has survived these attacks and grown into an organization that will push the student movement to the forefront of the CSI agenda.

## The Student Union moves forward

CUNY students in general and the students of CSI in particular, will continue to be the whipping boys and girls of Albany, the Administration and Student Government unless we take immediate action. Students must unite and this unity cannot be based on the fact that a group has money or that a group is "recognized". Unity comes through the struggle around a set of ideals that promote student power, student control and student action. The CSI Student Union has and will provide the students of CSI with an outlet for unity and an outlet for action. We need to challenge the establishment in order to not only fight off the \$400 increase, but more importantly, to begin a mass movement that will transform the educational process from its current status as a privilege, to its true classification as a right. In order to provide this challenge, the Student Union has developed a program for action. The first step was the rally at the Campus Center on March 20th, the second step is the March 27th rally at City Hall, followed by the May 1st march from Union Square. Without struggle, no substantial change can be enacted. Students must take action immediately. Come to Student Union meetings and find out how you can help build the CSI Student movement. ■

and activism. A student body in motion can defeat any bureaucratic body that attempts to oppress it, be it in Albany or at CSI. The message that students should take from this event is that we have



Betsy Aguliar, from High Society speaks

working class and poor and bureaucratic restraints upon student initiatives. The answer to this is unification, education

power but, this power is not fully realizable until we all join to form a united front against the establishment.. ■

# CUNY Students under attack!

In reality "democracy" in public universities has become little more than a means to strip the student body of its basic civil rights

BY SARAH HUSAIN

Over the past few years CUNY's budget, its departments and its professors has been under serious attack. The basic principal of free and open access to public education has been under attack via tuition increases and financial aid cuts year after year. Open admissions, the fundamental principal of this university system, is slowly being wiped out as restrictive policies are implemented for students entering college, especially those "misfortunate" ones who got the best of the Public High School system. Now the CUNY Administrators are trying to implement the ACE exam which further restricts students from graduating, so now the Public Higher Education system can blame students for its own corruption. The initial purpose of CUNY which was to provide a free quality education for the poor and working class of New York City has now become an education for anyone who can afford it. Instead students are constantly bombard-

capitalist class.

For instance, "democracy" in public Universities, in action, becomes the stripping of students basic civil rights. With this ever increasing bureaucracy, students have no control over the decisions made about their education and not to mention even a voice. Decision making meetings, that are held by Administrators are closed to students- even their "public" meetings are limited to themselves and their student "leaders". The bureaucracy keeps increasing to the point where administrators are harder and harder to reach by regular students. In the case of CSI, one of the most worst cases, the President of the college, Marlene Springer, is never to be found. Student Union had once requested to have a meeting with her and she died. The meeting was regarding campus issues and budget cuts, and instead she told us to meet with the vice-president, Carol Jackson; by the way Springer took up most of the time originally arranged for Student Union members meeting privately with Jackson. A whole article can be written about the way in which their

so their jobs are not threatened and the capitalist system maintains its free-market "democracy".

## Student governments or administrative government?

Organizations like Student Governments were set up in the late 60's when students were mobilizing not only to fight

for education but against social conditions both on a national and an international level. These "Student Governments" were formed only as a token to this mobilization, however, formed systematically as to fit the frame work of the Administration and ultimately to be under their control. Then the members of the Student Government were of course radical, they couldn't be otherwise, due to the social-political outlook then. Today we live under a different political climate. As time has passed, nationally the few social goodies gained then are now on the reversal, like Affirmative-Action and so forth, these Student Government bodies today reflect the same political mood of the politicians and those in power today- they are right wing reactionaries who are out to become future politicians. These Student Governments become the ground for individuals to learn the same tactics of the Democrats and Republicans who cut public services for the working class and poor, especially minorities and immigrants, and who ultimately uphold the "free market" system that freely oppresses on the basis of making a profit. SG of course under the direct management of Administration could not be other wise another type of body.

It is unfortunate for those individuals who aspire to become politicians through the SG's at CUNY that this is a university basically consisting of working class people who socially don't have much of a chance to become big honcho politicians; those political positions are only reserved for people with millions of dollars and relatives who own Trans-National Corporations (Too bad!?) These "student leaders" lustfully take the opportunity to shake hands with these godly politicians and get their face recognized while under their breath they say "Don't cut CUNY." The real case of these "student leaders" at CUNY is that the doors are only open for them as far as becoming low level Administrators. They attend managerial classes and one the side get hands on training through their "student leadership" position on student governments. Lessons of cutting student services are not only learned through books but also practiced, such as cutting club funding, denying orders for scotch tape and pandering to special interest groups.



CSI President, Marlene Springer gives motherly encouragement to Joe Canale, president of Student Government as he gets up to speak at CUNY Chancellor Ann Reynolds' "public" meeting.

## Student government bodies today reflect the same political mood of the politicians and those in power today...they are right wing reactionaries who are out to become future politicians

ed with the lies of "fiscal exigency" by both the politicians and the CUNY administrators, and as a result brain washed into believing that education is a privilege and not a right. Daily, CUNY students are stripped of their education as the Administrators turn the University system into a high-tech-sweatshop, while they pump up security to further strip students of their rights if they try to speak out against the austerity programs.

### The role of administration

The "apathetic" student is the product of CUNY Administrators! That student is shaped by them and of course loved by them. The policies and decisions made by the ever increasing bureaucratic administration have made it more and more clear that they serve the sole interests of their bosses, Mayor Giuiliani and Governor Pataki, instead of the students. The Governor or Mayor implement the cuts to CUNY and "our" Administrators carry them out. They oversee which departments, courses and professors get eliminated. Thus making the decision of how students must be educated- cutting liberal arts classes instead of social work- eventually leading to the agenda of the "Free Market" system which wants to see students get a vocational and perform efficiently so the system can jolly well work efficiently at making profits for the

offices and buildings are strategically placed, with such distance, so they are unreachable by the student body.

### The clamp down on student activists

Students face horrendous consequences when they, at a basic level, try to speak out against the policies that are enforced upon them. The rise in security is a tool that is used as a direct assault against student activists- they get arrested and written up in the same manner as the FBI COINTELPRO-files. These are the students who actively demand that things be done in a democratic way- like the Administration holding meetings openly- where all those students who want to attend and voice their opinion are allowed; or decisions that effect students directly, the ACE exam for example, be put to a direct vote of the student body; where students decide which way to fight against the politicians who threaten public higher education; and where students decide whether the money should go to funding security or education. Such basic rights are basically ignored by the Administrators as not being rights at all. Instead they rally us into the camps of the politicians and impose upon students which way to fight- they want us to Lobby and write "nice" letters

### The bureaucratization of student activists

Students who are looking for real change have a choice of either getting sucked into these Student Governments and their bureaucratic "Roberts Rules" or being arrested by security. These students don't want to see tuition go up, whether the original proposal be a \$1000 and only \$750 is imposed; these students don't want Administrators lobbying on their behalf and leading them into the camps of either the Democrats or the Republicans! These students want to make a real democratic change based on their particular circumstances- whether they be evening part-timers who work or full time students who don't. Students should decide whether they want classes on Sunday; or whether they want Physical Education Department eliminated; or if they want to charge the community to use public facilities such as the gym at CSI! Students should decide whether they want Libraries, Computer Labs and Campus Centers open 24 Hours! Instead the rallies and meetings organized by independant students get clamped down upon by Administration and their "student governments".

Students try to organize independantly of student government and Administration but they are not given the space or their "official" recognition and instead are met with hardships on every corner. These students have politics that are opposite the "status quo" so they are threatened and most of their time is spent on surviving at a basic level- i.e fighting for office space and basic supplies such as scotch tape and pens. Memos are required, however, there are no computers, forget about pens, to write with; this is very hard for bureaucrats to understand who have nothing better to do with their time than bury us all under a mountain of useless paperwork. Of course, they have hired staff to perform the actual labour. Students understand this simple logic, but that is not the case with bureaucrats who are specifically trained by the University to think without asking any questions. Students who want to spend time having forums and discussions about important issues that a University should be the providing the space for do not take place. Forums on

# New CUNY Board of Trustees prepares

The struggle between the BoT and the Chancellor is simply a reflection of the capitalists eagerness to ensure a leadership at CUNY which will most effectively carry out the privatization of CUNY, in the most cost effective manner

BY MANJULA WIJERAMA

**A** radical shift to the right has taken place within the ruling circles of CUNY. Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds has been marginalized by a new, aggressive Pataki/Giuliani appointed Board of Trustees (BoT). The BoT voted two sessions ago to hold meetings without the Chancellor's attendance. The motion was presented by Ron Marino, a Vice President at Wall Street giant Smith Barney. Marino is the clear whip of this new Board. At the same meeting Board members and current Chairperson, Anne Paolucci motioned to not spend any more money on implementing the Academic Certification Examination (ACE) until the BoT reviews it.

## Reynold's ACE...in a hole

The so-called ACE test was the latest and most blatant of a number of measures undertaken by Reynolds to reduce enrollment at CUNY in the guise of "raising standards". The ACE exam is planned to be a general examination that all students must take in their junior year; failure leading to expulsion and/or the expenditure of greater funds and time by students on learning how to pass the test, as is common to all such SAT/GRE/LSAT type examinations. At a recent carefully screened appearance at CSI, Reynolds vehemently defended her pet project by attacking the "low standards" of graduating CUNY students, using the poor results of graduates sitting for the State Certification exam for teachers as her evidence. Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, Elsa Nunez, reiterated the Reynolds line on ACE and added that it is well on the way to being implemented openly contradicting the Board's stated intention of icing it.

This contradiction beyond telling us about the casual willingness to cover up by the Reynolds Administration reflects the power struggle between Reynolds and Marino, between Central Administration and the Board of Trustees. The CSI visit was a calculated attempt to mobilize support for the ailing Reynolds regime at the campuses at which she commands the loyalty of local administration. In the case of CSI, the regime of Marlene Springer, a Reynolds appointee. However Reynolds chances of being able to fend off the Board are slim to none. The contradiction between students and local administration ensure that there will be no mass support for Reynolds. Students view the ACE exam with horror and outrage and will not come out and support any administration that seeks to expel them from school; especially after having spent several thousands of dollars and at least three years of work achieving junior status. Faculty aside from a corrupt minority see the ACE exam as a clear undermining of their sovereignty over the grading and educating process and likewise have no love for Reynolds.

## The Wall Street Agenda for CUNY

Right wing Republicans led by Pataki and their Democratic dance partners led by the fleet footed Sheldon Silver in the State Assembly are busy implementing the wishes of the finance capitalists at Wall Street who only understand the logic of making money for themselves. These finance capitalists like Ron Marino



**Ronald J. Marino**  
Mayoral Appointee. Has been Vice President in the Public Finance Division of Smith Barney Inc. since 1987. He coordinates New York State and counties' business activities and concentrates on infrastructure/transportation finance. He was Deputy Commissioner, Office of Development, for the City's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), where he directed negotiations with real estate developers and financial institutions for new construction.

cannot stomach public funds paying for such luxuries like public education. Reynolds mission and her portfolio were designed under the then Democratic regime of Cuomo to show the capitalists that CUNY is "good for business" which means small investment and big return. The ACE test is the latest of several schemes enacted by the Reynolds regime to restructure and downsize CUNY to the satisfaction of these purse string holders of the public budget, which of course includes the CUNY budget, at Albany and City Hall. The College Preparatory Initiative (CPI) enacted in [199] was designed to allow for the simultaneous elimination of remedial education at CUNY and the shifting of the burden to the badly underfunded public educational system. The Goldstein Report otherwise known as the consolidation plan was enacted in [199] to eliminate whole departments and academic programs throughout CUNY and simultaneously centralize the CUNY bureaucracy under the Chancellors office. In addition there has been "retrenchment" of faculty and staff otherwise known as the elimination of full time faculty and staff in favor of a under-paid, part time workforce. The results have been a steep drop in new enrollment from the reduction in class sections, the reduction of full time facul-

ty and the reduction of services.

Unfortunately for Reynolds career and disastrously for CUNY students education, it just so happened that education does not function according to the fantastic logic of Wall Street i.e. small investment and big, quick return.

Ron Marino and the gang at Wall Street are impatient and reckless now, fat from the enormous profits sucked out of the working class through layoffs, givebacks, cuts in public services and the direct plundering of public funds through tax breaks for themselves over the last few years. They are dissatisfied with the pace and results of Reynolds hatchet job to CUNY. They realize that restructuring in itself can be costly and are unconvinced about Reynolds methods of ensuring the quickest and best return on investment. The ACE exam was frozen by the Board strictly from this vantage point of greatest return for the dollar and not at all from a viewpoint remotely considerate of student interests or needs. Reynolds while being a faithful servant to the task of privatization of CUNY is still only a high paid bureaucrat i.e. she functions not as a shareholder in a private enterprise compensated through profit but is remunerated by a salary, of course a generous one, paid for through public funds in the hands of the regime in Albany. Her job is to cut and she has but like any good bureaucrat, she made sure that the cuts effect everyone but her administration and cronies. This contradiction has led to a simultaneous cutting of students and faculty and the rise in the fortunes of the top levels of administration.

## Reynolds vs. the Board...slow track vs fast track privatization

[Ron "Wall Street" Marino and the other new additions to the Board were brought in by Pataki and Giuliani in September of 1996 to let Reynolds know whose the boss and to make sure that the bosses can closely oversee the bureaucracy's policies. Meanwhile Reynolds can only prostrate herself before her masters and tell them how much she cares.] The October issue of the CUNY Matters newsletter put out by the Chancellors office ran a short article with a big headline entitled, "Standard and Poor's Ranks CUNY First as Supplier of Chief Executives for 6th Consecutive Year" It included a joint statement by Reynolds and the outgoing chair of the Board, James Murphy that partly read: "CUNY's long-standing mission of providing access to an excellent education has permitted generations of New Yorkers to become leaders in the business community and in our greater society." This infomercial cum article, was placed prominently in the centerfold carrying the biographies of the newly appointed Board members. The struggle between the BoT and the Chancellor is not one which represents a struggle between student and faculty interests and the interests of the capitalists, it is simply a reflection of the capitalists eagerness to

ensure a leadership at CUNY which will most effectively carry out the privatization of CUNY, in the most cost effective manner. This is not a conflict that CUNY students should take a side on, but should formulate an independent policy, that is, independent of Reynolds "slow track" as opposed to Marino's "fast track", to privatization. We must be opposed to any policy of privatization that will open up public higher education to the profiteering schemes of Wall Street.

## CUNY as a shopping mall

Privatization, or the conversion of education into a money making venture is in full swing all over the country. In a euphoric article in the Wall Street Journal of March 3rd, 1997, there was much discussion of how investors have been converting the leisure time of students into profit. Speaking of Northeastern University, the Journal waxed ecstatic, "the school put in a food court to rival any suburban shopping mall's, with eight places to eat, including a Burger King, a deli, a Chinese restaurant, a vegetarian cafe and a Starbucks. These, along with a hair salon, a Mailbox Etc. and a Barnes and Noble, pull in nearly \$3 million in gross sales each year." To assure investors that privatization of education is a safe venture, the Journal writes, "The money for new or renovated unions (student centers) often comes from students' pockets, usually in the form of student fees. Of the \$22 million construction cost for renovating Pennsylvania State University's union (center), \$16 million will come from a newly imposed student fee of \$25 a semester." The same October '96, CUNY Matters newsletter of Reynolds' carried a front page article on the so-called CUNY Card, a joint venture with Citibank, which will serve as an identification card as well as a bank card and a Metro card which would allow Administration to collect very personal information about students bank accounts and travel patterns. The first application of this information would be to segment the student population and organize student movement for the purpose of marketing products. Secondly and corollary to this would be the "efficient" regulation of student activity through Security and administrative diktat. The privatization of the university bookstores, now under the control of corporate giant, Barnes & Noble, the introduction of private food contractors, loan providers, etc. are some steps that the Board and Chancellor have embarked on to sell public higher education to corporate profiteers. The result has been not the lowering of the price of essential student services but rather their increase.

## Down with the administration of Wall Street: for student/faculty/staff control of CUNY

Reynolds's career at CUNY is in jeopardy from the new right wing Board. While students will lose no sleep over seeing the departure of a Chancellor that

# for fast-track privatization of CUNY

oversaw the most rapid increase in tuition in CUNY history, we must be ready to fight the Ron Marino Board. The ruling class is ready to shift the privatization of CUNY into high gear. Open admissions is being replaced by the Open Market, that is, open to Wall Street financiers who will reap huge profits from students. Students must demand the resignation of all Wall Street and other corporate figures who sit on the CUNY Board of Trustees. We must fight

for a university structure that places education and working class needs at the center of its agenda. This can only be accomplished through building a CUNY-wide student movement which can inform and mobilize students on all campuses and which can link up with faculty and campus workers to build a united force which can finally replace the Administration of Wall Street with a administration of students, faculty and staff. ■

## State Education Law

**A**s mandated by State law, the University is governed by a body of men and women chosen as representatives of the general public.

A reading of the biographies of the Trustees will reveal the great variety of skills, experience, and training that Board members contribute to their enormously time-consuming and complex

The two major responsibilities of the Trustees are to set CUNY educational policy and to select its key personnel. For the day-to-day management of the University, the Trustees depend upon the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellors and the College Presidents. The excerpts that follow from the State Education Law, Article 1-25, Section 6204, answer the questions of who the Board members are, how they are selected and what their role is:

## Board of Trustees

1. The Board of Trustees shall govern and administer The City University. The control of the education work of The City University shall rest solely in the Board of Trustees which shall govern and administer all educational units of The City University.

### 2. Structure of the Board of Trustees:

(a) The Board of Trustees shall consist of seventeen Trustees. Ten of the Trustees shall be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. Five of the Trustees shall be appointed by the Mayor of The City of New York with the advice and consent of the Senate. One ex officio Trustee shall be the Chairperson of the University Student Senate. One ex officio non-voting Trustee shall be the Chairperson of the University Faculty Senate.

(b) A Chairperson and a Vice Chairperson of the Board of Trustees shall be appointed by and shall serve at the pleasure of the Governor.

(c) The term of office of each appointed Trustee shall be seven years renewable solely for one additional term of seven years.

(d) The five Trustees appointed by the Mayor shall be residents of The City of New York.

(e) The Trustees appointed by the Governor shall include at least one resident of each of the five boroughs of The City of New York.

(f) The Trustees appointed by the Mayor shall include at least one alumnus of an educational unit in The City University. The Trustees appointed by the Governor shall include at least two alumnae of an educational unit in The City University including at least one other alumnus

### George J Rios

Mayoral Appointee. He is Commissioner of Records and Information Services (DORIS). Mr. Rios has 30 years of achievements in the senior management of federal, state, county, municipal and private sector administration of education, economic development, issues management, public affairs, law enforcement, utilities and governmental regulations. He served 3 cabinet officers of the US Department of Education. Mr. Rios has also been Assistant to the Westchester County Executive; Corporate Officer at the Equitable; Deputy Director Civilian Complaint Review Board, New York City Police Department; Public Affairs Representative, Con Edison of New York; etc.

### Satish K. Babbar

Mayoral Appointee, Has been Assistant Commissioner, Technical Affairs, for the City's Department of Buildings since 1994. Previously, he served the Department as Borough Commissioner (Manhattan and Bronx) and Deputy Borough Superintendent (Queens and Bronx). Has taught as an Adjunct Associate Professor at New York Institute of Technology.



### John J. Calandra

Gubernatorial Appointee, is a litigation associate with the law firm of McDermott, Will and Emery, providing legal representation to Fortune 500 clients involved in substantial litigation in state and federal courts throughout the nation. He was previously a litigation associate with the law firm of Cravath, Swaine and Moore. His areas of practice include general commercial litigation, anti-trust law, securities law, constitutional law, trademark law, products liability and municipal law.



### Anne Attura Paolucci

Gubernatorial Appointee. Served St. John's University as Full Professor of English since 1969. A member of the National Council on the Humanities from 1986-1994, Dr. Paolucci is Founder and President of the Council on National Literatures.

of a community college.

(g) Trustees shall receive no compensation for their services but shall be reim-

bursed for the actual and necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties under this article. ■



### Robert Price

Gubernatorial Appointee. Mr Price is President of both Price Communications Corp. and Price Cellular Corp. and is the owner of radio and television stations and cellular licensees. Formerly, he was Executive Vice President of the Dreyfus Fund and a General Partner of Lazard, Freres and Co. He was Assistant United States District Attorney, Criminal Division, for the United States Department of Justice, Southern District.



### Richard B. Stone

Mayoral Appointee. He is a prominent tax specialist and a faculty member of the Columbia Law School, where he is Wilbur H Friedman Professor of Tax Law. From 1982-84 he was Tax Counsel to the law firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Hamilton. He served as an Advisor to the US Treasury on corporate debt-equity regulations and as member of the Tax Committee of the City Bar of New York.



### Rev. Michael C. Crimmins

Gubernatorial Appointee. In 1988 he assumed his current position as Director of the University and Coordinator of Campus Ministry of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, where he is a priest. He graduated from Georgetown School of Foreign Service amongst other distinctions.



### Nilda Soto Ruiz

Gubernatorial Appointee. She is Superintendent, Office of Monitoring and School Improvement, in the New York City Public Schools. She was Director, Staff Development, and Deputy Superintendent-Curriculum and Instruction, Chief Administrator, for 33 schools. She assumed her present post in 1992 as Superintendent, Office of Monitoring and School Improvement which includes responsibility for reporting systemwide status of the implementation of legal mandates regarding Special Education.

# EDITORIALS

## The union makes us strong

A very positive development is taking place amongst the student body - the creation of a Student Union. Several clubs and publications who have been meeting recently to fight for 24 hour access to student facilities have decided to band together and build a student union. Currently some 15 student clubs and publications have endorsed the union. The aim of the Union is to organize all student groups into one mass vehicle of student power. An Open Letter has been addressed to CSI president Marlene Springer to publicly bring before her the demands of the Union for student access. A recruitment and education campaign is underway to build the forces of the Student Union to be prepared to fight and win its demands in the upcoming Spring 97 semester.

The Student Union has decided to form as a result of the complete bankruptcy of the "leadership" provided by Student Government. SG President Joe Canale and his cohorts have been busy fighting to destroy student organizations and student unity. Canale was responsible for cutting student club budgets from \$1200 to \$700, for attempting to shut down the College Voice twice and creating layers of new regulations that students have to meet in order to charter clubs or simply function. It is the belief of the College Voice that Student Government and Canale represent an anti-student, pro-administration tendency amongst the students. Till the formation of the Student Union SG and Canale thrived in an atmosphere of intrigue and cliquism with student morale at an all time low. Now that pro-student forces have raised the banner of unity and "student control of student space and funds" and have ushered in a new positive dynamic on the campus SG and Canale will undoubtedly do their best to co-opt, stifle and disrupt this movement. As such it is imperative that pro-student forces are absolutely clear about the record of this SG and Canale and place this group in serious check. That is, either they play a supportive role in the broadening of the student union and in the accomplishing of 24 hour access or be swept aside by the Student Union. Ambiguity on the Union's part towards Canale and SG will only allow these proven pro-administration hacks to continue to sew division.

Similarly the Union can have no illusions in the willingness of Administration to accede to easily to our demands. The sad excuse for discussion that takes place in the name of "representing student interests" between select Senators and select Administrators in which nothing gets done and each party walks away satisfied is the only type of exchange that Administration wants to deal with. That is, a cynical exchange where they set up the game and hold all the cards and the students get the losing hand every time. Administrators particularly the top ones like the President and Vice Presidents are paid six figure salaries by their bosses to carry out a policy of downsizing CUNY. The spate of budget cuts and tuition hikes to CUNY is the front-line of this policy. The new costly security apparatus whereby so-called Peace Officers are placed on campuses with the power to arrest students and with the right to carry guns is the mechanism by which they seek to contain student resistance to the attacks on their education. The unprecedented restrictions on student access to student space is part and parcel of this policy of containment. To expect Administration to accede to student demands for 24 hour access without a serious fight by a mobilized, unified student body is a pipe dream that ignores the reality of Administrations role.

We at the College Voice will struggle as we have always to educate student forces to these realities and forge the type of fighting Student Union that can actually bring about results. We want our demands met, nothing less.

**Students, unite in the Student Union!  
24 hour access now!**

Managing Editor: **Manjula Wijerama**

Associaite Editor: **William Wharton** • Senior Editor: **Sarah Husain**

International Editor: **Kasadore Ramkisson**

Copy Manager: **Neil Schuldiner**

Photographer: **Jon Pae, Jeremy Condit, Jenniffer Valle**

Advertising Manager: **Kyoko Matsunaga**

Contributors: **Diane Issac, George Springer, Leslie Lazaar, Naton Wells, Ben Maurer, Tom Smith Barry Lituchy,**

Design: **Roy Rollin**

**Know us:** The Cllege Voice is a monthly journal published by the students of the Colleg of Staten Island.

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

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

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

## The College Voice: Who we are

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**We welcome readers' views and criticisms.**

Please send them to The Editor, College Voice, 2800 Victory Boulevard, Room 1C-230, Staten Island, NY 10314

**COLLEGE  
voice** 

Telephone: 718.982.3091

Facsimilie: 718.982.3098

E-Mail: freeopen@aol.com

# Is capitalism hazardous to our health?

BY TOM SMITH

**Emerging Viruses: Aids and Ebola, Natural, Accident, or Intentional?** by Dr. Leonard Horowitz. Rockville, MA. Tetrahedron Press 1996.

**Our Stolen Future: Are We Threatening Our Fertility, Intelligence, and Survival?—A Scientific Detective Story** by Theo Colborn, Dianne Dumanoski, and John Peterson. Myers. New York, NY. Penguin. 1996, 1997.

For decades now, we have been told that science, in the hands of experts, experimenting with the basic chemical, nuclear, and biological building blocks that make up our world, were making it a better place. As a result of the development of nuclear energy, electricity would soon be "too cheap to meter." "Better living" was obtainable through "chemistry." Experiments in gene splicing and recombination would permit us to cure diseases ranging from cancer to the common cold. And all these forms of research, in the form of nuclear, chemical, and biological warfare, would help us defeat those nasty, "totalitarian" commies over there.

But despite the plethora of official denials, it has become more and more obvious that far from making our lives better and more freer, we are getting sicker. It is slowly dawning on many, many people that it might not be just a coincidence that such strangely murderous viral diseases as AIDS and Ebola, purportedly "natural" in origin, should surface only recently; that tens of thousands of Gulf War veterans have already died from strange disfigurative diseases; that the cancer rate has skyrocketed, especially around "safe" nuclear facilities like Brookhaven National Laboratory in Long Island, NY. Two books have been published recently which put the lie to these official denials. Both trace these rising health problems to our blind trust in the scientific "experts" to police themselves.

Len Horowitz, M.D. points first to the

little-known minutes of a 1970 Department of Defense Appropriations Hearing, in which Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army Charles Poor is quoted as saying, "Within the next 5 to 10 years, it would probably be possible to make a new infective microorganism which could differ in certain important aspects from any known disease-causing organisms. Most important of these is that it might be refractory to the immunological and therapeutic processes upon which we depend to maintain our relative freedom from infectious disease."

Horowitz then relates how shocked he was to discover strong evidence that the leading scientists who either "discovered" the AIDS virus—like the American Robert Gallo, and the French Luc Montagnier—or dismiss the possibility of its existence—like Peter Duesberg—actually helped in an international effort, coordinated by the World Health Organization and the National Institute of Health, to create AIDS, as part of our government's experiments with biological warfare.

These medical scientists were very busy in the early 1970's. As their own scientific papers and records show, they were busy studying various slow-acting viruses, which were carcinogenic or toxic to the immune systems of cows and sheep, but which had no natural effects on human beings. These viruses were able to fool these animals' immune cells that they were friendly, and to rapidly reproduce rather than destroy these destructive viruses within the bodies of these animals.<sup>1</sup> They discovered how to splice and recombine these viruses, and incubate them into the cell cultures of our fellow primates, the chimpanzees, and from there, human cells. This research went on with the support of the Nixon administration, despite the fact that

Nixon declared that no more biological warfare research would be conducted. To divert attention from this research, Nixon and Kissinger merely rechristened it "research to cure cancer." Horowitz also discusses the sordid history of the incorporation of various Nazi intelligence

agents, like Rhinehold Galen, and Nazi scientists<sup>2</sup> after the war into our own intelligence apparatus, and to argue that these characters played an important role in this tragedy. He goes on to discuss the possibility that the populations of Central Africa, and gays and blacks in the United

States, may have been inoculated with the AIDS or Ebola viruses purportedly in order to stamp out such diseases as hepatitis. But the real goal was to weaken black and gay militancy in the U.S. and nationalist/communist movements in Africa, as well as these fascists' general desire to exterminate gays and blacks. With all the political and scientific complexity of its subject, Dr. Horowitz manages to make it understandable and credible.

While less sensational than Horowitz's findings, the case presented in *Our Stolen Future* is no less hair-raising in its effect upon the reader. Colborn, Dumanoski, and Myers charge that the alarming rise in birth defects, breast, vaginal, and ovarian cancers in women, and the sharp decrease (50%!) in male fertility, is due to the dramatic rise in the use of artificial chemicals in our environment. The plastics, gasoline, pesticides, etc. that we have come to take for granted in the post-war world may be jeopardizing our very survival: the survival of the human races, and many other species besides. While "this breathtaking plunge toward the new technologies... has yielded unparalleled health,

luxury, and comfort for some significant minority, at least, of the human population... the technologies themselves have often had a dark side that has only become evident decades later, after it is too late to recall them." The book is also full of information which is as valuable to environmental activists as it is horrifying.

While neither work mentions the necessity of a complete overhaul of our current, capitalist, political and economic systems, this should be obvious by now to the readers of this journal. Without workers control of our institutions, with-

out real democracy, these horrors and these dangers will keep growing, to the extinction of the human race.

In October of this year, for just one example, our brilliant bourgeois government is planning to launch a rocket from Florida to Venus, bring it back to Earth, catapult it 300 miles above our heads, and rocket it back out to Saturn. Its fuel supply: several pounds of plutonium. If the rocket blows up either on the launch pad, or in orbit, this amount of plutonium, emitted into our atmosphere, will give every single human being on earth lung cancer within a matter of hours.

Better living through capitalist-controlled science? Don't bet on it!

## Notes:

1. As I have heard on the Dave Emory show (WFMU 91.1 FM, Tuesday nights at 6 pm, where I heard most of the information about Horowitz originally), Drs Garth and Nancy Nicholson, uncle and aunt of a victim of the Syndrome, thinks that Gulf War Syndrome is partially the result of an Aids-like bacteria which the U.S. provided to Iraq before the Gulf War, and may also, in trying to incubate the soldiers against it, injected it into our soldiers. The Nicholsons have successfully treated their niece and others with antibiotics. But because of the official U.S. government policy of denial, they are getting little if any support for his research. If anyone is suffering from this syndrome, they should endeavor to get in touch with them through Dave Emory, via WFMU in East Orange, NJ.

2. This "ratline," operated by the U.S. government to ferry Nazis into the United States to "fight communism," has been documented by Christopher Simpson in his book, *BLOWBACK*, and dramatized in the Costa Gavras film, *THE HOUSE ON CARROLL STREET*. It is believed that Wolf Schmoonis, a Polish doctor in charge of disseminating what was advertised as hepatitis B vaccinations to homosexuals in the 1970's, might have been a Nazi.

EXCLUSIVELY for FACULTY and STAFF

1040

U.S. Individual Income Tax Return

For the year Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1996. All other tax years are 1040-E.

Your first name and initial

Label

P.O.

PAIN.

TIAA-CREF  
730 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10017

APPLICATION FOR TIAA AND CREF SUPPLEMENTAL RETIREMENT ANNUITY CONTRACTS

Please type or print in ink and provide all information requested.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Initials  M  F  
Tax Code

PAIN KILLER.

**F**or fast relief from the nagging ache of taxes, we recommend TIAA-CREF SRAs. SRAs are tax-deferred annuities designed to help build additional assets—money that can help make the difference between living and living well after your working years are over.

Contributions to your SRAs are deducted from your salary on a pretax basis, so you pay less in taxes now. And since earnings on your SRAs are also tax deferred until you receive them

as retirement income, the money you don't send to Washington can work even harder for you.

What else do SRAs offer? A full range of investment choices and the financial expertise of TIAA-CREF—America's largest retirement organization.\*

To find out more, stop by your benefits office or give us a call at 1 800 842-2888. We'll show you how SRAs can lower your taxes.

Do it today—it couldn't hurt.

Visit us on the Internet at [www.tiaa-cref.org](http://www.tiaa-cref.org)

**TIAA-CREF** Ensuring the future for those who shape it.™

\*Based on assets under management.  
CREF certificates are distributed by TIAA-CREF Individual and Institutional Services, Inc. For more complete information, including charges and expenses, call 1 800 842-2733 ext. 5509 for a current CREF prospectus. Read the prospectus carefully before you accept or send money. Page 4 of our 276.

# A critical response to Barry Lituchy on the current "Campaign to destabilize Yugoslavia"

BY TOM SMITH

Last month's College Voice (February 1997) featured an article by Barry Lituchy, entitled, "Behind the US Campaign to Destabilize Yugoslavia." I would like first to say that I share Mr. Lituchy's outrage at the tremendous havoc incurred upon the Serbs by the U.S. and German imperialists, with the support of the Western and even much of the left-liberal U.S. press. I also, want to thank Mr. Lituchy for enlightening the readership as to the facts surrounding the recent conflict between President Milosevic and his pro-U.S., fascist opponents over the latter's alleged electoral "victory" in local elections. Mr. Lituchy made a convincing case that it was these fascists, along with their U.S. backers, and not Milosevic, who really "stole" these elections by stuffing the ballot boxes.

With that said, I must also, sadly, report the presence of several statements

the Milosevic regime?

Mr. Lituchy wants the "American people" to stop being so "brainwashed" by their "fascist" (not just imperialist) government. What political position would Mr. Lituchy offer as an alternative to being "brainwashed . . . Nazis"? We can avoid this fate, it seems, only by uncritically supporting the Milosevic regime. While Mr. Lituchy never so much as comes out and says this, it is in fact the position of the "only" left groups in the U.S. and Britain who, according to him, "have had a correct understanding of the crisis in the Balkans: those associated with Workers World, the Communist Party, and the British magazine Living Marxism."<sup>2</sup>

The first two (Stalinist) groups also joined each other to support the Soviet Union's destruction of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, and the Czech revolution in 1968! Shouldn't this give Mr. Lituchy just a little pause? And as for

wide scale. While such a theory was only barely credible when it involved the enormous natural resources of the Soviet Union, to apply it to a nation as pitiful as Serbia is simply ridiculous. This is mere sophistry, not science.

Is the Milosevic regime a "workers state"? That is to say, does it represent the interests of the workers of the world, and, in particular, the Serbian workers? If it were a healthy workers state, completely democratic, it would deserve at least our critical support. Mr. Lituchy seems to want us to believe that Yugoslavia is indeed fully "democratic." But without workers councils and soviets as a basis, this "democracy" can only be bourgeois, not a healthy workers democracy. As a "deformed workers state," the Milosevic regime also fails to pass muster. Milosevic has himself pledged to restore the capitalist market, and on its behalf has made considerable inroads into the collectivized property relations. It is true that perhaps one of primary motivations for the imperialist animus toward the regime is that it is still heavily nationalized. That does not make Milosevic's regime a deformed workers state. It is a bourgeois restorationist, albeit a still very bureaucratic, social democratic regime. If anything, the continued existence of these collectivized relations makes his overthrow all the more imperative—so the working class can rescue those relations from Milosevic's poisonous grasp, while there is still time!

Whether it is still a deformed workers state, or a bourgeois restorationist regime, makes little difference, anyway. Against the attacks by the U.S. imperialists and their fascist Zajedno lackeys, our task is to defend the Milosevic regime. But such defense, in either case, means only that we try to stop the imperialist onslaught, and urge revolutionary socialists and workers in Yugoslavia to form their own military organizations and to bloc militarily with the regime only against these Zajedno fascists and the imperialists—all the while urging the workers to overthrow the Stalinist or bourgeois regime in order to master the country themselves.

**Is the "Serbian People" "Anti-Imperialist," or just the target of imperialism?**

Are the Serbs a uniquely "anti-imperialist" people? Is that why the U.S. wants to destroy them, and is that a reason why we should support Milosevic uncritically? To Marxists, such an idea is patently absurd. There is no such thing, really, as a "Serbian" or "American" "people." There are classes. The working class of any nation is potentially anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. But as long as that nation is still capitalist, the capitalist class will be in control, and it is invariably treacherous and supportive of imperialism. So are the Stalinist bureaucrats, albeit to a much lesser degree. Thus leaders representing the middle classes, urban and peasant, who tend to flap whichever way the wind blows, will also tend to be pro-imperialist. Thus, most of the time, whatever capitalist or Stalinist country in which they live, unless the working class makes its stand against imperialism and capitalism, the "people" will tend to be pro-imperialist, or at least

unable and/or unwilling to challenge and defeat imperialism.

It is true, as Mr. Lituchy says, that "even to this day Serbs are numerically the largest and politically the most important people in the Balkans," and that "It has long been known by the great powers that to conquer the Balkans you must first conquer the Serbs." Intent upon dividing up the former workers state of Yugoslavia, carving it out for capitalist markets, the imperialists saw the Serbs as the biggest obstacle. For they were the ethnic community most interpenetrated, throughout Yugoslavia.

But Mr. Lituchy seems to identify the Serbs' victimization with sainthood. His attempt to do so is a mirror image of the illusions created by the imperialists around "multinational" Muslim Bosnia. Most of the U.S. left liberals foolishly lent their support to the U.S.'s Bosnian Muslim client state. They did so by swallowing the rather peculiar notion that the Muslim regime was simultaneously "multi-nationalist" and deserving of the right to "national self-determination." This was, effectively, a cover for what was in reality the pretensions of the Muslim fundamentalists to create a Greater Bosnia at the expense of the Serbs. Mr. Lituchy, while extremely critical of this, endeavors to create an exact replica of this little pea-and-shell game on behalf of the Serb nationalist cause. He paints a completely distorted history, to prove that the Serbs are some kind of pure race of philosopher kings. According to Mr. Lituchy, even though the Serbs are a nationalist entity, almost everything they do is for the greater good of all the Yugoslav peoples, and beyond that, all of humanity!

Mr. Lituchy would like us to believe all sorts of things about the "anti-imperialist" history of the "Serbian people," which are just not true. For example, he argues that "the establishment of Yugoslavia in 1918 . . . was made possible by the heroic sacrifices of the Serbian people in World War I who lost a quarter of their population in their struggle against German imperialist expansion in the Balkans."

In the first place, the creation of Yugoslavia was not uniquely the result of either the "heroic sacrifices" or the desires of the Serbs. The Yugoslav federation was imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, at the behest of most of the peoples of Yugoslavia, all of whom had suffered terribly.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the Serbs were not fighting against German imperialism, but instead, against Germany's ally at the time, the Austro-Hungarian empire. Finally, Mr. Lituchy fails to mention that the allegedly "anti-imperialist" Serbian "people" was itself at the time the catpaw of the Russian Empire.

Moving on to World War II, Mr. Lituchy writes that "A gallant multinational, revolutionary struggle was led by the mostly Serbian and Jewish Partisan forces against the combined the fascist armies of the German Wehrmacht, the Croatian Ustasha fascists and the Bosnian Muslim SS divisions, whose special task was to carry out a genocidal purge of the Jewish and Serbian peoples of Bosnia." It is a complete contradiction to say that the Partisans were both "multi-national" and "led by . . . mostly

## Mr. Lituchy seems to identify the Serbs' victimization with sainthood. His attempt to do so is a mirror image of the illusions created by the imperialists around "multi-national" Muslim Bosnia

in the article which I also find deeply disturbing. It is clear that Mr. Lituchy has a very strong, and rightful, desire to defend the Serbian people from destruction at the hands of the imperialists and their liberal and social chauvanist cheerleaders. But in the process, Mr. Lituchy uncritically stumps for Milosevic's Stalin-nationalism, and attempts to pass this off as a socialist analysis and program.

From beginning to end, the tone Mr. Lituchy sets is nationalist and moralistic, not socialist. He does not address his readers as working people, holding a common interest along with the Serb workers and peasants in seeing imperialism and capitalism overthrown. He addresses us, instead, as "the American people," who "must ask ourselves whether we can continue to allow the government of this country to pursue a policy of destroying small nations, . . ." etc., and announces that if we do not rise up en masse on the basis of such moralistic shame, we will "become a nation of couch-potato Nazis," responsible for yet another "bloody page in this nation's history. . ." In referring to the Serbs, Mr. Lituchy unfailingly refers to them with the homogenizing term "people" as well. Never once in the article does Mr. Lituchy even refer to either the "American people" or the "Serbian people" in terms of class (except to brand the Zajedno reactionaries as "middle class"). The only time that he uses the term "workers" is to slap the label "workers' state," along with "socialist," onto the Milosevic regime.

Uncritical support for

Living Marxism, these offshoots of the British Socialist Workers Party (and the American ISO) have never rejected the SWP's basic ignorance of the tasks of permanent revolution in societies such as Yugoslavia. The only difference is that while the SWP adopts a "pox on all their houses" standoffishness, LM adopts a position of "let's rally round Milosevic, because the West has exaggerated tremendously his crimes and is guilty of far worse."

Mr. Lituchy does give reasons to accept his position. As said before, he argues that the Milosevic regime is "socialist," and then, that it is a "workers' state." He also implies that the "Serbian people" are somehow a uniquely "anti-imperialist" people. Since every Serbian man, woman, and child, regardless of class (except for those middle class lying fascist Zajedno, of course) is anti-imperialist, and since the Milosevic government is the target of U.S. imperialism today, it is in the interest of the Voice's socialist/progressive readership to support the present Serb government, completely and uncritically. Let's examine all of these assumptions carefully.

**Is the Milosevic regime "socialist" or a "workers state"?**

Is the Milosevic regime "socialist"? Does Mr. Lituchy, who once styled himself a Marxist, sincerely subscribe now to the theory of "socialism in one country," pioneered by that great socialist, Joseph Stalin? Stalin thought that socialism could be accomplished, one country and one decade or even one century at a time, without accomplishing it on a world

Serbs and Jews." Which was it? Was it a multi-national struggle by workers and peasants from all over Yugoslavia for socialism and integration? Or a nationalist struggle fought almost exclusively by Serbs and Jews? The former, from what I have read. Tito himself, for example, was a Croat. And in fact, the Serb peasants by and large supported the monarchist Chetniks, not the Partisans.<sup>4</sup>

If one really wanted to find a manifestation of Serbian nationalism in WWII, a movement which truly was led by "mostly" Serbs, (if not Jews), one need only look at the Partisan's opponents, the Chetniks. Perhaps embarrassed by this example of genuine WWII-era Serb nationalism, Mr. Lituchy mentions merely that they opposed the Partisans. He neglects to mention the Chetnik leadership's ties, first to Nazism, and then to British imperialism, and that these Serbs murdered Croat and Muslim civilians en masse, (out of revenge at the Ustashi's and Muslim SS's atrocities), and aimed to set up a Greater Serbia.<sup>5</sup> The Chetniks' legacy sounds a lot closer to Milosevic's practices than does the Partisans.

As far as the present Serbian regime and its Bosnian Serb allies, Mr. Lituchy's account is more notable for its omissions than its assertions. He paints the Serb irregulars in Bosnia as merely opposing the "break up of their country" and claiming their "right to secede."

That's true, as far as it goes. But are the irregulars just a bunch of high-minded, saintly freedom-fighters? What about their horrifying massacre at Srebrenika? Or does he think this massacre, too, was merely an invention of the Western media? Mr. Lituchy seems also to conveniently forget such events as Milosevic's

internal campaign of "ethnic cleansing." This was in response, it is true, to one initiated by the Croats at the behest of the Germans. But since when do two wrongs make a right? Since when do two militarist, racist governments make a "workers state" out of the second one?

What about Milosevic's ties to Yeltsin's renewed Russian imperialism, and to the French imperialists? What about the deals he has cut, utterly betraying the Krajinian and Bosnian Serbs, with the U.S. and Germany?! What about the fact that just recently, before the fascists began their machinations, Yugoslav workers were on strike against the regime, and the Milosevic regime is widely perceived, contra Mr. Lituchy's assertions, as grotesquely corrupt? And what about the deal that Mr. Milosevic is trying to cut with the fascists, right now—these same fascists who proclaim their intention to attack and kill leftist workers as soon as they get into power? Mr. Lituchy solemnly warns Mr. Milosevic that this is a "grievous error." Is it, or is it yet another cynical maneuver which should earn even more of our disgust? Are we supposed to ignore all this? Are the workers supposed to stifle their disgust at Milosevic's betrayals, and put up with his government's corruption and their growing economic misery? Is that a real answer to the problems of the "Serbian people"?!

**Alternative: workers, clean out the fascists, overthrow Milosevic, unite with workers throughout former Yugoslavia!**

The truth is that while we must defend the Milosevic regime from these fascists in the streets, and from the Western

imperialists, it is by no means any more a workers state, nor even faintly "progressive." The workers of Yugoslavia must overthrow Milosevic, and create a real, healthy, workers state. A group from Austin, Texas, calling itself "Straight Facts," has worked out a practical, credible strategy for accomplishing both tasks. Here it is:

"Serbian working people should seize the opportunity of the crisis to defend and advance their position, in the direction of a social revolution sweeping the rightwing protesters off the streets and directly challenging the Milosevic regime, opening the way toward an all-out struggle for state power by the working class. In this view, building a militant, class-struggle leadership with a revolutionary program in Serbia and the other regions of the Balkans is an essential task."

This is the only practical strategy open to the Serbian workers. It is the only way to deal with these fascists: without getting lashed to Milosevic's treachery. And it calls upon the workers to rebuild their links to the other workers and peasants of Yugoslavia. That's the only real way to fight to preserve the legacy of the Partisans' "Yugoslav Revolution"! ■

1. The U.S. government is "fascist," apparently, because, like the Zajedno, it lies to its people. This is the sole definition he presents in the article. I hope that neither Mr. Lituchy nor myself or any of my friends, ever have to learn what fascism really is, the hard way. It is certainly true that fascism treats its own citizens the way generic imperialism treats its colonial subjects. The U.S., therefore, acts like "fascists" toward the Serbs,

and a lot of other peoples in the world. But they do not yet treat U.S. citizens that way. And spying on U.S. citizens is not the same thing, contrary to Mr. Lituchy's assertions in another article in this issue of the Voice. Though it might indeed provide an easy way to manipulate people into accepting uncritically his political position, I think Mr. Lituchy is being extremely irresponsible here. As I believe Trotsky said, throwing terms like "fascist" around so sloppily like this tends to weaken the potential for resistance when the real thing finally comes along, when the economic crisis becomes so severe that fascism is the only means by which the imperialists can indeed rule over their own people.

2. By the way, while Mr. Lituchy is correct to slam the Third Worldist, pseudo-anarchists of Love and Rage as well as Noam Chomsky for "their desire to tail after every Islamic fascist from Izetbegovic to Hamas," he does a real disservice to the genuine anarchist movement in this country, to which "Love and Rage" has attempted to attach themselves, as its self-styled leaders. Most anarchists neither see Love and Rage as legitimately anarchist, nor share their support for the Bosnian Muslims, the Afghan mujahadeen, etc..

3. See Richard West, *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1994), pp. 46-50.  
4. *Ibid.*, p. 111. One scans the relevant chapters in West's text in vain for this idea that the Partisan leadership was led "mostly" by Serbs and Jews. He does mention, however, that the Serbs were probably the "toughest fighters" among the Partisans. See p. 74.  
5. *Ibid.*

## Tom Smith's history and morals...what a mess

BY BARRY LITUCHY

Tom Smith's letter reminds me that eventually a little rain must fall. And sometimes a little spit is mixed in too. Everyone who knows Tom Smith knows that inevitably he or she will receive a long-winded diatribe containing Mr. Smith's latest outburst of profuse (but not very profound) rambles. OK, so now it's my turn. Of course, one might justly ask why Tom doesn't just write his own article on Yugoslavia rather than a ten page belly-ache against me? Oh, but that would require serious study and a coherent analysis, don't you know, things far beyond the reach and ambition of our dear Mr. Smith. And besides, spitting out of widows is more his speed.

Tom's criticisms fly every which way: some echo imperialist propaganda, others reflect Tom's reading disability which prevent him from comprehending texts fully, and some are just plain irrational and nutty. Yeah, that's about par for the course for Tom. But then you have to combine that with Tom Smith's Marxology: Tom's special blend of pseudo-history and sterile theories. Thus, you end up with a lifeless concoction that stinks to high hell. But enough with the complements; on with the autopsy.

Tom begins by complementing and agreeing with my article in regard to its

discussion of the victimization and demonization of the Serbs by Western imperialism, the destabilization of Yugoslavia by the U.S. and Germany, and its reporting of events surrounding the recent struggle with Zajedno over last fall's elections. Despite the fact that this is perhaps 99% of what the article was about, Tom Smith then requires several thousand more words "to sadly report" several "deeply disturbing" statements he found in the article. As we shall see, the reason for this excessive verbiage is due to the fact that Tom is himself more than a little confused about what he is criticizing. But it's also due to Tom's uncontrollable mental diarrhea. We've known of this problem of his all too well over the years. When Tommy Boy was a parrot on my shoulder I used to try to teach him how to control this problem, but to no avail. Then, one day, he flew the coop. Now he's loose on the world.

Tom's laundry list of accusations/criticisms include: 1. I'm a Stalinist. 2. I'm a nationalist. 3. I'm a moralist. 4. I don't address my readers as "comrades." 5. I don't give a class analysis. 6. Yugoslavia is not a workers' state. 7. Serbs committed war crimes. Along with these Tom throws in a number of his own misconceptions and factual errors as well as his fanciful view of what needs to be done in Yugoslavia.

Let's start with accusation number 4:

my "uncomradely" tone. It's already hard to take Mr. Smith's criticisms too seriously since clearly the language he uses contains a great deal of hypocrisy: "sad to report," "deeply disturbing," etc. The sense of irony is increased further by Mr. Smith's claims about "the Voice's socialist/progressive readership." Of course, I aim to write for this audience too. But to do so exclusively, as Mr.

**I have presented the general parameters of which class supports whom in Yugoslavia today and why Zajedno is a capitalist restorationist movement.**

Smith seems to think I should, would make my articles irrelevant to all but a very small handful readers. Mr. Smith apparently thinks that the main readership of the Voice is some vast socialist/progressive community. Sadly, this is not so. But Tom's delusional fantasies at least make one smile. We shall move on.

Related to this delusion is Smith's charge of "moralism." To this charge I will gladly plead guilty! In fact, I'm pleased to be described as a moral writer. I do believe that there is a moral crisis in America and I think it's important to address it. However, my view of morals and morality is not that they are God-given, but that they are derived from a materialist basis in society, and that they serve social purposes directly related to the needs of the social classes that generate them. The moral crisis facing the American people results from the overwhelming weight of capitalist propaganda and false consciousness produced by a culture of imperialism and capitalist

depravity, a culture imposed on the people by the swinish, bloodsucking American ruling class to further their class interests. It is always my intention to confront this false consciousness and moral depravity head on with the opposite moral values of a people under the gun of imperialist oppression. Should readers of the Voice (whatever their class

## ...What a mess

(continued from page 9)

background) face up to the moral implications of living in a country that commits genocide against small nations? I find it hard to understand why someone who claims to be a socialist would argue against that. Just as the ruling class imposes a morality of what is good and evil, so too must those in struggle present a counter morality to provide guidance and clarity.

But like most bourgeois snobs Tom Smith considers himself above morality, above classes, and most importantly, above real struggles. Ultimately, Tom's

## If Marxism is about anything it should be about passionate, moral inquiry using scientific method that aims to give light, purpose and hope to the really existing struggles of which we are a part

methodology is that of the super-alienated bourgeois intellectual for whom no actually existing political struggle can ever quite match up to his ideal standards of what "the working class" or "socialism" or a "workers' state" really ought to be. So, the solution is abstentionism from real struggle and support only to non-existing ideal fantasies of "the proletarian vanguard party," and "pure democracy." Ultimately, this is just another form of religious idealism dressed up in "Socialist/Marxist/Trotskyist/Bolshevik" (choose one) rhetoric. No wonder Tom cited the Spartacist League's Workers' Vanguard so glowingly in one of his recent articles. It is their reputation for Marxist-religious purity, their purity of sterile rhetoric and political abstentionism that he no doubt finds so attractive.

Three of Mr. Smith's accusations fall under the category of Tom's reading disability. First, there is no lack of class analysis in my article. Indeed, it is very unlikely that readers of this article will find as much class analysis of the Yugoslav situation in any other publication. I have presented the general parameters of which class supports whom in Yugoslavia today and why Zajedno is a capitalist restorationist movement. Perhaps Tom simply doesn't want to accept the fact that the overwhelming majority of working class people, both in the cities and outside them, support President Milosevic and the Socialist-United Left Coalition. But those are the class realities, like them or not. Secondly, as for my supposedly uncritical support for President Milosevic, this is still more

malarkey. None of my articles over the last several years has gone without some criticism of the present leadership. Indeed, my last article began flat out with a strong criticism of Milosevic's too soft handling of Zajedno, reiterated later in the same article.

But what Tom Smith can't seem to understand is that if you are interested in supporting the working class in Yugoslavia and defending the gains of the Yugoslav revolution you first of all do not write articles primarily attacking the main people trying to defend these things; you focus your fire on the real class enemies of socialism, namely imperialism and its internal supporters. Further, there is a difference between uncritical support and critical support. My

support of the Yugoslav leadership has always been critical, but more importantly it has always meant real support, not the underhanded, backstabbing hypocrisy that Shachtmanites and Social Democrats like Tom Smith seem to prefer. The accusation that I'm a Stalinist is equally baseless, as Tom well knows, though he claims to have discovered it in my articles.

As for Tom Smith's version of history, we can rest easy that he has made no accurate discoveries whatsoever, despite having skimmed a few pages in Richard West's interesting though hardly comprehensive biographical history of Tito and Yugoslavia. Not surprisingly Tom is wrong on all five of his "contributions" to Yugoslav history. Contrary to Tom, Yugoslavia was created largely as a result of the efforts (and heroic sacrifices) of the Serbs, against the efforts of most Croats, Slovenes and Muslims who did indeed suffer, but did so as combatants on the side of the Germans and Turks. And this occurred in 1918, the year before the Versailles Conference, against the original wishes of the Western powers. Furthermore, the idea of creating a Balkan federation as a bulwark against Turkish and German colonialism was a part of Serbian political thinking going back to the early 1840's, and was a declared aim of Serbia at the outset of World War I.

Secondly, Tom's discovery that Austrians are not Germans would shock the world were it not ridiculously false. (Imagine if Tom were around to set Hitler straight on this!) Moreover, Austria and Germany acted completely in concert in foreign policy in 1914, especially in

regard to their war aims in the Balkans. By the way, it's Austro-Hungarian, not "Austrio-" as you have it in your copy.

Thirdly, Serbia's involvement in World War I had little to do with its relationship to Russia. In fact, the reverse was more true since it was the German-Austrian ultimatum and then declaration of war against Serbia which compelled Russia to mobilize troops, which in turn led Germany and Austria to declare war on Russia (something Russia had not even intended). Fourthly, the Serbs did not "by and large support the Chetniks." Not even pro-Chetnik historians make such a stupid claim, for if it were true they would have won the war. Most Serbs (and all Jews) went with the Partisans. Why? Because the alternative was a place called the Jasenovac concentration camp. Get it? Fifth, yes it is possible for the Partisan movement to have been both a multi-national struggle and one mostly comprised of Serbs and Jews. The leadership of the Partisan movement in 1941-42 was essentially the Yugoslav Communist Party which was indeed comprised of men and women from all of the numerous nationalities in Yugoslavia, but it numbered only in the hundreds. The first 40,000 or so recruits to the Partisans in the first two years of the war were almost entirely Serbs and Jews with a certain number of Dalmatians and Slovenes. The vast majority of the Croat and Bosnian Muslim population, I am sorry to say, supported the Nazis and Ustashi until the war started to turn against them late in 1943.

Finally, I will take up just two more of Tom's fatuous arguments. The accusation that I am a nationalist and the charge of war crimes against Serbs at Srebrenica (another misspelling by Tom). First, once again for the record, I am not a nationalist, nor is my analysis nationalist. However, I have made it clear many times over that the Serbian struggle is both an anti-imperialist struggle in defense of socialized property forms and a national liberation struggle for self-determination. I have made clear many times that one of the objectives of the Dayton Accords is to deny Serbian national self-determination and unity, and ultimately to continue a war against the Serbian people that not only recognizes the ethnic cleansing of one million Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia, but that aims at the further removal of Serbs from Bosnia, the separation of Montenegro from Yugoslavia, and the dissolution of Serbia itself: in other words the planned destruction of the Serbian nation. Try to understand Mr. Smith, that the first right of any people, long before socialism or democracy or statehood, is the right to exist, to live. For a people like the Serbs who have undergone three genocides in this century this is no small matter.

As for Srebrenica, it too has gone the way of all of the other faked war crime stories: it's been exposed as yet another hoax to demonize the Serbs. There are no 12,000, 6000, or 3000 dead Bosnian Muslims. After nearly two years of an

excavation more thorough than any done for the Holocaust or any other forensic study, the atrocity-mongers have dug up only 130 bodies, of which none have been positively identified. Most of these bodies may very well be dead Serbs massacred in the 1992 ethnic cleansing of Srebrenica carried out by Muslim militias. Tom, now that every one of the war crime stories you once believed in has turned out to be a hoax, have you learned anything? No, of course not. You'll continue to echo imperialist propaganda all the same.

Tom's incoherent drivel about what is or is not a workers' state touched on a potentially interesting question were it handled by someone more astute. But his claims about Milosevic and the Yugoslav state not being progressive issue from the same kind of brainless ultra-leftism that is objectively no less dangerous than fascism. It's Tom Smith that's "not even faintly progressive," not the Yugoslav state.

Tom's Marxology is typical of a lot of what's wrong with the Left in general. He's more interested in abstractions than in real people, more alive to systems of dogma than to really existing human actions and struggles. So, it's no surprise when Tom concludes his exegesis with some lame plan for achieving "pure socialism" in Yugoslavia, a scheme he got from some anonymous Marxologists in Austin, Texas. Plan Nine From Austin Texas says: Fight all sides and proclaim a workers' state! Oh yeah, that should do it. Never mind that workers in Yugoslavia have no clue as to whom he or his Texan friends are (nor would they care). Never mind that real leadership is earned (not proclaimed) only after long years of patient collaboration and mutual respect.

I feel no obligation to apologize for fighting passionately for the Serbian people. Mr. Smith would like me to drain all feeling from my politics because he would like me and everyone else to share in his alienation from all things human, and in his abhorrence for those who love their own people. I'm sorry, but that's not my idea of internationalism. If you can't love and fight for your own people (or your own family), how can you claim to love the international working class, or humanity, or whatever abstraction you prefer? If Marxism is about anything it should be about passionate, moral inquiry using scientific method that aims to give light, purpose and hope to the really existing struggles of which we are a part. The capitulation to and retreat into the sterile, bloodless world of Marxology by Smith and most groups and individuals these days who call themselves socialist is a sad and ironic indictment of the Left, especially considering the original meanings of the word socialism. The ultimate test of your verbal pretensions, Mr. Smith, lies in their relevancy for the peoples of Yugoslavia, not in the enfeebled recesses of your sputtering mind. But I believe we already know the verdict of that test. ■

## ... "Generation X"

(continued from page 12)

grams". This group also calls for immediate removal of the government from the educational process and blames the government for creating "functional illiterates".

The danger presented by groups such as this is that they play on the fears of this generation while opening the doors for corporate control of every aspect of society. Libertarian candidate Harry Browne is a perfect example of the true aspirations of the party. Under the title of "important past achievements" the party proudly lists Browne's best selling books. These hot selling titles include "How you can Profit from the Coming Devaluation", "You can Profit from a

## ... Under attack

(continued from page 3)

racism, sexism, or events taking place nationally and internationally are hard to put together. This is a cause of the recent "reorganization", by wall street, taking place in the public educational system—that is the privatization of public universities. Public education in our society is not thought of as a means of broadening ones mind, simply, but rather it is a training ground for working class people to better their skills for the job market. They eventually want us to become "specialized" guinea pigs, in different shape and form.

The role of our dear Professors is in serious question! Departments and courses are being eliminated and professors are being fired. Those professors that survive are left with double the work load. This trend doesn't only effect them but students ultimately

Monetary Crisis" and "New Profits from the Monetary Crisis". This books demonstrate that the accumulation of capital certainly precedes any illusions of spreading "liberty". Like the Christian right, Libertarians do not choose to re-order society to eliminate inequalities but simply aggravate current conditions for their profit.

### Conclusion

The crisis of Generation X is a direct result of the failure of the Suburban project on a local level and the failure of the American Project on a national and international scale. The idea that the middle class can run from the realities of urban problems caused by the inequities of the capitalist system is being dismantled. The cracks in the suburban project has left America with a new generation of

suffer the consequences. The few Liberal Arts courses that are offered are so broad and cover such a long periods of history that it becomes confusing for students. Again lets take the example of the ACE exam, the main reason behind those trying to push this through is that they are "concerned" that CUNY students are not well prepared and therefore they should be given a standardized exam which will elevate the standard of CUNY degrees. However the problem is not that students need "tougher" standards, the reality of the matter is: 1) students are expected to learn, for example the History of Africa, in one semester; that is a history of a whole continent- not even a country in about four months. 2) Courses in African-American, African, and Womens Studies are shoved into other departments, and in in most cases only one or two professors teach the courses offered. 3) Last but not the least, all classes consists of about 40-45 students with professors who teach at least 3 courses. These are the fundamental problems that

middle class "latch key kids" held hostage by the pursuit of capital accumulation. The solutions offered by the groups competing for Generation X only feeds into current trends and lays the groundwork for the next generation of angst ridden youth. Similar to the general construction of the capitalist system the concept of Generation X is inherently racist and reinforces class differentiation by focusing on the plight of middle class mallrats. Rather than focusing on inner city youth who face the reality of surviving on a day to day basis, Generation X focuses on the problems of achieving and then surpassing the material success of their parents.

The solution for the problems that Generation X faces are do not exist in the capitalist raps of the Christian right and the Libertarians. For any significant soci-

etal change, Gen X'ers must begin to take structural views concerning the way the capitalist mode of production builds the inequalities that X'ers face. Economic reality is creeping up the social scale as America rushes into a two tier society of mega rich and ultra poor. The time for change in America has come. The class antagonisms that capitalism fosters will be aggressively antagonized as international capitalism continues to dominate the economic landscape. Making short term deals with the capitalists will not create equality but only continue to institutionalize inequity. A swift unified response from the economically dispossessed is the only way to enact true change and ensure the safety of our future generations from the oppressive future that looms on the near horizon.■

CUNY is facing. Professors need to understand that what effects them ultimately effect students twice as hard. Students need them to join in with their struggles against degeneration of public education.

### Students need to organize and demand their basic rights!

The struggle of students can not be won alone- especially of those in a public education. The cuts that are imposed upon CUNY are not isolated, there is an all out attack against public services, not only in NYC but throughout the nation.

We have to start at our campuses and build a student voice that is clearly in the interests of students. However, students need to link their struggle with the struggles of the communities that they come from and the organized sector of the working class. Yes, student organizations on campus need to be independant of Administrations! Unfortunately Student Governments are bodies that have inherent links to Administration, who are a

clear political body representing those who are in power in our society. However, progressive students need to take over and thereby expel the right wing careerists that currently control many student governments throughout CUNY and neutralize that body. However students who know that the fight against the privatization of public higher education can only be won through linking up with other public sectors, need to build groups on campuses independently of SG and Administration- and fight clearly on that program.

All Students and Professors out on March 27th-to fight the cuts at City Hall!

March 27th is the first step towards a CUNY-wide and City-wide fight back against the recently proposed cuts. After that we need to join with Unions and the working class that is being attacked along with CUNY. Students can not defeat these cuts, year after year, on their own. We need to link our fight with the working class.■

# The only way to fail this test is *not* to take it.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER, especially when it comes to your health. And the truth is, you can't get treated for HIV if you don't know you have it. So don't put it off. Get tested. With Home Access Express,™ the HIV-1 test you can take in the privacy and comfort of your own home.

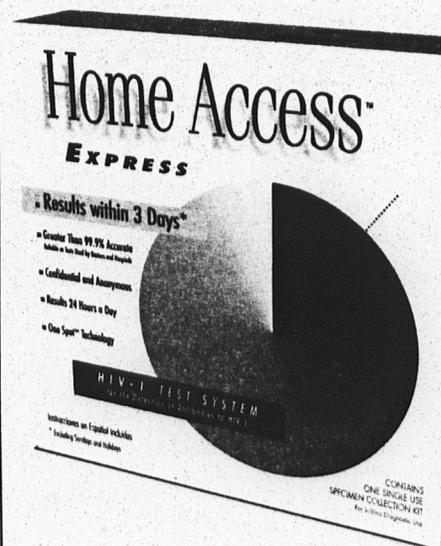
Home Access Express is greater than 99.9% accurate and easy to administer.

- Prepare your test at home
- Mail your sample
- Call for results within three business days

Trained, caring professionals will answer your questions and ease your mind—24 hours a day, seven days a week—with complete confidentiality.

The Home Access Express HIV-1 test is available at select pharmacies. Or you can order by phone for direct, confidential shipment to your home. Call 1-800-HIV-TEST.

Visit our web site at [www.homeaccess.com](http://www.homeaccess.com) for more information.



# 1-800-HIV-TEST



# The crisis of "Generation X"

The solution for the problems that "Generation X" faces do not exist in the capitalist raps of the Christian right and the Libertarians For any significant societal change, Gen X'ers must begin to take structural views concerning the way the capitalist mode of production builds the inequalities that X'ers face

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

**F**inding ones identity via a generational grouping has been an American reality for many decades. From the Beat generation to the Baby Boomers to today's formulation of Generation X'ers, American youth has become fascinated with the idea of separating themselves from their parents via mass groupings formed around age. In the sixties the age differentiation was crystallized as Hippies proclaimed that no one over the age of thirty could be trusted. For a short time it was even thought, quite foolishly, that our society could be restructured around issues of age. In the end, as with all attempts to negotiate with the Capitalist system, the generalists were sucked into the societal machinery and co-opted into its structure. The disillusioned Flower children of yesteryear quickly became the corporate financiers of today. Generation X is currently undergoing a similar transformation, the change from disillusioned youth to capitalist machinists is being carried out swiftly via new means of communication like the Internet.

### Answering the magic question... what is Generation X?

This question is the most asked one by anyone you speak to concerning Generation X. In addition to being the most asked it also seems to be the most urgent. Generation X'ers are desperate in their search for self identity, for some type of meaning in their life and they therefore proceed with the illusive dream of finding the perfect category in which they can place themselves. Out of this desperate situation come pop icons like Canada's Douglas Coupland. Coupland's book Generation X provided observations of a generational grouping plagued by parental divorce, diminishing job expectations and irony-rich living. In addition to outlining these difficulties, Coupland introduced Generation X labels like "slackers", "twentysomethings" and "baby busters". Coupland's book provided an outlet for self identification which came along with a newly coded language. Coupland's coded language described as "neologisms" include definitions such as "boomer envy" defined as "envy of material wealth and long range material security accrued by older mem-

bers of the baby boom generation by virtue of fortunate births". "Brazilification" is another term introduced by Coupland, it was used to represent "the widening gulf between the rich and the poor and the accompanying disappearance of the middle classes". The word "Safety Net-ism" was created to represent "the belief there will always be a financial and emotional safety net to buffer life's hurts. Usually parents." Out of this generational definition came the mass grouping of young people between the ages of 18 to 30 around Generation X.

My initial ideas in regards to Generation X is that it represents a group that is most certainly not based on age but one based mainly on class. The Xers represent the growing white suburban middle class youth that grew up faced with the realities of the fractured family unit. In addition to those X'ers that grew up in one parent households, others were faced with the grim reality of having two parents that work full time. For the working class the destruction of the family unit due to the economic pressures that the capitalist mode of production enforces has been reality for quite some time. For white suburbia the migration from urban centers to suburban outskirts was an attempt to distance themselves from problems such as these. The confusion and disillusionment expressed by this generation is a direct rejection of this project and a realization that the economic pressures placed on the family unit cannot be resolved by geographic displacement. The destruction of the middle class notion of family has left this generation with a deep loss of any sense of community.

Diminishing expectations is another feeling that has been used to define Generation X. The attack on the lower ranks of the American middle class which began in the mid-70's and was violently enforced during the Reagan presidency has left X'ers with the felling that all is lost for them. Reagan's attacks on the working class, through the union busting of the 80's, set the stage for the massive layoffs by major corporate employers such as Apple, AT&T, Chemical bank/Chase bank, NYNEX etc. The middle class notion of the "American Dream" is under harsh scrutiny. Previous generations of the middle class had been soothed by the notion that they would advance, materially, as compared to their

parents have extinguished any middle class dreams for this generation. For the working class, the "American Dream" has been a fallacy that has been used as part of the demonization process. Working class "pursuit of happiness" has been restricted since the origin of the American society through various initiatives taken against this class by the American elite. The lower deal middle class is rapidly being forced to come to grips with the fact that they will not achieve the same material status as their parents.

### Gen X under attack... the Christian Right and the Libertarians

The rejection of the American project by the white middle class has created a void which various opportunistic groups are looking to fill. As a direct result of the

"is a generation with non-linear concept of what truth and absolutes are". This post modernistic world is filled with "nonlinear images, illusions and pseudo-truths" which they blame on the increasing influence of the media over youth. Rick Lawrence, author of "Inside the Head of Generation X", reduces the media conspiracy theory to "the difference between Homer and Bart Simpson". Homer can be fooled easily and thereby represents the baby boomers while the slick Bart Simpson character is representative of the hardened Generation X who have been fooled so much by authority figures that they trust no one. In place of this lost trust, Christians look to substitute another equally "nonlinear image", "biblical truth". King implored young Christian recruiters to "teach them (Gen X) that God will never leave them or for-

## The crisis of "Generation X" is a direct result of the failure of the suburban project on a local level and the failure of the American Project on a national and international scale

hopelessness and angst ridden feelings that Generation X has been grouped around, factions of the Christian right have begun to organize their efforts to recruit new followers around the concepts they feel give definition to Generation X. The opportunism that enters into this recruitment process lies in the fact that these Christian groups do not look to transform the society that creates the inequities that Generation X'ers face. Instead, they look to use the weakness of youth to sell their program while they leave the structural inequities of society intact.

Christian leaders such as Dan King, of the College Drive Community Church in Lethbridge, Alberta, have taken advantage of the latest form of media, the Internet, to get their message out. King feels that the Generation X'ers are dominated by a post modern philosophy. As a result of this shift, King feels that Gen X

sake them".

Politically, Generation X is being courted by the radical capitalist group, the Libertarian Party. The Libertarians are looking to take the white middle class anger with authority figures and focus it directly upon the state. Like other groups the Libertarians seek to reach Gen X through the Internet. In the past election they presented Harry Browne as "the choice of Generation X". Libertarians believe in the individualization of all rights and blame the government for all of societal problems. The Social Security issue has been used to solidify the support of Generation X'ers by antagonizing their generational differentiation with the Baby Boomers. Libertarians call for the "immediate abolishment of the 15% Social Security tax" to allow "Americans to choose their own retirement pro-

Continued on page 11