

COLLEGE VOICE



**For free
tuition
and open
admissions!**

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PATAKI PROPOSES:

\$57.6 MILLION CUT TO CUNY TUITION TO BE RAISED BY \$400

BY SARAH HUSAIN

News Analysis

Welcome students to a new semester, another round of tuition increases is on the way. Governor George Pataki wants to raise Tuition for CUNY and SUNY by \$400, cut the Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) by \$475, a 12% cut from \$4,050 to \$3,575, and cut \$57.6 million from CUNY's Budget. The overall cut to spending on CUNY and SUNY is \$175 million in the coming academic year.

The proposed \$57.6 cut in the budget means less courses offered, more faculty layoffs, and the further deterioration of services for students. Despite the fact that last year CUNY had faced the largest tuition increase and budget cut in its history, dismantling open admissions, the Governor is still not satisfied. Last year, tuition was increased by \$750, TAP was axed, the SEEK program was nearly eliminated and CUNY's budget was cut by \$60 million. These unwarranted cuts forced thousands of students to drop out of school.

New York State's support of the Senior College operating budget, per Full Time Enrollment (FTE) is among the lowest of all state systems of higher education. Meanwhile, University enrollment during the past decade has increased by 12% (more than 24,000 students), at the same time public funding has severely decreased: in 1988-89, 80% of the University's operating budget came from State and City, today that figure is only 57%. Students are forced to pay for this decrease through increased tuition.

What do these cuts mean? Open Admission Under Attack!

Public higher education has been put on the road to privatization. The responsibility of higher education has shifted from the state unto the backs of students; the percentage of the University's budget borne by students has risen nearly 150% since 1990

from \$220 million to \$537 million today. Tuition now accounts for 43% of the four-year college's budget, a double tax for CUNY students who work and pay taxes as well.

These cuts prevent working class students from receiving higher education! CUNY students are among the poorest undergraduates in the nation, 76% live in households with total income under \$40,000 and 42% with incomes under \$20,000. The New York Times reported the following in their article on Monday, Jan. 27, "Aid Cuts Put College Beyond Reach of Poorest Students:"

"...the proportion of students earning college degrees by age 24 from families in the richest quarter of the population (in 1994, those with incomes above \$65,000) has jumped sharply, to 79% in 1994 from 31% in 1979. But the rate among students from families in the poorest population (with 1994 incomes below \$22,000) stayed flat over the same years, at about 8%."

The initial purpose of CUNY was to educate the working class and the poor who couldn't afford to pay for higher education in private colleges. The continuous cuts in financial aid are a major problem for working class and poor students. For the past 20 years the Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) paid the tuition for those students who were qualified. However, in 1995 NY reduced the maximum award for public university students to 90% of tuition. The Federal Pell Grant program which is aimed at helping the neediest students with expenses other than tuition is now only a maximum of \$2,700 for students at four year colleges. Furthermore this year Pataki intends to have students who receive Pell grants as well as state tuition assistance to receive less from the state program. This will literally make education an added burden for more than

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1995 CUNY Students Rallied by the Thousands to stop the cuts



THE DISMANTLING OF CUNY

Continued from Front Page

"THIS TREND OF CONTINUOUS BUDGET CUTTING IS MAKING IT HARDER AND HARDER FOR THE WORKING CLASS PARTICULARLY BLACKS, LATINOS AND WOMEN TO RECEIVE AN EDUCATION."

half of all undergraduates-85,000-who qualify for Pell grants and 72,000 who get tuition assistant from New York State.

Programs like SEEK which help incoming students who need preparatory help before actually taking college level classes are being cut. The need for remedial education is rooted in the badly underfunded, poorly organized high school system here in NYC. The cutting of remedial education will effectively prevent those neediest students from gaining access to a college education. More than 80% of America's college students study at public universities. This trend of continuous budget cutting is making it harder and harder for the working class, particularly Black and Latino youth to obtain a higher education. Indeed, where a college education is essential to prepare for today's job market, education should be a right and not a privilege.

These cuts are racist!

Two thirds of CUNY students are minorities, with blacks making up 30.5% of the students body, Hispanics 21%, and Asians 11.4%. Furthermore about 40% of students currently entering are Black and Hispanics and trace their ancestry to the Caribbean. In the 1960's minorities and women who faced systematic discrimination by being barred from receiving an education fought hard to have access to higher education, forcing the University to adopt a policy guaranteeing any New York City high school graduates admission to a college of the University. In 1976 tuition was imposed on CUNY students and ever since open admissions has been under attack. The justification of this has always been "not enough money".

These cuts are sexist!

Over 40% of CUNY students are women. More than 26,000 (10%) of full time CUNY students are on public assistance, of those 40% are raising children. The state wants them to work 26 hours a week in order to receive public assistance. This requirement makes it impossible for them to attend school full time, and as part-time students they will no longer be eligible for financial aid. More than 50% of these students are women, more than 50% are single heads of household with children.

One out of every five CUNY students is a parent. However, child care centers in CUNY which provide child care services to parents during their class time are restricted. At CSI students have to go to a lottery to have their child placed in the center. In 1995-96 CUNY supported 16 child care centers, served 1,600 children, and did not have space for over 3,700 children. This year the federal funding for child care centers has been cut by 23%, resulting in even longer waiting lists

which prevent single parents, especially women, from taking classes.

The Case of CSI

Last academic year CSI absorbed an \$11.2 million cut in it's budget. CSI students saw their Health and Physical Education Department abolished; the degree programs in the Engineering Technologies Dept. abolished; \$680,000 in funds that went towards university contracts, supplies, materials, and equipment cut; the campus completely closed on Sunday's eliminating Sunday classes and Sunday services; elimination of more than 100 class sections; and a significant number of forced retirements among the faculty.

If this years cuts go through CSI will again see many of the above austerities enforced on students. Each year student services are cut by the Administration, who justify it under the false pretense of "not enough" money. As a result of this, students don't have access to the Library, or the Computer Labs. Student life suffers, where CSI Clubs have no space and existing space is tightly regulated by Administration. The Campus Center closes when classes end leaving students who are involved with extracurricular activities no time or space. With all these cuts students are forced to pay more and more every year for a diminishing education.

What Does Administration Do for Students?

Over the past few years students have seen funding for security increase while classes and professors decrease. At a time of unprecedented cuts, CUNY Administration has built a special S.A.F.E. team which has "special" powers: they can carry weapons including guns and pepper spray and have 24 hour arrest powers in New York State. Administration has already spent \$200 million over the past 5 years, furthermore it will spend at least \$22 million a year to maintain this force. The SAFE officers are paid \$25,000 starting salary, nearly that of an assistant professor. Their salary comes out of the same

budget line as the financial aid.

CUNY Chancellor, Ann Reynolds, is appointed by the Governor and the Mayor, which is a conflict of interest. She certainly cannot go against her boss and oppose the cuts and tuition increases, her job would be jeopardized. Thus to maintain the "order" and control the "unrest" of students who try to fight the cuts, CUNY Administration finds security more important than classes and faculty. Not only does Ann Reynolds represent the interests of the State but she also sits on the New York City Investment Fund, which is a joint fund of billionaire investors which seeks to privatize and profit off of the underdeveloped areas in the City. Her colleagues are all CEO's of corporations.

Access To Education Now!

The state proposes not only to cut higher education but also other public services. Pataki's proposal looks to reduce the state work force by 1,700 and severely cut Medicaid. These attacks to public higher education are linked to the overall dismantling of public institutions, such as the Health Care, Transportation and Sanitation systems. The overall lives of the majority of working class of NYC is getting difficult. One cannot but ask the question whose interests does Pataki represent? These cuts only show the fact that the state works only for the interests of the wealthy profiteers on Wall Street.

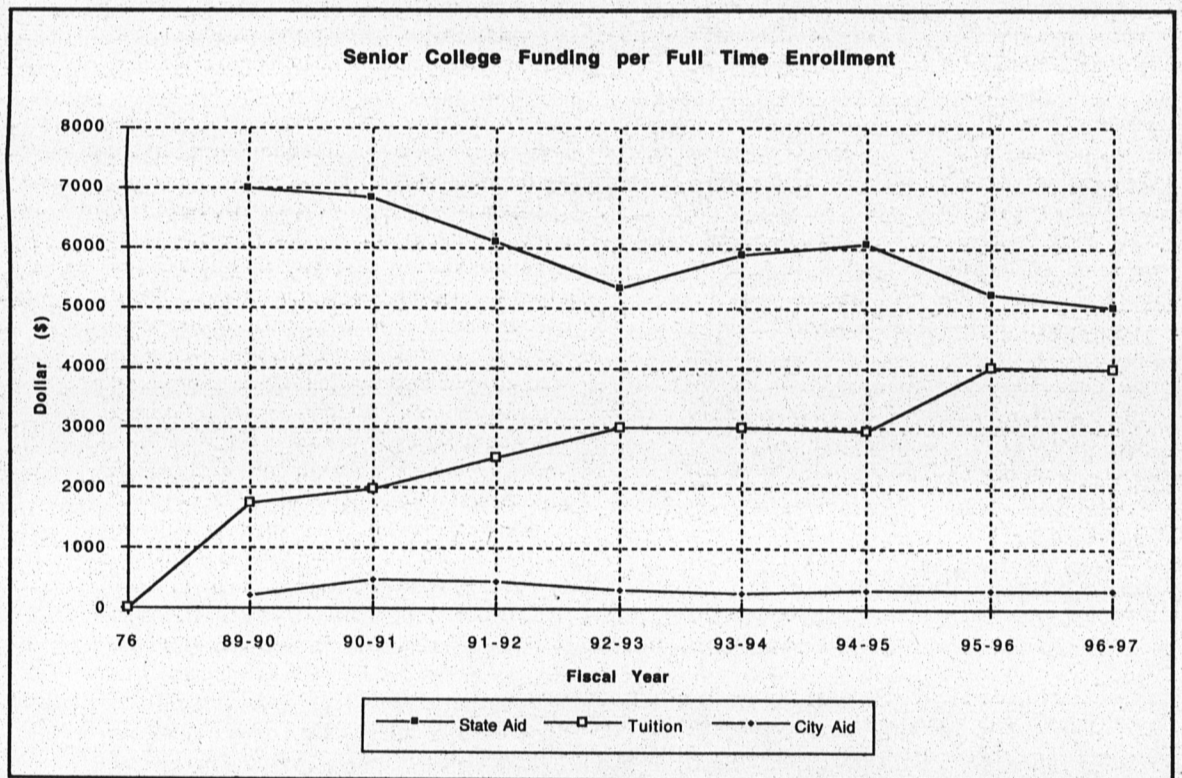
This gruesome dismantling of public higher education and public institutions

and cuts put college beyond reach of poorest students" by quoting an analyst of higher education who says, "What I tell kids is that as scary as paying for college is, you have to go. The only thing more expensive than going to college is not going to college." The reality is that CUNY students are not kids in fact a lot of them have their own kids, families and they work making an income under \$25,000 a year. Such statements can only be made by analysts of higher education because they deem education as a privilege instead of a right. The other reality is that Pataki and the state make going to prison more inexpensive than receiving an education; they build more prisons rather than schools.

Education should not be a privilege! Education should be a right! The deterioration of public higher education is not due to lack of money, but rather the funding is determined on the basis of the interests of Wall Street, who would like see public higher education dismantled by privatizing it so they can satiate their thirst for profit.

What Do Students Need To Do To Fight The Cuts.

Here at the College of Staten Island a few members of student clubs came together realizing that something has to be done about the ever decreasing student services. Last semester a CSI Student Union was formed. They are fighting for extended Library hours, 24 hour access to Computer Labs and Campus Center. Realizing Administration doesn't do anything to fight state and city cuts on behalf of student interests, but rather implements them when the budget cuts



by the state is always justified by the so-called increasing "budget deficit". Where does this "budget deficit" come from? The state always fails to explain! New York State's \$3.9 billion budget deficit for fiscal year 1997 is the result of tax cuts which have reduced revenues by \$2.3 billion. More than 97% of the gap is the result of two tax cuts that were enacted in 1994 and '95. In 1994, the tax cut totaled \$1.4 billion. In 1995 the tax cut was \$2.394 billion, totaling \$3.79 billion. for both years. 40% of the tax cuts will go to people earning more than \$100,000 a year who make up 5% of the total population. Not to mention the tax breaks that are given to corporations on Wall St. and banks, under the false rationalization that they are incentives that keep these businesses in town.

The New York Times end their article

go through. Student Union is organizing to make student issues heard, by fighting budget cuts at large and at CSI specifically. With the understanding that not only public higher education is being dismantled but other public services are being cut throughout the city that effect the families of CUNY students. CUNY students have to link with unions and community organizations that are also being threatened. The struggle of students to have open access to public education is the same fight as the fight against layoffs, cuts to city services and police brutality. It is the fight of the working class against the capitalist class. Let us begin this fight at CSI and move forward until the cuts are placed upon those who enforce them! Let us build a movement that will open CUNY and public education to anyone who has the willingness to learn! Let's defeat these cuts!

A Primer on the New York City Budget: Seven Elementary Principles

Editors Note:

The following is the text of a talk given by Bob Fitch at the recent SLAM student conference at Brooklyn College. Fitch is author of, "The Assassination of New York".

BY BOB FITCH

1. The budget is easy.

You don't need to know calculus or even algebra. Adding and subtracting are the highest level mathematical techniques you need to master. It's made to seem more arcane than it is, because this way the fiscal elite can set all its priorities without having to argue with anyone.

Still, you would be surprised how people who should know about it—don't! Last year Council woman Mary Pinckett, opposing term limits on WNYC argued that ordinary people weren't qualified to deal with such complex issues as the New York City budget. "We have a \$2 billion budget," she pointed out, "We can't just let anyone come in off the street. They'll mess it up." Someone called in, "No I think it's a \$3 billion budget. Pinckett and the caller argued, "3 billion" no, 2 billion. Well it was \$32 billion.

What's striking here is that Pinckett could be dealing with the budget for nearly two decades and not only have no idea of the magnitudes she was dealing with. That takes real indifference. And at the same time, insist we're too dumb to figure it out.

2. The money's there.

Last week, Wall Street reported \$12 billion in after tax profits. The value of the city's real estate is upwards of \$380 billion. Henry Kravis of KKR earned over \$3.5 billion last year on one deal!

And at the same time, Giuliani reported a \$1.5 billion revenue surplus. That's the background to over \$500 million in agency cuts.

And that's without looking at the real estate giveaways that are built into the budget by programs like ICIP — the Industrial and Commercial Incentives Program — which altogether add up to about, \$1.6 billion.

3. Taxes Rates have been falling for more than a quarter century.

The Personal Income Tax used to be 15%, now it's 7% and change. The real estate tax rate is down from over \$4.00 per hundred of market value to less than \$2.00. They've cut the inheritance tax and the real estate transfer tax. They've completely eliminated the stock transfer tax — if it were on the books it'd be generating over \$2 billion.

We've been having fiscal crisis for a better part of a quarter century. We've been having a fiscal crisis for a quarter of a century, because we've been cutting taxes for a quarter century. It's simple: supply side economics notwithstanding, when you lower taxes you raise less revenue.

4. The budget process is driven chiefly by the needs of the city's FIRE (Finance, Insurance and Real Estate) elite:

Their goal is to maximize the share of the budget that goes to them; and minimize the share that goes to everyone else through: A. Cutting Health and Hospitals Corp. B. Raising tuition.

At the same time as the city is cutting the Health and Hospitals Corporation over \$100 million, and raising tuition at CUNY \$400 per year, it's already given out over \$550 million in tax breaks to corporate and financial tenants within the last three years. The Administration is considering now the request of the ING Bank to send them a check for the \$90 million they could save over a 15 year lease by moving from Park Avenue to Stamford Connecticut. I'd bet the Dutch bankers have a better shot at the money than CUNY students. Because the real beneficiaries are Park Avenue landlords and mortgage bankers — the Mayor's favorite constituencies.

5. In terms of city government, only the Mayor really counts. City council is under-powered. It can't increase the budget. If they want to add something, they have to take something else out. We don't have a real legislature in New York. The

Mayor has 40% of the power; the Governor has 30%, the state legislature has 25%, Vallone has 4.5% and the rest of the council divides up the one half of one percent.

6. There's a political fiscal cycle.

The first three years, you pay back your contributors with tax-breaks and austerity for the poor. And in the last year before the election you soften your approach. Dinkins did the same thing. In the first two years he got rid of 18,000 workers. In the second half of his term he brought them back.

Giuliani actually cut the budget in his first two years. This year, he's allowed for a little increase. He's going to put the poor kids in trailers instead of having them go to school in the halls. No new buildings of course. That would be irresponsible to the bond holders and the developers who must get their fair share of the capital budget.

7. The politicians are able to get away with this game, because we compete with each other for their favor.

Sociologists talk about the functions of social conflict. This means that it's better in terms of the stability of the system to have some conflict and debate than just to hand down the allocations without any discussion at all. Having the people fight among themselves for shares of the budget produces a consensus that the process is fair. The winners; those who go down to Albany and lobby their legislators, feel as if they were listened to. They had a role. They feel like stake holders.

Even the Mayor likes to have some conflict. Each Mayor always insists on certain amounts of cuts for certain groups. I call it fiscal dwarf tossing. First the Mayor tosses the little people out of the budget. Then the council gets to show that it has clout by remonstrating with the mayor and throwing the fiscal dwarfs back in the budget. Giuliani allows Vallone to seem strong for his people.

They play the same game every year.

Conclusion: What is the budget?

We shouldn't just look at the budget in functional terms as the most important political instrument of distribution and re-distribution in the city. We should think of it in moral terms: as an instrument of injustice. With the developers subsidies are undiscussable. Only the benefits of the poor and working people are on the table. They continue to throw people off the rolls; to reduce the value of welfare grants; to raise tuition at CUNY where it used to be free; to subsidize the housing for the rich at Battery Park City — to the tune of \$115 million a year at the same time the Administration in D.C. plans to get rid of Section 8 housing benefits for the poor.

The budget takes your sales tax money and funnels it to the downtown developers. The budget puts poor black kids in East New York in trailers in order to subsidize the rents of rich old white folk in converted office buildings on Broad Street. Bodega owners pay taxes. The Ford and Rockefeller foundations don't.

Remember, that none of this is ever discussed. So the budget process is also a means of obscuring the demonstrable fact that the government of New York City — no matter who is mayor — remains a plutocracy that rules largely unchecked and unaccountable to the masses of people in this city who have no leverage over their political leaders and no redress for their grievances.

New York City has been talking about its fiscal crisis for the last quarter of a century. It's time for a new generation of organizers to force a recognition that the money's there. That the rich need to pay their fair share. And to create new institutions that make wealth and power accountable to the people who make it possible.

At this point students count for nothing, politically. Tom Ognibene said last year on WNYC about the CUNY cuts, "a lot of these students don't need a college education. They can do very clever things with their hands and bodies."

We need to show that we can do clever things with our hands and bodies. Put them on the line to protest the injustice of this budget.

What is the CUNY Chancellor doing on NYC Investment Fund?

She wants to privatize public higher education!?

Michael A. Carpenter Vice chairman, Travelers Group	pany	Richard D. Pansone President, Time Warner	President, Rudin Management Company
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	Gertude G. Michelson Retired director, Macy's East	William C. Rudin	

YEAR OF THE DEAL	WELFARE RECIPIENT	PAYMENT (\$ in millions)
1994	New York Mercantile Exchange	\$183.90
	DLJ	\$29.50
	Capital Cities/ABC	\$26.00
	The Travelers Inc.	\$22.10
	Viacom	\$50.50
1995	CS First Boston	\$50.50
	Depository Trust Co.	\$18.50
1996	American International Group	\$55.70
	News America	\$20.70
	Paine Webber	\$14.47
	Conde Nast	\$10.75
	Total Corporate Welfare Received	\$482.62

The Child Care Lottery: GAMBLING FOR YOUR EDUCATION

"FOR STUDENTS WITH CHILDREN DAY CARE SERVICE IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THEIR DREAM OF ATTAINING A COLLEGE DEGREE..."

THE AMOUNT OF STUDENTS THAT CAN ACHIEVE THAT DREAM HAS BEEN SEVERELY LIMITED BECAUSE OF A LACK OF FUNDING."

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

The attack on the student body of the College of Staten Island continues unabated. This time the assault is directed not only at the students of the college but their children. Devoid of any sympathy or humanity the College held its child care lottery during a three day session over the January vacation in the Green Dolphin Lounge. The room was filled with nervous mothers and fathers worrying about maintaining their academic dream and their children, too innocent to worry about their future. CSI daycare provides affordable, quality care to the children of registered students but in its current form it represents the CUNY wide trend of underfunded programs that leave students out in the cold. For some, the child care lottery will force a reshuffling of classes but for others this process can be the defining element in their decision of continuing their education.

Director of the Child Care facility, Cynthia Murphy, gave an outline of the services that the center provides to students. Almost 200 children are given child care on a flex time basis at a cost to the students of \$1.50 per hour (grants are also provided for this cost). For CSI students

with children this service is an essential element in their dream of attaining a college degree however the amount of students that can achieve that dream has been severely limited because of a lack of funding. Taking up this issue, Ms. Murphy lamented her annual pilgrimage to Albany to lobby for increased funding that is coming up this month. She also stated that it may be impossible for students to reserve day care slots that fit their class schedule but she encouraged them to jump on any spots available and use them as study time. For some unlucky students, the losers of this lottery procedure, there will be no time slots available and they will be left to face the alternative. The alternative to CSI Daycare is using one of the private day care institutions and negotiating your school schedule with them, for a hefty fee of course. A three day school schedule at a nearby childcare facility will cost approximately \$388.00 a month. Over four months this fee amounts to \$1550.00 and as student Anthony Alberino stated losing the lottery is "like a tuition hike".

The lottery pool itself represents all incoming students and those who currently attend the college but "lost" the

lottery last semester. Students who were the "lucky winners" of last years lottery and are returning to school are given the spots they used during the semester. The rest of the time slots are then thrown into this lottery system and made available to our lottery contestants. The majority of these mothers and fathers will be unable to match their school schedule with the day care. Students like Lucy Derico said they would be "changing her whole schedule depending on the day care hours." After losing the lottery Ms. Derico will then be faced with navigating through the ever shrinking course offerings at CSI. This relationship exposes the cruel nature of CUNY budget cuts. Not only are students exposed to the day care lottery, they also face the class selection lottery and the financial aid lottery. If they run out of luck during any of these lotteries they are finished, any hope of gaining a college education is systematically eliminated.

The question we must examine is why are these particular students faced with such difficulties. The answer is that CUNY students such as these represent future skilled workers about to enter an economy that no longer needs them.

There is no place for a skilled working class in our new "post-industrial" economy. Education is dangerous. Keeping people down, by eliminating educational opportunities, either directly or indirectly, is an effective tool used to create a society that is so busy attempting to survive on day to day basis that they cannot think about challenging the status quo. Budget cuts, lack of daycare facilities, elimination of 24-hour access and the reduction of library hours are all part of the program to restrict educational opportunities.

At a recent "open mike" meeting, the Student Government clarified their position concerning childcare or the lack thereof. Their response was that there is no problem! Their position was that the large waiting list for daycare services at CSI is common at all CUNY schools and therefore is not a problem. When the CSI Student Union presented the very same question to a prominent member of the Administration at CSI, they were told that the day care issue was a budgetary question and could not be corrected. This same administrator stated that there are no plans, now or in the distant future for expansion of day care facilities. Students who lost "the gamble for education" are asked to accept the conditions and hope for the best next semester.

The day care issue has become a "non-issue" for both the student and administrative bureaucratic bodies. For students like Namor Young the issue of inadequate day care facilities is quite real. Ms. Young stated that the "services are so inadequate, I feel like dropping out!" The concreteness of this student issue should not be in question but the concreteness of those questioning it certainly should.

EDUCATION AND CAPITALISM

BY MANJULA WIJERAMA

The current vogue in applying the principles of the capitalist marketplace to matters concerning education has had and is continuing to have serious repercussions on the quality of education at CSI. These all important principles boil down to simply the pursuit of the Almighty dollar or more specifically profit. Now, it certainly isn't surprising that since we live in the worlds premier capitalist state that the pursuit of profit be applied to the task of educating its citizens. However when one scans the illustrious history of this great land and that of other similar societies i.e. industrialized capitalist, such as the UK, France Germany, Japan and so forth one notices that by and large the task of education, at least at the primary and secondary level, are not carried out according to the principle of the pursuit of profit. At first this appears rather odd since the great Adam Smith who the powerful capitalist rulers of the world swear by, wrote of an invisible hand that makes everything work just spiffy as long as capitalists are allowed to pursue their own profit and things work just darned lousy when governments or other institutions attempt to get involved. Well, by golly, since education is part of everything why do the worlds great big capitalist countries operate them outside of the profit system and as part of a so-called public sector? The answer boys and girls

INSTITUTIONS LIKE CUNY WHICH WAS FREE AND OPEN TO ALL BECAME TOO BIG OF A LUXURY IN THE EYES OF CAPITALIST POLITICIANS.

lies in the fact that if you pursue your own individual profit and you succeed, that is exactly what you will get - your own individual profit. In other words the capitalist state, the centralized institution that protects and promotes a capitalist society, by its own admission, accepts that education will not work if operated on the principle of individual profit.

The capitalist state, however, as the central organizer of the needs of all individual capitalists, recognizes the need for a workforce that is educated sufficiently to handle the tasks of the industrialized and high-tech economy. There was a time when only the children of the wealthy received any education at all, while the working classes and the poor were largely left illiterate and uneducated. This was a pleasing situation for the ruling capitalist class since they could justify their superiority by pointing to the ignorance of those under them. However as the economy became more and more industrialized and involved tasks that required thought and deliberation the capitalists realized that some edu-

cating was going to be necessary.

With the coming of what some call the Third Industrial Revolution, which introduced the microchip and thrust us forward into the information age, education became even more important a part of developing the necessary workforce. After all, so many theorists and prophets like Daniel Bell were claiming that we were in a post-industrial age where the tasks of manual labor and industrial manufacture were a thing of the past to be replaced by a service economy of high tech information workers. This prompted our capitalist state to slowly but surely open up the doors of higher education - previously the sole prerogative of the sons and daughters of people with names like Rockefeller, Carnegie, Ford, Kennedy and Morgan - to the proletarian hordes. Public higher education was born and the masses of working class youth who were told that they were only good enough for high school now had a chance to learn about literature and art and advanced science and math and great political ideas that previously

they were too dumb for. CUNY, started a policy of Open Admissions - anyone who wanted to go to college, could - tuition was free. The Blacks and the browns and the poor whites had to fight hard in the 60's to win these demands despite the information age beckoning them on.

The former CUNY Chancellor Joe Murphy said in a talk he gave recently entitled the crisis in CUNY that though these working class youth of a rainbow of colors won their demands, the city and state legislators who were responsible for instituting the new open system did so haphazardly and with certain malice so that it would necessarily fail. Inadequate provisions were made to absorb the ever increasing number of applicants to CUNY, he said. Although Murphy is probably correct about the ill intentions of a bunch of white, rich politicians towards a group of largely colored and poor youth, the reasons for the collapse of open admissions and free tuition is rooted in a lot more besides poor planning and bad intentions. It goes straight to the heart of our question concerning a system based on the pursuit of profit and its relationship to education.

Education as we discussed above is a function of the capitalists pursuit of profit. In this pursuit of profit the capitalist need a more and more educated workforce.

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CUNY, CITIBANK AND MCI ASSAULT STUDENT PRIVACY

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

The hunter Envoy has obtained a number of secret documents concerning the "CUNY Card," a planned CUNY-wide ID, that offer a fuller picture of the plan and its likely effect on students than was previously available. In the October 1, 1996 issue of the Envoy, we reported on the general outlines of the plan based on what was known from the CUNY campuses where it has already been implemented and on a number of concerns raised by students based on those preliminary reports. The documents confirm the initial reports and add considerable weight to several of the concerns voiced by students.

The documents range from memos distributed to the security directors of each campus to a "CUNY CARD Campus Procurement Document" marked CONFIDENTIAL that explains in detail how the CUNY Card will work. The CUNY Card is a sophisticated system that combines the features of an ID card, an ATM card, and a phone card, and that has been designed explicitly to accommodate a number of other possible uses.

The CUNY Card is the product of a joint agreement between CUNY Central Administration, Citibank and MCI, Diebold Incorporated and the Digital Equipment Corporation. The documents raise two major questions about the CUNY Card.

The first concerns CUNY's apparent involvement in an attempt to grant Citibank and MCI effective monopolies over the banking and telephone services provided to CUNY students, faculty and staff, CUNY will profit from this monopolization by collecting a percentage of the monthly service, ATM, and other fees as well as a royalty of between 10 and 42% of our phone-card bills. The Plan also includes provisions for the direct deposit of financial aid into student's Citibank accounts, a considerable windfall for Citibank.

The second question concerns the potential 1984ish uses of the CUNY Card for controlling the lives of students as well as some of the more immediate privacy issues involved in the sharing of information about students between their school, their bank, and their phone company.

The Plan

The CUNY Card is being implemented in two stages. The "first tier" schools are campuses that will receive the new card this semester. The "second tier" schools were scheduled to receive the card during a two to five day period starting February 1, 1997. It is not clear exactly how many campuses fall into each category, but at least four of the first tier schools are known. They are New York City Technical College (September 9), Queensborough Community College (October 7), and LaGuardia Community College (November 18). It has apparently already been implemented at Brooklyn College although there is no reference to such plans in the documents. The two-tier system is designed to give CUNY the opportunity to work out whatever bugs may appear in the system before it is implemented CUNY-wide.

The plan also establishes CUNY Card liaisons within the administration on each

campus to work with the "Implementation Team" made up of representatives of the four corporations involved in the project. Curiously, the liaisons occupy different administrative positions at each campus. It has been suggested that the list of liaisons is made up of individuals known for their loyalty to CUNY Chancellor Wynetka Ann Reynolds and her plans for

the credit card companies don't really mind you maxing out your card because that means they can charge you exorbitant interest rates until you pay it off - which you probably will, a few years after you finish school.

The amount of free crap (like t-shirts and water bottles) that the credit card companies give away to entice students

CUNY WILL PROFIT FROM THIS MONOPOLIZATION BY COLLECTING A PERCENTAGE OF THE MONTHLY SERVICE..

reorganizing and consolidating control over the university. The liaison for Hunter College is Special Assistant to the Vice President for Administration, Thomas Tyburczy. The liaisons for the other CUNY colleges are:

Baruch: Michael DiMarco, Bursar

Brooklyn: Thomas Hladak, Deputy Controller

BMCC: Dennis Jones, Assistant Dean of Administration

BCC: Martin Pulver, Assistant Dean of Administration

City: Anne J. Ryan, Deputy to Vice President for Finance and Management

Graduate Center: Joe Schaefer, Director of Security and Safety

John Jay: Miriam Mucchi, Director of Campus Facility and Planning

Kingsborough: Peter Pobat, Executive Assistant to Vice President of Administrative Planning

Lehman: Jerold Barnard, Manager of User Services

LaGuardia: Arlene Isaacson, Coordinated Purchasing, Accounts Payable

Medgar Evers: Marcia Green, Comptroller

New York Tech: Robinette Barnes, Executive Director for Finance and Business

Queensborough: Jerome S. Kohn, Assistant Dean for Administrative Affairs

Queens: Donna Lipper, Registrar

Staten Island: John Flaherty Deputy

Director of Security

York: Esther Rodriguez, Business Manager

There is no listing for Hostos.

The CUNY Card system will initially cost roughly 68,000 for each school that anticipates issuing over 20,000 cards (this includes students, faculty and staff), and about \$20,000 for each of the smaller schools. In addition to this, there will be a small per card cost and annual maintenance costs that are estimated to be between 12 and 15% of the initial outlay (or between \$2,400 and \$10,200 a year for each campus).

Picking the Pockets of the Poor

As anybody who has to walk the gauntlet of credit card pushers outside Hunter West or who has tried to put up a flyer on campus can attest, the interest of financial institutions like banks and credit card companies in the CUNY student body is positively lecherous. CUNY students overwhelmingly come from poor and working class families. For many of us, a credit card obtained as a CUNY student our first opportunity to buy the nice things we have always gone without. Predictably, many CUNY students are walking around with maxed out credit cards and receiving threatening phone calls from the credit card companies. But

to apply for credit cards should suggest how much money they are already making off of us. So imagine how much money a company could make if it could effectively ice out its competition. That is exactly what the CUNY Card does on behalf of Citibank and MCI. While the CUNY Card is currently only intended to be an ordinary debit card (you can only withdraw money that is already in your account), it gives Citibank a considerable advantage in pushing its credit cards.

Even having the whole CUNY student body using Citibank debit cards will bring in a handsome profit. The CUNY Card will cost each CUNY student a \$3 per month account maintenance fee and \$1 for every ATM transaction (with one free transaction per month) and cents for each direct deposit transaction. While these fees are not unusual neither are they universal. Some banks drop the account maintenance fee for certain accounts. Other banks don't charge anything for ATM transactions. By delivering the whole CUNY market to a single bank, the CUNY Card takes the competitive

IMAGINE HOW MUCH MONEY A COMPANY CAN MAKE IF IT COULD EFFECTIVELY ICE OUT ITS COMPETITION. THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT THE CUNY CARD DOES FOR CITIBANK AND MCI.

pressure off of Citibank to charge less money for its services. And while the individual charges sound small, they can add up. If every CUNY student were to use their ATM card only once a week Citibank would make over \$1.5 million a year off of CUNY students in ATM and account maintenance fees alone. This would be in addition to the interest they would be making off of our deposits.

CUNY will receive 50 cents per month out of each account maintenance fee, 10 cents for each ATM transaction and each point-of sale transaction in addition to interest on the money in our accounts based on Citibank's Treasury Bill rate. In a time of budget cuts to higher education, it might be argued that it is appropriate for CUNY to be looking for innovative ways to bring more money into the school. Ramiro Campos, USG Commissioner of Fiscal Affairs, replied to this suggestion that: "Picking the pockets of poor students doesn't count. Conspiring with banks and corporations to squeeze more money out of students is not consistent with the mission of making CUNY accessible to all. What they need to work on is squeezing somebody else besides us."

Reach Out and Rip Off Someone

The MCI services will be similarly profitable to both MCI and CUNY at the expense of students. Each campus must choose between three plans. The first plan is an on-campus plan that seems designed for campuses with dormitory living. Under this plan, CUNY would get 42% of whatever you pay MCI for phone service including charges for voice messaging, a career and employment information service, speed-dialing and internet access. The second plan calls for CUNY to receive 25% of you calling card bill. The third plan gives CUNY 10% of your home phone bill if you sign up with MCI.

While the CUNY Card gives Citibank and MCI undeniable competitive advantages over other companies, students have the right not to accept certain services. There are also additional services (like credit cards) that the companies will want to push on CUNY students even if they aren't a direct part of the CUNY Card plan. Accordingly, the CUNY Card plan calls for an intensive marketing campaign to cement the grip of these two corporations on the CUNY market. In addition to posters to be inserted into campus newspapers, the plan sets aside physical space for marketing what the documents refer to as the carding event." The "carding event" is apparently the several days during which each campus is supposed to switch over the CUNY Card. The plan even includes diagrams indicating the locations of marketing tables in relation to the CUNY Card production equipment to maximize student exposure to the marketing effort.

Welcome to 1984

More ominous than CUNY's apparent willingness to conspire with major corporations to enrich themselves at the expense of students, are the many privacy issues raised by the CUNY Card contract. For insistence, the CUNY Card agreement requires that the individual colleges provide MCI with a comprehensive report on each student, including such items as their Social Security Num-

ber and their parents' address. This information-sharing with banks and phone service providers establishes a disturbing precedent.

The possibility that these provisions are only the first steps in a general erosion of the privacy rights of students is confirmed by the section of the "Procurement Document" that deals with the services of Diebold Incorporated. The agreement provides for the future expansion of uses for the CUNY Card. These include payments for meals and books, library access, and the use of the card to gain physical access not only to the campus but to different sections of the campus. The agreement with Diebold Incorporated also provides for the possible installation of closed circuit surveillance camera systems that would be connected to the card reading devices installed at various entrances to the campus or particular areas on campus. The images brought to mind by all of this are not exactly consistent with the idea of CUNY as a place for free inquiry and open discussion. The books we buy from the bookstore or bor-

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CSI Student Union Organizes Against Budget Cuts



CSISU members meet with Vice-president, Carol Jackson

THE LEAD ISSUE RIGHT NOW FOR THE UNION IS TO ADVANCE THE CUNY WIDE BATTLE AGAINST GOV. PATAKI'S PROPOSED \$400 TUTION HIKE AND FINANCIAL AID CUTS.

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

Since its formation last semester, the CSI Student Union has shown itself to be vanguard in the battle for defense of student rights. Beginning as an idea shared among a small group of student leaders, the Union has since expanded to include members of every publication on campus, the campus radio station and various clubs on campus. Union meetings have grown from serving as campus complaint sessions where students gathered to assemble their complaint list to meetings of highly motivated, highly organized student activists ready to move into motion. Committees have been formed, flyers have been made, class raps have begun, tableing has begun, and the Union has made a formal presentation to administration of its demands.

Although the Student Union was originally formed around the idea of regaining 24-hour access to library, computer room and campus center our organization has

aggressively pursued other issues that directly impeded student progress. The lead issue right now for the Union is to advance the CUNY wide battle against Gov. Pataki's proposed \$400 tuition hike and financial aid cuts. Tapping further into the needs of the student body, the Union has also brought the question of expanded day care hours for CSI's many parents/students. The ability to act quickly and adjust to changing circumstances has set SU apart from the sloth-like nature of the bearucratic student government.

Thus far this semester, SU has held four meetings the results of which we will review in this article. The first meeting was held over the January break and was covered by the Banner in their latest edition. The main focus of the meeting was determining the orientation of the Union for the following semester in regards to our original purpose, 24 hour access, and Pataki's latest \$400 a semester assault on

the student body. The issue was discussed among each member of the group and a decision was reached by a voting majority to attack the budget cut issue, while continuing to pursue the 24-hour access demands. The main reason for this switch was that both issues are inherently linked to one another. Both are attacks on the student body's right to a fair education, first by denying them the use of facilities which they pay for and the secondly by denying an avenue for education by blocking it monetarily. Following the orientation discussion, SU voted for a six-person committee to deliver the Unions demands directly to President Marlene Springer. The committee also had the responsibility of updating the letter since it had been written before the budget cuts were announced. Amending the letter proved to be a fairly simple task but making the appointment with Pres. Springer was a monumental difficulty. Union members were told that they could not directly meet with the president until they were first screened by Vice President Carol Jackson. Resigning themselves to their fate, the SU members then made an appointment with VP Jackson.

On January 27th representatives of the Union went to room 1A-301 to meet with VP Carol Jackson and by an amazing stroke of luck President Springer was in a meeting with her. On her way out Springer was presented with the updated letter, then she grumbled and left the office. VP Jackson introduced herself and then each member of the Union introduced themselves to her and gave her an explanation of why they felt a Student Union was needed. The main current that ran among all of the students statements was that they were their to defend the students rights because the Student Government was not doing the job properly. We told the vice president that we could no longer perform as students due to the hardships that had been placed upon us. Jackson felt that some of the issues presented by the Union, such as 24-hour access to the campus center, the library, the computer room, space for student clubs, increased funding for student clubs and expanded day care services, were a

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TO CSI STUDENTS, OPINION

There is a new force that's been coalescing around students' frustrations with their inability to get full value for the money they've invested here at CSI. This force, representing a few active students at first, has now taken shape in the form of the CSISU (CSI Student Union).

The frustrations I'm speaking about are too many to list in entirety here. However, those frustrations are experienced each day at CSI. The students pay for an education that was once free.

The frustration grows out of going to class at night after work and trying to get into the computer centers only to find that the buildings are closed at or before the last class ends. We cannot fully benefit from the exchange of ideas presented in class by their not being a place on campus to have coffee and conversation. Why? Because the cafeteria closed hours before your class ended and the campus center's security won't allow you access to your campus center after 10:00 pm!

The frustration grows from waiting for the results of a "lottery" that determines

The only way this or any administration will respond in a positive manner is when students are banded together as a force for our needs.

whether or not your child gets into day care and by extension, whether or not you get the education necessary to provide for your child.

There is a seemingly cavalier attitude by the administration towards those students who put their free time into clubs and publications. By this I mean the "can't-do" response these students receive whenever groups or clubs attempt to "do-more". Whenever anything is proposed that will give more responsibility to the students the litany of nay-sayers appears, closely followed by the parade of so called "student leaders" whose sole function seems to be to delay and debate to death any meaningful change in the status quo.

Why is student government so inadequate in the task of advocating more power to the student body? One reason is that they've been rendered impotent by the CUNY policy of accruing more power at the students expense.

Another is the old adage of "garbage in-garbage out". We have seen the student government staffed by resume seekers who put their "careers" ahead of students needs. They are seen by the administration, whom they wish to please, as non-entities by virtue of being elected with vote totals that number in the low hundreds out of a student body of 12,000 or 2% of the students!

That is why the Student Union was formed. The new "buzzword" out of Washington is "self reliance" and "less government." In other words, we have to take care of ourselves. The only way to do that is to come together over common problems. That is the purpose of the Student Union. The only way this or any administration will respond in a positive manner is when students are banded together as a force for our needs. Join it and be part of the solution or join the nay-sayers as part of the problem.

BY KYOSHI

The Need for Strong Student Leadership

OPINION

We would like to have a Student Government that could act for us and not against us.

As a member and a strong believer in the CSI Student Union I frequently ask myself, what is the purpose of student government? As we all know there are many organizations at CSI that share in the constant struggles and difficulties of everyday college life. However, rarely are these groups able to find a common ground to develop solutions to these difficulties. We all desperately need to establish a strong leader that can take us through this toilsome journey of college years. This constant search for a leader becomes an unfulfilled fantasy, particularly where President Joe Canale and the present SG are concerned. We would like to have a Student Government that could act for us and not against us. This situation leaves me with a great sense of betrayal. Most Colleges in the area don't have to deal with such problems of stupidity as we are faced with.

The President of the Student Government, Mr. Canale is a man of great aspirations for leadership; however, his character seems to be too flawed to handle matters that demand mature decisions about the future of CSI. His selfishness eradicates the avenues of college solidarity. The students demands such as "The restoration of 24-Hr access to the Campus Center, expanding library hours", and fighting the \$400 tuition increase are always pushed away to be reviewed at a later time. These are some of the demands that every college student needs to have addressed now. Yet, for SG and it's President there is nothing to gain from listening to the voices of college students who are desperate for the privileges of using their College facilities and funds that are significant in achieving a proper education. Instead, it is much easier to stand behind the administration's back and hide from the demands that are thrown at them. Hiding in administration's pocket is not an answer to our problems and demands. Eventually the SG must realize that we all are floating on the same boat and there is no reason for us to make the waves any larger. As a point of info to Mr. President, he must realize that he is not the first nor will he be the last president of the Student Government; people come and go but memories last, why don't we make them pleasant while we can. We all know that we must come together as one and present our existence as a firm solid Union of Students who fight for what they believe in. This is the only way can make our college years successful for both us and the students to come. I implore the students to unite and strengthen the Student Union in this great college of ours.

BY EDWARD PUCHALA

Problems with the Leadership of SLAM!

TOM SMITH

Another school year at CUNY is upon us: and with it, another round of vicious budget cut and tuition hike proposals in the state legislature. Are we prepared to stop them? Despite the brilliant initial success of the CUNY Coalition Against the Budget Cuts, on March 23rd, 1995, in pulling tens of thousands of college and high school students into the streets, the movement has been largely unsuccessful since then in mobilizing students' outrage. We have also not been able to build an alliance with the masses of working people in New York City, who are growing more angry and more fearful of Pataki's, Giuliani's, and Clinton's austerity packages.

As I have written earlier, this failure was the result of a destructive liberal ideology among the leaders of the CUNY Coalition. The consensus promoted by these leaders was that we can stop the cuts by "purifying" the student movement of "outsiders," by building purely "student power," by encouraging students to merely act out in public rather than to make an appeal to workers to join them in large and disciplined rallies, demonstrations, and strikes. These leaders fought against the establishment of elected leadership; they fought for a strategy of small-group civil disobedience and confrontation as opposed to mass action, and they red- and race-baited the genuine revolutionary currents at CUNY.

Last Spring's Debacle

Last spring was the nadir of this movement. After they wrecked the old Coalition and blamed this wreckage on the leftists they formed a new group, named "SLAM!" Once again they erected a bureaucratic "structure" which discouraged leftists, and many, many other students, from participating. They refused to work with organized labor: they discouraged attempts to build support among students for the 32B-32J building maintenance workers strike. When they turned, finally in desperation, to the liberals in the USS and the PSC, they botched that alliance, too. As a result of these follies, their March demonstration amounted to a few hundred people in contrast to the tens of thousands who had come out the year before. At this point, the SLAM leaders abandoned their efforts to build a second rally down on Wall Street in May and ran for student government at Hunter College instead.

Once again, the SLAM! leadership is asking for support from CUNY students. I certainly would not discourage people from going in order to build an organization to fight these cuts and hikes. But I would like readers to be aware of what I consider to be serious problems with SLAM!'s ideology. Let's examine critically some writings by Chris Day. Day is a leader of the "Love and Rage Anarchist Federation," which has had a great deal of influence upon first the CUNY Coalition and then SLAM!. Along with his

total theoretical confusion in which SLAM! finds itself today.

Day's Analysis of the CUNY Crisis: Appeals to Racial Hostilities vs. Seeking the Truth.

Chris Day's notion as to why CUNY is facing its most severe crisis in decades, is as follows. Ever since open admissions, students-of-color have been given good educations which make them competitive for high-paying jobs with white workers.

How do CUNY students confront this latest attack on their education and lives by Pataki/Wall Street?

This is a problem that CUNY students have grappled with year after year in the face of an ongoing attempt to privatize CUNY by the city and state's corporate and financial elite - the capitalist class. As students, we have the ability to study history, politics, economics, etc. and in general, gain an overall understanding of the context in which CUNY is being cut. As such, CUNY students have historically put forward strategies and ideas that go beyond the framework of debate acceptable to the Wall St. tycoons and their bought and paid for politicians in both major parties. We have put forward an agenda that arises from and speaks to our working class roots: free tuition and open admissions, an education for anyone who wants it. We have not been deceived by the big lies about so-called financial crises. We have understood that these crises are the function of a massive redistribution of public funds - our taxes - into the already bloated bank accounts of ultra-rich Fortune 500/ Wall St. firms and not simply, as they would like us to believe a natural phenomena. The money exists, we produce it through our labor and pay it through our taxes, it is simply being taken from services essential for the working class and poor to pay for capital gains tax cuts and tax incentives for Wall St.

When one scans the daily papers or even through our own family experience we are well aware that the cuts to CUNY are not isolated. Public hospitals are being slashed, public assistance to the neediest - seniors, children and single mothers - is being slashed, transit is being cut, unions are being busted...and the list goes on. It is clear that this is a class attack by the ruling capitalist class against the working class and poor.

Although our first responsibility is to inform and organize CUNY students about the cuts and the nature of the crisis, we cannot limit our vision nor our organizing efforts to simply students. Students simply do not produce wealth. We are not producing profits for capitalism. As such if we purely limit ourselves to student based and student focused action we will not be taken seriously by the ruling class. Our strikes do not cause them any loss of sleep or more importantly any loss in profits. However as the students in France last year and the students in South Korea this year have showed, if we link our struggle to the struggle of the working class as a whole against the cutbacks we will be a formidable force that the ruling class can by no means ignore. If transit, hospital, education and other workers come together with CUNY students in a broad united front of all those affected by the cutbacks, Pataki and the Democrats will have no choice but to cede to our demands. A general strike of all working people in NYC that can effectively shut down the functioning of "business as usual" should be our long term goal. It is only by attacking the ruling class at the source of their power - profit, can we effectively battle back and win.

In the here and now we cannot simply afford to put the issue of building alliances in the background. We have to consciously build on a pro-student, pro-working class agenda from the get go. We must link up with rank and file workers in the unions, with WEP workers, with African American and Latino communities facing brutality at the hands of the cops, immigrant workers facing super exploitation by employers and harassment by the Law and build a movement that includes all who are under the ruling class gun. It is a huge task but there is no other choice. United we stand and win or divided they will pick us off and set us against one another. We must demand no cutbacks for any worker - profit, let the bosses take the losses.

Previous struggles by CUNY students against the cutbacks have shown clearly the burning necessity for such a united front of the whole working class. On March, 23 1995, although courageous CUNY and high school students rallied by the tens of thousands against the cuts, we were brutally set upon by the NYPD. Giuliani and Pataki are not afraid to send students to the hospital. However, with the power of the working class behind us the politicians and cops will have to think very hard about the consequences of their brutality.

CUNY Students Unite: Fight for Free Tuition and Open Admissions!!

Students and Workers Unite!! Stop the Cuts with a General Strike!!!

This supposedly makes the white middle class resentful about having to pay for this. Thus it makes CUNY a race "riot" waiting to happen. Thus, the ruling class wants to shut us down, before the race riot actually takes place.

This is not a serious analysis. It's pandering to racist "white conspiracy" theories. As long as they can turn a profit, the capitalist class would not give a damn whether their high-paid wage slaves remained white, or suddenly turned black overnight. The capitalists are racist as sin. They use racism to divide us against one another. They make extra

ruling class itself is not attacking CUNY just so that their "fellow whites" can continue to get high-paying jobs in their corporations. If our rulers were only worried about race riots, then destroying CUNY, which has been a ticket for working class advancement for whites and blacks alike, would be the last thing they would want to do. Raising tuition and cutting money hurts every working class student at CUNY. It by no means "benefits" white

ed in analyzing the problems of CUNY. He is more interested in promoting his racist ideology and gaining followers for it: whether or not it has any relation to actual reality.

Strategy: Student Power Narcissism vs. Outreach to the Working Class

Let's turn to address the question of how Day proposes to steer the CUNY movement toward victory. Well, besides reveling in the empty rhetoric that there was "rebellion" last year, and that "the struggle continues," there isn't much here at all in the way of program or strategy. Most notably absent of all, however, is any notion of the working class. The only place that they are even mentioned is when Day identifies the workers of union "1199," as a whole, with their corrupt, bureaucratic leaders such as Dennis Rivera.

Day does a pretty good job of analyzing Rivera's bureaucratic class position and his ties to the power structure vis the Democratic Party. In the process, however, he also manages to write off the working class as an agent of revolutionary social change. Day asserts that the students alone are capable, by themselves, of this feat. All by themselves, CUNY students allegedly "have demonstrated the incredible power represented by the CUNY Coalition in the fighting spirit displayed by the thousands of youth who turned out to do whatever was necessary to shut the city down."

Again, this is silly and narcissistic. How can only "thousands of youth . . . shut the city down"?! A bunch of rioting students will accomplish nothing. By ourselves, we can only annoy commuters like the April 25th, 1995 civil disobedience actions raved about elsewhere in the Sphericóand get a police truncheon crashing into our skulls. How is this going to save CUNY?!

Day's name for this fantasy is the "mass line." The "mass line" approach is to encourage followers to "unleash," to act out in "unscripted," small-group confrontations against the police, in order to encourage bystanders to join in. This is supposed to pitch students and youth into a frenzy; and this frenzy alone is supposed to usher in the new age.

The "mass line" was a phrase originally coined by Lenin. But when Lenin talked about directing our "line" toward the "masses," he meant a strategy directed toward all the oppressed and exploited, an appeal centered on the working class. When Mao and his followers adopted the slogan, "mass line," they changed it to exclude the working class. They saw the working class as "bought off," "coopted" by "imperialism." They really believed that revolutionaries could do without the workers. Similarly Love And Range and Day argue that they could rely simply upon the poor, the students, blacks, Hispanics, gays and lesbians, etc.

In contrast, Lenin sought to involve these superoppressed, more rebellious sectors in the broader, revolutionary working class movement he eventually built. He sought to truly educate such rebellious groups, to become a force to win over all the working people to a revolutionary banner. Maoists, including "anarchists" such as Day, however, tell these groups only what they immediately want to hear, pander to their immediate resentments and delusions, and on this demagogic basis, encourage them to act

RIGHT NOW, WE NEED LEADERSHIP TO FIGHT FOR THE SURVIVAL OF CUNY.

friend, Jed Brandt, editor of the Spheric, Day was one of the two main recognized leaders of SLAM! last year. Day wrote the following passages in the pages of the Spheric, vol. 10, no 1, last year. I think these passages are highly indicative of the

profits off the superoppressed people of color. Attacking CUNY is a way to do this even further. It is part of the process, going on now for decades, to scapegoat and punish the largely black student body at CUNY for the economic crisis. But the

working class students. And as the statistics show, Day's notion that CUNY is educating any of us for "high-paying jobs" is a pathetic delusion. The high-level, "high-paying" technical and managerial positions are not going to students coming from CUNY. Nor, despite the liberal Affirmative Action era, are blacks and Latinos getting hired for such positions en masse as Day implies! In this era of automation and increasing profits and economic decline, white and black working class students alike are lucky if they become burger-flippers or low level data-entry operators!

CUNY itself is especially dangerous to the ruling class but not because it is a potential race riot. Instead, it has been a hotbed of working class radicalism and militancy ever since the 1960's, and earlier. CUNY students are by far the most radical sector of New York City. If CUNY isn't gentrified quickly, we may just succeed at setting off the working class to go on a general strike, like in France this year, against the austerity campaign..

In my opinion, such "analysis" as Day's proves that he is not really interest-

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WHAT DOES YOUR STUDENT GOVERNMENT ACTUALLY DO ?

News Analysis

I believe that a Student Government should be an organization built around the principle of defense of student rights. This group should be composed of highly critical individuals, highly critical not only of their surroundings but most especially of themselves. Personal glory or future employment should not be the focus of this group, these areas should be submerged in favor of the simplicity of acting in the interest of the student body. Working with these principles I decided that a thorough examination of the Student Government here at CSI was necessary. I have sat in on a few meetings this semester and I've even gone to couple of the open mike meetings so I had a relatively good idea of the goings-on of this organization. In order to enhance my understanding I picked up the minutes of the Student Government for the past year. They are public information and I encourage every student to pick them up, although I will warn you that only a true leather and chains masochist can survive this exercise because it is an experience in pure bureaucratic torture. After surviving this grueling ordeal I have picked a few of the highlights of the past year. I'll go in chronological order and as I said earlier do not believe me pick up the minutes for your self and check it out :

Feb. 1, 1996 - The year opens with Nancy Somma (Student Government Secretary) announcing that changes in the CUNY Fiscal Guidelines mean changes in the signatory policy for SG accounts. Now in addition to a student "a college official (not a student)" must also sign the checks. Sen. Natalie Williams took exception to this rule change, however there was silence from the rest of the body.

Then SG Prez Meri Kaufman states that USS Prez William Negrón sent a letter to her regarding budget cuts, retrenchment and financial aid changes. She asked that anyone interested in helping contact William Negrón.

Lorri Seggio stated that she had not gotten the prices for the proposed "Don't Spend a Fortune" campaign against high cafeteria prices. Lower Division Senator Jen Valle suggested postponing the campaign because she "heard" that Auxiliary Services was going to lower some cafeteria prices.

Feb. 8, 1996 - Sherman Whipky spoke to SG concerning budget cuts and recommended that letters be written to legislators and SG senators help get the word out.

"Prof. Charles Thomas requested \$1500.00 for a Kwanza Celebration. Tina Jefferson felt that... SG does not historically fund events such as this. Joe Canale suggested that Prof. Thomas approach other college offices and community groups and do fund raising."

Joe Canale announced that water cooler bottles had been stolen and SG would be billed \$10 for each bottle lost.

Mar. 7, 1996 - Lori Seggio moved to allocate \$125.00 towards the AIDS quilt display.

SG allocated budgets list came out at this meeting, the total allocated budget was \$258,462.06; \$23,537.94 was held in reserve and added to the \$223,508.00 reserve already held by SG. Here are some of the interesting areas money was budgeted to:

Election Commission- \$7,000
Staffing- \$111,326.47
Emergency Loans- \$ 5,000.00
Presidential Inauguration- \$ 1,000.00
New Student Orientation- \$ 7,000.00

Mar. 21, 1996 - A flurry of activity erupts as Sen. Joe Canale organizes SG against the referendum presented by The Banner to have the publication funded directly from the Student Activity Fee and not have the money allocated by SG thereby moving the Banner out of its jurisdiction. Canale organizes an effective response by allocating \$ 1,700 for paper, envelopes and mailing costs to develop a student mailing to show their opposition to the proposed increase in the Student

Activity Fee.

Meri Kaufman calls a special meeting of SG concerning the budget cuts. Canale says he has developed a flyer against the cuts and would like to have it reproduced for the rally.

Mar. 28, 1996 - The big anti-budget cuts meeting is held!!!!!!

Various ideas are brought forward including Natasha Genduso who stated that students need to make their voices heard at 80th street, Natalie Williams who suggested postcard campaigns, class raps and the need for a high profile by SG, NYPIRG who stated they were trying to hold a forum that Rep. Ed Sullivan had agreed to attend, Tom Watson who suggested a letter writing campaign (\$2,490 was approved for the mailing), Tabling, Visits to 80th Street and coverage by the SI Advance.

Apr. 11, 1996 - Natalie Williams presents a measure to make the election of the SG President a direct election not an election within the senate (as it is now). The motion passes 10-0-2.

Meri Kaufman announces that WSIA wants to broadcast the next SG on the radio, Tina Jefferson moved to allow the

broadcast, Natalie Williams seconded it. Joe Canale felt that being broadcast is a personal decision and he objected to consideration of the invitation. Meri Kaufman attempted to adjourn the meeting but this move was blocked by Natalie and Tina. The vote to broadcast passed 8-1-2.

May 9, 1996 - SG farewell party is held and Joe Canale moves to allocate \$360 for refreshments

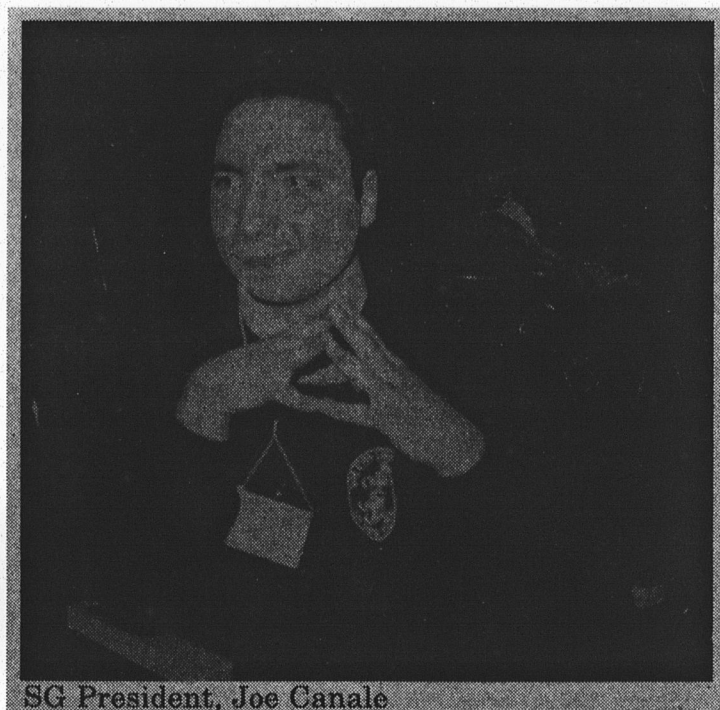
Budget Cut Update !!!!! - Tom Watson stated that he is reconsidering the mailing because the response to the election mailing has been disappointing.

May 23, 1996 - Charlo Almeda presented the current budget figures - Current Funds- \$15,248.94 unallocated reserve \$224,508.00 and current budget amounts still unspent - \$64,838.00. Charlo stated that the SG had exceeded his expectations concerning retaining the reserve amount.

June 13, 1996 - Presidential Election - Joe Canale beats Natalie Williams 8 votes to 3 and is elected SG president (8 votes = .06 % of the student body). Publications Commissioner - Joe Canale defeats Lori Seggio and Natalie Williams by 7 votes to 1 to 0 (7 votes = .05% of the student body). Democracy in action !!!!!

Tina Jefferson moves to unfreeze \$3500

BY WILLIAM WHARTON



SG President, Joe Canale

Our current Student Government is a body of bureaucratic inaction and political trumpeting for its leaders.

for library textbooks and add \$1500 to the fund to purchase primary texts for the Fall 1996 semester. The motion is seconded by Rochelle Benguiat and passes by a vote of 6-1-0.

Aug. 7, 1996 - Joe Canale announces the cancellation of budget cuts for the coming school year and states that he had sent out a letter of thanks to the elected Staten Island Representatives.

Student Center - Joe Canale explained problems that are occurring in the Student Leaders room specifically noting that an electric typewriter had been smashed beyond repair.

Alex Duggan (co-ordinator of PDC) stated that she had spoken with Joe Canale regarding SG sponsoring the "Get out and Vote Day". She added that the cost of the event for SG would be \$2,000.00 for a political satire group called "The Foreman". Rochelle Benguiat moved to approve the allocation of the money and it was seconded by Mary Anne Christensen and approved by a vote of 8-0-1.

Aug. 21, 1996 - Joe Canale read a letter sent to him by Sen. Marchi in response to the letter he had sent to the senator thanking him for his support in fighting the budget cuts and tuition hikes.

Check out the Senate Standing Order Policy it came from this meeting !!!!!

Sep. 5, 1996 - Emergency Loan Fund - Ellen Kreiger announced that SG is currently running an emergency loan fund for students and that this fund should be able to regenerate itself through moneys paid back into it.

Joe Canale expressed concern about foul language at SG meetings and suggested that a curse box be developed with each foul mouthed offender contributing \$1.00. Suggestion passed without dissent or foul language.

Clubs - Luis Cruzatte (Club Commissioner) expressed concern over problems he had while trying to book the Green Dolphin Lounge because he felt that PDC had priority over the space (the Green Dolphin Lounge booking space for 1997 was done lottery style and featured a showdown between clubs and the PDC over dates).

Sep. 12, 1996 - Leaders Room- Joe Canale announced that two items had been stolen from his desk area and he will

fill out a security report based on "the principle of stealing" not for the value of the items taken.

Platform Goals - Joe Canale asked for feedback regarding issues SG would like to work on in the coming year - Parking, Tutoring, Campus Lighting, Publicizing the Campus Escort Service, Emergency Loans for Students, Financial Aid, Computer Labs, extending library and Campus Center hours and educating freshmen about services at CSI.

Sep. 26, 1996 - Get out and Vote Day - Ellen Kreiger stated that "The Foreman" had canceled but a new band had been hired at a cost of \$1706.00

USS - Joe Canale announced that he has declared his candidacy for VP for Legislative Affairs for the USS.

Key Policy for the Campus Center - Washington Hernandez announced that Mike Silva sent memo outlining the new access/key policy for students at the Campus Center. Students will have no keys to their offices and will be required to sign and sign out, only the people listed on an access sheet will be able to get into the office. There was no response to this from SG.

Oct. 10, 1996 - Joe Canale stated that he had arranged for pictures of the Senators for the SG bulletin board.

President Springer/Publications - Lori Seggio expressed concern over a statement made by Pres. Springer in reference to her intent to work closely with SG on Publications issues. Lori stressed the need for support of first amendment rights. Joe Canale agreed with Lori and stated that as Publications Commissioner he will be following the matters closely.

Birthday Banner - Joe Canale suggested a Birthday Banner in the Rotunda with stick on letters to post students birthdays.

Nov. 7, 1996 - Rules for Leaders Room - Joe Canale expressed concern over the lack of adherence to rules established for the Leaders Room particularly regarding the bringing in of guests. Ellen noted the problems that have been occurring with the computers in the leaders room.

Finance Commission - Prof. Charles Thomas requested \$1500.00 for a Kwanza Celebration. Tina Jefferson felt that since

Continued on next page

What Does SG Do?

Continued from previous page

PDC had already contributed \$6,000.00 of the Student Activity Fee and SG does not historically fund events such as this. Joe Canale suggested that Prof. Thomas approach other college offices and community groups and do fund raising.

Vincent Cobb moved to allocate \$250.00 to the Kwanza program but the motion was defeated 5-5-2.

Lori Seggio submitted her letter of resignation from SG.

Publications - Joe Canale read a letter of resignation as Publications Commissioner, he stated that additional duties as Vice Chair for Legislative Affairs for the USS leave him no choice.

SG Conference Room - Joe Canale asked for the Senators support in re configuring the SG conference room into office space and added that VP Carol Jackson had committed \$6,000.00 for these improvements. Move was approved 5-1-0.

College Voice Computer Break-in - Manjula Wijerama submitted a complaint about the Publications Commission and the commissioner (Joe Canale). Manjula stated that he wished to address the issue of representation for student publications on the Publications Commission. Rochelle Benguiat referred the matter to the new Publications Commission and commissioner.

Nov. 21, 1996 - Joe Canale read a letter of resignation from SG submitted to him from Natalie Williams.

Publications - Despite his earlier resignation, Joe Canale stated that he is serving as Publications Commissioner on an acting basis until the position is filled. Joe stated that it is his opinion that the Col-

lege Voice was not living up the requirements set forth by the Publications Commission regarding handing in minutes of meetings and a current membership list. Joe noted that some of this information (including the minutes of Voice Meetings and a current membership list) had been handed in, but that they were eight days late and as such the student government must shut down the paper. Manjula Wijerama noted that he felt unsupported by the Publications Commission and that the paper was still recovering from the computer break in. There was then considerable discussion on the issue, including a group of students (including myself) who spoke out against the shutdown of the Voice. Greg Adamo (Station Mgr. of WSIA) warned SG of the First Amendment ramifications of shutting down a student newspaper. Juergen Schnetzer (current Publications Commissioner) then moved to freeze the budget of the Voice until an "acceptable" membership list is handed in and reviewed with each student on the list being called. Washington Hernandez then seconded the motion but it was defeated by a vote of 2-4-2. Joe Canale then moved to revoke the charter and budget of the College Voice. No member of SG seconded the motion and it died. (Joe Canale then told Manjula Wijerama to "drop dead" and phoned security to have his fellow student taken out of the meeting.)

Dec. 5, 1996 - Holiday Cards - Joe stated that he would like to order Holiday Greeting cards for SG to send out to various organizations and individuals at CSI and CUNY. Student Solidarity Day - Joe Canale

"JOE CANALE ASKED FOR THE SENATORS SUPPORT IN RE CONFIGURING THE SG CONFERENCE ROOM INTO OFFICE SPACE ...VP CAROL JACKSON HAD COMMITTED \$6,000.00 FOR THESE IMPROVEMENTS."

stated that he is working on a proposal for all student groups to get together to discuss issues they would like to address.

CSI Student Union - William Wharton spoke on behalf of the students of the College of Staten Island Student Union and described issues this newly formed group will be working on including expanded library hours, restoration of 24-hour access to the Campus Center, restoration of Club space, restoration of funding for Clubs and expanded Day Care hours. Joe Canale stated that he will work with VP Carol Jackson to facilitate a meeting with President Springer. Chris Alvarez noted that SG has been working on many of these issues already.

As you can obviously see, the record speaks for itself so much so that perhaps I don't need to write anymore, but I just can't resist. Our current Student Government is a body of bureaucratic inaction and political trumpeting for its leaders. The contradictions abound and run consistently throughout the proceedings. November 7th is a perfect example of these contradictions. In the Finance Commission meeting SG turned down Prof. Charles Thomas' plea for \$1500.00 to finance the Kwanzaa celebration. Then SG Pres. Joe Canale told Prof. Thomas to go ask someone else. On Nov. 7th Sen. Vincent Cobb makes a proposal that SG will contribute \$250.00 to Kwanzaa but it is voted down. At the same meeting Pres. Joe Canale makes an announcement that he has cut a deal with VP Carol Jackson and procured \$6000.00 to improve the

SG Conference room. Where is the justice in this? Is this fair? Is this fiscal responsibility?

Next we move to Oct. 10th and examine the presentation made by Lori Seggio concerning her unease over statements made by Pres. Springer concerning involvement in the work of Publications. Publications Commissioner Joe Canale then promises, along with Ms. Seggio, to defend first amendment rights by following matters closely. Now we flash to Nov. 21st as this same Publications Commissioner and SG President needs the Program Manager of the school radio station to give him a refresher course on the First Amendment as he attempts to shut down a student newspaper.

The shining and most productive achievement of this year full of in-action by our Student Government is the last entry in my report, the creation of the Student Union. The Union was born out of this parade of incompetence, this orgy of dwarf-bureaucrats pulling each others strings, shuffling papers to look busy and hanging Birthday Banners to make themselves feel good. The time has come for the students of CSI to stand up and say "Enough is enough"!!! We will no longer be trampled upon and treated as cash cows to be shuttled off to classes while the powers that be violently slash our throats. I emphatically call for every student who reads this to become a member of the CSI Student Union and take control of your educational destiny. Its your school! Its your money! Its your future! Take it back now!!

CSI Student Union Organizes

Continued from page 6

mixed bag of demands some of which could be solved relatively quickly while others are merely budgetary decisions. She stated that the request for expanded day care hours was purely a budgetary choice and that they were absolutely no plans for future expansion of day care services so it was a not a viable issue. Jackson then agreed to respond to the letter within two weeks and to address a Union sponsored mass meeting with the student body.

At the next Union meeting outreach committees were formed to prepare for the mass meeting and for contacting the faculty. The focus of the Union will be placed on educating and motivating the student body of CSI. While we will use petitions and letter writing campaigns they cannot be the main tools for our group. The time has come for students to stand up and make their voice heard. Student Government will be focused on lobbying with local politicians but we will be working with colleges throughout the CUNY system and among the student body of CSI to form an effective mass movement against the cuts. If students do not respond to Governor Pataki his cuts will continue until there are no students left in CUNY. The only effective response mechanism to these attacks is the CSI Student Union which promotes mass participatory democracy in its structure and mass protest in its actions.

CAPTIALISM AND EDUCATION

Continued from Page 4

However, education for the working class youth, particularly higher education, was not about making profit for the boss man, no, it was and is about learning things previously only the prerogative of the rich and increasingly its about simply keeping up with the requisite qualifications to get any kind of halfway decent job. In terms of the job market, the oil crisis of the early 70's signaled the beginnings of a long period of economic stagnation and contraction due to increased global capitalist competition. The capitalist bosses, now, instead of creating better paying jobs, would try to squeeze as much as possible out of an ever shrinking workforce. Downsizing, restructuring and all kinds of euphemisms were used to describe the firing of hundreds of thousands of workers. Merger's and acquisitions or the concentration of ever greater amounts of capital in fewer and fewer capitalists hands reached a fever pitch. New technologies were used not to create more leisure time for the whole of society but for the dizzying enrichment of the few through the greater exploitation of the many. Institutions like CUNY which was free and open to all became too big of a luxury in the eyes of capitalist politicians. During the financial crisis in NYC in 1976, tuition was imposed for the first time. Although at first it was only a nominal amount, it signaled the beginning of the end for the policy of open admissions. The policy of higher education for all is not one that the capitalist system was committed to in principle, no, its only principle is profit, when public higher education appeared to be unprofitable

in the eyes of the gentlemen of the board of the Exxon's, IBM's, IIT's, GM's and Time-Warner's, they promptly instructed Democrats and Republicans, their loyal advocates, to dismantle it.

The CUNY we know today, is an institution being transformed. From its initial egalitarian mission of providing the sons and daughters of the working class with the same level of quality education as given to the wealthy, for free, we are seeing CUNY being transformed into essentially an expensive vocational institution. W.A.Reynolds, a specialist in restructuring higher education, was brought in for the job, replacing the social democrat Joseph Murphy as chancellor. The blueprints for this transformation can be seen in such documents as the Goldstein Report which aims at consolidating programs at fixed campuses and the College Preparatory Initiative which seeks to institute standards for entry and continued enrollment. The aim, indeed the target, of the Goldstein Report are the Liberal Arts. Liberal Arts which by their very nature are critical and open ended do not fit well with the capitalist-market orientation of the new CUNY. Needless to say with the targeting of the Liberal Arts programs, those faculty who instructed in them also were in danger of being axed. As our own professor in the PSA department George Rozos would say, these were the creme de la creme of the faculty whose very professions were tied to the existence of the university as a Liberal Arts based institution. The new policy sought to transform the Liberal Arts into a handmaiden of capitalist profitabili-

ty. Political Science becomes the training ground for future functionaries of the status quo, Sociology becomes a training ground for social workers to manage social problems rather than to expose their roots, Psychology, a training ground for so-called behavioral studies and Philosophy, a useless moralizing discourse on ethics for nursing students. The current administration and heads of departments will argue that this indeed is what students want. The only truth to be gained from this is that they share the same cynical view of students and society in general that the capitalists have. With the imposition of tuition and other expenses a vicious cycle of dumbing down is unleashed. It unfolds as follows: 1) Free tuition, students are free to explore their creative and intellectual potential, without pressure. 2) Tuition is imposed, pressure is created for students by having to work or take out loans 3) Students attempt to finish as quickly as possible so they can repay their loans or to end the double load of school and work. 4) Students have less and less time for subjects not directly related towards securing employment. 5) Distribution requirements demand that students must take a minimum of x Liberal Arts courses. 6) Students grow disdainful of the Liberal Arts since it is forced upon them in an environment where they are struggling to reach the finish line in the shortest possible time. 7) Administrators and some faculty attempt to profit from this by transforming the Liberal Arts into vocational education or job training claiming that this is what students want.

The Destruction of *Student Life*

EDITORIAL

Hard work and dedication are the most essential attributes necessary for the production of an effective publication. These principles were put into effect at the inception and throughout the workings of the only CSI publication entirely dedicated to the promotion of club life, *Student Life*. On Wednesday February 6, 1996 in the usual pre-issue meeting the staff and editors of *Student Life* were told by Club Commissioner Luis Cruzatte that the entire format and function of the paper that the group had worked so hard on would be eliminated.

Throughout his term as Club Commissioner Cruzatte has claimed that he is an ardent defender and promoter of clubs. However what Cruzatte says and what he does are often two entirely different things. He claimed that he wishes to increase club activity yet when approached at a Student Government meeting with the proposition that club funding needed to be increased he vehemently fought against it claiming that funding was adequate. This same shortsighted politically motivated argument

Throughout his term as Club Commissioner Cruzatte has claimed that he is an ardent defender and promoter of clubs...what he says and what he does are often two entirely different things.

spilled over to Cruzatte's handling of *Student Life*.

In essence what he wanted for *Student Life* was migrant workers, students who would produce the paper, be satisfied with being able to work on the computer equipment and bask in the glow of working with a leader so great as he thought

It is the duty of every student on campus to challenge this morally rotten anti-student sentiment and transform CSI into a place where students can grow unhindered.

himself to be. All of this was presented under the guise of having the interest of clubs in mind. Further demonstrating his politically oriented power hungry nature Cruzatte installed himself as the "Director" of *Student Life*. The responsibility of this position, like a manager on the floor of a factory, was to keep the laborers in line for the bosses upstairs. In the first of his many dictatorial actions, right before printing, Cruzatte took the editorial of the Second edition of *Student Life* into the Student Government offices for review. After conspiring with his team of political copy editors he demanded the name Student Union be taken out of the editorial because it was not a recognized organization. Despite the fact that the entire editorial staff had approved the content of the editorial, Cruzatte committed an act of pure censorship. The motivation for this action was purely political and had absolutely nothing to do with the rights or interests of student clubs.

phers attended many student events on campus and allowed an open space for club advertising. Just as important as the club space issue, *Student Life* provided young writers, photographers and editors with a space to sharpen their skills. The temporary office in 1C-218 became a hotbed for students interested in clubs and young writers interested in becoming journalists. This was a threat to Cruzatte in his quest for power as club leaders began using *Student Life* and look to it as a beacon of hope for Club life. For the administration, *Student Life* may have become even more dangerous because it represented an opportunity for club leaders to establish some type of dialogue and begin working together on joint projects. The lack of office space for clubs is not a coincidence. Student leaders that are scattered across campus are easily controlled but student leaders that work together represent a dangerous united front to all parts of administration from the high ranking school bureaucrats to the student government president.

All of this led to the events of Feb. 6 when Cruzatte informed members of the staff of *Student Life* that the format of the paper would be changed. He stated that the paper should be an insert into the Banner and should only contain descriptions and advertisements for clubs, no press coverage. The members of the staff rejected this notion stating that club descriptions had been presented in the first issue and club advertisement was available in every issue. Cruzatte stated that, that was the way it is going to be and that his decision was final. Following this each member of *Student Life* was given the opportunity to give their vision of the papers future and each one summarily dismissed the notion of reducing the focus of the paper as Cruzatte had demanded. For some, the paper represented a great resource, for others it was a chance to help young writers and for oth-

ers it was free press at its finest. For Cruzatte the paper seemed to represent another political tool for self advancement. Faced with the most fascist, undemocratic procedure ever witnessed on this campus each member of the paper resigned. Cruzatte did not care and during the Student Government meeting the following day he had the *Student Life* publications line moved from the Publications Commission to the Club Commission claiming that an oversight had occurred.

The motives for Cruzatte's action were pure and simple, political power and career advancement. The words that come out of his mouth are pro-clubs and pro-student but the actions he takes are pro-administration and pro-Luis. What is healthy for the CSI club community matters not if it means the loss of a power outlet. The staff of *Student Life*, like other members of publications, spent hours upon hours and days after days in the office working to provide CSI clubs with an opportunity for expansion. In return they simply asked for the right of self determination, the basic human right to be recognized and appreciated for their hard work and dedication. In the current environment at CSI hard work and dedication are opposed by student governments political and personal ambitions. It is therefore the duty of every student on campus to challenge this morally rotten anti-student sentiment and transform CSI into a place where students can grow unhindered. We encourage every student who reads this and supports free speech to go to Student Government (room 1C-207) and register a complaint about their destruction of *Student Life*. We should strive to create critically minded, active students who will transform our society into a better place instead of training future bureaucrats to carry out the budget cuts and tuition hikes of the future.

This letter was brought forward to Student Government on January 29th in reference to the Publication Commission by The College Voice, Third Rail, Student Life and Yearbook. Student Government has not responded as of yet.

To Student Government Members,

The purpose of this letter is to bring to your attention the workings of the Publication Commission and his commission. This letter comes with a lot of frustration. We are tired of the games played by the Commissioner and we demand that SG listen to our problems and address them accordingly. The complaints are nothing new, we have continuously brought them before the SG and we have been ignored. The non-action by the SG goes to show that SG at large is not doing its job.

Please read this letter carefully!

1) Publication Commission is UNDEMOCRATIC, it has to be removed!

A) Last year's commission took away the right of the publications to vote on it's own commission. Thus the whole commission is undemocratic. The purpose of the commission is to be a liaison between publications and SG. Which means it has to work with the publica-

tions, listen to the complaints/problems and bring it forth to SG. However, the publication commission has never done that. Instead they have enforced bogus rules on us just to micro-manage us.

B) The new publication commissioner, Juergen Schentzer, went a step forward than even the ex-commissioner by implementing a new policy which is even more undemocratic. He changed the requirements for a quorum from 4 PC members to 2 PC members. Again without any consultation or discussion with the publications.

C) They have put constraints on us without consultation or any understanding of how each publication runs. These constraints are 1) deadlines as to when the paper has to be at the printers and if it is not then they will not fund us. First of all we are all students who work, go to school and dedicate a lot of our time without pay to the publications. Second of all the publication Commissioner or his commission have no idea how each publica-

tion works, how much time we spend on the paper and other difficulties that we have to face. Instead of working with us the commission has made our work difficult to do. Our keys were taken away, the commission never did anything, not even address the question. We have to wait ten to fifteen minutes for our door to be opened, and sometimes longer.

D) Last semester the College Voice Mainframe was broken into and erased. The commission took no steps. Instead Joe Canale (who at that time was the self appointed "acting" commissioner, when in fact he had officially resigned; these are just games that are only understood by those who play them.) tried to shut us down on the basis that we didn't have our minutes in on time or a membership list. At that time we were working on the CV issue, on top of that we were re-configuring our computers and on top of that we were pressed with final exams. The CV demanded that the commission

be reconstructed with the participation of the publication, this demand was put toward the administration who put it off by saying that it was an SG issue.

2) PC Commissioner is UNDEMOCRATIC, he has to be Removed!

A) It took us over 3 months to order basic supplies. College Voice does not have a Zip Drive, Fax Modem, Tape recorders (an essential tool for reporters), paper, disks, and so forth. The reason for this ridiculous delay is not understood by CV, however, Schentzer justifies it by saying that our inventory was not complete. This is incorrect! Joe Canale, last year's PC Commissioner, did the inventory in the beginning of last semester, he had made it clear that CV could not be chartered if the inventory was not complete. Obviously we were chartered and we came out with two issues, the fact then the inventory was done! Schentzer said he is "new" and "now he is the commissioner", leaving him the right to do whatever he wants while disregarding what has already been done. This delay has

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DISAPPEARING STUDENT RIGHTS THE NEED FOR A FREE PRESS AT CSI

BY MANJULA WIJERAMA

The policies initiated by Student Government Pres. Joe Canale towards publications at CSI have created a crisis for the latter and has seriously undermined student press freedom. The stated logic of SG policy towards publications is a very crude form of market logic. The viability of a publication is thus based not on its merits but rather on how many readers and/or how many members. However since no real study has been conducted it is the personal/political prejudices of SG, particularly Canale's, that serves as the measure of what is good and bad. For the sake of argument let us assume that real studies and surveys were conducted by SG and it turned out that the readership of a particular publication was, let us say, 300 students, which is a clear minority in a campus of 13,000 students. According to the stated logic of SG such a publication is not worthy of funding. By the same logic however, SG itself must resign since they were elected by a similar small minority of students. Putting aside for the moment such obvious hypocrisy, let us deal with the important issue of the impact of this capitalist-market logic to press and intellectual freedom for students at CSI.

The Reality of Student Life at CSI

Before we proceed to the more particular issue of press and intellectual freedom for students, we must survey the general landscape of student rights and freedom. Any student attempting to do anything at CSI from registering for classes, finding parking, eating at the cafeteria, buying books for classes, starting a club, holding a meeting, having a party, etc.... a rather exhausting bureaucratic list indeed, the student has to deal with Administration at some level. This

every student at CSI?... No. Then, perhaps, are we receiving education and books and food and parking and clubs for free? No.

CSI students basic expenses excluding books and parking have tripled in four years, from [\$625/semester full time in 1990] to [\$1800/semester in 1994]. While the basic expenses have tripled the prices of food, books and parking which are under the CSI Auxiliary Services

equal and consultative position with faculty. WRONG. Class sections have been reduced, full time faculty have been reduced and whole departments have become simply bureaucratic shells.

What our brief general survey of student life at CSI offers is indeed a very troubling conclusion. Students are a exploited and oppressed group. In other words we are being robbed blind and have no recourse within the university. On top of this the CSI Security apparatus has bloomed into a full fledged police force, with rights to

doing absolutely nothing to open access to the library, to open access to computer rooms, to create office space for clubs, to lower the price of books and food, to stop the theft of money from students in the form of parking fines. Students should be aware that the institution of Student Government sits on top of \$250,000 of student money from your student activity fee. Students should also be aware that the CSI Association, a body dominated by Administration, has final authority over SG actions. It is thus not surprising that Student Government is as backward and ineffective as it is. However the Administrative control over SG is not an unsurpassable barrier. The example of the current SG at Hunter is instructive. At Hunter a student rights coalition known as SLAM which was active outside of SG fighting for student interests ran a slate of SLAM activists and won control of SG. It

does not take much to realize that students at Hunter and by extension anywhere else in CUNY, are in a better position to fight for their rights with an activist, grassroots leadership occupying Student Government. The current occupants of CSI Student Government could not be a worst disaster for students if they were paid by Administration. This is true particularly for the "Honorable" President Joe Canale, as he likes to be addressed. (See articles in this issue)

The Need for a Free Press at CSI

With the extent to which students are being robbed and treated with disrespect on this campus our institutions of self-defense and collective organizing must be strong and ready to fight. A free press which we take for granted as a basic right in society at large is a key

instrument in fighting exploitation and exposing oppression. But at CSI, the press is not free. Now, one may ask if we do not have a free press at CSI, how can one be reading these words in the College Voice. As our regular readers already know our existence has been repeatedly threatened by Student Government. The winter issue of the Voice was published after narrowly surviving an attempt by SG President Canale and his cronies to freeze the Voice budget which came on the heels of the systematic destruction of the Voice's main computer by some members of the pro-Canale Banner newspaper. Michael Garafalo, the former editor of the Banner who resigned after the incident, confessed to the Voice that Canale had



In 1970 CSI supported four radical newspapers: starting from bottom left "English Fifty", "Dolphin", "The Paper", and "Black Awakening".

Corporation have also increased. Indeed these services are controlled monopolistically, that is, without offering any choice to the student as to where s/he wants to purchase services from. The Auxiliary Services Corporation has literally millions of dollars of student money which students have no control over. Now, if you get really pissed off at this situation and demand an explanation, Administration will tell you, that

arrest students and it appears soon, with the right to carry guns on campus. Now we are better prepared to deal with the issue of press freedom for students.

Student Government - Running Dogs for Administration

As some students may be aware there is an institution known as Student Government at CSI which is supposed to represent student interests. Let us review a few of the achievements of our illustrious Government. They have achieved the cutting of student club budgets. They have achieved the cutting of the budgets of student publications. They have achieved the increase of paperwork and red tape for student club chartering and the holding of student events. They have achieved

A FREE PRESS WHICH WE TAKE FOR GRANTED AS A BASIC RIGHT IN SOCIETY AT LARGE IS A KEY INSTRUMENT IN FIGHTING EXPLOITATION AND EXPOSING OPPRESSION.

usually involves: 1) paying a fee e.g. tuition fee, student activity fee, parking fee; 2) standing on a line e.g. food line, book line, financial aid line; 3) signing and filling out forms e.g. club charter form, registration form, parking form. We can safely say that every single student at CSI does at least one of these activities. Now, in terms of the democratic right to representation, do students elect any of those in Administration who play such a important role in the life of each and

you can always run for one of the student seats on the Board of the Auxiliary Services Corporation. If you choose to take the bait, know beforehand that the student seats are a minority on the Board and therefore students are structurally impotent on this Board.

Since students are paying triple for their education at CSI, then perhaps students can determine their curriculum, course of study and in general be on a

PUBLICATIONS COMMISSION CAN'T MAKE QUORUM OF 2

The first act of the new commissioner of the Publications Commission, Jurgen Schnetzer, was to change the requirement for quorum from 4 people to 2 people. Of course, these two voting members are not members of publications but that is another article entirely. Armed with this scaled down anti-democratic policy Schnetzer prepared to hold his next meeting but ran into a roadblock. The 10:30 am meeting was sparsely attended, as a matter of fact nobody showed up! Jurgen found himself left out in the cold by his late snoozing cronies. Perhaps some of the funds allocated by Student Government to Pizza Wednesdays could be diverted to Breakfast with Jurgen so that our esteemed Commissioner can coax his comrades out from under the covers.

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Students and Workers Unite to Fight the Cuts!! Build the Student Union!! Build A City-wide movement Against the Cuts!!

Once again CSI/CUNY students are under attack. In his latest budget, New York Governor Pataki has proposed a cut to CUNY of \$57.6 million. A \$400.00 per semester tuition increase is being prepared. Financial aid (TAP) will be slashed. Why? The Republican Governor along with his Democratic counterparts in the State Assembly have agreed on "balancing the budget." However, "balancing the budget" has repeatedly meant cutting CUNY/SUNY, busting unions, cutting assistance to the neediest children, seniors, single mothers and using police to paralyze the working class, particularly Black and Latino working class youth, through terror and brutality. Meanwhile, for Wall Street, for the multi-billion dollar investment banks, securities firms and their law, advertising and media firms, "balancing the budget" has meant billions more in profits. The heartbeat of Wall Street - the Dow Jones Index - has been shooting through the roof, topping 6000. The State and City have been funneling more funds out of public coffers into corporate bank accounts. The City has paid off \$500,000,000 to corporations over the last 3 years "to stay in New York." CUNY has been cut by \$60 million over the last 2 years.

Wall Street and their political advocates in the Republican and Democratic parties are confident that they can dazzle the working class with anti-poor, anti-immigrant and racist demagoguery, attempting to blame the poor, Black/Latino youth and the foreign born for the attacks on workers livelihoods. Wall Street makes a killing on the market while Anthony Baez is killed by a cop for the crime of accidentally hitting a cop car with a football.

The students of CSI/CUNY are the sons and daughters of the city's working class. It is our families that are being crushed by the cuts to Medicaid, the cuts to public assistance and the gutting of social services. The cuts to CSI/CUNY is part and parcel of the ruling capitalist class' attempt to enrich itself off of the labor of the working class. For CUNY students who on average earn \$300/week, thus a \$400.00 tuition hike translates into at least one week of free labor for the state.

To put an end to the cuts on the working class CSI/CUNY students we cannot place any faith in the twin parties of capitalist rule - the Republicans and Democrats. We must build mass demonstrations in unity with city workers and all those exploited and oppressed by the rule of corporate capitalist greed. While the working class still does not have a political party of its own that can fight the capitalist onslaught at a national level, the newly formed Labor Party must be put to the test. The Labor Party was officially founded in June 1996 in Cleveland with 1400 hundred delegates from some five International Unions and many hundreds of Locals endorsing the Party. The Labor Party has a program calling for full employment and an education for anyone who wants it. Students at CSI/CUNY should demand that the Labor Party support us in the fight against the capitalist cuts.

While the Labor Party is a step in the right direction, it is a tentative step taken by some middle level union officials who as part of the AFL-CIO are still committed to begging Democrats for promises, unmade and unfulfilled. CSI/CUNY students must put this Labor Party to the test and see whether it can be built into a genuine mass workers party that will actively champion the cause of all the exploited and oppressed. Without building such a national political alternative, there is nothing to effectively stop the Republicans and Democrats Wall Street agenda.

Stop the tuition increase!!!
Stop the budget cuts!!!
Stop the attacks on unions, the poor and immigrants!!!
Build a Workers Party!!!
Fight for the rule of the Working Class!!!

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Know us: The College 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.
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Political Apathy, Democracy and College Education

*...The effective operation of a democratic political system usually requires some measure of apathy and non-involvement of some individuals and groups. In the past every democratic society has had a marginal population, of great or lesser size, which has not actively participated in politics. In itself, this marginality on the part of some groups is inherently undemocratic but it is also one of the factors which has enabled democracy to function effectively. (M.J. Crozier, S.P. Huntington, J. Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* p. 98)*

The authors of this report are distinguished scholars in the social sciences. In this instance, however, they do not speak in their official public capacity as teachers in prestigious institutions and authors of popular texts in their fields, but as "gray eminencies," i.e., as confidential advisors to governments using the more arcane - normally inaccessible to the wider public and their students - knowledge and language of their discipline. The recipients of their report, an international collection of high-powered businessmen, bankers, bureaucrats, retired generals, former ambassadors and CIA directors, and professors, act as a brain-trust for the US and other industrialized countries, in their quest for a "governable" New World Order.

The diagnosis of the Report is that the problem with democracy is too much democracy and the way to deal with it is to decrease freedom and increase management ("governability"). Since proceeding openly on the surface by limiting constitutionally guaranteed freedoms would undermine the very ideology which provides the support of the system among the masses, a behind-the-surface approach through education and the media is preferable. Having distinguished between "value-oriented" (i.e., liberal arts) and "technocratic policy-oriented" (i.e., professional and vocational) education, the blame for the un-governability of liberal democracy is placed on liberal arts "higher education" as "the most important value-producing system in society." (Ibid, p.185) The authors' recommendation logically follows that if "democracy (is) to function effectively," liberal arts education must be limited to some so that the rest can be tracked to apathy-producing "technocratic policy-oriented" (i.e., professional and vocational) education. The racist implications of

this analysis are unmistakable. For it does not take too much intelligence to figure out that those who make the "marginal population, of great or lesser size," which is being tracked by apathy-producing education to stay out from "actively participat(ing) in politics," are the disadvantaged and the minorities.

The educational landscape described by the Report looks disturbingly familiar to those of us who study and work in CUNY and especially at CSI. It is no exaggeration to say that our campus exemplifies the progressive implementation of the recommendations of the Report. The litany of democratic rituals of freedom involving active participation of citizenry - of which the quadrennial ritual of presidential election is part - has to be preserved and re-legitimized every four years on-the-surface, if the real business of bolstering governability through education-for-apaty can go on uninterrupted behind-the-surface. Regardless of ideological orientation of the faculty, the function of liberal arts in an institution of higher learning is the same: to disclose the relationship between the official (surface) and the unofficial (behind-the-surface) social reality. For example, though I find myself ideologically opposed to the authors of the Report, I find their analysis instructive because, having the same point of departure from socially located knowledge, we arrive, because of different "value-orientation" at totally antithetical educational philosophy. We are using the same methodology of juxtaposing an official (superficial or on-the-surface) and an unofficial (real or behind-the-surface) reality borrowed from sociology of knowledge, only to arrive at diametrically opposed conclusions: they, for education for apathy and the conservation of the status quo; I, for education for freedom and its radicalization.

The Committee for Intellectual and Scholarly Life (sponsor of the two-part forum on presidential elections) allowed themselves either to be trapped into, or knowingly become accomplices of, legitimizing instead of criticizing our admittedly flawed democratic two-party system. Instead of structuring our highly publicized consciousness-raising forum "Election '96" along lines which would have, like the Report to the Trilateral Commission, elicited the differences between what is taking place on, and what is going on behind, the surface, our Committee has settled for the familiar media format of a presidential debate. The Report would have rightly reserved such format not

for those who have a genuine interest in democracy but for the "marginal population ... which [does] not actively participate in politics," but which has, by virtue of its apathy, "enabled democracy to function effectively." In effect, our Committee failed to utilize the resources of our liberal arts faculty, whose knowledge and talent lies in discovering and communicating, through their respective disciplines, the truth behind the appearances of media for our students, in the same way that the Report does it for the government. In addition, the role of the faculty should have been to accent this discrepancy between the apparent and the real with special reference to our own backyard. I am referring to the apparent contradiction of our academic existence

unaware that this has still to be reconciled with the claim of the intelligence community - his own stock-in-trade. In the more official language of his discipline, he must still face up to the fundamental question of democratic political theory: the relationship between national interest (common good) as the sum of partial interests a la Congress and as something transcending this sum, wherein the whole (common good) is more than the sum of its parts, as represented by the Executive at its best, and by the misplaced ardor of the intelligence community at its worst. The former is modeled after economics and corresponds to Rousseau's "will of all" and Hegel's Civil Society, while the latter takes after sociology and corresponds to Rousseau's "general will" and Hegel's conception of the State. The latter is about the behind-the-surface and the former is about the surface, as exemplified in the following exchange ('The Reagan Legacy,' Discovery Channel, 10 p.m., November 3 & 4, 1996).

Donald Reagan (Ronald Reagan's Sec-

RADICAL CHANGE DOES NOT COME ABOUT THROUGH THE USE OF ESTABLISHED FORMS OF POLITICAL ACTION BUT REQUIRES A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PREVAILING FORMS OF POLITICAL ACTION.

BY GEORGE ROZOS, PSA

wherein, on the one hand, we are called to combat political apathy through the simulation of the quadrennial ritual of legitimization of a government based on apathy while, on the other, we are daily sustaining apathy through an emphasis on "technocratic policy-oriented" (i.e., professional and vocational) education, thus bolstering the "governability of democracy" as well as the rule of CUNY's educational bureaucracy.

Not surprisingly, the proceedings of the forum (at least the second part which I attended) was marred by intellectual sterility and the reiteration of political clichés. For example, my long-time colleague and friend Lenny Quart, grossly underutilized the talent - which he has developed through years of writing film-reviews - of exploring social reality by going behind the surface of film. Instead of using this talent on the Fellinesque show of "Election '96," he found himself endorsing vulgar rationalizations of the two-party system: the "lesser-of-two-evils" and the "cherishing-rather-than-wasting-one's vote" guides to democratic behavior - for which he was rightly scorned by Manuela Dobos.

Richard Powers did not fare any better in terms of utilization of his powers of reconciling the apparent and the real, which distinguish a good historian from a dull one. His knowledge about the secret intelligence community - the American behind-the-surface institution par excellence - gives him a privileged vantage point from which to examine its claim as repository of the virtual (unitary) national interest, as against Congress' claim representing fragmentary, constituency-oriented, partial interests, for which the intelligence community has traditionally held a barely disguised contempt. Powers adopted Congress' horse-trading definition politics as a trade-off between interest groups, seemingly

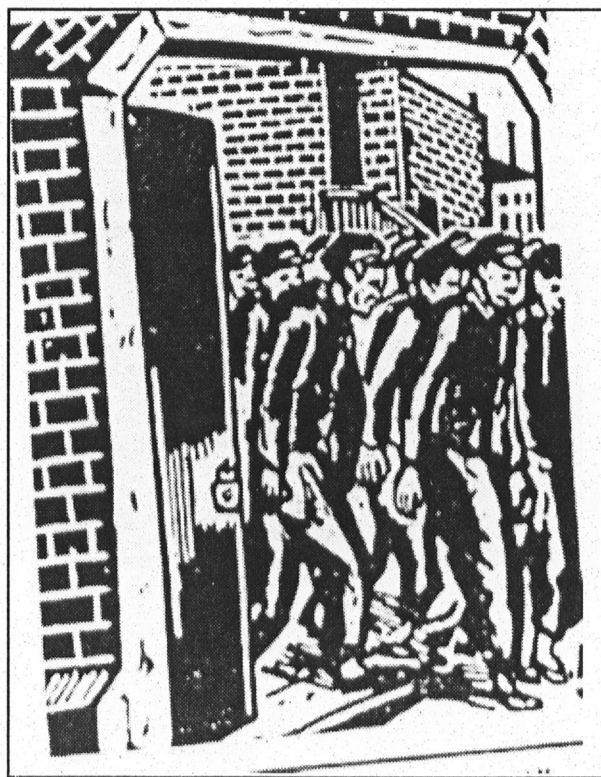
retary of Treasury) says:

You would accuse these Congressmen of being narrow in their prejudices and say, 'Look, we're looking at the common good,' and they would say, 'Yes, but we weren't elected by the common good, we were elected by our constituencies.' The result was billions of dollars in sweeteners for oil and natural gas, sugar and peanut growers, real-estate interests and like groups.

In terms of ideological affinity I find myself closest to Manuela Dobos among the panelists. This is perhaps the reason why I find her performance most in need of close scrutiny. By its very nature, a radical's task is the most difficult of all because she must penetrate much deeper into presuppositions which are taken for granted by those in the mainstream. Those who routinely partake in our democratic process, begin after a while to accept the neutrality of the procedural aspects of politics as self-evident. But what appears neutral in the life of institutions, e.g., the objectivity of bureaucratic procedures, the neutrality of rules of democratic procedure, and the ethically neutral language and methodology of the social disciplines, has to be carefully deconstructed as tainted before the radical can reach a firm footing. In other words, cases like voting (especially in a two-party system), which have become routine actions, thanks to the ways the "good citizen" has been tracked by institutions, present the radical with an insuperable task of disclosing their complex tracking mechanisms.

For instance, it is important to get behind not one but a succession of levels of action which the institutional setting has ensured are taken for granted by the "good citizen." Thus, it is not merely the particular voting action for Ralph Nader which should be of concern to Dobos as a

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Erection of Professor to Stimulate the Imagination

BY IRIS VAN DER BIRI

While studying for my Art History final at the library, I had a strange idea. I asked myself who would be chosen if CSI decided to have a statue made of a professor. Imagine my surprise when the few friends with whom I was studying thought the idea to be brilliant. We left the library, and got ourselves some coffee at the small cafeteria. We were so excited

"She explained to us how the typical posture was in fact a constructed image and that our only standard should be the naked truth".

about the idea that the discussion was a bit too fragmented at first. But, quickly, the passions cooled off, and we started to reason about the kind of standards we would have to choose.

A friend, majoring in political science, suggested that the decision should be made democratically. He thought that since the college was made up primarily for and by students, the latter would have the privilege and duty to elect the professor. At first, this seemed satisfactory. But then, our historian friend at the table, thought that doing so would be more difficult than it seemed. He pointed out that we would rely on a majority of students whose reasons for making this kind of choice could be so ludicrous that anyone could be chosen. I pointed out that for some, it would come down to ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. 'Our' professor must be chosen for some other reason, a better reason.

At that moment, a friend of mine entered the cafeteria from the back door. We were right there. He shook a few hands, and we told him our idea. He said that this reminded him of something he had read of a philosopher, Nietzsche, who made a point about how the physical ugliness of Socrates matched the decadence of his philosophy. I always knew that the guy was smart. He didn't stay with us. We looked at each other, discussed a little what was just said, and agreed that the professor should have, in addition to knowledge and moral integrity, something more, something special. We decided that the professor must be a distinguished and full human being, a charismatic figure that could uplift the spirit of those who would look at his statue, while also be pleasant to look at.

For my part, I couldn't stop thinking about Socrates. I could not but think about the difference between what some teachers teach us, and the way they live their lives. Previous to that day, I had no interest in the subject. But, since then...

The Arts student brought up another issue to which, I have to admit, I hadn't thought about before. She thought that an average sculptor could create 'magnetism' where there was none, through the use of posture, particular clothing etc. To minimize this problem, she suggested that no external paraphernalia was needed. The statue, she concluded, must be a nude. At this point, a great explosion of laughter ensued. She explained to us that our discomfort was the result of our prudish religious upbringing which neglected and marginalized the Body.

I pointed out that she might have been

right, but that her idea would be objected to by the professors themselves. I suggested that we'd go for an abstract representation of the ideal professor. Again she showed me how ignorant I was in these matters. Abstraction, she said, was a way of masking the truth. Behind abstraction are hidden great many meanings with which people are not comfortable or which they have forgotten. She insisted that we think of the covering of the geni-

tals of angels as part of this process. She brought our attention the typical representations of the older male professor with glasses and neat clothes. She explained to us how the typical posture was in fact a constructed image and that our only standard should be the naked truth. We all agreed without really knowing what she meant.

She insisted that it wasn't only nudity she was talking about but particularity. I forgot who had to stop her at this point because nobody understood what she meant. She patiently explained to us that a body with particular features, like those related to race and ethnicity for example, those relating to the way a woman kept her hair, if she had earrings, the proportions of her body, and especially the many facets of the personality would be lost through abstraction. Only by looking at a statue which is genuine in its depicting the particular could one appreciate it in universal terms. I went and got me another coffee.

The history major asked about the origin of abstraction. I remember that she answered him, but I could not hear the answer. So, in any case, we decided to choose a particular figure that would be attractive and evocative to the coming generations. I remembered what I had read somewhere 'A Healthy Mind in a Healthy Body.' In fact, I don't know if it is 'healthy' or something else. In any case, my friends got the message when I said that. We almost started thinking about the meaning of these terms, but were distracted for some reason.

It seemed true, at that moment, that in fact there was no separation between the body and the mind when the person was doing things in the world. How can a person do anything if body and mind were separated by an unbridgeable gap? 'Our' professor had to be more than just a professor: someone who professes something. We didn't want someone whose profession would be to profess either, that would be like an actor with some ability to make it look 'real.' You know, I am thinking about these things at home, far from the hustle and bustle of CSI cafeteria, and still I have problems making up my mind right away. I remember that my friend, the artist, suggested that what made a sculpture work was the interplay between the artist, the viewer, and the subject.

Naively we had started with the viewer, mostly students, and had concentrated on what kind of sculpture they would prefer. We all agreed that our standards had to appeal to the students highest

qualities instead of fulfilling any quick needs of the majority. For if the statue was a nude, it didn't have to be sleazy. We all agreed that part of the magnetism that 'our' professor had to project was sexual, and that at no moment should it be neglected, for we would be untruthful to ourselves. We then agreed that if the professor were a woman, a lesbian sculptor would have to do the work, for she would be closer to a true appreciation of the person from within, a gay sculptor would do the man. This may seem outrageous and crazy, but think about it for a moment.

Being the first viewers, although only in our minds, we decided that our standards would do for the moment. Things like the proportions of the body and the material with which to make the statue would be important, and they had to 'match' the person. We agreed that despite the fact that we didn't know much about the professors, we would use what students thought about them as a starting point. I took a pencil, and started taking suggestions. President Springer's name came first. Somebody thought that it was too much to choose her, since she would be funding the work. Some would say that she is megalomaniac, or that the artist was biased. Professor Affron was proposed next. We thought that she couldn't possibly fit our surely reduced financing, neither could Carol Jackson who holds a huge office despite her small feet.

The history major thought that Professor Holder would be a great candidate. It is true Professor Holder is a distinguished man, a great professor, he got his degree from Harvard. A bronze statue would certainly fit his skin color, but not his strength. Brass would fit him best, for the MTA has already made brass tokens. Professor Holder is in no case representative of our faculty, predominantly non-Black. We eliminated in one sweep all those people of color because we thought that to engage in a multicultural direction would

be too complicated. We kept it simple, in other words, White...White women our favorite minority.

Professor Kelder was our friend's teacher so we didn't choose her. Professor Salomon was also rejected because she was not very tall, a bit heavy, and her personality was too strong. Our friend showed us pictures of works by Brancusi and Botero. No conceptual art, we said, no abstraction!

I proposed Professor Simpson, the philosopher. He is a knowledgeable man, he participates in college life with his articles, and he has great human qualities like humor. But, we all agreed he was a bit prudish and, by 'officially' giving up on sex, he gave up on a part of himself. We didn't want such imbalances to ruin our statue. Although he is noble, honorable, and wise, Professor Simpson was excessive.

My friend, an economics student, thought that either Professors Carey or Schwarz would stand the challenge. Professor Carey is short and slim. She is a very nice woman, but a little bit boring. She speaks very softly. We thought we had a 'match.' But thinking about it a bit more, we thought that the nude makes a shy person look just weak. For Professor Schwarz, the rest of us didn't even know who he was, so we didn't think about him.

We had a long discussion about Professor Balfe with whom I had taken a course on art a few years ago. But, the College Voice refused to let me print our findings because Manjula Wijerama still has to finish some incompletes for her. I didn't insist. We put her on the list.

The historian thought that a prime representative of the politics of displacement was Professor Binder. He is well built, a fake smile always at hand. A kind of Achilles with a secret heel: He is no historian, just a successful bureaucrat, who

Continued on next page

SUBJECT: Science News-flash! New Element Discovered

Berkeley, CA (AP): The heaviest element known to science was recently discovered by physicists at U.C. Berkeley. The element, tentatively called Administratium, has no protons or electrons, and thus has an atomic weight of zero (0). However, it does have 1 neutron, 25 assistant neutrons, 75 vice neutrons and 111 assistant vice neutrons. This gives it an atomic mass of 212. These 212 particles are held together in a nucleus by a force that involves the continuous exchange of neutron-like particles called morons.

Since it has no electrons, Administratium is inert; however, it can be detected chemically, as it impedes every reaction with which it comes into contact. According to the Berkeley discoverers, a minute amount of Administratium caused one reaction to take over four days to complete, when it would normally have occurred in less than one second.

Administratium has a normal half-life of approximately three years at which time it does not actually decay, but instead undergoes a reorganization in which assistant neutrons, vice neutrons, and assistant vice neutrons exchange places. Some tests has shown that the atomic number actually increases after each reorganization, although it is not yet clear where the extra morons may originate. Research at other laboratories indicate that Administratium is known to be highly toxic at any level of concentration and can easily destroy any productive reactions where it is allowed to accumulate. Attempts are being made to determine how Administratium can be controlled to prevent irreversible damage, but results to date are not promising. Due to lack of funding, U.C. Berkeley has no plans for further evaluation.

Cannibalism at CSI: Students Pray for Indigestion

BY RABELAIS BECKETT KAUFKA

In a meeting with a prominent member of the administration, student representatives put forward their ideas and proposed a number of changes the CSI administration could implement.

The administrator was, in her words, "hungry for such comments." The students seemed pleased and started by going over the platform of demands they thought could improve the conditions of student life at CSI.

The first such issue was the issue of student access. For the students, the fact that administration refuses access to club and publication space after a relatively early hour was a hindrance to student life. Students explained that what they do as newspaper writers and editors, or as members of active clubs at the college is an act of voluntarism. They are not paid nor are they compensated for maintaining a decent community life within the college. Most of these students work part-time, in addition to their college courses. This means that the time they spend working for the college must be very flexible in order for them to write their articles, do their research, investigate the issues, and prepare for college activities such as discussions, forums, film projections, and many other functions.

The woman from administration argued that for security reasons, student demands cannot be matched. The idea of a 24-hour access was a crazy one, as well as that of longer library hours, because funding is lacking especially in the current tight financial situation.

The student representatives countered

this argument by insisting that, unlike a prison, the primary goal of CSI should not be that of security, but of academic enrichment. The primary responsibility of the administration is to create the proper structures to foster such a goal. Students agreed that the security of students was very important, but the recent policies that made of security guards highly trained commando-style paramilitary units "scared" them. They added that there was no minimum I.Q. requirements for the recruits, and that the psychological tests did not make the possibility of inordinate behavior absolutely far-off.

Students continued their comments and noted that the many "parties" organized by the administration should be looked at more seriously. The amounts of food and beverages served at these parties could finance other activities. Some students insisted that they saw prominent members of the college community in an advanced state of inebriety. To this remark the administrator insisted that this was untrue, and that the meeting was about other issues. The students said that because there was a connection between all the functions of the bureaucracy they refuse to isolate any issue from all the others.

The Administrator explained that in order to maintain a social life at the college, these parties were necessary. Students agreed and added that the same should hold for activities run by students. No promises were made to students regarding the issue of access. Students

"Student representatives countered this argument by insisting that, unlike a prison, the primary goal of CSI should not be that of security, but of academic enrichment."

promised the imposing woman-administrator that they will continue to fight for their right to participate in college life on their own terms. One student proposed that a participation in a college publication should be academically sanctioned since these publications have a faculty representative and that they require of students to engage in intellectual, academic, and social discussions. The administrator burped.

Students repeated their usual concerns about the parking situation which is worsened by the non-stop harassment of the money-hungry security. They insisted that Security should be heading all sorts of programs and events since they are so efficient and overwhelmingly cunning. The administrator denied that security is taking over the campus, and added that there was no Reason in the Cunning of security. Students were momentarily pleased. It was just an appetizer for what was to come.

Next, students introduced a daring assertion. They told the administrator that the policies followed by the college were detrimental to student life in many respects. They insisted that every time there was something to do at the college, an administrative position was created, and this usually necessitated additional bureaucratic personnel. The students noted that too much is spent on an ever growing bureaucracy which is inefficient because of its size and structure. "The

bureaucracy is becoming gargantuan the more the college identifies tasks for itself," noted one happy-go-lucky student. He insisted, in a nonchalant manner, that not all problems in a University have a bureaucratic solution. The bureaucrat who was eating crackers and cheese burped again. She promised that a memo will be sent to faculty and staff asking them to constitute committees to look at the problem from a rational perspective. The student drank some water.

The administrator engaged in a long monologue to explain the bureaucracy's point of view. She congratulated the students for their concerns and spiciness. She thought that some of their comments were, however, a tad too salty. She insisted that a balance could be found by combining the components of college life to make a happy meal. She remarked that the new programs which encourage minorities, for example, were very successful. She explained that instead of the old theories of the melting-pot, CSI was following the new ideas of the big diverse salad. She added that personally she liked black olives, and that soups were not her favorite.

A student interrupted the woman noting that the discussion was about the bowl and not the ingredients. The woman got really angry looked at the crackers, the cheese, looked at the students, smiled at them, and then ate them.

...Erection of Professor

Continued from previous page

rose to "the top" by various tricks and intrigues. We thought next of Professor Schiff. He is a physics guy teaching English with the PCA department. Occasionally, he teaches in the MALS program. It is not the professor's love for science that we didn't like, nor did we hate his false modesty...But we all agreed that the qualities required to teach how to write "correctly" were different from those necessary for an informed analysis of literature. Usually, outstanding artists can have great insights...but, mediocre individuals have only clichés to offer after their reading of the introduction of this or that book.

We thought of a great number of people who couldn't be on the list because their faces were not especially attractive. We thought of Professors Schwerner, Deitch, Hartman, Hulton-Baker, Custen, Benesh, Bogen, and Greenspan. There were a few who were left out because they were just too ugly (in and out).

It should be clear by now that we were looking for a professor in the humanities and social sciences. Although CSI has more students in engineering, business, nursing and education, we thought that no one stood the chance, by definition, to have the qualities we were looking for. (I didn't forget the social workers, it is once again Manjula Wijerama who forced me to omit them. Another incomplete?)

Thinking of liberal arts and social workers I was reminded of Professor Rozos. I told my friends that he would be

a terrible candidate because a statue of him would have to levitate above ground. His ideas always transcend this or that...But, a flying statue was out of the question. A flying nun on the other hand...

If we were to pick someone from the education department, we thought, we would have to pick a couple because the education department serves a reproductive function. Knowledge is only replicated and passed on. My friend explained how some specimen had taken a film class with her and that she was disgusted at the administration who forced these poor people to take difficult courses. She added that a copulating couple would capture the reproductive element while the nude would capture the fact that they did it in broad day light with no shame.

The problem with our administration, she added, is that they only think of the short term benefits of having so many students take these courses. The long term effects of sending happy and imbecile teachers to the local public schools from which CSI recruits its students are obvious. It is a vicious circle and they could do something about it. I didn't understand the expression 'happy imbecile,' she explained it had to do with the meek being blessed or something.

After that, Professor Quart was chosen because he would be great as a statue. He is of the right size, a bit chubby, and had always something to say. A moving statue...of a professor in the nude...Why not?

I had never seen this professor, but given the description, I accepted. However, my friend quickly added that the professor was not good at theory, and only gave film-review-type critiques which were so trivial that she had had to write lower-level papers for him, so he'd understand. I crossed the name out. We didn't need any weakness in 'our' professor.

We then put Professor Alfred Levine because, according to somebody sitting next to us, he was a great professor, a great man, and he actually was too good for this college. We loved the expression "too good for this college," so he was on the list.

The last person in our finalists' list was Professor Nachman. The political science student insisted that even if the views of the professor were a bit conservative, he was a great teacher, a great orator, and had an acceptably well kept body. Our friend was so enthusiastic about his teacher that we thought it was a bit strange. But he assured us that the professor practiced what he preached. He lived on the Island, in a 'good' neighborhood, and never left New York City. He was a complete human being.

The time had come to select among the few who were chosen to represent CSI. I thought that since the person had to represent CSI, we had to think about what CSI was. So, what was CSI? A great institution in which knowledge, excellence, and virtue were pursued by a community of disinterested students and faculty? Not

exactly. An institution of modest aspirations which match the modesty of students and faculty? Not true either. So what was CSI? An institution designed for the middle-class students who will pursue the American dream by working hard as teachers, nurses, paper-pushers of some sort? Sounds more like it. So, what? Is this bad? I don't think so. There is nothing bad about an average college like CSI that pursues its American dream by producing the most degrees with the minimal resources it had.

As soon as the political scientist pronounced these words, our friend the "artist" jumped up and snapped her fingers. "You know," she said, "the statues that you see around the campus best represent CSI!" We didn't get the point. She continued saying that they were minimalist works. She had to explain a lot more than that before we understood. "Less is more," she explained. Minimalism best captured the spirit of CSI... At least we know that the people who bought the statues also thought so. Unless they had their own agenda put forward as the choice of the college...This point, she went on to argue, shows how the relationship between the artist and the buyer are crucial. It was the taste of the buyers, and their special knowledge of art and the artists, that informed their decision. This decision was not followed at CSI by any democratization effort to

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The Story of Recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone (or "How the Dairy Industry is Selling Our Kids Drugs")

by Maris Abelson

The dairy coalition in collaboration with rBGH manufacturers and the Food and Drug Administration, is poisoning our milk supply. In 1994, the Food and Drug Administration warned grocery stores not to label their milk cartons as free of recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone, a genetically engineered drug which is injected into cows to make them produce 25% more milk than usual. The FDA has vehemently defended the introduction of recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone (rBGH or BST) into the market, by staunchly maintaining that there is hardly any difference between the milk from cows that have been injected with the hormone and those that have not. However, American and European scientific studies show (from 1990 until the present) that milk from cows injected with rBGH contains much greater levels of IGF-1 (Insulin Growth Factor) which can be responsible for breast and colon cancer, premature growth stimulation in infants, gynecomastia in young children, juvenile diabetes, glucose intolerance and hypertension. rBGH is banned in Europe and Canada. However, its US producers are selling it en masse to the southern hemisphere (Brazil, South Africa, Zimbabwe) and in the name of "economic fairness", the FDA has ruled that milk containing rBGH does not have to be labeled "rBGH-free". Most dairy companies don't label their products anyway, so this presents a problem to consumers who might not believe that rBGH is harmless.

How did rBGH get passed by the FDA? Because the Clinton Administration has promised the biotechnology industry an "open door" for their new Frankenfoods,

and because Congress has been pressuring the FDA to allow the biotech to do their own testing, in order to rush new drugs to market. This is apparently with the understood result of experimenting on the American people because none of these drugs have undergone any long-term testing (otherwise, like in Europe and Canada, it would have taken years to approve them). Therefore, when rBGH's main producer Monsanto, invested a billion dollars into biogenetics, the FDA did not do any long term health studies the same way they didn't with pesticides when they came out, and now doctors find pesticide residue in cancer cells.

The FDA has not banned rBGH even though studies shown in Cancer Research prove it's link to cancer, and despite the fact that milk from treated cows has been rejected by many consumers because of its high pus content. The pus comes from a serious infection of the udder, called "Mastitis" (which occurs in many rBGH cows). Cows with Mastitis have to be treated with large doses of antibiotics, which can also show up in the milk.

The FDA is now composed of Monsanto employees. Micheal Taylor is the FDA official who signed the Federal Register notice warning grocery stores not to label their milk rBGH free. He was an FDA official until 1984, when when he joined Monsanto's law firm. He worked for Monsanto for seven years and helped them get FDA approval of rBGH. Then Taylor was returned to the FDA, where he acted as assistant commissioner for policy (and threatened grocery stores). He appointed a number of others from Monsanto to positions at the FDA, with President Clinton's

approval.

Over 800 dairy farms that have been using rBGH have made complaints to Monsanto of the FDA of having to kill most of their cows (who were made sick from the over-production of IGF-1), and of losing hundreds of dollars per farm. Approximately 40% of the beef used to make hamburgers is ground up from old dairy cows. Meat from rBGH treated cows could contain higher levels of IGF-1 and antibiotics.

Why hasn't this been in the news? In 1991, a journalism professor at the Texas A&M Center for Biotechnology Policy and Ethics complained that Monsanto was scorching the media for any negative publicity, and that Monsanto had become quite skillful at manipulating the scientific press by withholding pieces of information.

When USA Today published an article on Epstein's findings (that rBGH injections can lead to cancer), the Dairy Coalition (a gang of giant Dairy corporations) met with the USA Today editors and convinced them to publish a letter refuting Epstein's findings. The letter, signed by two dairy industry association executives asked the question "When will the media stop giving national prominence to unqualified activists who cry 'cancer'?" The USA Today reporter who wrote the original article said, "In general, we've found it's become modus operandi for industry lobbyists to try and intimidate reporters from writing things that will reflect badly upon their industry".

So what can we do? Consumer advocates are on the verge of winning the fight against rBGH. More and more food companies are refusing to use the drug. However, we still don't know who does use it, because of the labeling law. Here's a list of milk producers that do not use rBGH: Farmland, Ronnybrook, Meadowbrook, Sunnysdale, Horizon, and Beyer.

However, the biggest milk distributor in New York City, Tuscan, refuses to sign an affidavit that it does not use rBGH for its

milk production. It is one of the fourteen milk providers of the New York City public schools. Many of the fourteen have refused to sign affidavits swearing that their milk is rBGH free. The organization "Mother's and Others for a Livable Planet" has presented Kevin Gill, the buyer for the public schools, with an affidavit for the companies to sign. He hasn't gotten any of them to sign it. Therefore, it is important to call him or write to him and demand that he purchase rBGH free milk for our children.

Mr. Kevin Gill, Exec. Dir.
OSFNS
44-36 Vernon Blvd.
Long Island City, NY, 11101

Other things we can do are:
Boycott the school milk and all rBGH treated dairy products.

Demand mandatory labeling.
Ask our store managers to stock rBGH free dairy products and to sign a pledge not to sell any products derived from rBGH cows. If they don't respond, picket the store.

Bring up the issue at PTA and Community School Board meetings. Get friends to distribute flyers in the school and the neighborhoods.

Write to City Council rep's, state assemblypersons and senators, congresspersons, and the mayor and Governor. Demand that they support mandatory labeling, certification and inspection of all dairy products, and legislation banning rBGH dairy products from NY state.

Support City Council Into #766, introduced by Council member Tom Duane, which prohibits city agencies from purchasing from companies that use rBGH in milk. Please, support Resolution #1605, which calls on the Board of Education to purchase only rBGH free milk. Make it an issue in the upcoming electoral campaigns.

Call companies to find out if their products contain rBGH. The 13 companies below can be called and asked for written assurance that their milk, dairy, or beef products are and will remain free of rBGH (they are all questionable.)

Erection of Professor Problems with SLAM

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'explain' the art to the students and the staff. The problem stems from the fact that each department acts following its own ideas, and that the Dean of Humanities failed to offer any real sense of collectivity. The artist added, by then everybody knew she had a tart tongue, that a fat cat is like a dead branch. Personally I don't know what she meant. I didn't ask because I had repeatedly done so before.

Our coffees were getting cold. We had to act. And, under the extreme insistence of our friend, Professor Nachman was finally chosen, and awarded the prestigious CSI Auxiliary Services Award for Outstanding Moral, Intellectual, and Physical Beauty. A cork statue will be made by the famous D. Hardman, after the posing sessions are over.

"Where should the statue be located?" The artist said it didn't really matter because cork could remain afloat under any circumstance...

I am sure that after reading this long article many professors will think that it wasn't written by a student. This shows the lack of confidence they have in their ability to arouse us. The question is: can they arouse themselves when they teach? Our next project will be a photography challenge...

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the working class. He claims, erroneously, that it was the union leaders of France and Canada who led the recent militant political strikes, when it was precisely these "leaders" who did everything they could to scuttle these movements. It was the rebellious rank and file militants, imbued often as not with a revolutionary ideology, as well as their student allies, who built these strike movements. Finally, Day's call upon our present union leaders to mimic their "militant" brethren in Canada and France is not only erroneous, but amounts merely to a pious utopian wish, in the light of his own critique of such leaders as tied incorrigibly to the bourgeois Democratic Party. Inveterate sectoralist that he is, Day does not seem to see either the possibility nor the necessity of struggle against the present bureaucratic leadership of the labor movement. Nor does he seem capable of imagining that students, as in France, this year and in 1968, could use their own militancy and organization, as well as the united front strategy, to forge links with labor's rank and file, and thus create an alternative leadership to that of our present "union leaders."

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ART CRITICS, AND
ORGANIZERS!
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The Unjust Justice System

BY JEFF MCGRAHAM

As most people know racism, brutality, and oppression of African Americans has been at the center of this country's history. Yet this same racism, brutality, and oppression, of African Americans is still carried out today by the so-called criminal justice system.

According to the Sentencing Project 1990 report, there were fewer African American men between the ages of 20-29 in college than in prison. In fact between 1984 and 1987, African American men made up between 40 to 42 percent of the prison population, according to an U.S. Department of Justice 1990 report. More recent statistics show this number to have risen over 50%. This is astounding considering African American men only make up 6% of the United States population. Also, according to this same U.S. Department of Justice report, the chances of an African American man being locked up during his lifetime is 18%, compared to 3% for a white man. Blacks also make up over 50% of the female prison population. These statistics are in large part due to racial discrimination of blacks within the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system, as with anything else, does not live in a vacuum. It represents and reflects the views of the larger society. As Cornel West has often said, "this country was built on a white supremacist ideology". Historical patterns of thought stay with a culture for a long, long time.

Many people believe these staggering numbers reflect the fact that African Americans commit more crimes than do whites. To say these numbers are justifiable because blacks commit more crimes is in itself, defacto racist, and erroneous. The correct way of looking at it is by asking the question, why are blacks so unfairly treated within the American criminal justice system. As the sociologist Marvin Free JR. has shown,

"Petersilia's (1983) analysis of 1980 data from California disclosed that after being convicted of a felony, African Americans were more likely than whites to be sentenced to prison. Moreover, after being convicted of a misdemeanor, African Americans were more likely to be sentenced to a county jail, whereas whites were more likely to receive probation. These differences remained even after controlling for prior record, conditional status on probation or parole, and other relevant factors."

In fact according to J. Smith of the Waco Tribune Herald, in crimes of drug possession, indecency with a minor, sexual assault, and murder, blacks with no criminal record were twice as likely as whites of being convicted to a state prison. Amazingly in Washington State and Oregon where the black population is a very low 2 percent of the overall population, 32 percent of people charged with felonies are African Americans. This according to Backstrand, Gibbons, and Jones, 1992 study entitled, "Who is in Jail?"

African American youths do not fare any better than their adult counterparts. In 1977, the United States under Jimmy Carter made a concerted effort to decrease the number of juveniles incarcerated, unfortunately this did not help black youths very much. "Seventy-five percent of the decline in confined juveniles between 1977 and 1979 was due to a decrease in incarcerated white youths.

Between 1979 and 1982, when there was an increase in the total number of incarcerated youths, minority incarceration accounted for 93 percent of the increase" says Free. This is why by 1987, of all youths in long term juvenile jails black youths made up 41%. They also were more likely to go to adult jails. In the state of Florida, African American youths in 1989 had an eight and a half times better chance of being sent to adult prisons as compared to white youths, according to Marvin Free.

One reason so many more black youths are in jail compared to white youths, is because of the racial bias of people looking at white youths in a more favorable way. A white youth in the suburbs will often get a slap on the wrist, for the same crime that an African American child may be sent to jail for. Very often the police will take a white youth home to their parents, if they do something like shoplift, as opposed to the African American youth who will be more than likely brought up on charges. This is what psychologists call the labeling theory, meaning that people have a preconceived idea that black youths are more likely to be "true criminals", as opposed to white youths as just being "kids".

The criminal justice is stacked from the police on up to judges and lawyers with mostly whites, who are more likely to fall into these racist and damaging stereotypes. Between 1983 and 1991, blacks made up only 2.7 percent of all lawyers and judges in the United States, (U.S. Census Bureau). The cop on the beat might think that the white shoplifter looks too much like his own son or daughter to be a "true criminal", of course this goes the same for the judges and lawyers within the system.

There may be nothing more responsible for the over crowding prison system than the so-called war on drugs, which was really a war on minorities and poor whites. According to the Department of Justice own statistics blacks once again got the worst treatment. African Americans in jail due to drug crimes increased 447 percent, and whites increased 115 percent, between 1986 and 1991. Ironically enough, the CIA may have had a huge part in the selling of these drugs to the black communities.

Juveniles fared no better than the adults, as Marvin Free shows in the State of Florida.

"From 1982 through 1989 the number of felony drug cases doubled (from 299 to 609) for white male juveniles while the number of felony drug cases for black male juveniles increased 68 times (from 54 to 3,675). The over representation of African American youth in juvenile correctional facilities for drug offenses is not confined to Florida either. A single day survey of juvenile drug offenders in Georgia during the spring of 1990 disclosed that all 110 of the juvenile drug offenders being held in Georgia's Juvenile Correctional facilities were African American."

This is all the more amazing when you take into account the fact that African Americans make up only 14.2 percent of Florida's overall population. This shows how the war on drugs, was really a war on African Americans.

Clinton's drug policy seems to be the same as his predecessors. The U.S. will spend 15 billion dollars, two thirds on trying unsuccessfully at stopping drugs from coming into this country. This is around the same amount that Bush spent on try-

ing to stop drugs from coming into this country. This is according to a August 1, 1996 New York Times article entitled, "The Clinton Record: Seizing the

Crime Issue as His Own", By David Johnson and Tim Weiner. In this same article the drug czar Barry McCaffrey seems to be saying one thing, but doing another. He's admitted that trying to stop the drugs from coming into the country does not work, yet the Clinton administration continues the stupid policy of wasting money on stopping drugs from coming in to this country. Once again in the same article mentioned above, Mathea Falco, Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters in the Carter administration said "Five Million people are caught up in one way or another in the criminal justice system. Half to two thirds have heroin or cocaine problems. What are we doing about it?" That is exactly the question that we should be asking.

These shocking arrest numbers start with the racism and brutality that the police force exhibits on a daily basis. According to the sociologist James Blackwell "evidence suggests that approximately 75 percent of white police officers assigned to predominantly black precincts expressed some form of prejudice or antipathy toward black people. About 10 percent of black officers assigned to predominantly black precincts harbor extreme anti-black attitudes". After seeing these numbers it should not be surprising to anyone that police in the United States' major cities have high rates of brutality against African Americans. According to Marvin Free, of all citizens shot by the police 44 to 89 percent were black. It is important to remember that blacks make up only 12 percent of the U.S. population.

In New York city, police brutality is so bad that Amnesty International conducted a 1996 report finding that in many police related shootings, the police did not need to use lethal force. Nearly all of the

shooting victims were minorities, and the police were white. Many victims of the choke hold style of death, at the hands of the police, happened because the victim had a minor argument with the officer. This of course was deemed as excessive force by Amnesty International. They also found in their study, that very few officers were disciplined for using excessive force. Since 1977 only one NYPD officer has been convicted of murder while on duty.

People should remember that about 80 percent of everybody now in jail will be out someday. With states not spending very much money on rehabilitation, it must be asked how are these ex-inmates going to survive in society? Many of them may come out being better criminals than when they went in. Others with drug addictions are going to come out with the same addiction that they came in with, because they never received treatment for their addiction. As people know it is easy to get drugs in most prisons. To think that putting someone in prison for years is going to cure them of their drug problem, is a bizarre idea. It is like putting someone in jail for many years that has cancer and thinking that they will get better someday.

The existential aspects of being locked up behind bars may in fact produce a lot of angry people coming out of prisons, especially when they find out the lack of opportunity there is for them on the outside. This of course will be more true for African Americans. Within the prisons themselves blacks are often treated in a racist way. As the political prisoner on death row Mumia Abu-Jamal writes in his book Live From Death Row "The death row block offered direct access to two yards: one composed of cages, the other "free" space, water fountains, full-court basketball spaces and hoops, and an area for running. The cages were for the blacks on death row. The open yards were for the whites on the row. The blacks, due to racist insensitivity and sheer hatred, were condemned to awaiting death in indignity. The event provided an excellent view,

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Malcolm X

Malcolm X was assassinated on 21 February 1965. He had just risen to speak at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, New York, when he was gunned down. We don't know precisely who ordered his killing. We know for sure that the entire establishment breathed a sigh of relief at his death.

A British MP referred to Malcolm as 'North America's leading exponent of apartheid.' The London Times called him a 'black extremist' who advocated the 'destruction of the whites.' The following editorial appeared in the New York Times the day after his murder:

Malcolm X had all the ingredients for leadership, but his ruthless and fanatical in violence not only set him apart from the reasonable leaders of the civil rights movement and the overwhelming majority of Negroes, it also marked him for notoriety and a violent end....

Malcolm X's life was strangely and pitifully twisted. But this was because he did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his own people....

The world he saw through those horn-rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with exultation of fanaticism. Yesterday someone came out of the darkness that he spawned and killed him.

This was the culmination of a sustained campaign of media vilification waged against Malcolm since he had come to national prominence in 1959.

Such sentiments were not confined to white defenders of the system. Black syndicated columnist Carl T Rowan saw Malcolm as 'an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler, who became a racial fanatic.... A black who preached segregation and race hatred.' Civil rights leader Bayard Rustin called on people to bury Malcolm's ideas with him:

Now that he is dead we should resist the temptation to idealize Malcolm X, to elevate his charisma to greatness. Malcolm is not a hero of the movement, he is a tragic victim of the ghetto. Walter C Carrington of the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People described Malcolm's politics as the 'best thing that happened to the KKK [Klu Klux Klan] since the invention of the bed-sheet.' Ralph Bunche said that he was 'mentally depraved.'

Yet, despite such abuse, Malcolm X remains today- along with Martin Luther King- the best known figure of the black movement of the 1960s. He has become a symbol of resistance to racism. His image is everywhere, from T-shirts to the ubiquitous poster of Malcolm standing, gun in hand, by a window above his slogan, 'By any means necessary'

The recognition of Malcolm's significance could even be detected back in 1965 under the welter of abuse designed to bury his memory. Nine months after Malcolm's assassination the editors of the New York Times printed a review of his posthumously published Autobiography. After describing the then conventional view of Malcolm as a violent, racist fanatic the reviewer goes on:

There is, however another view of Malcolm X - one that is increasingly prevalent among civil rights advocates - that with his death American Negroes lost their most able, articulate and compelling spokesman.

The liberal magazine, The Nation, which in March had described Malcolm as a leader of the "lunatic fringe" declared in another November review of the Autobiography: "This is the story of a man struck down on his way to becoming a revolution and a liberator of his people."

Today the enormous popular respect for Malcolm's legacy is too tempting to be missed out on by many black leaders who had opposed him while he lived or would have if they had been around.

Jesse Jackson was one of the keynote speakers at a meeting held in 1990 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Malcolm's death. In 1984 and 1988 Jackson sought the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party and he has tied his political fortunes to that party. Malcolm described both the Democrats and the Republicans as 'vultures sucking on our blood' and argued against having anything to do with either of them. In 1963 he said: 'Any Negro who casts a vote for the Democratic or Republican parties is a traitor to his own race.'

Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam also claims Malcolm X's mantle. Yet Farrakhan wrote only two months before

Malcolm's murder:

Only those who wish to be led to hell or to their doom will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape.....Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death.....

Malcolm's legacy has therefore been picked over and torn apart by those whose politics he opposed during his life. What is left in the hands of people like Jackson or Farrakhan is distorted, caricatured and sanitized. The Russian revolutionary Lenin once noted this as common fate:

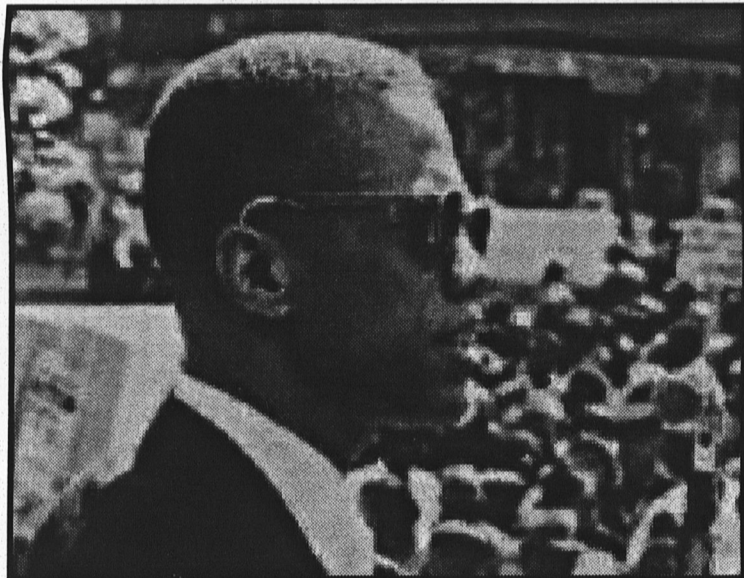
During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them....while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it.

When the black mayor of New York, David Dinkins, went to speak to black youth who were rioting in the Crown Heights area in 1991 he was chased away. Only hours earlier he had ordered the cops to go in. He returned three days later replete with Malcolm X baseball cap to ensure he got a hearing.

These cynical maneuvers have only added to the confusion that already surrounds what Malcolm X stood for. The legacy appears more complex still as there are many competing claims on Malcolm's political tradition.

Finally, there is an extra twist as Malcolm's own ideas changed dramatically, particularly in the last 11 months of his life, as he struggled to find a strategy for black liberation in the U.S. and internationally.

Malcolm X was an uncompromising opponent of the system which breeds racism, imperialist domination and exploitation. In the course of this battle he struggled, in often contradictory and confused ways, to develop new ideas and strategies to take account of the turbulent situation. We owe it to him to look hard at the strengths and weaknesses of what he had to say and measure it against experience. We also owe it to ourselves-the issues we face are too important for us to fall back on rhetoric.



Malcolm X Speaks

"I believe in human beings, and that all human beings should be respected as such, regardless of their color." — Malcolm X, January 18, 1965

"I don't get involved in politics. But it does make the black people in this country who are jobless and unemployed and standing in the welfare line very much discouraged to see a government that can't solve our problem, can't provide job opportunities for us, and at the same time not only Cubans but Hungarians and every other type of white refugee imaginable can come to this country and get everything this government has to offer." — from a speech in Philadelphia, fall 1963, recorded in *The End of White World Supremacy*:

Four Speeches by Malcolm X. Edited by Benjamin Goodman (Merlin House, 1971)

"If I have a cup of coffee that is too strong for me because it is too black, I weaken it by pouring cream into it. I integrate it with cream. If I keep pouring enough cream in the coffee, pretty soon the entire flavor of the coffee is changed; the very nature of the coffee is changed. If enough cream is poured in, eventually you don't even know that I had coffee in this cup. This is what happened with the March on Washington. The whites didn't integrate it; they infiltrated it. Whites joined it; they engulfed it; they became so much a part of it, it lost its original flavor. It ceased to be a black march; it ceased to be militant; it ceased to be angry; it ceased to be impatient. In fact, it ceased to be a march." — from a speech delivered December 4, 1963, recorded in *The End of White World Supremacy: Four Speeches by Malcolm X*. Edited by Benjamin Goodman (Merlin House, 1971)

"I don't favor violence. If we could bring about recognition and respect of our people by peaceful means, well and good. Everybody would like to reach his objectives peacefully. But I'm also a realist. The only people in this country who are asked to be nonviolent are black people." — Young Socialist

Alliance interview, January 18, 1965, recorded in *By Any Means Necessary; Speeches, Interviews, and a Letter by Malcolm X*. Edited by George Breitman (Pathfinder, 1970)

"Without education, you are not going anywhere." — Militant Labor Forum, New York, May 29, 1964, recorded in *By Any Means Necessary; Speeches, Interviews, and a Letter by Malcolm X*. Edited by George Breitman (Pathfinder, 1970)

The Ten Points of the Black Panther Party

What We Want, What We Believe

1. We want Freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of it's people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the over due debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racists have taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for it's people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and

our role in present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that the Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight or kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victim-

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in a court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The

ipate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they

are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers to the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying it's foundation on such principles,

WE WANT LAND,
BREAD, HOUSING,
EDUCATION,
JUSTICE, AND
PEACE.



ized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black People.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment of the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense

14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man the right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographic, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, justice, and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to partic-

ples, and organizing it's powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long and established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, then to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards to their future security.

...Justice System

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in microcosm, of the mentality of the criminal system of injustice, suffused by the toxin of racism."

Unfortunately many people make money off of the backs of these prisoners, just as slave owners at one time made money off of their slaves. The whole system is not about helping to make this country a safer place, but about the profitability of a new type of slavery. Corporations are now taking their factories into the prisons, so that they can exploit prisoners and make higher profits than they could on the outside. As the prisoner population continues to increase, this practice will probably become more popular. Capitalism has no morals it will do absolutely anything to make money off the backs of it's workers, even if these workers are in prisons.

Politicians are just as bad as capitalists when it comes to exploiting prisoners for their own political gains. One example of this is Governor Pete Wilson of California, who a few years ago signed into law the racist three strikes and your out law. He signed this just after the prison guard union gave his campaign more money than any one else in the whole state. He also continues to build new prisons at an

alarmingly high rate. In fact the State of California now spends more money on prisons than on kindergarten through twelfth grade education.

The numbers show that most of the new prisons being built are being filled up by African American and Latino citizens. According to Greg Krikorian, of the Los Angeles Times in his article "Justice Systems Racial Fairness", of black men in their 20's in the State of California an amazing 39 percent were either, on probation, in jail or prison sometime last year. He also found that blacks "are charged under California's "three-strikes" law at 17 times the rate of whites in Los Angeles". Also Whites are twice as likely as blacks of receiving some type of rehabilitation after their first offense. Blacks also went to jail on drug offenses one third more often than whites in this racist state. Wilson is making a political career off of scaring white suburban voters to vote for new "get tough on crime measures", at the expense of the minority populations of his state. He is much like the old slave holder of the south, exploiting people and destroying their lives for his own personal gain. Unfortunately the people of California are too ignorant to realize this. California, as the biggest state in the union, is a good microcosm of what is taking place throughout the entire United States of

America. The bottom line is not in solving the problems of crime, but on politicizing the issue with easy answers like the three strikes and your out law. Catchy slogan for voters, but lacks any true attempt at solving the social and criminal problems of this country.

Our society is really what produces so many criminals, because it is based on an amoral system of everyone getting as much for themselves as they can and forgetting about everyone else. This belief is imbedded in our society. A 14 year old kid holding some other kid up for a pair of Nike's in a poor community, and some big capitalist like Michael Milkin stealing peoples' life savings, are both a product of the extreme capitalistic state that we call the United States. The difference being that Milkin is actually doing more damage to more people than the 14 year old kid, yet the laws in this country are geared towards punishing the kid by locking him up and giving Milkin a slap on the wrist. White collar crime costs this country far more money than street crime.

If we want to drastically reduce crime in this country, we need to spend our money on children at the beginning of the system, instead of spending money on adults in prison at the end of the system. A CNN statistic from last year, showed that children that go to head start have a 40% less chance

of being involved negatively in the criminal justice system as a teenager. It is estimated that it costs between 20 to 30 thousand dollars a year to lock someone up in prison. That is more than it costs to go to many colleges for 4 years, and a lot more than the 4 thousand dollars a year that we spend on public school children. The amazing thing is 80% of the criminals locked up are in there for non-violent crimes. As I showed earlier most of these non-violent criminals are in jail due to the so-called war on drugs. Drug addiction really should be treated as a medical problem, we need to decriminalize drugs and start treating people.

Ultimately, we as a nation need to end capitalism as we know it today, capitalism is really what creates the so-called crime problem today. It is responsible for the incredible amounts of poverty that we see in our nation [i.e. 50% of black children are born into poverty], and is also the force that drives corporate crime. Capitalism is the reason that people are trying to make money off of the crime issue, which uses racism to dehumanize people. The long history of racism in this country was started in order to dehumanize people so that slavery would be acceptable to people. Now history is repeating itself when large segments of a population are held in prison, and no one asks why?

Mumia Fact Sheet No. 15

How Cops Frame Defendants

Recently a number of defendants in capital cases have been freed or given new trials because their original convictions were the result of police frame-ups. Their cases help us to understand how Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed.

Wilfredo Santiago

Wilfredo Santiago spent six years in prison after he was convicted of killing a Philadelphia police officer. The police and prosecutors misconduct in his case was so blatant that in 1991 he was granted a new trial and released on bail. Then in 1992 a second judge found that prosecutors had concealed from the defense both evidence and witnesses that could have helped acquit Santiago, and he ordered the charges against Santiago to be dismissed. Furious at this exposure of their methods, the D.A.'s office appealed and got a higher court to order a retrial of Santiago.

Raymond Carter

In December, 1996, Raymond Carter walked out of prison after ten years behind bars. A Philadelphia judge ruled that Carter's murder conviction had been obtained by paying a prostitute \$500 to testify against him. Carter is one of at least 137 people released so far in Philadelphia's continuing police scandal. The judge ruled that Carter probably would have been acquitted if key information about the prostitute witness had not been withheld by police and prosecutors.

The testimony that sent Carter to prison was arranged by the notorious Officer Thomas Ryan who is himself in prison now. Ryan, who was "dating" the prostitute at the time, paid her \$500 to give the "evidence."

Rolando Cruz and Alejandro Hernandez

In DuPage County, Illinois, Rolando Cruz and Alejandro Hernandez are now free and three prosecutors and four sheriff's deputies are under indictment for fabricating evidence and framing them. Cruz and Hernandez spent years on death row in Illinois after they were convicted of the rape and murder of a 10-year-old girl. Their conviction was obtained when pros-

ecutors and sheriff's deputies concocted a phony confession story.

In this case, the deputies falsely testified that Cruz had told them about a dream he had about the killing of the child, which the deputies said contained details about the crime that only the killer could have known. This whole story was a lie that finally came to light when one of the deputies revealed the plot at Cruz's third trial. Cruz and Hernandez are now free and the crooked prosecutors who framed

them are under indictment. But it took years of appeals and three trials to bring this out.

Doesn't All This Sound Familiar?

In the case of Wilfredo Santiago, the prosecution withheld vital evidence. In the case of Raymond Carter, the police obtained a prostitute to provide the damning testimony. In the case of Cruz and Hernandez, the prosecution fabricated a phony confession. But in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal they did all three!

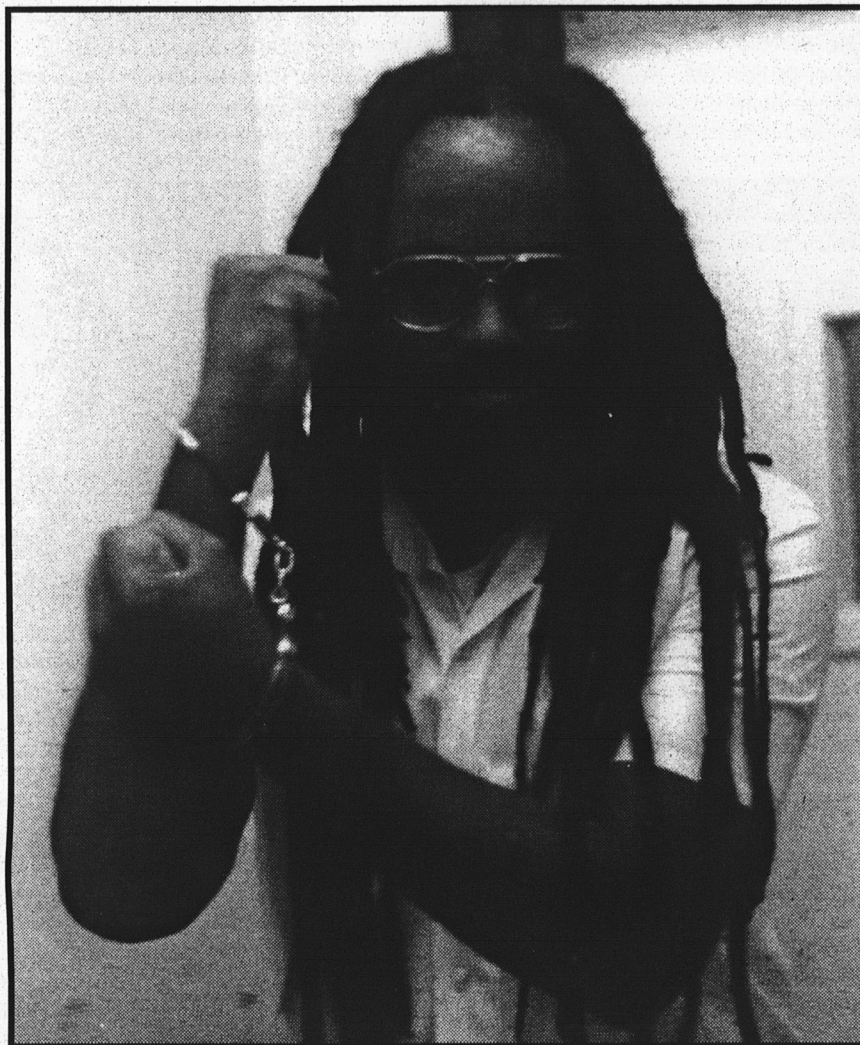
In Mumia's 1995 hearing for a new trial, we learned the prosecution withheld evidence concerning favors given to witnesses, the coercion of witnesses, the hiding of witnesses from the defense, and undisclosed polygraph tests of witnesses who gave evidence favorable to Mumia.

Veronica Jones told police she saw two men run from the shooting scene, and signed a written statement. But at Mumia's 1982 trial, she denied this. Now she has come forward to affirm her original account, and tell how police offered deals to prostitutes for false testimony. And nobody believes the story that police officers who were at the scene suddenly "remembered" two months later that Mumia had "confessed" and that they simply forgot to write it in their reports.

Yet today Mumia remains on death row, framed by the police for his work as a radio journalist and his refusal to abandon his revolutionary politics.

SOURCES: New York Times, Philadelphia Inquirer, and court papers.

Arm yourself with the truth. Get the full set of Mumia Fact Sheets from your local Free Mumia Coalition or from Refuse & Resist!



...Problems with SLAM Leadership

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out in public. This is the sense, or rather, the nonsense, in which Day and Brandtouse the term, "mass line." While they pay lip service to the working class, they argue that we don't need to work within as well as without the trade unions: the principle organizations of the working class today. But without any strategy for dealing with the unionized working class, all that Brandt and Day can really offer is a series of tiny, pointless, dangerous temper tantrums. While Lenin's "mass line" is a dive into an ocean of potential mass resistance, SLAM!'s "mass line, as a cartoon in the Voice asserted last year, is like a nosedive into the pavement: with a cop's boot on the other side of your neck!

These leaders really have no strategy.

Instead, SLAM! lurches from one dumb idea to another: from street provocation with the cops where they score broken shoulders and felony charges for their followers to calling off rallies, in order to run for student government instead and now, just recently, to participating in various forums and rallies, sponsored by national left-liberal coalitions, focused on "educating" their fellow students about issues like police brutality, the "prison-industrial complex," and immigration rights. These issues are important. The problem is that we don't need to be "educated"

about them by SLAM! let alone the consistently timid approach of SLAM! and their left-liberal allies who call "community control" of the police, for example, which will solve absolutely nothing). Right now, we need leadership to fight for the survival of CUNY.

If we continue to follow these confused, ideologically rigid leaders, however, we will lose the battle to save CUNY. What strategy do we need to fight this battle successfully, instead?

What we need is the power of the working class in motion. To even begin to change the balance of forces in our favor, what we have to fight for is a general strike. Only a strike of all the workers of New York City, and beyond, can truly "shut the city down," and drive our vicious, cost-cutting rulers back on their heels. Only such a strike can even begin to give us the power we need to make this city and this world a livable place. This power of the mass strike can be obtained, through strategies that Lenin and Trotsky formulated.

The Only Road: The General Strike The United Front, The Transitional Program

The "united front" is another name for what Lenin called the "mass line." It is a strategy, which focuses on building alliances. It is waged from two direc-

tions. The united front "from above" means inviting union bureaucrats to bring their rank and file followers to our actions, and then critiquing these bureaucrats' sell-out reformist policies from the podium. Thus we can expose these bureaucrats for the frauds that they are. The united front "from below" means opening up our organization, propaganda, strategy, and program to directly appeal to the working masses to come into our movement of resistance to these budget, wage, and benefit cuts. This requires the "transitional method," which raises consciousness among workers of the irrationality of the current system, and the strategy we need to change things. It is centered around demands which unify us rather than divide us with racial hostility and demands which inspire us with a vision of a real future for all of us. We need to demand full employment, free and full education, health care, and basic social services for all, as well as an end to discrimination in employment and housing. Workers control is the only way these things will ever come about: first, control of hiring and housing. We need as well to "open the books," and ultimately, to take over the banks, farms and factories and run them ourselves.⁴

You should not support any leader

who tells you otherwise. If you do, you are merely falling for demagoguery and flattery while CUNY burns.

Day's "analysis," however, along with the black nationalists to whom he is trying so desperately to tail, sanctions this racist division fostered by the ruling class! See Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work*, (Tarcher-Putnam, 1995).

In a recent article, ("Ontario Workers Strike Against Budget Cuts," *Hunter Envoy*, 3/5/96, p. 15). Day presents what might be considered an alternative position. "Organized labor in Canada, unlike the US, has a tradition of political strikes aimed at advancing the interests of Canadian workers. . . . As New York faces another round of proposed cuts it would be encouraging to hear the union leaders who are always urging us to get out and vote for politicians who end up stabbing us in the back to take some inspiration from recent events in Canada and France and use the weapon of the strike against the cuts." At face value, it would seem that Day has become more optimistic about the organized working class as a vehicle for change. But once examined carefully, these statements do not represent any advance upon Day's position. He is still identifying the present "union leaders" as the only possible leadership of

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Affirmative Action and CSI Italian Americans

You don't need a weatherman to tell you which way the wind is blowing.

Weathermen (1960's)

BY GEORGE ROZOS

The following thoughts have been provoked by President Springer's pre-holiday memo to the College Community (Bulletin of CSI, Dec. 13, 1996) dealing with Affirmative Action. Her memo is a holiday-timed public relations document pronouncing in effect her mission regarding Affirmative Action in 1996 accomplished and resolving to continue the same for the New Year. However, it takes only a gentle scratching at the thin public relations veneer of her document to show that not only it is not so for the past, but that her mission is also doomed in the future if she stays the present course. Trying to implement Affirmative Action to the lowest ranks of our institutional power structure, while allowing the top to remain in the hands by an entrenched privileged group is like trying to grasp the meaning of "down" with no conception of what it means to be "up."

Let us clear up some of the conceptual issues underlying Affirmative Action in

tent (in summary form) that is missing in legal generalizations, i.e., the factual evidence which shows that the intent of the legislator (which could only have been expressed in general terms) has been carried out in the case of a specific institution. But on closer scrutiny, the so-called concreteness of statistical evidence is also misleading because of abstraction. Whereas in the case of law, abstraction (generalization) is generated from the outside by the legislator with an intent directed at many institutions, in the case of statistics the generalization is generated selectively by the statistician from within the institution with the intent of providing evidence in support of a superior's claims. For example, in their earnestness to document Dr. Springer's good record, our resident statisticians have indulged in a double selective abstraction: (1) Lump highly differentiated sub-groups ("Black, Hispanic, Puerto Rican, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaskan Native," and Italian) under minorities or women; and (2) lump

ITALIAN-AMERICANS ARE CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT IN HIGH ADMINISTRATION, AND GROSSLY UNDERREPRESENTED AMONG TENURED FACULTY AND IN THOSE VITAL COMMITTEES WHICH, IN EFFECT, DECIDE HOW AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IS TO BE IMPLEMENTED.

general before getting to our backyard at CSI and Dr. Springer's self-deceptions about it. Law and statistics, on which she relies exclusively to advance her claims, are notoriously unreliable because of abstraction in assessing the successful implementation of Affirmative Action or any legislation for that matter. Unless thoroughly supplemented by an institutional analysis and a detailed profile of the institution's power structure, statistics and law are severely limited and misleading. Legal abstractions, such as "federal laws," "executive orders," "mandates," and statistics by themselves, deal with generalities (abstract, or universal, propositions), whereas institutions are concrete and specific. In sociological language, law and statistics are abstractive approaches to the concrete reality of institutions. They each deal with a slice (their favorite slice) of the reality of institutions, at the exclusion of others. They begin to make sense only when applied to a concrete institution, such as CSI. Institutional analysis is the moment of truth for the assessment of success or failure of Affirmative Action because it allows one to follow the twists and turns which legal abstractions, such as federal laws, mandates, and executive orders, have to take in the process of implementation. Institutional analysis allows us to track down the distortions and corruptions of the legislator's intentions through the institutional power structure which is mainly entrusted with their application.

Statistical demonstrations are also abstractions but of a different kind. They are supposed to supply the empirical con-

again minorities and women under a single label which they titled "minorities and women." By putting minorities and white women on a par with each other, on the one hand, and privileged alongside non-privileged minorities, on the other; and then lumping both groups under the same label, they have obviated the true spirit of Affirmative Action. We should always remember that the primary intent of the legislator was to alleviate inequities between privileged and under-privileged groups within ethnicity and gender categories. In other words, the emphasis was on the privileged-under-privileged axis which remains invariable over time, rather than on specific minorities-majorities which are variable with respect to privilege in both space and time. By ignoring such important distinctions, her statisticians made it possible for Dr. Springer to perfect her Affirmative Action record by hiring only white women, until the gap between "opportunities" and "minorities and women" has been closed!

The value of institutional analysis comes dramatically into play by following the implications of these clumsy statistical feats, and trying to figure out who decides how the abstract legal norm of equity is applied when it comes to hiring, retention, firing, promoting, and tenuring. Only a concrete institutional analysis of the power structure involved can help answer these questions. For example, what is the ethnic-religious, race, and gender identity of individuals in high administrative positions and of those entrenched through appointment, senior-

ity, or tenure, in key positions (i.e., appointments, budget, search, and recruitment committees)? They are the ones who ultimately decide not only how the abstract concepts of Affirmative Action are to be applied in their institution, but also how the statistical assessment and final judgment about the application of Affirmative Action are to be presented to the Board of Trustees, the educational community, and the public at large. Since they are both judges and executioners of decisions about Affirmative Action, it is only fair to ask that the ethnic-religious, gender, and race identities of these powerful individuals, and composition of the committees to which they belong, accurately reflect the intentions of the legislator. In short, Affirmative Action does not make sense unless it applies equally to the top as well as the bottom of the hierarchy of an institution. In this way the natural inclination to favor members of one's group in the course of decision-making can be neutralized.

We have to return to our backyard at CSI for an illustration of how short of the mark we have fallen when it comes to the implementation of Affirmative Action, assurances of Dr. Springer notwithstanding. We read in her above mentioned memo that "pursuant to the City University Chancellor's mandate of 1976, Italian-Americans are designated as an affirmative action category," whose employment at all levels is to be pursued with the same "positive, emphatic, and energetic efforts" as that of "Black, Hispanic, Puerto Rican, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaskan Native" minorities and women. Again, the importance of a concrete institutional analysis is highlighted by the fact that some of these ethnic categories are not immediately relevant to CSI. Not so with Italian-Americans who are of particular relevance to our institution because they are a very substantial segment of the Staten Island community which is, in turn, strongly represented in the CSI student body. Yet, Italian-Americans are conspicuously absent in high administration, and grossly underrepresented among tenured faculty and in those vital committees which, in effect, decide how Affirmative Action is to be implemented. Though not materially deprived to the extent of other groups mentioned by Affirmative Action legislation, Italian-Americans are culturally deprived. Their rich religious heritage (Scholastic philosophy and values, music, art, architecture, etc.) is not appropriately recognized at CSI in the absence of Catholic Italian-American faculty, related courses, and intellectual-cultural activities. According to CSI statistics 65% of the student body are declared Catholics, as against 20% Protestant and 7% Jews. These proportions are a long way from being reflected in positions of importance and composition of committees that count most in the implementation of Affirmative Action.

In the light of this brief institutional overview, Dr. Springer's statistics and New Year's resolutions ring rather hollow. Recent developments in CSI history regarding the enforcement of Affirmative Action in the case of Italian-Americans reinforce this pessimistic conclusion. For example, the "resignations" of Drs. Volpe and Cardegna two years ago offered an excellent opportunity to redress some of the imbalances in this category at the highest level. But faculty committees

charged with the search of a new President missed their opportunity when they selected Dr. Springer. So did Dr. Springer herself immediately afterwards when, upon Dr. Bressler's "resignation" as a Vice-President and the merger of the positions of Chancellor and Vice-President into one, she proceeded to fill the top posts with non-Italian Americans. Thus, we are now left with a power structure virtually frozen with members of a privileged minority group, whose exact identity I leave up to my readers to determine (depending on whether they wish to use gender, ethnicity, religion, or their combination, as a criterion). As for the lamented Italian-Americans, after having been excluded from the top layers of the power structure and most of the faculty positions, they have been relegated to the most populous "classified staff" category, i.e., that low-grade employment group composed of clerical and maintenance workers with 122 "opportunities" (as against 9 "opportunities" in "Professional Staff," 5 in "Faculty," and 0 in higher administration categories).

The conclusion seems inescapable that nothing less than a general shake-up of the higher echelon of the CSI administration by the Board of Trustees of the University, and the consequent overhaul of the composition of critical faculty committees, can open the way for a genuine implementation of Affirmative Action legislation in this institution.

Finally, I wish to renew my expression of appreciation to the College Voice for making it possible for me to address the whole CSI community on an issue of high importance. I hope that this possibility will continue to remain open for those who wish to respond and continue the dialogue on this and other subjects. Freedom in the flow of information is a precondition for genuine academic freedom. If the competence and objectivity of the Bulletin of CSI to report and comment on vital issues, like Affirmative Action, is any indication of the reliability and independence of other administration-controlled media, we need badly other avenues for the expression of diverse and critical views. The physical, as well as the administrative, arrangements of this institution are not conducive to the kind of lateral (democratic) flow of information across departments, administrative units, workers, and students. The prevailing institutional form of communication consists of a vertical (top to bottom) flow of information characteristic of large bureaucracies. This is unsuitable for intellectual and academic communities. It is both cumbersome and unimaginative when done through memo, and unreliable when handed down by administrators, because of editing and editorializing along the path of the vertical flow.

It is imperative that both of our student papers should continue to function and thrive in their cultural and political diversity, in spite of financial and other obstacles thrown in their way. They obviously fulfill some of the requirements of free exchange of ideas, which is necessary for the enhancement of the integrity of our intellectual and scholarly life, which has been rendered increasingly dysfunctional under official administrative (mis)guidance. However, in order for this to come about it is important that faculty and staff begin to set aside possible misperceptions that writing for student papers is undignified and/or unprofessional.

...The Publication Commission and Commissioner is UNDEMOCRATIC

Continued from page 10

caused a lot of problems in the workings of the paper; obviously the supplies are essential for a newspaper.

B) After the CV followed the proper procedures of a purchasing order, did everything that was expected from them, Schnetzer was delinquent in his responsibilities. He never contacted the CV to request from us what he needed in order for him to sign the purchasing order. We had to go to the office 6 times to see if he was there. When we finally caught him, his attitude was extremely rude, not understanding, carefree and non-apologetic when we asked him that he should have contacted us immediately when he needed a security complaint about the tape recorders.

C) Schnetzer schedules a PC meeting without consulting with the publications for our availability. We told him we cannot make the time, and his attitude was simply non-chalant, basically saying too bad.

SG has done NOTHING! Instead we have continuity: another commissioner who has the same authoritarian attitude and purpose as the ex-commissioner, Joe Canale. Schnetzer like his predecessor imposes rules and his authority on us without knowing or willing to confront the real problems of the publications is instead creating more and more problems. SG should be aware that their record is on the line. If they seriously believe that they are "student leaders" representing and looking out for students and their issues, then we demand they take immediate actions.

This problem has to be confronted! We will not allow our time and energy to be wasted, which we can be putting that same time and energy on something more constructive! We will not allow petty micro-managers who have their own agenda to be future politicians to put unreasonable, illogical constraints on us!

The College Voice (CV), Third Rail and Student Life hereby present the following charges against the Publication Commissioner Jurgan Schnetzer and his Commission:

1) Does not consult with the publications on the setting up of Commission meetings.

2) Does not allow publications to vote on Commission policy.

3) Without consulting all publications, changed the quorum requirement for Commission meetings from 4 to 2, making the Commission even less democratic.

4) Held up the normal functioning of the CV by ignoring and stalling on supplies ordered for over 3 weeks without properly contacting the newspaper.

5) Reckless use and abuse of the office of Publications Commissioner. Jurgan creates and discretionarily enforces publications rules upon those organizations he personally dis-favors.

6) Weilding the power of office to intimidate publications. Attempted to selectively enforce the previously voted Feb. 14 deadline for faculty advisor to not fund Third Rail.

Section 1 of the SG Constitution states that, "all officers...shall govern impartially and grant funds and services equitably to all qualified students under the aegis of the college".

The actions of Schetznar have clearly violated both the letter and spirit of Section 1.

Instead of establishing a working relationship with the publications, he has managed to alienate them through his rude, undemocratic acts. We demand that Schetznar be removed from his post as Publications Commissioner.

...THE NEED FOR A FREE PRESS AT CSI

Continued from page 11

formed a secret pact with him to destroy the Voice in return for greater funding for the Banner. Garafalo came clean after becoming disgusted with the atmosphere of hate and intrigue promoted by Canale. This is a stance which is worthy of emulation by his successors at the Banner who continue in the tradition of slavishly following the whims of Canale who in turn slavishly follows the whims of Administration. The Banner thus does not fall into the category of a free press. Since the former editor of the Banner admitted that they served as anti-Voice hacks for a pro-Administration Student Government, it does not take a genius to deduce the control that Administration exercises over the Banner, even, if indirectly. A free press is that which is independent financially and organizationally of ruling structures, which in the case of CSI are the Administration and Student Government. Since first, Student Government and ultimately, Association, a branch of Administration, have control over the budgets of publications on the campus we do not have a truly free press. The College Voice has maintained its principled political inde-

pendence as mentioned above only through a series of guerrilla warfare-like tactics in the face of repeated attempts to shut us down. Greg Adamo, a lower level Administrator who directs WSIA, has suggested the idea of an independent media board. The College Voice and the Third Rail magazine are open to discussing this. We demand the following reforms:

1) For a separation of SG and Publications. A percentage of the student activity funds should be directly channeled into a campus publications fund.

2) For full financial and political independence from Administration. The policy of having student funds authorized by Administration must end. In its place a campus publications board with a student majority on which faculty and Administration are represented should be established.

These measures are essential towards ensuring the structural independence of the press at CSI which in turn will ensure that students have a chance at fighting back the theft and indignities they are forced to endure at the hands of Administration.

...CUNY, Citibank and MCI Assault

Continued from page 5

row from the library, the food we eat, the phone calls we make, the times we come and go from school the different campuses we visit: all of these things become information that can be shared between CUNY administration, Citibank and MCI. Without our permission CUNY is compiling and giving out the information about our daily activities that reveals a great deal about who we really are.

Will the CUNY Card Fly?

Since the publication of the October 1 Envoy article, many Hunter students have expressed outrage at the plan for the CUNY Card. The CUNY Card will probably seem most foreign to Hunter and CSI students since other CUNY campuses already have fairly strict security regimes. This makes Hunter and CSI a test of the viability of the CUNY Card. If Hunter and CSU students sit back and accept the CUNY Card, it is unlikely that there will be any effective opposition on other campuses (where students are already expected to wear their ID cards visibly on their clothing). But if Hunter and CSI Students are able to organize some effective resistance to the implementation of the CUNY Card, our actions may serve to alert the rest of CUNY to the dangers of corporate entanglements and privacy violations raised by the CUNY Card.

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...Democracy and College Education

radical, but voting action in itself and, even further, the notion of political action as such. A historical diversion may become necessary in order to illustrate this point. Radical change does not come about through the use of established forms of political action but requires a reconceptualization of the prevailing forms of political action. For example, the injection of body-politics such as "voting with one's feet" in the 1960's instead of voting with one's head in the 1990's after having gone through the tedium of Election '96; or, the infusion of religious ritual action into politics a la Islamist fundamentalism instead of keeping the secular distinct from the transcendent. However, the forum's agenda has made sure to exclude such diversions about action as "philosophical," or plainly "out of order," thus forcing Manuela to remain within the institutional framework and continue to talk in progressively indignant tones, until she finally begins to sound like a broken record.

Though from radically different points

of departure, Peter Simpson and I share a common view that religion is a very serious business and that there is no sense in trying to keep the secular apart from the transcendent (except, perhaps, for short enough periods needed for analytical purposes). However, we part company as soon as our differing points of departure - based on religious faith and intellectual commitment, respectively - begin to unfold. My religious awe has grown over the years by way of sociology of religion, wherein I learned that, by providing an all-encompassing umbrella of working norms, religion has kept a vast assortment of cultures alive over the millennia. In other words, my religious reverence is for polytheism and the wonderful cultural diversity which was fostered by it. For monotheists, rationalists, and the assorted progeny the Enlightenment, concentrating as they do on the surface, the ways of religion may appear as so much mumbo-jumbo. But, behind the surface, such multicultural assortment of rituals, customs, and beliefs, constitute the powerful glue that keeps cultures

bound together and allows all of them to unfold the potential of their wonderful diversity. Religion has managed so well and for so long in enriching culture because it has unfailingly followed on the path of institutionalization: constantly mediating other aspects of social life - political, legal, intellectual, and artistic - rather than being arrested in sheer dogma and abstract moral rules.

In contrast to my respect of religion qua institution and of personal values as mediated by institutions, Peter seems situated in an institutional vacuum. He operates on the level of unmediated subjectivity: individual religious commitment rather than appreciation of the mediating role of religion within and through other social institutions. This abstract conception of subjectivity involves an equally abstract notion of an external source of religious precepts. This leads him, in turn, to a direct (unmediated) application of his religious precepts to social life. Using his hotly disputed example of abortion, the difference in linguistic usage between killing babies and

aborting fetuses indicates an important difference in cultural overlay between the two expressions, due to the mediation of religion by politics and social life in general. The same is true about terms like plain murder (of innocents), execution (of criminals), neutralization (of enemies), elimination (for eugenic purposes), assisted euthanasia (to avoid suffering), and so on. The terms in parentheses are no less meaning-laden because of mediation than those outside them. Far from minimizing the abortion dispute by highlighting its semantic dimension, I am, on the contrary, suggesting that, being highly overlaid with cultural meaning, abortion is beyond the pale of being merely a moral, political, or legal issue. Abortion cannot be legislated, or politically imposed, any more than morals, civic virtue, and family values, though, as is amply evident, it can be politically exploited and manipulated precisely because it is being perceived, simply or predominantly, as a matter of unmediated personal religious commitment.

So...you think you live in a "free country?" Think again. American totalitarianism has turned the world into one big jail

BY BARRY LITUCHY

Have you ever heard a proud, young American boast that he or she lives in a free country? Do you like to think of yourself as a "free" man or a "free" woman? Have you always assumed that America guarantees you freedom of privacy or freedom of speech? Do you believe in the words of the Star Spangled Banner, that America is "the Home of the Free and the Land of the Brave?"

If you do, think again. Maybe the words should be changed to "the Home of Big Brother and the Land of the Slave." Because a series of recently published books and articles are beginning to reveal in horrifying detail the fascistic aims and activities of America's secret intelligence establishment. At issue is the creation of a global police state based on a system of totalitarian control in which almost every telephone call, e-mail message, fax or telex message around the world can now be automatically monitored for politically incorrect thoughts deemed dangerous to the "national security" of the United States and its four closest intelligence allies: Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This surveillance system is no futuristic, science fiction; it's science fact, in operation right now. The intelligence alliance between these five countries dates back to World War II when they jointly monitored radio transmissions of the Axis powers. This special intelligence alliance, reconstituted in the UK-USA Agreement of 1948, emerged as an institution central to America's spying operations in the Cold War and in its efforts to destroy the Soviet Union and every trace of communism or socialism anywhere in the world.

Launched at about the same time as the CIA, the National Security Agency (NSA) - created and controlled entirely by the Office of the President - rapidly became the dominant partner in this alliance, and has since grown to become the largest intelligence agency in the world, greater in size, budget and scope than all foreign agencies in the world combined. Simply put, the NSA is the true home of "Big Brother."

It is the NSA which is primarily responsible for most of this country's electronic and other computer based and satellite based spying and surveillance technology and operations. It is a giant information gathering institution whose sinister purpose is simply to control the thoughts and communications of earth's population. (A giant, new \$6 billion

National Reconnaissance Office is today being built near Langley, Va. for similar uses by the CIA and Pentagon, which, of course, also have quite busy intelligence operations as well). Today the known budget of the NSA is reportedly about \$40 billion a year. However, this does not include the secret budgets that have been a regular feature of American intelligence and covert operations since World War II. The bulk of this tab goes for the technology, including satellites and super-computers. In the 1970's the NSA expanded its activities from electronic and satellite spying of military targets in Communist countries to non-military targets and telecommunications around the world. Among several such new systems developed, the most important has been the system code named "ECHELON." The ECHELON system is designed and controlled by the NSA and is used today to intercept and read a large percentage of the world's e-mail, faxes, telexes and telephone calls.

Did you ever wonder what those amazing giant super-computers, that are as large as a baseball diamond and that can process billions of bits of information a second, were built for? Probably you saw them on television like everyone else and heard the TV announcer ooh and ah over this latest great techno-achievement. But perhaps you grew a little suspicious when you didn't hear an explanation given as to what its use would be? Of course, you didn't know it at the time, but in fact you were quietly, though lovingly, being introduced to Big Brother.

According to an article in the Winter 1996/1997 issue of Covert Action Quarterly by Nicky Hager, the author of Secret Power: New Zealand's Role In the International Spy Network, ECHELON...potentially affects every person communicating between (and sometimes within) countries anywhere in the world.... The ECHELON system is not designed to eavesdrop on a particular individual's e-mail or fax link. Rather the system works by indiscriminately intercepting very large quantities of communications and using computers to identify and extract messages of interest from the mass of unwanted ones. A chain of secret interception facilities has been established around the world to tap into all the major components of the international telecommunications networks.

Some monitor communications satellites, others land-based communications networks, and others radio communications. ECHELON links together all these

facilities, providing the US and its allies with the ability to intercept a large proportion of the communications on the planet. The computers automatically search through the millions of messages intercepted for ones containing pre-programmed keywords [or chains of words].

ECHELON consists of several different component systems: one for telecommunications satellites used by the telephone companies of the world which hover over the earth's equator -- the Intelsat Stations; a second for other satellite communications; and a third series of facilities for land-based telecommunications systems which includes facilities for intercepting all microwave transmissions as well as underwater cable telecommunications system which are easily interceptible at their point of resurface.

In another article in the same issue of Covert Action Quarterly, Mike Frost, a former agent for Canada's intelligence services linked to ECHELON and author of Spyworld: Inside the Canadian and American Intelligence Establishments, explains how the super computers intercept and read telecommunications, as well as its implications for the average person.

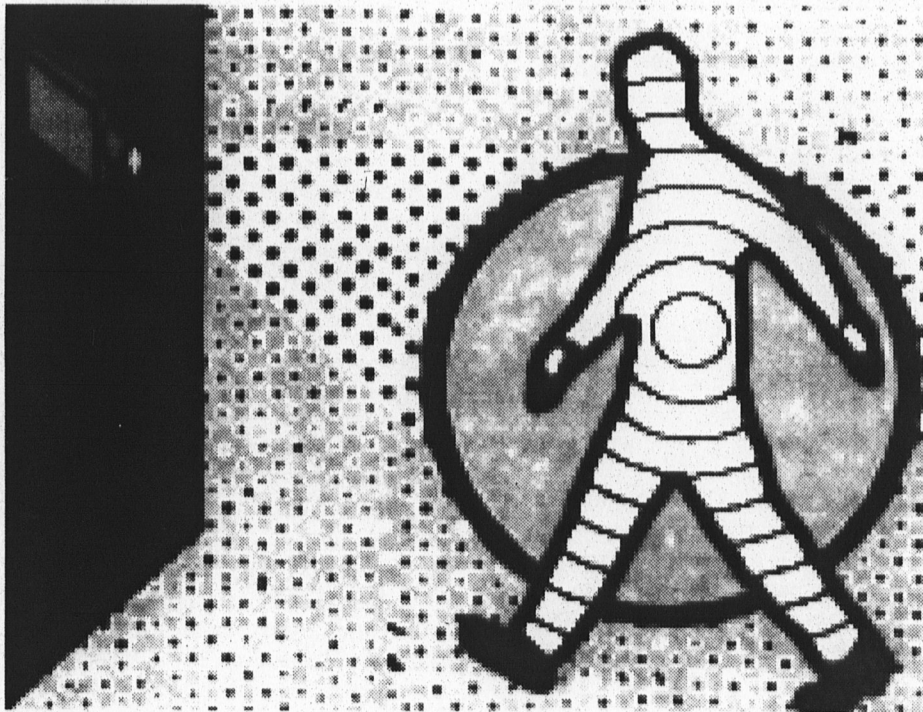
Increasingly individuals are caught in the broad net of electronic surveillance. The experts can record and analyze all your communications at will. SIGINT ["signals intelligence"] organizations in Canada, US, UK, Australia, and NZ use super-computers such as the Cray to select items of interest. The list is very fluid and is adapted rapidly to monitor people and policy areas. At any time, it is likely to contain names of all world leaders, terrorists, drug lords, Mafia dons, members of radical groups, labor union activists and leaders, types of weaponry, explosives, financial dealings, money transfers, airline destinations, stock information, international conferences, demonstrations, and politically suspect groups and individuals.... Nothing and no one is exempt. For example, you are talking on the telephone to a friend discussing your son's school play. "Boy," you say sadly, "Bobby really bombed last night," or perhaps you used the word "assassination" or "sabotage" or any one of the many thousands of key words the compute has been told to flag. A hard copy of your conversation is produced, passed to the appropriate section (in this case terrorism), and probably ends up in the garbage. But perhaps the conversation is not so clear cut or the analyst has poor judgment. Then your

name is permanently filed under "possible terrorist." Weeks or even years later, you have a similar conversation and use the same words; the computer filters it out again. Since this is the second time, your name moves from the "possible" to the "probable" file. Sound absurd? Not at all; it actually happened while I was at CSE [Communications Security Establishment -- the Canadian equivalent of the NSA]. Frost goes on to explain that such are the capabilities of the computer technology in use today that it has human like capacity "to recognize words spoken in all different tones and accents." However, it is only when phone calls or other telecommunications transmissions contain pre-programmed keywords that the computers lock in and record the transmission digitally for analysis at agency headquarters. Nicky Hager points out that it is unclear whether the UK-USA Alliance has yet acquired the capacity to search through all of the telephone calls in the world. But Hager suggests that this is the penultimate goal of the system, and that this technological horizon is fast approaching. In any event, the desire of U.S. intelligence operations to become all encompassing explains why the budgets for these operations have been growing so massively in recent years (along with the fact that telecommunications in general is expanding). These ever growing expenses in the federal budget have never undergone any serious scrutiny by our "elected officials" or by the capitalist media, which only rarely makes obtuse allusions to American intelligence agencies, and almost never to the NSA. Instead, the so-called budget crisis in Washington is associated with social programs like welfare, education, social security or Medicaid by Republicans and Democrats alike. Social programs actually take up an ever shrinking and minuscule portion of government expenditures. It is the insane military and geo-political ambitions of America's fascist-imperialist rulers that's really creating a budget crisis. But don't expect to see that discussed on the 10 o'clock news. The American security state has the media under close scrutiny as well.

Nicky Hager makes it clear that the facts prove that the system is designed for global, totalitarian purposes: What is the system used for? Anyone listening to official "discussion" of intelligence could be forgiven for thinking that since the end of the Cold War, the key targets of the mas-

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The home of big brother and the land of the slave



The CIA-cocaine connection: results of capitalism in crisis

Illegal and covert government action aimed at working people in the United States, as well as those who struggle for their national liberation abroad, is an inherent part of the functioning of the capitalist system. It is but one expression of the need of a tiny ruling minority to employ extra-legal means to maintain its rule

Ever mindful of the "big lie" theory of politics, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director John M. Deutch addressed a Nov. 15 Watts, Los Angeles, town hall-type meeting to deny any connection between the CIA and Nicaraguan Contra drug trafficking.

Said Deutch, "We have no evidence of a conspiracy that the CIA was involved in drug trafficking. The CIA fights drugs. It does not encourage drugs."

Deutch's unusual public disclaimer provides further evidence that San Jose Mercury News reporter Gary Webb's three-part, Aug. 18-20, expose, "The Dark Alliance," has legs of the Olympian type.

Webb documented how two Nicaraguan drug traffickers who claimed direct links to the Contras and the CIA,

Castillo, who left the DEA in 1992, reports that when he informed his superiors about these operations—vindicating the CIA was based largely on unnamed sources, now had a named source.

The CIA director was introduced to readers with the dramatic lead: "John Deutch came in from the cold today. In a public appearance that broke all the rules of good espionage, the nation's top spy slipped from behind the wall of secrecy that surrounds the CIA—and talked."

It was the third Los Angeles mass meeting on the CIA-Contra drug connection in the past few months. An estimated 1000 people, mostly Black, attended.

The audience began booing even before Deutch arrived. After Deutch started to speak, the audience listened in

involved in illegal drug trafficking operation—as well as assassination plots, the violent overthrow of governments, and other covert operations.

What is new is that a quirk of fate allowed a mainline journalist, Gary Webb, who stumbled onto the story almost by accident, to publish the truth in a regional but not unimportant newspaper. To the consternation of both government officials and competing newspapers, the San Jose Mercury News's placement of this story on the World Wide Web led to its discovery by millions.

"Our man in Washington"

Shortly before the Deutch denial—after almost two months of studied silence—U.S. capitalism's three metropolitan newspapers of record, launched virtually in unison a barrage of invective designed to discredit Gary Webb's documented "Dark Alliance" story.

The most extensive effort in this regard is an Oct. 20-22, three-part series produced by The Los Angeles Times. The newspaper's Washington Bureau Chief, Doyle McManus, was one of the lead writers in the "hit" series.

In a Public Broadcasting System interview, McManus accused Gary Webb of profoundly bad journalism. "Gary Webb's 16-month-long investigation, he said, 'fails to support' the charge of CIA involvement. As in Tim Golden's New York Times piece (see November 1996 Socialist Action), McManus lists as sources mostly former CIA officials and Contra leaders—all of who deny Gary Webb's fundamental theses.

Two of McManus's sources, Vince Canistraro and Robert Gates, were CIA functionaries assigned to help oversee and direct the Contra war.

An effective rebuttal of McManus was published in the Oct. 31 New Times, a Los Angeles-based alternative newspaper. New Times staff writer Marc Cooper—who is also a founder of Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) and a regular contributor to FAIR's paper, EXTRA—takes McManus to task.

Cooper's work merits repeating at length:

~Just take a look back 10-12 years ago during the Nicaragua Contra war, and guess whom we find as the most reliable conduit of the official Washington line? Our man in Washington, Doyle McManus.

"While in pursuit of its covert Contra war, the CIA was coming under public heat for writing assassination manuals, for mining Nicaraguan harbors, for teaching the Contras to burn crops and towns, and—yes—for playing patty-cake with Contra coke dealers. But even back then, the boys in Langley [CIA headquarters in Langley, Va.] knew just whom to go to in the media when they needed a little positive counterspin....

"On July 18, 1984, in a dispatch co-written by McManus, a front-page Times story flat-out alleged that the Sandinista government, in particular two top officials—Interior Minister Tomas Borge and Defense Minister Umberto Ortega (the president's brother)—were 'linked to a drug smuggling scheme.'

This story went much further than the current San Jose Mercury News series in that it actually named the suspects at the official level.

"But McManus and The Times did not spend a year-plus investigating, nor were hundreds or scores or even dozens of interviews conducted.... 'U.S. intelligence sources' were cited as the font of the charge. Period. 'These sources, The Times said, had satellite photos that 'corroborated' the charge. McManus and The Times never saw the photos. To get the story on the front page, it was enough that the unnamed U.S. sources made the allegation.

"Oh, yeah. It was a bogus story, a classic example of planted disinformation. The suspect plane, we later found out, was part of a CIA-DEA sting. The Sandinista government had no involvement; this was just part of the CIA's propaganda war.

"The Times won't say who the original source was, but reporters close to the case affirm that McManus was handed this cock-and-bull story by none other than Ollie North."

Cooper responds effectively to the McManus statements that refers to Gary Webb's charges as "allegations": "The link between the U.S. government, its CIA, and drug dealers, including Contra ones, is no 'allegation,' as McManus fancies. It's an undeniable fact.

"In 1989, Sen. John Kerry's subcommittee on this matter released a 427-page report detailing—as The Times wrote itself back then—that 'the administration repeatedly ignored evidence that its allies in the effort to oust Nicaragua's Sandinista government, including members of the Honduran military, Panamanian leader Manuel A. Noriega, and the Contras themselves, were actively providing support and protection to drug trafficking.'"

"The [U.S.] government,' the 1989 Times story continued, 'had evidence of numerous drug links involving the anti-Sandinista rebels, including participation in trafficking by individual Contras; use of Contra air strips by traffickers, and the hiring of four airline companies, 'owned and operated by narcotics traffickers, to supply humanitarian assistance to the Contras.'"

Finally, McManus pushes his credibility beyond belief when he asserts: "The CIA is not allowed to monitor political activities inside the United States.... As a result, officials said, the CIA never monitored the

The (CIA-Contra connection's) covert deeds directly resulted in the death of tens of thousands of Nicaraguans and indirectly in the demoralization, death, and imprisonment of countless Black youth—as well as the devastation of Black communities across the country

Oscar Blandon and Juan Norwin Meseses, provided tons of cocaine to the notorious Los Angeles drug king, "Freeway Rick" Ross.

Blandon, on whose behalf government officials intervened to reduce a long prison sentence for drug trafficking, now works as an informant for the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA).

Since Webb's articles appeared, an unprecedented wave of protest against the CIA and other government institutions has been registered in the nation's Black media. Numerous feature stories have appeared documenting the past connections of various U.S. government agencies with the drug trade.

An ongoing series in the New York City-based Amsterdam News, for example, includes the eyewitness testimony of retired DEA agent Celerino Castillo, who recounts seeing tons of cocaine off-loaded into CIA hangars at the U.S.-run Ilopango airbase in El Salvador in the mid-1980s.

stunned disbelief, often interrupting his denials of CIA Contra army.

A retired Los Angeles police officer rose to inform Deutch that drug trafficking with CIA involvement had been the norm in Los Angeles for decades. Black Congresswomen Juanita Millender McDonald, who had organized the meeting, tried to shield Deutch from the angry questioners in the audience.

Toward the end of the meeting, a white man said to McDonald, "What have you done for your master now?" McDonald tried to have the man ejected from the meeting, but her action only enraged the audience. Someone called out: ~She's a sellout!"

The CIA director claimed that his "unprecedented" visit to Los Angeles was due to "this unprecedented charge" against his organization.

But there is nothing "unprecedented" about charges, not to mention indisputable proof, that the CIA has been

Contras' contacts with Nicaraguan exiles inside the United States." Even John Deutch refrained from employing this specious argument.

A hit piece on Gary Webb

The Los Angeles Times, which somehow failed to report the "Freeway Rick" Ross/Nicaraguan Contra story—which had occurred in its own backyard—nevertheless assigned 16 staff writers, "the swarm," to produce its three-part hit piece on Gary Webb.

Among these was Jesse Katz, who authored the first article. Like others in The New York Times and The Washington Post who have sought to debunk Webb's information, Katz argues that Ross was not the first rate drug dealer that Webb describes.

Katz proceeds to name others involved in the trade—including Brian "Waterhead Bo" Bennett, who, according to Katz, "quickly surpassed" Ross between 1986 and 1988. Says Katz, "The explosion of cheap, smokable cocaine in the 1980's was a uniquely egalitarian phenomenon."

Katz' aim, of course, is to minimize the role played by Rick Ross and his Nicaraguan associates, Blandon and Meneses, and thereby undermine Webb's thesis that the latter were chiefly responsible for first introducing crack cocaine into Black communities in Los Angeles.

In the mind of Katz and company, any fact, however minor, that can be introduced to undermine Webb's credibility is sufficient to defeat his entire argument. "Your position falls," so the saying goes, "on its weakest argument."

While this may be true in matters of trick debates for fun and games, it is not the case in real life, where real Contra and real CIA-connected individuals have compiled a documented record of illegal acts in the pursuit of an illegal cause at the expense, directly or indirectly, of oppressed people in Black communities.

Debater's tricks aside, however, it was Katz himself who first accused "Freeway Rick" Ross of being LA's chief cocaine dealer. Katz had covered the first day of Ross's 1996 San Diego trial on charges of drug dealing. He described Ross as the "Walmart of cocaine," a "legendary" crack dealer.

"If there was one outlaw capitalist most responsible for flooding Los Angeles' streets with mass-marketed cocaine," said Katz in The Los Angeles Times, his name was Freeway Rick."

Following the attacks on his articles by the nation's three "leading" papers, Gary Webb told The New Times, "It's like reading Pravda."

...Big brother

(continued from page 23)

sive UK-USA intelligence machine are terrorism, weapons proliferation, and economic intelligence. ... A different story emerges after examining very detailed information I have been given about the intelligence New Zealand collects for the UK-USA allies and detailed descriptions of what is in the yards-deep intelligence reports New Zealand receives from its four allies each week. ...by far, the main priorities of the intelligence alliance continues to be political and military intelligence to assist the larger allies to pursue their interests around the world. Anyone and anything the particular governments are concerned about can become a target.

Gary Webb talks to students

On Nov.12, Webb addressed a meeting of 200 students and faculty sponsored by the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California at Berkeley.

The meeting was organized as a debate between Webb and New York Times reporter Tim Golden. Golden had previously authored the major Times assault on Webb's articles. At the Berkeley meeting, however, Golden was a "no show."

Webb's presentation was short and to the point, reiterating the central points of his articles. He added that a recently revealed "Los Angeles Sheriff's Department report proved that over 100 Nicaraguans were selling drugs in the city to buy weapons for the Contras."

A question to Webb from a young participant in the meeting, "Why doesn't the CIA just stop this paper, elicited an interesting researchers and community activists response. ~The CIA doesn't run the presented for discussion and San Jose Mercury News." Webb asserted. "The editors are with the story and I'm still on it with tons of additional information to report." The Mercury News is an affiliate of the notorious strike-breaking Knight Ridder newspaper group. This outfit is currently attempting to break Detroit's seven print unions, who have been engaged in a strike that has lasted for over a year. Like all capitalist newspapers in the United States, it is far from immune to the pressures of its multi-billionaire corporate advertisers, not to mention government officials.

The Mercury News has already agreed to submit Webb's articles to an ~independent" staff journalist to check their veracity. Webb himself, undoubtedly under pressure, has stated that his articles lead "only to the door of the CIA, not to the CIA itself."

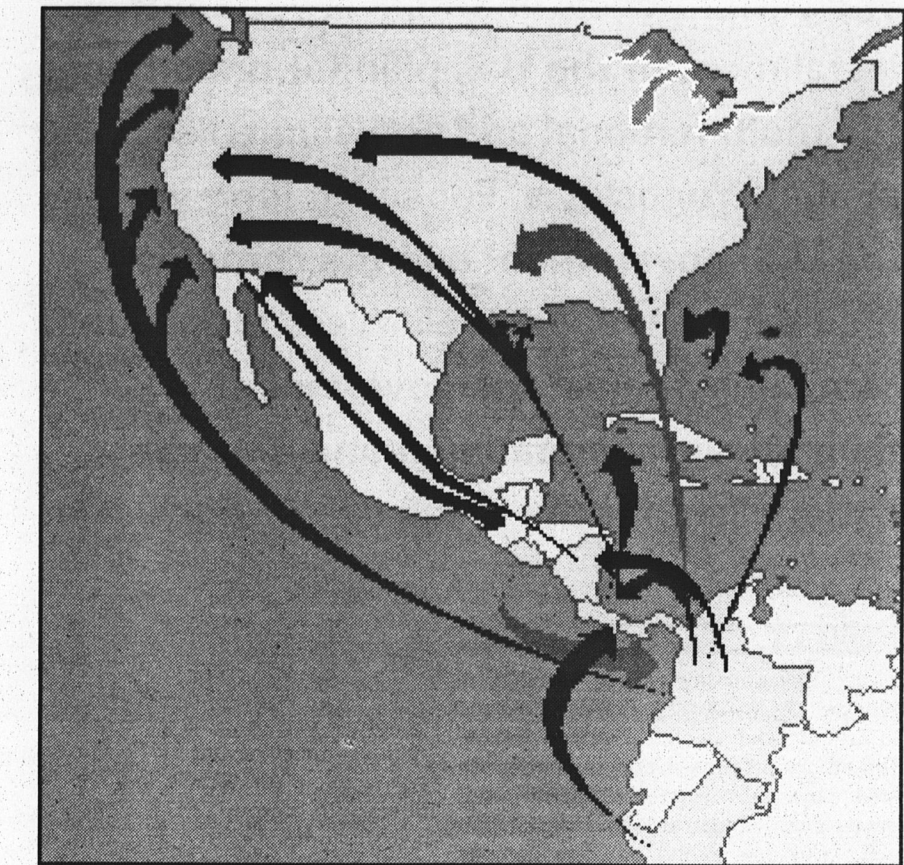
This contrasts sharply with both the content of his writings and with his series title, the "Dark Alliance," implying an alliance between the CIA and Contra drug dealers.

Webb's series is nonetheless a valuable contribution in the struggle to bring the truth about the illegal and racist actions perpetuated by the U.S. government to public attention. These covert deeds directly resulted in the death of tens of thousands of Nicaraguans and indirectly in the demoralization, death, and imprisonment of countless Black youth—as well as the devastation of Black communities across the country.

(my italics) We are well beyond the point of asking silly, naive questions like "What ever happened to the peace dividend?" We shall leave that to the pseudo-socialists of the American Left and their friends in



the "humanitarian" NGOs, which are themselves arms of the National Security State (the subject of a future article). The



Have drugs will travel: for the CIA-Contra connection, all roads lead to America's Black communities in US government's war of drugs

The deep anger, disbelief, and outrage at government denials evidenced nationwide in these communities is more than justified. Following the publication of Webb's articles, meetings have been organized across the country to further expose the CIA and its associated government agencies. Many of these meetings have taken the form of independent public inquiries, where wide-ranging testimony from both professional researchers and community activists is presented for discussion and debate.

Results of capitalism in crisis

The CIA revelations take place at a time when bipartisan government attacks on working people are escalating at a rate unknown in previous decades. A declining U.S. capitalism is compelled to cut ever deeper into the fabric of social life to boost its falling profit rates.

The result is increasing unemployment, layoffs, wage reduction, union busting, and cuts in social services for working people in general and for Blacks and Latinos and other oppressed nationalities in particular. This crisis is exacerbated by the introduction of drugs for profit as well as social control.

The fight against government abetted

drug trafficking requires the independent mobilization of the oppressed in alliance with all their allies in the working class. Such a struggle will naturally include demands for the jobs and social services that have been gutted to increase capitalist profits.

Illegal and covert government action aimed at working people in the United States, as well as those who struggle for their national liberation abroad, is an inherent part of the functioning of the capitalist system. It is but one expression of the need of a tiny ruling minority to employ extra-legal means to maintain its rule.

On rare occasions, such as the 1988 public hearings with Oliver North, the ruling class decides to sacrifice one of its own functionaries on the public altar to placate public outrage.

Ultimately, however, the heinous deeds required to preserve capitalist rule can only be ended with the abolition of capitalism itself and its replacement with a socialist society—where human equality and freedom, as opposed to profit, are the operative principles. ■

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"peace dividend" has gone the way of the Tooth Fairy and the Easter Bunny. Say good-bye to the ColdWar and hello to the New American Fascism where you are merely a number, a commodity, a thing.

national debate. It was done without any input from the American people, making a mockery of this country's bullshit "democratic system." America's evolving totalitarian police state has emerged without a single vote, without even the pretense of democracy. It has become a state within the state, the real government behind the facade of phony U.S. elections and the sanctimonious rhetoric about "democratic institutions." ECHELON is a central component of this emerging global police state that America is trying to impose on the world today. They call this "the New World Order." And like the Nazis before them, America's fascist rulers mean business.

Hey, don't you hear that phone ringing?! That's right, it's for you. Go on, pick it up. Say hello, and tell Big Brother everything. ■

The current crisis in Serbia is yet another installment of the U.S. plan for undermining the multi-national and non aligned socialist state of Yugoslavia. For seven long years the U.S. government and the corporate media have waged a relentless propaganda campaign against the government in Belgrade, scapegoating it and Serbian nationalism for the break up of Yugoslavia

BY BARRY LITUCHY

[Note: This article was completed prior to President Milosevic's further concessions to Zajedno and U.S. pressure on Feb. 4. The author believes this to be a grievous error by the Yugoslav government because it will not stop the destabilization. But due to the deadline he was unable to incorporate it into the article.]

There comes a time when a people must take stock of what they are and of what they are becoming. That time has come for the American people. We must ask ourselves whether we can continue to allow the government of this country to pursue a policy of destroying small nations, violating their national sovereignty and self-determination, overturning their native institutions, destabilizing their societies and using economic sanctions to impoverish their people unopposed. Are Americans going to stand up to this, or are they just going to sit back and become a nation of couch-potato Nazis?

Demonstrators in Belgrade, politically and financially supported by "our" government, are calling for the overthrow of a democratically elected Socialist govern-

ment subservient to U.S. interests.

Recently, however, the State Department has gone so far as to publicly announce that they intend to help remove Milosevic and the Socialists from power (New York Times, Jan. 27). On January 10, a group of U.S. Congressmen actually jumped onto a stage with the demonstrators to call for the overthrow of Milosevic. This shamefully fascist provocation was covered in the Washington Post (11 Jan. 1997), but not elsewhere. The next day, Assistant Secretary of State, John Kornblum, announced a four-point plan "to increase funds to the opposition forces" and bring down Milosevic. What is not reported is the extent of behind the scene U.S. political pressure on Yugoslavia or the caravans of high ranking U.S. officials arriving each week to threaten the government.

The U.S. government and its capitalist ruling class is aggressively trying to wipe out every trace of socialism in Eastern Europe in order to expand its economic and military supremacy to those regions. But it's not only about markets: the U.S. knows that it cannot guarantee the future of its Islamic client state in Bosnia or its colonial ambitions for the Eastern Mediterranean without installing a pup-

pet regime in Belgrade. What's at stake for Yugoslavs and Bulgarians are the social gains of their revolutions and the achievements of several generations of their people: free health care and education, nationalized industry, economic self-determination and a social welfare system light years ahead of our own — but out of line with American and European plans for Southeastern Europe in the 21st century. For Serbs in particular the stakes are the highest: the overthrow of the Yugoslav state would mean their diaspora and destruction as a people. The U.S. government is financing groups today who wish to divide Montenegro from Serbia and partition Serbia into three separate parts. Americans who think this doesn't affect them are fooling themselves. This is all part of the re-ordering of the world's social, political and economic systems following "the collapse of communism." Without any socialist alternatives for working people to turn to anymore, the ruling elites in the major capitalist powers have decided to turn back the clock in their own countries as well and disman-

How did the crisis in Belgrade start?

The British historian A.J.P. Taylor once called fascism "revolution by fraud," because fascists always claim to be fighting for socialism or democracy or something that they really intend to destroy. They demand free speech for themselves, while aiming to abolish it for others. They provoke disorder and instability, just so that they can claim to be putting it down. With the help of rich supporters, they bankroll provocateurs and destructive elements (sometimes called "fifth columnists") to destabilize society and its institutions from within. They always claim to be restoring some lost national glory or prestige, but history shows that they always bring ruin and shame to their own people.

In every one of these respects the leaders of the demonstrations in Belgrade who call themselves Zajedno ("Together") fit the description of fascists and "fifth columnists" given by Taylor.

The Zajedno coalition consists really of only one significant party, the Democratic Party of Zoran Djindjic. The other two parties have no mass support. One is the Serbian Renewal Movement led by long time monarchist and agent provocateur Vuk Drashkovic, a charismatic writer and media personality who has a considerable record of fascist violence. Ironically, it was Vuk Drashkovic — not the Communist leadership as academics and journalists like to claim — who truly represented the worst strain of Serbian nationalism in the 1980's. The last sordid element is a tiny group created by the Soros Foundation called the Citizens Alliance, led by a sociology professor who teaches in the U.S. named Vesna Pesic. This putrid alliance was itself a

creation of U.S. government officials who met with all of the opposition leaders last summer prior to the elections in an all-out effort to defeat Milosevic. Most opposition parties refused to join forces with such disreputable individuals. Drashkovic and Pesic are especially hated by most Serbs for shamefully supporting U.S. foreign policy on everything up to and including the criminal carpet bombing of the Bosnian Serbs in 1995.

Contrary to the deceitful impression created by the media, the parties that make up the Zajedno coalition are very small with very little support in Yugoslavia. For all the hoopla, Zajedno could only muster 22 out of 138 seats in the Yugoslav parliamentary elections of November 3rd compared to the clear majority of 84 seats won by Milosevic's Socialist led coalition. It's important to note that the largest opposition parties in Serbia, Seselj's Serbian Radical Party and Kostunica's Democratic Party of Serbia, as well as a number of other opposition parties, are staunchly opposed to Zajedno and view them as agents of U.S. imperialism. In fact, the leader of the Democ-

How Zajedno used the elections as a pretext for destabilization

Many people who don't know any better, and who have not heard or who perhaps are unwilling to hear any other viewpoint about this, believe fervently that the Socialist government (and President Milosevic in particular) "stole" the elections. Considering the extent of U.S. (and European) financed propaganda that systematically gives only one side of the story, this is not surprising. But as soon as one hears even a fraction of the other side of the story, the story concocted by the U.S. media and the Zajedno leaders about these elections collapses like a house of cards. The other fake reason given by the U.S. and Western powers for supporting Zajedno is that Zajedno is "for democracy" and the Socialist government of Milosevic is anti-democratic. Let's look at how laughable these claims really are.

First of all, they ignore the fact that the Socialists have swept every single election in Yugoslavia in the last seven

Behind the US campaign

ment. It is no coincidence that the same scenario is being played out in neighboring Bulgaria, where the former Communists (renamed Socialists) swept back into power in elections last year, and where 90% of the economy remains nationalized. By aiding groups who call for the overthrow of the Socialists, the U.S. hopes to mask its real aim of enforcing a neo-colonial market system on the Balkan-



creation of U.S. government officials who met with all of the opposition leaders last summer prior to the elections in an all-out effort to defeat Milosevic. Most opposition parties refused to join forces with such disreputable individuals. Drashkovic and Pesic are especially hated by most Serbs for shamefully supporting U.S. foreign policy on everything up to and including the criminal carpet bombing of the Bosnian Serbs in 1995.

Contrary to the deceitful impression created by the media, the parties that make up the Zajedno coalition are very small with very little support in Yugoslavia. For all the hoopla, Zajedno could only muster 22 out of 138 seats in the Yugoslav parliamentary elections of November 3rd compared to the clear majority of 84 seats won by Milosevic's Socialist led coalition. It's important to note that the largest opposition parties in Serbia, Seselj's Serbian Radical Party and Kostunica's Democratic Party of Serbia, as well as a number of other opposition parties, are staunchly opposed to Zajedno and view them as agents of U.S. imperialism. In fact, the leader of the Democ-

How Zajedno used the elections as a pretext for destabilization

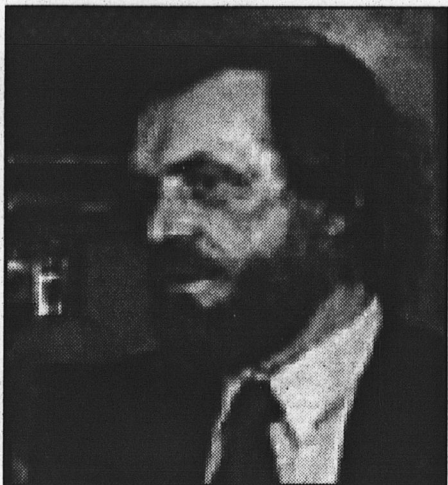
Many people who don't know any better, and who have not heard or who perhaps are unwilling to hear any other viewpoint about this, believe fervently that the Socialist government (and President Milosevic in particular) "stole" the elections. Considering the extent of U.S. (and European) financed propaganda that systematically gives only one side of the story, this is not surprising. But as soon as one hears even a fraction of the other side of the story, the story concocted by the U.S. media and the Zajedno leaders about these elections collapses like a house of cards. The other fake reason given by the U.S. and Western powers for supporting Zajedno is that Zajedno is "for democracy" and the Socialist government of Milosevic is anti-democratic. Let's look at how laughable these claims really are.

First of all, they ignore the fact that the Socialists have swept every single election in Yugoslavia in the last seven

years, including the national elections of November 3rd. Slobodan Milosevic was twice elected President of Serbia in landslide elections despite massive funding from the U.S. to opposition candidates. Even the Wall Street Journal had to admit (deep in its article of Feb. 3) that recent polls show Milosevic still to be more popular than all opposition candidates combined. The U.S. corporate media usually tries to hide such information about popular opinion in Yugoslavia and has distorted Western perceptions further by focusing on relatively meaningless municipal council elections while ignoring the national elections that more accurately reflect national opinion and that are won every single time by the Socialist left. The only reason the U.S. capitalist media calls the Yugoslav election results un-democratic is because the "wrong side" won. That's American-style ethics and fair play for you. If you can't beat them, lie, cheat, and murder them.

Secondly, why did international voting monitors from the European Union suddenly leave Yugoslavia after the November 3rd elections? They monitored the November 3rd elections and saw the Socialist Party and their Left Coalition alliance partners (the United Yugoslav Left and the New Democratic Party) sweep 64 seats out of 108 in Serbia and 20 out of 30 in Montenegro for a clear majority. Zajedno managed to win just 22 seats in Serbia. Disappointed with the results (especially after spending more than a billion dollars on the process), the international monitors from the European Union and the U.S. packed their bags and left Yugoslavia without ever explaining why they were not staying to supervise the November 17th elections. This provided a perfect scenario for the Zajedno opposition to illegally stuff the ballot boxes, disqualify the results and create a permanent crisis in which they could dispute the next round of elections. The Nazis pulled similar tricks in Germany in the 1930's.

Thirdly, if the Socialists really wanted to steal the elections, why didn't they just claim that they had won the elections in



"Our" man in Yugoslavia, "Zajedno" opposition leader Vuk Draskovic (above), hopes to use middle-class mobs like this Belgrade demonstration (right) to topple Milosevic regime



Yugoslavia? The fact that the government has offered to re-do the elections under U.S./Western control should have satisfied any reasonable person. But knowing that they really didn't win the elections and never could win fair elections Zajedno has rejected this offer every time. The case is really made against Zajedno on just that point alone.

Fifth, why was Zajedno already demonstrating, calling for the overthrow of Milosevic, on the very day of the municipal elections (pictures were published the next day in the New York Times) days before the federal government announced irregularities in voting precincts and calling for a new round of elections? In fact, why did the demonstrations begin even before the polling places had closed? The facts prove that this was all planned in advance with the knowledge of Western governments and media.

Sixth, why is it that all of the media attention and all of the political pressure is on Serbia and not on Croatia or

Europe," (NY Times, 1 December 1996). In other words, nobody is hiding the fact that it's all about dissolving the socialist economy and establishing a system friendly to Western corporations. Thus, you have to be pretty stupid, or else pretty dishonest, to accept all of the media propaganda that this is about "democracy."

Finally, not only has the Milosevic government offered to hold yet further elections under U.S. and European supervision, but it has even agreed to give away power (under U.S. pressure) in several municipalities to the Zajedno coalition. In fact, Milosevic has now conceded power to Zajedno in almost all of the disputed districts! Why then are the demonstrations continuing? Why are the demonstrators still trying to disrupt the economy and bring down the government? [As mentioned above, this article was completed prior to the concessions of February 4, in which the government gave away all contested elections in 14 cities. According to the propaganda of

poorest region of Europe, as already promised by some U.S. officials. The real crisis in Belgrade has nothing to do with election fraud, but with America's plan for the destabilization and final destruction of Yugoslavia, conducted through its associates in that rat's nest known as Zajedno.

Who are these protesters and what do they want?

While claiming that they want a more democratic society, the Zajedno leaders have not concealed their desire to restore a "market economy," to follow U.S. political dictates on everything from the Dayton agreement to the expansion of NATO, or to use violence to achieve their ends. And while some have deceptively claimed that this is all about "the Dictator" Milosevic, the truth of the matter is that it is not at all about Milosevic, but rather about the state and the system upon which his government rests. This is why no one in the so-called Zajedno opposition speaks of reform — only

to destabilize Yugoslavia

the disputed districts instead of reporting that there were too many ballots in 3.5% of the voting districts and that there should be a new round of voting in those precincts? Nobody, not even the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (the body that oversaw all of the elections in Bosnia, Croatia and Yugoslavia except those of December 17) who finally did arrive in Belgrade in late December only to pressure Milosevic, have denied the original contention of the government that the ballot boxes were stuffed with too many ballots in the precincts Zajedno claims to have won. Wouldn't Zajedno have a greater motive for committing this voting fraud than the government since doing it would obviously provoke a crisis?

Fourth, if Zajedno is for a democratic society, then why don't they recognize the elections of November 3rd and simply call for new municipal elections and reforms instead of the overthrow of the entire federal government? How can you say that the elections were stolen when we are talking about irregularities in only 3.5% of all of the voting places in

Bosnia? The O.S.C.E. the body that monitored elections in each of these republics, reported far more extensive voting irregularities and fraud in Bosnia and Croatia than in Serbia. In fact, opposition candidates who won in the municipal elections in Croatia were simply banned by the fascist dictator Franjo Tudjman from taking office. There were even demonstrations in Croatia — for about a day. But they ended when they got no support from the U.S. government or the U.S. media. The lesson being that the U.S. calls for "democracy" only in those countries whose governments it aims to destroy.

Seventh, in the early days of the protests, when the election results were not even known, Djindjic admitted in speeches reported by the New York Times that "power cannot be won by elections but only by uprisings, strikes [and] violence," (New York Times, 25 November 1996). He even admitted in another speech reported by the New York Times that the real purpose of the demonstrations "is to reform the economy and push Yugoslavia into Western

Zajedno this should mean an end to the protests. However, the view here is that they will continue since the protests are really about U.S. plans for overthrowing the state of Yugoslavia. — BL.]

By now the reason for this crisis should be clear: these demonstrations represent a naked grab for power by a gang of criminals and agent provocateurs financed by and working for U.S. imperialism, and they won't end until they bring down the state. If one bothers to look at the whole picture, what we see is a deliberate and calculated attempt to instigate a breakdown in democratic institutions in Serbia, deceive world opinion, orchestrate a U.S. backed counter-revolution and install a dictatorship run from Washington. Moreover, should they succeed, they will plunge the Serbian people into a crisis unlike any they have known in their entire history. The Bosnian Serbs would be expelled from Bosnia, Montenegro would be detached from Serbia, and Serbia itself would be partitioned in three parts. All industry would be "privatized" (closed down), and Serbia would be made the

destruction.

By focusing their attacks on the person of Milosevic, they have employed a shrewd and successful strategy of deception against the people in order to scapegoat Milosevic for all of the crimes committed against the people of Yugoslavia by the U.S. and its European allies (nothing could please the U.S. and Germany more), and to mask their desire to exploit their own people.

The main reason for this deception is that the demonstrators do not wish to reveal their real class interests and thus alienate the majority. These demonstrations in Belgrade are really a manifestation of class struggle. What we are seeing is an island of bourgeois counter-revolution in the middle of a workers' state. The demonstrators in Belgrade are heavily represented by capitalist, professional and intellectual middle class elements. There is also a large student element that aspires to bourgeois status. These demonstrators represent elite segments of Yugoslav society who see their long term interests tied to U.S.

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This great humanity

Around the world the apparently endless austerity attacks of the bosses and their governments have finally run up against what their media and academic apologists all swore was a thing of the past...the power of the organized working class

BY ROY ROLLIN

It is almost midnight for the twentieth century. Beginning with the downfall of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the nineties were ushered in by legions of pro-capitalist commentators singing paeans of praise to the "miracles" of the marketplace as they proclaimed the "end of history" and the "collapse of communism." But that very same decade is ending with what may well be the start of a worldwide revolt of working people against the institutionalized mass misery that the temporary triumph of capitalism has brought with it. North, south, east and west, the apparently endless austerity attacks of a ruling class grown fat from a decade of decadence have run up against what their academic apologists and media myrmidons all swore was a thing of the past...the power of the organized working class.

The truth of the matter, however, is that the class struggle, which is what history is really all about, never ceased in the first place. It only appeared that way to the short sighted, since at times it seemed to be so one-sided...on the part of the ruling rich, who, while denying its existence, waged it with a passion against the poor. Yet only in the minds of their PC-pushing lackeys, ensconced as they are in their ivory towers, had the class struggle ever ceased. For the world's workers, while they may have been down, were far from out. Thus labor has taken to the streets in ever increasing numbers to say with a loud collective voice that this great humanity has had enough of their cutbacks, layoffs and givebacks and that we're not going to take it anymore. And



just as the bosses' anti-labor agenda has become governmental policy in more and more countries in response to the pressures of increased capitalist competition on the world market, workers' struggles against them have become more explicitly political as well. Thus the bosses and their governments found themselves confronted by a politically active and aware working class in:

Italy, October 1994: More than two million workers stage a general strike to protest the welfare and pension cuts proposed by the right-wing Berlusconi government, forcing the regime to back down.

France, Winter 1994: Air France workers strike to beat back a government job-slashing scheme and inspire student demonstrations against another government proposal to lower the minimum wage for youth. When the unions threaten to act, the right wing Balladur regime beats a retreat.

France, November-December 1995: In response to the austerity plans of the right-wing Juppe government, almost all of the public sector goes out on strike and is supported by the majority of the French population. With over two million demonstrators on the streets in the biggest protest marches ever held in France, Juppe is forced to back down substantially.

Germany, October 1996: After months of trade union organized protests against the Christian Democratic government's proposed program of social service cutbacks, strikes in the metal-working industries force the bosses and their parties to cancel their plans to cut sick pay.

Canada, October 1996: Scores of trade unions and community organizations stage a city wide general and rally in Toronto, the largest demonstration in Canadian history, to protest the Ontario Tory governments austerity plans and "workfare" proposals

France, November 1996: By blockading all the main highways and border crossings, 50,000 truck drivers not only turn back attempted cutbacks in their social wages, but win new gains as they force the government to grant retirement at full pay at age 55 instead of at 60.

Israel, December 1996: A general strike forces the right wing government to back down on a cut in tax credits for woman workers after the prime minister, Netanyahu, proclaims "a Thatcherite revolution" in Israel.

Russia, December 1996: With only a quarter of the workforce being paid their wages on time and in full and with millions of workers having received no money at all for up to six months, reports tell of "spontaneously-organized workers



councils which are taking over local government functions and posing a direct challenge to regional authorities...spread(ing) to every major community of the Kuzbass (coal mining) region (in Siberia)..."

South Korea, December 1996: In response to the ruling party's secretly passing eleven new anti-labor laws which ban union organization for government employees, legalise mass layoffs, scabbing and unpaid overtime, the illegal Korean Confederation of Trade Unions calls a general strike. They are joined by the state-sponsored Federation of Korean Trade Unions and the Kim Young Sam government is forced to retreat.

In almost all of these cases, workers succeeded in forcing the bosses and their governments to at least temporarily put a stop to their anti-labor agendas. This in and of itself was a blow against all the trendy talk about how the "globalization" of the world economy had rendered workers struggles null and void. And by placing public needs before private profits, they also smashed yet another rotten idol of contemporary capitalist conventional wisdom; that slashing payrolls and paychecks is the only game in town. Thus, when the bosses, their government and some of the more tame trade union bureaucrats in France whined that social welfare measures were no longer affordable, the workers responded en masse with the battlecry of "we don't care where you get the money, it's not our problem." Most importantly this reassertion of working class self-activity has once again shown that "politics" need not be confined to electoral charades and parliamentary horse-trading but what is, in fact, still

possible when millions of working people refuse to accept those parameters to begin with and begin to take their fate into their own hands.

Counterrevolution in the east mean cutbacks in the west

Whether it be the so-called first, second or third worlds, the perspective of the ruling rich is one and the same: private profit before public need, untold riches for the few and endless misery for the many without even a pretense of trying to smooth over the differences any more. And while the international employers' offensive may have preceeded the collapse of Stalinism, the former Soviet bloc was itself a victim of that offensive. Whatever its many shortcomings may have been, its demise has only further emboldened the appetites of the ruling rich, be it east, west, north or south.

Instead of the peace and prosperity it promised with the ending of the cold war, capitalist restoration and democratic counter-revolution in the former Soviet bloc have brought with it fratricidal slaughter and mass misery on a scale not seen in Europe since the Second World War. While the wars in what used to be Yugoslavia and Chechnya have claimed the most lives and caused the most damage, countless other nationalist blood feuds and similar such sordid squabbles now rage across the former USSR as well. Then there is the economic instability and immense immiseration that what the experts entitle the "transition to the market economy." has brought with it as its inevitable bi-products. For instead of bringing the former Soviet bloc the once vaunted "Swedish model" of the so-called

has had enough

welfare state, capitalist restoration has brought them the Third World. And with the Soviet bogeyman no longer around, workers in western Europe have suddenly found that those very "welfare states" they took for granted for the past forty years were now up for grabs. For in order to compete with low-wage workforces... like those of the US and the UK, where the savaging of living standards were pioneered by Reagan and Thatcher, West European bosses have now begun to wield the ax of austerity against social programs long taken for granted in that part of the world.

For the Third World proper, debt bondage and underdevelopment remain business as usual. Country after country groans under the weight of IMF-inspired austerity programs that "privatize" (ie, pillage and plunder) those sectors of the economy that might have been able to provide some degree of economic independence for the countries concerned (ie, oil in Mexico, tin in Bolivia). In other words, Wall Street keeps the cashbox closed until those resources that were previously considered off limits become fair game for the financial sharks of the west while their local stand-ins get to sift through the leftovers. For the masses of working people, not even the crumbs are

fail at worst. The fate of the Soviet Union under Stalin and his heirs awaited all those who dared to challenge the supposed natural laws of the market. In other words, the rule of the rich, be it good, bad or otherwise, was here to stay. No less than those who make a living off of lying for the right, many on the demoralized designer "left," bought into the all the hoopla and bid a fond farewell to all that revolution stuff once and for all. Instead they became the "left wing of the possible," advocates of capitalism with a human face at a time when the ruling class was not about to smile any smiles at anyone else but each other. For all of them, "democracy," was about as good as good was gonna' get. But what the "triumph of democracy" really meant was that bourgeois parliamentary politics, based as it is upon the permanent passivity, apathy and nonparticipation of the majority, was the only game in town...a game in which the only players are those whose wealth and power permits them to participate in the first place.

From the start the "new world order" was based upon working people being banished from the arena of international politics by the destruction of the workers states. With the USSR finally out of the way, the US now had a carte blanche to

won on the battlefield. Insofar as the western world was concerned, not only was New Deal style social liberalism and the Keynesian welfare state to be done away with but the organized working class, which provided social support and an electoral audience for such policies, was to be pushed outside of what passes for mainstream politics (ie, the electoral arena) altogether as the unchallenged supremacy of the market became the law of the land.

...by "Americanizing" politics

In the West European countries, where there exists a long tradition of working class politics based upon mass political parties and trade unions which are at least verbally committed to socialism, that requires the "Americanization" (ie, atomization and individualization) of politics. That means replacing a politics that is still based on issues with one focused upon personalities as exists in the US where candidates' positions in the bedroom are deemed more important than their positions on the issues. (Part of that, of course, is due to the fact that there are no real differences between the twin parties of capital to begin with.) Also on the agenda is the ending of any semblance of mass participation through parties and/or unions, which are in some way accountable to their memberships, so that all the atomized individual "citizen" will have left to do is vote for indistinguishable pro-capitalist candidates chosen by unelected unaccountable elites. And that's what passes for "democracy" these days.

Such a system has long worked well for the bosses in the US thanks to the craven compliance of the AFL-CIO trade union bureaucracy. The reformist leaderships of the various European Labor and Socialist Parties, especially that of the British "New" Labor Party, were all too willing to go along as well. Long committed to electoral politics as the be-all and end-all of their existence, and far more opposed to the mobilization of their members than the machinations of the bosses, they have had few qualms about turning their organizations into pale pink imitations of Bill Clinton's Democratic party by cutting their links with the unions and dropping whatever passing references to "socialism" ("Clause 4" in the British Labor Party) there may have been in their programs. After all, if it worked for Clinton, why not for them? Think of all the middle class votes they might pick up in the process; why should all those yuppies be the private preserve of a John Major any more than a Bob Dole?

The bosses could also count on the aid and assistance of their housebroken labor lieutenants in the trade union bureaucracies, who, as usual, were just as willing to do their masters' bidding in keeping their mass bases in line as were their "comrades" in the party bureaucracies. Since all of them accept the eternal existence of capitalism, they all accept the bosses' austerity arguments as well and continue to

play by the bosses rules, even the bosses rewrite them. Only this time, since the bosses had gotten so greedy, the reformists weren't even able to procure any reforms in exchange for their services. So like a rat, backed into a corner, which finds itself forced to fight for that last scrap of cheese, the union bureaucracies had to show that they still possessed some power if they wanted to remain players at all in the eyes of the bosses. So they called strikes in order to bluff the bosses and allow their restless ranks to blow off steam. Only the ranks, be they French truck drivers, Korean ship builders or Russian coal miners, were not interested in merely blowing off steam for an hour or a day so that their bureaucratic misleaders might get a ministerial portfolio or two in this or that government. Workers were and are fed up with having to work more and make less, fed up with all the poverty they are forced to bear amidst the plenty they created, and not about to give up without a fight what they and generations of militant workers before them fought, and in many cases, died, to achieve. In doing so, they showed, and are now showing, for all the world to see, that there is an alternative to the endless austerity promoted by the ruling rich and that you can not only fight back...but fight back and win

"Globalization:" new myths...

If workers bothered to pay any attention to the "left" academics who blow with the winds of bought-and-paid-for bourgeois "public opinion," no-one would have ever hit the bricks in the first place. For according to all of them, strike struggles are doomed to fail, being what the New York Times likes to call "quaint, even evocative" acts out of an old, forgotten script. The "globalization," or increased internationalisation of the economy, they say, makes all resistance within the confines of the nation state futile. For if workers in advanced capitalist countries refuse to

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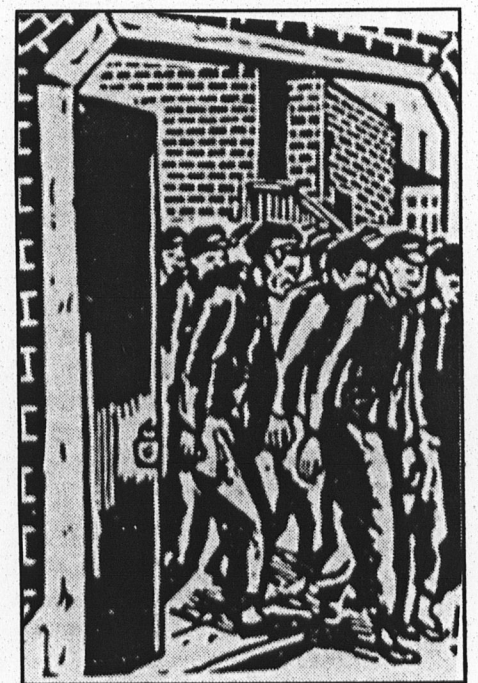
This reassertion of working class self-activity has once again shown that "politics" need not be confined to electoral charades and parliamentary horse-trading but what is, in fact, still possible when millions of working people refuse to accept those parameters to begin with and begin to take their fate into their own hands

on offer any more. All this, of course, goes hand in hand with "downsizing" and "restructuring;" that is getting fewer people to produce more profits by paying them all less to begin with.

"End(ing) History" ...

All that talk a few years back about the end of the history was little more than an ideological offensive on the part of the ruling class to convince working people that with the Soviet Union finally out of the way, any kind of social struggle, let alone social change, was either a thing of the past at best or a utopian fisaco bound to

bomb (or starve) any Third World rogue regime back to the stone age. This was something they could only dream of doing during the Vietnam war when Soviet strength had to be constantly and carefully considered by Pentagon planners as part of the picture. Likewise they would no longer have any thorns in their paws from "national liberation" struggles in the Third World. For without their powerful patrons in Moscow to provide them muscle, workers and peasants from Central America to Southeast Asia found themselves forced to give up at the negotiating table or at the ballot box what they had



After years of being touted as a sweatshop showcase of "free market" miracles, South Korea is beginning to come apart as its rapidly growing working class gains a sense of its potential power

General strike twists the tiger's tail in Korea

We at CUNY should also think seriously about what this general strike, as well as those in France this year and last, mean for our struggle here in New York. Rather than write off the working class, the students of France and South Korea have attempted successfully to lead workers and encouraged them to go on strike against these governments' repressive policies. These are powerful examples from which we ought to learn

BY TOM SMITH

For three weeks, beginning on December 26th, the South Korean working class, one of the most militant in the world, waged a general strike, the largest in its history. At least two hundred thousand workers were brought out under the leadership of the major independent (and still illegal) trade union federation: the Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KCTU). Their call for an "indefinite general strike" was later endorsed by the historically pro-government Korean Federation of Trade Unions. The strike brought the country's shipyards, auto and steel manufacturing, and street traffic to a complete halt. Transport, bank, and hospital workers also walked off their jobs. While the KCTU leaders have reduced the strike to a one-day-a-week affair, they threaten to resume the strike completely on February 18th unless the government meets their conditions.

The strike comes in response to new repressive legislation, which was passed in a pre-dawn session of Parliament, closed to opposition leaders. This legislation continues the ban on the KCTU and the ban on trade union organization among public employees and teachers. It removes restrictions on the power of employers to lay off and fire workers en masse, close whole factories, and allows "speedup, elimination of safety standards and the imposition of massive amounts of unpaid overtime." (Workers Vanguard, 1/10/97) It gives new powers to the Korean secret police to investigate and prosecute union leaders. The government has justified these measures in order to boost their "competitiveness" on the world market. Years ago, pumped up by U.S. investments against the old "Communist men-

ace," South Korea was touted by free capitalist economists as an exemplary "miracle." Such economists conveniently ignored the fact that this "free market miracle" was also the result of an extremely authoritarian state. Through the accident of the Cold War, the South Korean state became very important to Washington and Wall Street. In exchange for their active participation in cordoning off North Korea, Washington gave Seoul the power to prevent both workers and foreign investors from benefiting too heavily from the native capitalists' good fortune. Now, however, the fortunes of these capitalists, called chaebols, has been flagging because South Korea has been "economically sandwiched between outer Asian countries with lower wages, like China and Indonesia, and advanced nations with higher technology, like Japan." (Andrew Pollack, New York Times, 1/12/97).

Ever since its inception, South Korea has been ruled by violently repressive military dictatorships, backed by the United States. During the Korean War, the U.S. occupying troops did not wage a war against the North Korean communists only. They also conducted a class war against South Korean workers and peasants, who were sympathetic to reunification with the North. The "cult of personality" and repressiveness of the Kim Il Sung regime in the North was particularly bizarre and extreme, as Stalinist regimes went. However, the workers and peasants of South Korea would certainly have preferred it to the tremendous exploitation by the old Korean feudal lords, as well as by the Japanese militarists during WW2 and the new, South Korean capitalist class. This internal repression by U.S. forces led to the deaths of tens of thousands, as well as jailings and beatings for many others.

A new wave of student and labor militancy against the dictatorship came in 1980. This was crushed during the indiscriminate massacre by the Korean Special Forces at Kwangju, which claimed approximately 2000 lives. The military strongman who ruled South Korea at the time, Chun Doo Hwan, was explicitly permitted to use these Forces by officials Richard Holbrooke and Warren Christopher of the Carter Administration. The then U.S. Assistant Secretary for East Asia, Richard Holbrooke, who also has been touted as a possible replacement for Christopher in the Clinton Administration, justified this action to Nation reporter Tim Shorrock, "We managed between 1977 and the 1980s a policy that kept strategic stability and encouraged democracy without losing economic growth. It was an astonishing achievement." (Shorrock, "Debate in Kwangju," Nation, 12/9/96). An "achievement," perhaps, which, in reality, and contrary to Holbrooke's Orwellian rhetoric and Carter's reputation as an advocate of

and financial desperation of their rank and file; it seems clear that are trying desperately to placate Kim in the hopes that he and his government will be nice to them, in return.

While the Clinton Administration seems to have been typically noncommittal, the AFL-CIO has been typically supportive. Nicknamed the AFL-CIA by the U.S. left in the 1980's, the U.S. labor federation has become known for its repeated betrayals of independent unions and striking workers, here and abroad. That the strike has gained the support of both the pro-government KFTU and the AFL-CIO speaks for the seriousness of this struggle by South Korean workers, this time around.

The KCTU's temporary scuttling of the strike will certainly be welcome to the Clinton Administration and the AFL-CIO, not to mention the South Korean government, the chaebols, and their foreign investors. The Kim government to the dictatorship with a democratic face will most certainly use it to divide and destroy the



"human rights," "astonishingly" favored the goals of "stability" and "growth" at the expense of "democracy" as well as respect for human life.

As a result of the more successful wave of student and labor protest beginning in 1987, Chun's successor Roh Tae Woo, stepped down to make way for a "democratically" elected successor, Kim Young Sam. Both the independent and the pro-government wing of South Korean labor have accepted the illusion that Kim is significantly different from his military predecessors, that he is more than just a puppet for the chaebols and the U.S. imperialists. But this faith has been sorely tested recently, as Kim has not only backed the new repressive legislation, but also, responded to the strike with riot police attacks on marches, tear gas and beatings, searches of union offices, summoning union leaders for "questioning," and now subpoenas and arrest warrants. While the KCTU leaders justify the recent reduction of the strike to the exhaustion

movement. Thus the next step needed to be taken by the Korean workers is to build organs of direct workers democracy, within the factories and on the streets, to carry the strike forward and insure that they will not be further betrayed by the union leaders.

What we in the U.S. can do is to demand that the tens of thousands of U.S. troops still in South Korea be withdrawn immediately. We at CUNY should also think seriously about what this general strike, as well as the ones in France this year and last year, mean for our struggle here in New York. These struggles were not built by "unscripted," single-issue protests carried out by small groups of students, as the leaders of SLAM! have urged us to do. Rather than write off the working class, the students of France and South Korea have attempted successfully to lead workers and encouraged them to go on strike against these governments' repressive policies. These are powerful examples from which we ought to learn. ■

In both France and South Korea, militant students were able to forge links with striking workers in a common struggle against the bosses' austerity attacks. Both faced the same enemy, both waged the same fight...only it was the social power of labor, ie, its ability to bring production to a grinding halt, that turned the tables on the bosses. Students, for all the fighting spirit they possess, simply do not have that kind of power. For they have nothing to withhold from the bosses and the government that the latter cannot do without

If the same kind of joint worker-student fightback hasn't happened here yet, where the attacks on public education and social services (which come on top of those already implemented), are, if anything, far worse than those proposed in France, the trade union bureaucracy, bears the brunt of the blame. Constantly courting Democratic party politicians, who work hand in hand with the Republicans when it comes to "balancing the budget" on the backs of working people and the poor, labor "leaders," like 1199's Dennis Rivera, have helped demobilize and demoralize their ranks rather than mobilize them against the attacks.

A key part of that process entailed isolating workers from radicalizing students, lest the former be infected with the fighting spirit of the latter. Instead the CUNY Faculty Senate and the PSC, not to mention Rivera, have encouraged deadly snares and illusions like letter-writing and lobbying, in addition to voting for the same Democratic party politicians who dance to the tune that Wall Street whistles. In effect they have disarmed any effective fightback just as any and all support to the Democratic party has always tied the hands of organized labor and the movements of the exploited and oppressed. As France and South Korea so effectively illustrated, militant mass actions, up to and including a general strike are what's needed; not crawling and groveling before the same politicians who take turns in enforcing austerity...especially when both of the bosses parties agree that even more austerity is on the order of the day for working people if the US to regain its place in the sun in the imperialist order.

Union bureaucrats, however, are not the only obstacles to achieving a broad-based worker-student unity in action, even if they are the main one. On the student side, middle class protest politics like the civil disobedience stunts or "student power" rhetoric peddled by the anarcho-liberals of "Love and Rage" and their student front group, SLAM, have provided

BY ROY ROLLIN

no alternatives either. The former substitutes actions by a few for action by the masses while the latter, by focusing solely on students, ignores the fact that only organized labor has the social power to stay the hands of the ruling rich. What they all have in common is their attempts to appeal to the "conscious" of those in power rather than to confront them with a clear-cut working class alternative. Indeed, they are but the flipside of electoral illusions and Democratic party politics...one appeals with letters, the other with a clenched fist. Both see abstract numbers, rather than social forces, as decisive, only one sees them in terms of votes while the other looks to large crowds at demonstrations...devoid of their class content. For when all is said and done both display the same illusions in capitalist "democracy," be it at the polls or in "the streets."

Students and workers in NYC should look to examples like France, where mas-



Bringing it all back home

What NYC workers and CUNY students can learn from workers and students in France and South Korea and unlearn from union bureaucrats and "student power" politicians here

sive protests and strikes by public sector workers forced a right-wing government to back off from its anti-labor agenda. Instead SLAM writes off the ranks of the city unions beforehand by identifying them with their bureaucratic misleaders. Thus the leaders of last year's March 21st demonstration chose to slam their coalition with the unions rather than attempt to expose the bureaucrats and their politician pals in front of the hundreds of workers who still have illusions in them. Only through joint actions, not through editorial columns in the pages of *The Spheric*, will the dead-end electoralism on offer from the PSC tops be exposed for what it is. Just as SLAM writes off a student-worker united front against the cuts, it cuts the ground out from under any kind of united

action by working people altogether by writing off white workers *en masse*; pushing the same brand of liberal guilt tripping that was oh-so popular in the sixties when "Third Worldism" was the rage amongst the white middle class radical millieau. The problem is that now, unlike then, *all* workers are under attack, and a united, multi-racial working class fightback is not only desirable and necessary but possible...provided that militants fight for such a perspective rather than fight against it.

It is, in fact, organized labor which controls the creation and flow of wealth in this city no less than in France or South Korea. Real working class power is not in the streets per se, but in collective organization into powerful multiracial unions, which by acting to withhold their labor

power can stop that flow of wealth and rally behind them all of NYC's working population and poor just as the French and Korean workers did! With their across-the-board attacks on the living standards of all workers, the bosses have laid the basis for a unified fightback by all workers which has the potential to rally behind it not only CUNY students, but the hardhit Black and Latino communities and all the other victims of the New World Order NYC style. What's needed is a program and a perspective that can address the *common* interests they all have as working people. Armed with such a perspective, CUNY students, who have militantly stood up alone against the bosses' attacks in the past, can help generate such a movement, so that they won't have to fight by themselves once again. ■

As the new semester rolls around CUNY students are about to face more obstacles in attaining a college degree. Governor Pataki's budget proposal threatens to lock out thousands of students, regardless of race, gender, or age. The proposed \$400 tuition increase, combined with restrictions on financial aid eligibility and cuts to CUNY funding will no doubt continue the trend of the last decade in which we have witnessed the restructuring of CUNY into a vocational academy.

With all the clamor from politicians and CEOs about the need for "education" in order to compete in the global economy one has to wonder why the

Be realistic...demand the impossible!

BY J.P. PATAFIO

government, from state to federal, has made it impossible for most and difficult for many to get a college education (indeed the problem with the educational system is from K-12). On the one hand public universities are given a scarce economic diet that restricts access, while with the other hand the business community decreases the average wage so that the forty hour work week is a thing of the past. The adage, *talk is cheap*, has never rung so true. These

civic leaders are speaking in the cryptic language of bourgeois politics where the spoken word has two meanings, one for their class and another for the class whom they exploit, rule and oppress.

In truth these rulers are concerned with "education" (read dupe) as a means of training its plebeian masses to operate as cogs in the wheel of a smooth running machine. They want to educate one class to push buttons, scribble down numbers and notes, and service their needs, while their children attend the elite private schools and universities

where they are taught the culture of ruling class ethics and arrogance. While so many CUNY students struggle to receive their education, hoping that one day their children will not have to go through the hardships they have, the American dream is crashing into the American reality. We are not all in the magical middle-class the politicians so often speak about riding the ever ascending corporate escalator into the lifestyle of the rich and famous. No longer is there only the invisible glass ceiling, but now also the quite prevalent CUNY security to make sure that students accept the status quo.

In this great nation, abundantly rich in a multiplicity of ways, it is a sad com-

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Behind the strike wave

The bosses hasty attempts to attack workers living standards in the west are unleashing a growing militant response by the working class. *Workers' Voice* argues that we are entering a period of transition from a low level of struggle to a time of very militant and more openly anticapitalist struggles

For the last two decades, the class struggle in the imperialist countries has been relatively dormant. In the main imperialist countries, as a result of the fundamental structural crisis of capitalism, this is about to change.

What is this fundamental crisis?

The so-called "globalization" of the imperialist economy has not resulted in the economic expansion that the bosses hoped for. Instead competition for new markets has increased. For individual imperialist countries, the world markets are shrinking in spite of the inroads made into Asia and Latin America by the big corporations. The rate of profit (i.e., total profit minus labor costs and the expense of machines in the factories) is declining due to major advances in technology and automation.

Products made with cheap labor, at an ever increasing rate of speed, using new, advanced machinery, are in abundance. This, combined with the fact that a growing number of workers cannot afford these products, forces the capitalists into stiff competition against each other.

The U.S. and Britain have been fairly successful in making deep cuts in the standard of living of the masses. As a result, these countries are ahead of the rest of the imperialist pack in terms of competition. To beat their competitors, the remaining imperialist countries must reduce their labor costs by savagely attacking the working class and destroying its historic gains. The European countries, along with some other junior imperialist countries such as Australia, are in a deeper economic crisis today because they lag behind the U.S. and Britain in attacking the workers.

To survive, the capitalist governments

in these countries must destroy all of the social democratic reforms of the so-called "welfare state." Their hasty attempts to do this are unleashing a growing militant response by the working class.

This is why *Workers' Voice* believes that we are entering a period of transition from a low level of class struggle to a time of very militant and more openly anticapitalist struggles.

In several countries, including Australia, France, Canada and Germany, these struggles are already beginning to develop.

Australia: unionists storm parliament

After 15 years of a Labor government, in which the social democrats gradually attacked the workers and slashed their standard of living, a right wing Liberal/National coalition came to power. This coalition unveiled plans for savage, open attacks on the workers.

It cut billions of dollars from education, employment programs and public spending for the elderly and the poor. In addition, it made deep cuts in many other areas, including a total elimination of public spending on dental care.

The central plan of this openly reactionary government is a all-out attack on the unions. The so-called "Workplace Relations and Other Legislation Bill" will eliminate the right of the unions to engage in collective bargaining on a national scale. Only individual contracts with individual companies will be allowed, and the unions will have little access to the workplace. The bosses will be able to veto unions they don't like, dismiss unionists (who will not be protected by unfair dismissal laws) and use a new ban on secondary picketing, etc.

The workers responded to this plan with a series of strikes and demonstrations. On 19 August, a demonstration in front of Parliament went far beyond the wishes of the union bureaucrats. These bureaucrats organized the demonstration to pacify the workers with boring speeches and music. Out of the 30,000 workers who attended the rally, 3,000 spontaneously marched in front of Parliament and were stopped by the cops.

The workers overcame the cops and broke into Parliament. There they fought the vicious Special Police. Many cops and workers were injured. But the injured and arrested workers were replaced by new waves of workers. Eventually about half of the demonstrators participated in the fight inside Parliament. It took several hours before massive police reinforcements took control.

The bureaucrats from the Australian

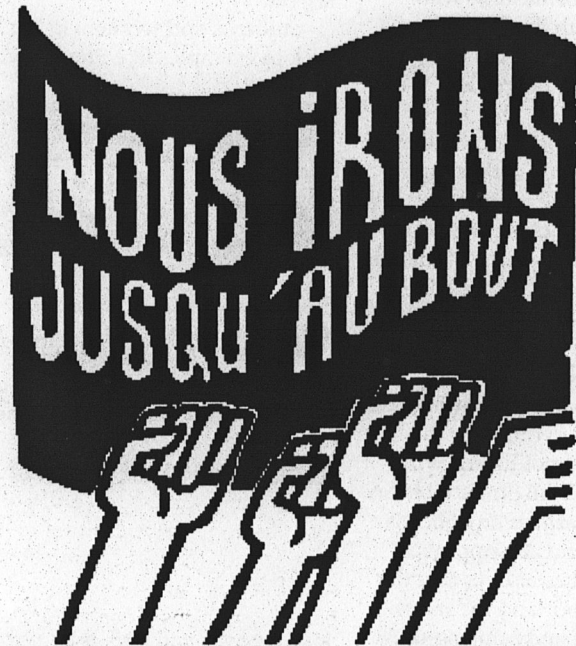
Congress of Trade Unions (ACTU) were quick to condemn this action. This is not surprising since this action represents something quite different from the routine economic strikes and rallies called by the union bureaucrats. It was staged by a growing number of angry workers, who are fed up with the bureaucrats' policy of strangling the struggle.

It is significant that the workers instinctively chose Parliament — which is the institution where the capitalist politicians plan and implement their anti-worker attacks for this spontaneous protest action. Of course, for such struggles to be successful, they cannot be limited to spontaneous action. They must be

Some (like, Louis Viannet, head of the CP-led General Confederation of Labor, and Marc Blondel, the head of Workers' Force union) are even muttering that, this time, they must bring out workers from the private sector.

But these bureaucrats will try to prevent a prolonged general strike, fearing that the rank and file will take matters into their own hands.

The one day strike illustrated the growing rift between the rank and file and the union bureaucrats. At a demonstration in Paris, where a contingent of immigrant workers marched in the lead, the workers took their first shot against the most hated bureaucrat, Nicole Notat.



consciously organized and supported by a general strike backed by workers' militias. Yet this incident shows that a growing, fed-up minority are willing to break with the bureaucrats and confront the bourgeois state directly.

France: Another "hot" autumn?

The European bourgeoisie must savagely attack the workers to regain its combativeness. The European Union, intended to be a tool against the U.S. and Japan, has at its heart the dismantling of all the social democratic reforms won by the working class. The massive strikes that paralyzed France last year were the first response by French workers against these assaults. As a result of these strikes the bourgeoisie was forced to compromise and withdraw most of its attacks against the public employees.

Now each side has put on its gloves in preparation for the next round of struggle. Juppé (the Prime Minister), testing the battlegrounds, has announced a plan to freeze salaries and cut about 5,500 state workers. On 20 October, the workers responded with a one day general strike, encompassing 1.6 million public employees. This strike, accompanied by mass demonstrations in different cities, had a noticeable effect. It shut down schools, many government offices and the main airports, and slowed train services.

The public workers still have the support of a majority of the population, especially the working class, and this support continues to grow. The union bureaucrats fear a second round of fierce battles that they will be unable to control. However, they are forced by rank-and-file pressure to talk about the possibility of another great winter of class struggle.

Notat, head of the Labor Confederation of France, who opposed last year's strikes, has already announced that she is willing to compromise with Juppé by accepting a special tax to pay for the health insurance system. The workers in Paris ended their march by physically attacking Notat. They spat on her, and threw drinks and chairs at her as they chanted "Notat-Juppé, the fight's the same!"

The similarity between Australia and France is striking. In both countries a growing number of militant rank and filers are eager to break from the union bureaucrats and stage a militant confrontation with the bourgeoisie. As the strike wave spreads, the question will be whether the bureaucrats will control and betray the struggle, or whether the workers will kick the bureaucrats out — or at least control them — by forming rank-and-file strike committees. The fight for such committees is critical for success in the next stage of battles.

Canada: Who controls the auto industry, the workers or the bosses?

Beginning last year, and continuing through the beginning of this year, Canadian workers, particularly in Ontario, staged waves of strikes. They struck against the attempt by the bourgeoisie to privatize the state sector of the economy and attack the unions. Pressed by competition, the Canadian bourgeoisie, like the European capitalists, is carrying out major assaults on all social gains.

The issues at stake show that the anti-worker attacks by the Canadian capitalists and their government are starting to politicize the workers, moving them into a more open anti-capitalist direction.



in the west

This was further shown in late October, when thousands of people, led by unions and community groups, paralyzed parts of Toronto, in the largest demonstrations since the 1970s. This demonstration directly targeted the provincial government for its cuts in social services, threats to close hospitals, raise university tuition and lay off civil service workers, and for its repeal of anti-scab legislation.

The anticapitalist instincts of the workers, which are cloaked by social democratic habits and illusions, are beginning to emerge as the struggles peel off the social democratic skin.

Germany: an awakening giant

For the last decades German workers have been in the rearguard of the class struggle. The German bourgeoisie was the dominating fat bourgeoisie of Europe. It was willing to give large crumbs from its table to a great number of workers (but never to the oppressed immigrant workers). It did this to maintain social peace and stability—the better to exploit the rest of the world.

Now the German bourgeoisie has its back against the wall. While the British and American capitalists expand their markets in Asia and Latin America, the German bourgeoisie is losing markets because it cannot compete with the low international and national labor costs of the Anglo-Saxon imperialists. Once again, the bourgeoisie's only way out is to smash the social democratic reforms and concessions.

The German capitalists have taken the first step toward smashing these reforms. They started by attacking the right to full (100 percent) sick leave. Their politicians in the German Bundestag (parliament) passed a law that allows the capitalists to cut the sick leave allowance by 20 percent.

This means that if workers are sick they will get only 80 percent of their nor-

mal check. All of the major corporations responded instantly by announcing that they would immediately break their union contracts, and force the 20 percent cuts in sick leave down the throats of the workers. This is not only an attack on the right to sick leave, but also the first step toward smashing the unions, since it serves to make collective bargaining meaningless.

The workers responded with protests and brief strikes in a number of major industries. At least 60,000 Mercedes-Benz workers walked out in protest. Workers, mainly from IG Metall, staged a one day walkout against the attacks. Steel mills in the Ruhr valley were shut down as 10,000 steelworkers demonstrated there, and another 10,000 demonstrated in nearby Bochum. Other walkouts occurred the country, encompassing 400,000 workers nationwide. The German capitalists retreated temporarily, agreeing to keep the 100 percent sick leave for now. The union bureaucrats allowed the capitalists to keep records of all days missed, to be used in future attacks. This compromise can be effectively used against militants who use sick leaves to organize workers outside the control of the union leaders.

Clearly the retreat is only a temporary truce. Soon the capitalist hammer will come down on the workers heads again. Next time the bosses will hit harder.

German workers, including the privileged sectors, are beginning to wake up from the long slumber produced by social democratic sleeping pills. In the past two months alone, IG Metall has gained 10,000 new members. They are not about to give up the social gains without a fight. In the first round of battles, the workers showed that they can be quite militant. To maintain the momentum, they will need an anticapitalist program and a revolutionary anticapitalist leadership.

Can these defensive struggles



be transformed into anticapitalist offensives?

One of the main demands of the one-day French strike was jobs for all. This demand was put forward under the slogan of a 32-hour workweek to eliminate unemployment. The workers want this demand to be implemented without a cut in pay. Such a demand cannot be realized without the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The demands of the Canadian auto workers, who want to control crucial GM decisions, are also unrealizable under capitalism. The capitalists will never allow the unions to control the companies or eliminate unemployment without a civil war, since conceding these issues to the unions would undermine the profit system at its roots.

In recent years, the working class in the imperialist countries has been faced with savage attacks against its social gains. Because of this, a growing militant sector has been forced to fight for demands that cannot be realized under capitalism.

For the current defensive struggles to be transformed into offensive struggles, the workers will have to fight with an action program that is openly anticapitalist. In addition, they will need conscious leadership that will organize and transform the battles into a revolutionary fight to overthrow capitalism.

Unfortunately the subjective factor, conscious leadership, is largely missing. The revolutionary communist movement barely exists today. It is unlikely that a

revolutionary action program will develop spontaneously, except in a limited form.

And it takes decades to build a firm international revolutionary leadership. While it is impossible to predict future events with certainty, it is unlikely that the current defensive struggles will transform into revolutionary offensive struggles on an international scale.

However, we cannot exclude the possibility that, in a few countries, the defensive struggles will develop spontaneously to the degree that they will shake the system and drive the ruling class into a crisis. But even such developments cannot overthrow capitalism without a revolutionary struggle led by a revolutionary communist leadership.

It is more likely that the current waves of struggles will be stopped by the bourgeoisie. But that does not mean that the workers will suffer historic defeats. Setbacks and betrayals by the "representatives" of the workers will not stop the structural decay of capitalism and the struggle against it.

The experience gained from these confrontations will educate millions of new, young workers about the basic rules of the class struggle. The coming waves will prepare the next waves of struggle, which will hopefully be led by a revolutionary international, consolidated in these battles. ■

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...Had enough

(continued from page 29)

bow and scrape before their bosses, the latter will merely transfer production to the "Third World" or the former Soviet bloc, where labor is not only plentiful but cheap to boot. Yet while firms will always seek out the most profitable sites to invest in and exploit (what else is new?) this does not mean that they will chose at the drop of a hat to pick up shop and relocate; moving productive capital (ie, factories, machinery, etc) is not one and the same thing as moving money. Nor is the government and the state irrelevant to the workings of the system they serve; "transnationals" and "multinationals" remain dependent on the sympathy and support of their governments in order to better compete on the world market...hence all the government imposed austerity attacks not to mention the "corporate welfare" many of them receive as "incentive" to do so.

Finally, capitalism, from its birth, has always been international in scale and scope. In the *Communist Manifesto*, writ-

ten in 1848, Marx and Engels wrote how "the bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country...in place of the old local and national seclusions we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations...(as) the need for a constantly expanding market chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe." Lenin, writing in 1916 in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, added that, "imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development... in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed." The difference between Marx, Engels and Lenin on the one hand, and the globalization theorists of today is that the former sought to change the world whereas the latter have already been changed by it so that they mistake the moment for the epoch and expect the rest of the world to follow them in their despair and demoralization.

...to cover up old crimes

When all is said and done, all the trendy talk about what is supposedly so new only serves to cover up what is, in fact, so old...the craven capitulation of the labor bureaucracy to the bosses. In other words, their refusal to fight back at all which is due more to their support of the system rather than any qualitative changes in the system itself having made it unassailable. As Chris Harman points out in "Globalization: A Critique" (*International Socialism*, Winter 1996) "cowardice, incompetence or lack of solidarity by union leaders, rather than the sheer power of the multinationals was...behind the defeats" inflicted upon British and American workers in the 80's and 90's and that "globalization of production did not play a significant role in enabling the employers to win any of (those) disputes." The PATCO, Hormel, Staley and Caterpillar strikes immediately come to mind insofar as the US is concerned. Harman goes on to point out that "capital won...because it fought ruthlessly while the union leaderships preached moderation and respectability."

ty."

When it comes to "cowardice, incompetence or lack of solidarity by union leaders" not to mention "preaching moderation and respectability," America's union leaders take a backseat to none. Rather than wage the kind of militant mass struggles that built the unions in the first place, the AFL-CIO tops chose to tie the labor movement to the Democratic party and reined in any and every strike that they couldn't prevent so as not to offend their false friends, be they in City Hall, Congress or the White House. Their reward for such services was that Democratic party politicians felt even freer than their Republican "rivals" to slash social services and cut wages to the bone, in addition to laying off workers right and left...when they weren't turning a blind eye to the bosses themselves doing so. And if American bosses are able to relocate production in "Third World" sweatshops, it's not because of some supernatural force called "globalization" but because the AFL-CIO has long refused to either orga-

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Since the Democrats have moved even further to the right the leaders of Labor Party Advocates were forced to finally form a Labor Party

After five years of slow building and postponements, the long-awaited founding convention of the Labor Party (LP) occurred 6-9 June 1996. Traveling to Cleveland for the event were 1,400 delegates, mostly lower level union bureaucrats, from nine international and national unions. These delegates reportedly represent 1 million workers. The convention passed a Constitution and a program that falls far short of what workers need.

The program contains supportable democratic, and even some token transitional demands (that is, demands that are not realizable under capitalism but address the objective needs of workers and, consequently, pull them towards socialist revolution). However, it is clear that the strategy of the program is legislative and reformist.

The Labor Party's predecessor was Labor Party Advocates (LPA), founded by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union President Tony Mazzocchi. It was clear from the outset that Mazzocchi wanted LPA to act as a pressure group on the Democratic Party.

Since the Democrats have moved even further to the right the leadership has been compelled to finally form a Labor Party.

Currently the LP is a reformist organization dominated by union bureaucrats that still think they can use it to make the Democrats more pro-labor. However, now that a LP has been formed, what Mazzocchi and company want they will not necessarily get given the need for workers to have their own fighting anti-capitalist party.

A break with the Democrats?

The LP refused to run independent worker's candidates for office until after the next convention in 1998. When Chairman Wages initially refused to recognize a motion from the ILWU permitting party organizations to run candidates at the state and local levels, it nearly provoked a walkout by the Longshoremen.

This clearly illustrates that there are explosive contradictions between the LP's current leadership and those who want to see it grow as a working class alternative to the Republicans and Democrats.

The current leadership does not even demand that LP members break their ties with the Democratic Party! American Federation of Government Employees' President John Sturdivant sits on both the Labor Party Interim National Council and the Democratic National Committee.

Wages, the Labor Party's head, formally endorsed Clinton less than two months after the Labor Party Convention. With "friends" like this who needs enemies!

The LP will not be built seriously by those who are straddling the fence on breaking with the Democrats. Rather, it can only be built by those who are deter-

Revolutionaries and

mined to make a complete and irreversible break, both with the bosses parties, and with those union bureaucrats who continue to call on workers to vote for the Democrats.

The Labor Party Interim Steering Committee (LPISC) was not elected by the membership. Instead, representatives were appointed from the various endorsing unions. It does not take a genius to figure out that these representatives are not rank and file workers but union bureaucrats.

The LPISC has the power to charter local chapters, as well as to revoke charters. The local chapters tend to have more leftists and active rank and file workers. Therefore, it is clear that the committee will use its powers to get rid of chapters that threaten to go beyond the union bureaucrats' grasp. Strategy of the LP's current program The LP program limits its demands almost exclusively to the confines of capitalism. Calling for a repeal of Taft-Hartley and a ban on scabs, defending affirmative action, etc., are by themselves reformist daydreams in the current period of escalating capitalist attacks on the working class.

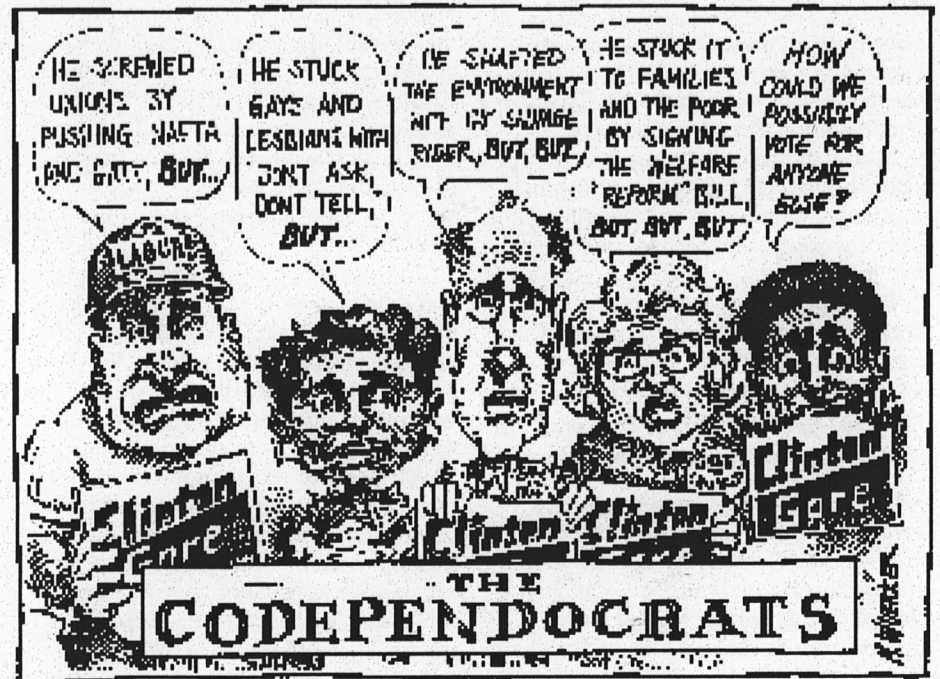
The days of reform are over. There will be no more significant reforms under capitalism given the bosses need to up the rate of exploitation and oppression in order to maintain their giant profits. Reforms were possible in the past, in times of affluence. But even then they were implemented only to cover up the fact that the entire system of capitalism, including the government, exists to keep power in the hands of the capitalists and out of the hands of the working class.

The LP needs a program that combines basic democratic demands with demands that sharply pose the objective interests of workers against the bosses and their system. In our "Draft Action Program for a Labor Party" (See WoVo, Vol. 3, No. 2, Summer 1996) Workers' Voice stated, "To really represent the needs of working people we must stand on a platform that addresses the actual conditions of our lives, regardless of what the bosses would have us believe is 'realistic.' The bosses base their 'realism' on maintaining their control and privileges at our expense. In other words, if we want a Labor Party worth its name it must fight capitalism."

The LP's program stops far short of this need. As is usual, the union bureaucrats capitulate to the bosses "realism" so as to avoid confrontation. In fact, the bureaucrats were so timid that they refused an amended proposal by the nurses that the program's limited call "for reproductive services" include a call for "safe and legal abortion." Furthermore, gay and lesbian workers were alienated by the convention since it refused to address their needs, other than stating that the LP opposed discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Where's the action?

Another aspect, noticeably lacking in the LP program, is an orientation towards class struggle to fight for the specific needs of all sectors of the working class. Pronouncements about defending immigrant rights, comparable worth for women, and opposing the racist arsonists of Black churches are not worth the ink they are printed on, unless the program includes proposals for organizing the



struggle in the work places and the neighborhoods.

In Workers' Voice's draft program for the LP we called for such demands as, "Organize working class neighborhoods with the support of the unions to stop INS harassment and to drive the INS out.", "For multiracial/labor defense guards to protect the ghettos, barrios, and picket lines against police brutality", and "For workers' united front to fight right wing terror."

We also include the use of mass mobilizations, strikes, and even general strikes. These are all part of the arsenal that the LP should help to build in order to win victories for all workers - especially the most oppressed. The LP will get nowhere if it relies on a strategy of simply passing laws to defend workers.

A nationalist or internationalist Labor Party?

The LP program states, "We favor free and open trade" if panels of workers determine that the countries involved have good working conditions. This demand criminally calls on workers' organizations in the U.S. to serve imperialist interests. It serves to divide the international working class.

"Free and open trade" means the free pillaging of resources, and the super exploitation of workers in oppressed nations, by imperialist countries such as the United States. It would be the weaker countries that would suffer trade embargoes because of the wretched working conditions that will continue to exist there under capitalism.

Furthermore, since the program does not specify workers' actions to fight bad working conditions, which would necessarily involve the workers of the country in question. Does this mean that the LP supports imperialist trade embargoes? After all, the U.S. Labor Party program does call for "insur[ing] adequate [national] defense" which, in current terms, means preserving U.S. imperialism's interests around the world, via warfare and intimidation (i.e., trade embargoes).

If the LP is to have an internationalist perspective it must fight for international solidarity with the liberation struggles of the oppressed in the Third World, and oppose U.S. economic, political and military intervention. It must help to build international workers' committees to coordinate labor actions against the bosses

international schemes (such as NAFTA).

Why reformism must be fought in the LP

If the LP remains a reformist party that accepts capitalist boundaries, it will most likely end up in the trash heap like other attempts at Labor Parties in U.S. history. This is because, unless the class struggle escalates soon, workers will see no practical difference between the LP and the bosses' parties. Therefore, they will not look towards it to represent their interests and to help build their battles.

However, if the class struggle does escalate soon it is likely that workers will join the LP hoping to build an alternative to business as usual. If revolutionaries are fighting in the LP for these workers' allegiance, it may move in a revolutionary direction. However, if it sticks to a reformist perspective (even with a left face) the LP may wind up in a coalition with capitalist parties in what has historically been called a popular front.

Such a popular front would arise in a period of capitalist crisis, if the LP is the only leadership workers recognize and the bosses think they can use it to prevent revolution. In or out of power, if the LP accepts the limits of capitalism, it will act to preserve this system in bad times. In this case, if the LP survives at all, it will mislead, crush or betray strikes and other struggles.

Essential characteristics of a Labor Party

The LP must exist to help facilitate the independent political mobilization of the working class, and all the oppressed, against the bosses and their political cronies. As Workers' Voice stated in our March/April 1994 issue, the "Labor Party can emerge only with the anti-capitalist militant struggle of the workers" leading "to a sharp confrontation with the bureaucratic leaders of the trade unions, especially the AFL-CIO bureaucracy."

The AFL-CIO spent \$35,000,000 on the Democrats this year! The Democrats are the bosses' party every bit as much as the Republicans. It is treachery to squander all those union dues on capitalist politicians. That money should be paying for strike support, including mobilizing sympathy strikes or even general strikes. It should be paying for union organizing campaigns.

the US Labor Party

Currently the LP is a reformist organization dominated by union bureaucrats who still think they can use it to make the Democrats more pro-labor. However, now that the LP has been formed, the leadership may not necessarily get what they want given the need for workers to have their own fighting anti-capitalist party



The union tops maintain a permanent endorsement of the Democrats without making demands, let alone extracting promises from them — which of course would not be kept. This alliance with the bosses causes the bureaucratic traitors of labor to kill struggles every time. The UAW leadership's refusal to strike this year on a national level is one of the latest examples. They won't strike right before an election, because they want to avoid exposing the Democrats as being completely on the side of the bosses!

...MTA contract

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order to reduce labor cost while simultaneously increasing "efficiency" an economic crisis had to be made fact in order to justify additional cut backs. Prior to negotiations the TA declared that it was in the red to the tune of \$350 million, and warned that if give-backs were not accepted the TA would have no choice but to fire workers. This apparent reality was accepted by TWU President Willie James and his cronies, though the TA delayed releasing its financial report by three months.

It was only after the contract was ratified that the TA declared having a \$256 million surplus! Apparently the budget deficit was a lie propagated to instill fear into the workers. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, the union leadership made use of this myth for their own ends as well. The threat of layoffs was key to the union leadership's strategy of intimidating the workers into accepting the contract, especially the thousands of new workers hired over the past three years.

Instead of challenging the TA's budgetary facts and countering the threat of layoffs with a strike the union leadership

The new LP must show that it can be the kind of fighting working class organization that the AFL-CIO never was. It must be more than just a ballot box alternative to the bosses' parties. Elections by themselves change nothing.

The LP must grow out of, and be directly connected to, the struggles of all working people. Electoral campaigns must complement, and be subordinated to, the formation of militant new organizations within the factories and the workplaces. These organizations, such as workers councils or organizations of shop stewards, will lead struggles against the bosses and the bureaucracy (and thereby destroy the base of the bureaucracy) and lead economic and political strikes.

Elections would help a fighting workers' party to gain visibility and to expose the capitalist system by promoting a working class platform, one that directly challenges the power of the big business bosses and their politicians.

Build the LP with a transitional program

Unless the working class begins this level of organized struggle soon, we will lose all of our hard-won gains, including the trade unions themselves. The unions will either be destroyed or they will increasingly become company unions.

There is a burning need for working class fight back, especially a political fight

capitulated. Unable to create a strategy outside of the parameters set up by the TA these bureaucrats cynically used the same strategy of their opponents, but with a little twist. They became the paternal benefactors of the truth and the way who would guide the "stupid rank and file" into the pastures of security. The TA would threaten to fire workers and the union bureaucrats exclaimed to vote in favor of the contract so that workers will not get fired.

With the intention of rushing the contract through the bureaucrats used the lay-off threat to establish an atmosphere of fear so that the political debate would focus of this topic alone, ignoring many other important aspects of the contract. Repeatedly union representatives threatened members with the ultimatum of either accepting the contract or facing layoffs which they could not fight. The "no layoff clause" was the mantra the bureaucrats cynically used to narrow the debate and heighten anxieties of the membership. In short, the union leadership accepted the threat of layoffs to deter the rank and file from discussing the contract as a whole.

The emptiness of the "no layoff" clause is made clear by the other aspects of the contract which were left intact. During

back. We must start with the objective decay of capitalism, and not from the workers' illusions in it. The LP must struggle for a program of transitional demands.

In other words, the LP must become an anticapitalist party with a program of demands such as: For a sliding scale of wages (indexed to cost of living); Free abortion on demand; Nationalize essential, failing or closing industries, workers' control, and For a workers' government.

These demands must be raised not because the capitalists can grant them as reforms (reforms are the by product of revolutionary struggle!), but because the struggle to implement them will mobilize the working class against the capitalist system. In the course of this struggle workers will become increasingly conscious of the need for socialist revolution.

Why revolutionaries should intervene in the new LP

While it is currently dominated by "left-wing" union bureaucrats, the LP has great potential to grow among rank and file workers. If workers are to reverse the attacks of big business and its Republican and Democratic henchmen, they must begin to fight back in a way that rolls over the union misleaders' attempts to make class peace. In such a struggle it is inevitable that workers will look for political expression in a party of their own.

the period of the prior contract (the one extended by two years!) union membership has decreased by 10% (over 2500 workers) due to privatization and outsourcing (to non-union labor) of TA jobs; this trend will continue under the extended contract. Included is the introduction of welfare workers (WEP) and forced resignations of the highest paid workers. Even the "no lay-off clause" seems to be questionable. An article written after the ratification of the contract appearing in the Daily News, TA to cut jobs, add service on buses, (11/16/1996) stated that the TA is planning fire 1200 workers.

Towards indentured servitude

A large percentage of the give-backs will come from the introduction of WEP workers replacing thousands of unionized workers. These non-salaried/non-union welfare recipients are performing slave labor for the state and city in many city and state agencies. Receiving below minimum wages with little benefits and absolutely no political rights they serve to depress the wages of all the workers in and out of unions. People on welfare are the most exploitable of the working class; the most oppressed and abused of society used cynically by the city, state and federal governments to break the unions. For

The LP, as problematic as its current composition is, does have a base in the unions. If the current leadership has not had a chance to discredit it, workers will most likely join the LP because of its base. The LP is a reformist organization. However, it is not consolidated yet. Revolutionaries have a duty to intervene in the LP and to win workers to a perspective of independent working class political action, based on a full transitional program.

A fighting workers' party is sometimes an organic step on the path towards socialist revolution. It seems more likely that one will emerge in some way from the existing LP, rather than from scratch. When Workers' Voice was known as the Revolutionary Trotskyist League (RTL) we wrote:

The RTL will fight for a workers' party which is explicitly anti-capitalist, i.e., one that stands for workers' power, on a revolutionary, transitional platform.

However, the RTL will work within any workers' party that comes into being in the U.S., even if it evolves in a reformist direction. Within such a party, our top priority will be to prevent it from becoming crystallized into a reformist party, and we will fight within it at every opportunity for a revolutionary program of transitional demands." (Workers' Voice Vol. 1 No. 1, March/April 1994).

This struggle can only come about through a struggle by rank and file workers. Workers' Voice calls on workers to join the LP and fight for real working class answers to capitalist problems. We make this call not because we have any illusions in the LP's leadership, but because this is what is necessary to oust them and build the kind of Labor Party workers need. ■

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Willie James and Co. to allow this to continue and then justify it by claiming that it is giving them a chance is sickening to say the least. These WEP positions are dead end positions with little or no chance at ever becoming well paid unionized workers.

Though the contract calls for the immediate elimination and replacement of 500 TWU cleaners in the subway stations and cars with WEP workers there is no language in the contract concerning the total number to be used in the future. Mayor Guiliani's former Deputy Mayor, multi-millionaire John Dyson, who was appointed to the TA Board was quoted as saying that up to 5000 to 6000 WEP workers would be used. This number suggest that WEP workers will not be limited to just cleaning the subways and stations but are reservoir of unemployed labor undermining every union worker. Is this an opportunity for WEP laborers to become union workers or union workers to become WEP laborers?

This is precisely the reason why the union must aggressively organize the unemployed and demand wages and benefits comparable to fellow unionized workers. The contract, however, at the

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"A CALL FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE" INTRODUCTION TO THE LABOR PARTY PROGRAM

We are the people who build and maintain the nation but rarely enjoy the fruits of our labor. We are the employed and the unemployed. We are the people who make the country run but have little say in running the country.

We come together to create this Labor Party to defend our interests and aspirations from the greed of multinational corporate interests. Decades of concessions to corporations by both political parties have not produced the full employment economy we have been promised. Instead income and wealth disparities have widened to shameful extents. We offer an alternative vision of a just society that values working people, their families and communities.

We, the members of this Labor Party, see ourselves as keepers of the American Dream of opportunity, fairness, and justice.

In our American Dream, we all have the right:

- * To a decent paying job and a decent place to live
- * To join a union freely without fear of being fired or other retribution*
- * To strike without fear of losing our job

Not to be discriminated against because of our race, gender, ethnicity, disability, national origin, or sexual orientation, at work or in our communities

- * To free, quality public education for ourselves and our children

- * To universal access to publicly-funded, comprehensive, quality health care for all residents

- * To retire at a decent standard of living after a lifetime of work

- * To quality of life in our communities enhanced by a fully funded public sector.

The Democratic and Republican parties serve the corporate interests that finance them.

- * We oppose corporate power that undermines democratic institutions and governments

- * We oppose corporate politicians and parties that provide billions in corporate tax breaks and subsidies to the rich, selling themselves to the highest bidder

- * We reject the false choice of jobs versus environmental responsibility. We will not be held hostage by corporate polluters who poison our workplaces and our communities.

We reject the redistribution of billions of dollars of wealth from poor and working people to the rich. And we reject every opportunist who plays the race, gender, or immigrant card to keep us from addressing our real needs, and the needs of our families and communities.

- * **Guarantee Everyone a Job at a Living Wage**
- * **Two Months Severance for Every Year of Service for Laid-off Workers**
- * **Restore Workers Rights to Organize, Bargain and Strike**
- * **End Bigotry: An Injury to One is an Injury to All**
- * **Guarantee Universal Access to Quality Health Care**
- * **More Free Time for Family and Community**
- * **Protect Our Families**
- * **Ensure Everyone Access to Quality Public Education**
- * **Stop the Corporate Abuse of Trade**
- * **End Corporate Welfare as We Know It**
- * **Make the Wealthy Pay Their Fair Share of Taxes**
- * **Revitalize the Public Sector**
- * **End Corporate Domination of Elections**
- * **Build a Just Transition Movement to Protect Jobs and the Environment**
- * **Worker Inspectors to Enforce Safety & Health Regulations**
- * **Reclaim Control of Workplace Design and Technology**

Our Labor Party understands that our struggle for democracy pits us against a corporate elite that will fight hard to retain its powers and privileges.

This is the struggle of our generation. The future of our children and their children hangs in the balance. It is a struggle we cannot afford to lose. ■

...MTA contract

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insistence of the union demands that WEP and union workers must not be performing labor in the same areas. There could be no fraternizing of the workers for they might decide to organize with each other, something both the TA and the union bureaucrats fear.

Another area where the TA seeks significant give-backs is in the two-year wage freeze. In the course of the next three years there will be one wage increase of 3.75 percent. In essence this is a wage decrease since it falls behind the



annual cost of living increase of approximately 3 percent per year. The stagnating

wages fall behind the rising cost of living, inflation, and in effect are a slick way of decreasing wages over the long-term. Since a direct wage cut would be unacceptable and impossible for the bureaucrats to get over on the rank and file the wage freeze with a single raise is a more sophisticated way in achieving the same goal — decreasing wages!

As the cost of education, healthcare, housing and the general necessities of life increase, the pressure upon workers to make ends meet increases twofold. So out of the generosity of their hearts the TA in addition will give a one-time 2% bonus and longevity payments (based upon a forty hour work despite the fact that most TA employees work more hours.) These crumbs given to the workers are considered good enough by the union bosses whose salaries and benefits far surpass those of the rank and file.

The time has come to break the rotten bloc

With the approved contract extending to December 1999 the TA will save \$100 million a year. Management has accomplished its goals of reducing labor cost and weakening the strength of the union thereby setting up future concessions. The TA, due to reduced governmental spending, must cut its cost by \$1.5 billion by the year 1999, the year the next round

of contract negotiations begin. Indeed, the TA is already preparing to wring further

leadership that is dragging the TWU to the grave. Therefore, any attempt to

Any attempt to defeat the TA's attacks must begin by removing the present capitulating union leadership and replacing it with a democratic rank-and-file movement based on a program addressing the needs and aspirations of the working class

give-backs from the union. For sure part of their agenda is make sure that the current rotten leadership remains in control of the union.

It is one thing to expect management to make these demands upon the workers, but it is another matter altogether when leaders of working class organizations help them. Working people can expect no less from the managers of the capitalist class except longer hours on the job for less pay and benefits, however, backroom deals and split and divide tactics to weaken the union membership should not be used by the so-called union leaders. For the members of the TWU, William James and Co. are part and parcel of the mis-

defeat the TA's attacks must begin by removing the present capitulating union leadership and replacing it with a democratic rank and file movement based on a program addressing the needs and aspirations of the working class.

With the union elections approaching this December the struggle around a shorter work week with no loss in pay (30 hours for 40 hours pay), increased spending for medical benefits, a younger retirement age, a pension plan that meets expected inflation growth, funded fully by the city and state are some essential demands that the rank and file must mobilize around. ■

...Yugoslavia

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and European capitalism (which is still a widespread illusion among many professional people from Eastern Europe, despite its intellectual bankruptcy). There is also a criminal element similar to those in Russia who supported Yeltsin who see enormous riches to be stolen from the people, and not a few "carpet-bagging" ex-patriot Serbs. This is why their one great center of strength is in Belgrade. Everywhere else in the country they are a minority, and in many places a despised minority by common working people. Despite enormous investments of bribes and propaganda, the U.S. and the Soros Foundation have been unsuccessful in winning support for counter-revolution from working people. They even created a bogus independent trade union headed by a man by the name of Branislav Chanak who shuttles between Belgrade and Washington DC to carry out his CIA instructions. Thus far he has gained no popular support despite large U.S. subsidies.

Of course, there are thousands of people who are simply misled by the pro-opposition propaganda. In fact, most of the people in the demonstrations fall into this category. Many are simply sick and tired of the never ending crisis that the U.S. and its European allies has imposed on Yugoslavia with its use of economic sanctions and isolation that has crippled the economy and punished the entire people. There are also people who view this as a big carnival and who would march in the streets with anybody simply for the sake of a good time. But most have bought into the big lie that its "just about Milosevic."

But one fact that is not reported is that, despite 75 days of demonstrations, the vast majority of the population does not support Zajedno and never will. And when the government organized pro-Socialist demonstrations across Serbia, these were two to three times the size of anything organized by Zajedno. On more than one occasion in late December half a million people turned out in Belgrade to just say no to Zajedno. This reminds us that we should never lose sight of the fact that the U.S. media will never report demonstrations in support of socialism, no matter where they take place. This is why the one fact above all that the U.S. media is loathe to admit is that socialism and anti-imperialism have very deep and powerful roots in Yugoslavia among the Serbian people. Serbs will not be conned into giving away socialism or their national sover-

eignty in the name of "free markets" or capitalist-style "democracy." That's really the main reason why the U.S. government and media hate the Serbs so much.

"Democracy" and the U.S. Government

How should we judge a minority that wishes to overthrow a government elected by the will of the majority and give away the economic and political achievements and sovereignty of their own people? Zajedno is willing to use violence to destroy the economy and bring the entire state crashing down, and have already bombed the political headquarters of the United Left Party. They get away with this only because the U.S. government threatens Belgrade with everything up to and including military force should they try to restore order in their own house. Obviously, this is not democracy but really the same kind of third world dictatorship and fascism that the U.S. has been imposing on the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa for the past fifty years. Perhaps the best comparisons are with Chile and Nicaragua where socialist governments were harassed and destabilized for years until they were overthrown and replaced with capitalist dictatorships.

A major force involved in the events unfolding in Belgrade and in Eastern Europe in general is that of non-governmental organizations such as the Soros Foundation. George Soros, the multi-billionaire financier, established his foundation in 1982 and today boasts of the role it played in bringing down Communism in his native Hungary. Indeed, even the New York Times has reported on the close relationship between the Foundation and the CIA in Eastern Europe (see Aug. 21, 1994). The Soros Foundation claims to be non-involved in Eastern European politics, but its Director for The Open Society Fund for Yugoslavia (Ms. Bega Rucha) admitted to me over the phone that they provide over \$50 million a year to opposition newspapers, radio and TV stations and activists in Serbia alone. Over fifty publications trace their funding to Soros, including the much publicized Radio B92 station. Along with similar NGO's, the Soros Fund has established alternative media and political offices all over Belgrade and Yugoslavia in its bid to outspend the Yugoslav government. The role of the Soros Foundation and other NGO's in Eastern Europe is a huge issue that receives absolutely no critical scrutiny here from the capitalist media, or for that matter from fake "leftists" and academics who whore themselves out for NGO/foundation grants.

But what kind of democracy is it

when American NGO's can pour billions of dollars into small countries in order to destabilize their governments and impose a single viewpoint on their people, and even openly speak of molding a new generation of leaders while waiting for the old generation (educated under Communism) to die off? This is not democracy; this is the new American fascism.

It is also a curious fact that our government insists on greater liberties for demonstrators in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria than it permits its own people. To demonstrate in New York one must obtain numerous and costly permits on a daily basis, and were one to attempt the

intervene in the internal affairs of sovereign nations and support forces dedicated to the destruction of elected governments is never raised by our corporate media. This question was once a no-brainer for peace activists in this country, but not anymore. Why is it today that many progressives in this country are unsure?

Some of this doubt stems from the successful disinformation campaign of the media and academics. The College of Staten Island's own Manuela Dobos was an early and uncritical supporter of the Croatian nationalist secessionist movement, which never hid its ties to its World War II Nazi roots or its profound

What the American corporate media has never reported has been the role of the US government and its European allies in the planned and deliberate destruction of Yugoslavia. From the very beginning, both the US government and the media have targeted the Serbs and the Yugoslav Government as "the Enemy"

things regularly done by demonstrators in Belgrade here in New York, one would be beaten and arrested if not killed by the police. Not once in American history has any large group gotten away with demonstrating in the streets for 70 days without massive military violence against them. We know that the U.S. government is no friend of democracy. We remember the CUNY student demonstration of March 23, 1995 that was violently attacked by the police and then attacked again in the New York City newspapers. Not only did our freedom loving American journalists not come to our defense, they denounced us as "irresponsible" and "criminals." Why should we have any doubt that these demonstrators in Belgrade, who implore the U.S. to take military action against their own people and who are hailed as "democrats" by the same corporate media that spat on the CUNY student protests, are anything but the very antithesis of democracy?

And where are the opposition newspapers and TV stations and media in this country? Can you go to your local newsstand and buy an opposition newspaper or magazine that calls for the overthrow of the U.S. government? Can you turn on the TV or radio in the evening and listen to socialist or communist politicians giving their views on world or local events? Why does the U.S. call for such opposition media in socialist countries when it does not have it in its own country? Americans are so brainwashed, so controlled, so house broken, so braindead that they don't even think of these questions anymore.

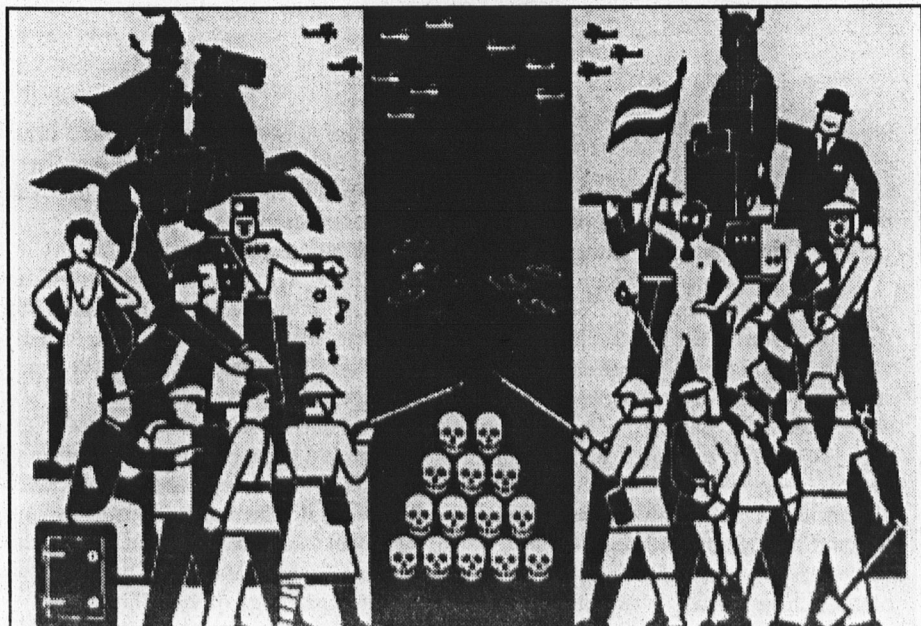
Fake "Leftists" support imperialism and fascism

Of course, the question of whether the U.S. government should be allowed to

anti-Semitism. She has also been an outspoken defender of the Bosnian Muslim regime in Sarajevo which is led by a group of convicted Nazi war criminals including the President Alija Izetbegovic who confessed to Nazi collaboration in World War II.

Moreover, a financial disclosure is in order. Who funded the activities of various anti-Yugoslavia and anti-Serbian "progressives" in New York City, like the Campaign for Peace and Democracy? According to Professor Bogdan Denitch of Queens College, an organizer of the "Socialist Scholar Conference" who pleaded for U.S. bombings of the Serbs on TV and radio, they've been getting money from the U.S. Government and Soros Foundation for years. "Who else should we take money from?," bellowed Professor Denitch at a public forum last year. Smart one Bog!

It is frightening to think that of all of the groups and publications that call themselves "left" or "socialist" in the U.S. and Britain only three 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. Almost all others not only have been hopelessly confused about events in Eastern Europe, but in many cases even support imperialist and fascist movements there. In some cases groups calling themselves Trotskyist like the Spartacist League have simply thrown up their hands in confusion. Having concluded that Milosevic is a capitalist and Yugoslavia is a capitalist country, they don't take sides between Milosevic and Zajedno, even though they claim Zajedno is fascist. But then most of the so-called left is even worse. The anarchists and their over-rated guru Noam Chomsky never met an Islamic



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sumer Price Index and thereby insures an annual Cost of Living Adjustment (COLA). Social Security favors the American working class because of the "breakpoints" put into the benefits payment calculations. The benefit is calculated by adding 90% of the first \$455 of monthly earnings, 32% of the next \$2,286, and 15% of the remainder. According to AARP if you had minimum wage earnings throughout your life your Social Security benefit will equal 59% of your earnings in the year before you retire, as opposed to only 24% if you reach the maximum taxable income levels.

Social Security becomes even more important as conditions for the American working class continue to decline. Wage levels that have declined in relation to inflation over the last 15 years have worked to place the working class in a desperate situation in regards to health care and disability insurance. The new jobs that are created by our "post-industrial" economy often come without the guarantee of any insurance benefits. In this way the Social Security program becomes even more essential for the American working class. Social Security then acts as the only line of defense against poverty as disability insurance, life insurance and a pension plan not only for the workers that contribute to it but their spouses and dependent children.

What's wrong with Social Security?

The importance and popularity of the Social Security program have made the long term problems it faces a feasting ground for right wing reactionary groups. Social Security faces a long term financing problem because of the transitional movement of the "baby boomer" generation from contributors to recipients. As stated earlier Social Security payments are inflation protected through COLA adjustments. As a result of the progressive nature of this clause the worker/recipient ratio must remain above 3:1. This ratio has been in steep decline since the programs inception (1935) moving from 35:1 to 16:1 in 1950 to 3:1 today and eventually to 1.8:1 in 2040 as the Baby Boomers take their full effect. By 2012 the ratio flips to negative growth, by 2019 benefit payouts exceed taxes and interest and we begin to draw on the trust fund and by 2029 the trust fund is projected to be depleted and total tax revenues will only pay 77% of benefits.

The trust fund as indicated earlier represents the main bone of contention as far as the future of Social Security financing is concerned. Currently the excess funds generated by the positive cash flow of today's worker/recipient ratio is re-invested. The funds are placed in U.S. Government bonds which offer a relatively small interest rate return but deliver a high safety rating. After adjusting for inflation the bond investment will return only 2.2%.

indoctrinated into our minds that reinforce the belief that such demands are utopian ideas of some socialist fools. To refuse to believe their lies and to question their authority are the first steps in organizing a mass movement. Again and again from various corners of the status-quo you will hear people say it is impossible, but never exactly explain why. Unless

is where the contention comes in as many legislators, economists, businessmen and right think tanks present the lure of the blossoming returns of the stock market to extend their program of free marketization to every sector of society.

Propagating Fear - Selling Stock Market Investment to the American Public

Generation X, the glorious creation of the media is being used by the ruling elite to swindle everyone's Social Security money. Generation X is supposedly composed of a group malcontent youths too lazy or too stupid to even attempt to change the structure of the society that oppresses them. Jumping on this artificial consciousness, right wing think tanks like the Cato Institute run highly questionable public opinion surveys that frame the discussion. The Cato Institute stated that 70% of Generation X'ers believe that Social Security will not be there when they retire, 80% feel privatization is favorable and 49% find the current Social Security system too risky. Another right wing think tank, this time one that claims to be the voice of Generation X, the Third Millennium ran a poll that stated that more young people believe in UFO's than Social Security's viability. All of this propaganda creates an atmosphere of fear and works to pit generations against each other using this dynamic to introduce totally unnecessary risk into the Social Security system.

The campaign of fear is being run not only in the public eye but, just as importantly, behind closed political doors. Large security firms are lobbying aggressively in Washington for privatization, their eyes filled with dollar signs as they attempt to pull off the ultimate coup of full national investment. Big name corporations such as I.B.M., Digital Equipment Corporation, American International Group and American Express have all taken up the privatization fight by contributing funds to right wing organizations such as those mentioned earlier. Cato alone has collected over \$2 million dollars from these companies. The major financial players in the lobbying and sales effort of privatization are the huge Wall Street brokerage firms who have the most to gain from privatization. Companies such as Alex Brown and Sons, Quick and Reilly and State Street Global Advisors have used their financial muscle to influence. State Street for example currently manages \$275 billion in pension assets and according to one of the banks principals William Shipman "You could be staring at 130 million new accounts."

Privatization - what is it and why is it so dangerous

The frenzy about the elimination of Social Security created by the media propaganda campaign led to the creation of the Advisory Council on Social Security by the Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala in 1994. This past January the council re-emerged with its findings. No consensus could be reached and the group split and supported three different approaches. The first approach called the Ball plan, which was created by Robert

they concede that the capitalist class will never squander their profits on such unprofitable expenditures as educating the working class. It is easier to rule over an ignorant people.

We must understand the facts in order to deconstruct this mammoth myth of the impossible, and its conservative sibling "real politick." The reality is that what is

Ball, who served as Commissioner of Social Security in the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations, advocates a maintenance of current benefits but diversifies the trust fund holdings so that 40% of the money is invested in the stock market by 2014. The second approach is the Gramlich plan devised by Edward Gramlich who serves as an economics professor at the University of Michigan and the acting head of the Congressional Budget Office which calls for the maintenance of benefits, and an additional 1.6% tax on workers whose funds go into a government supervised 401K type plan that would offer some choices for individuals as to how the money is invested. The final and most radical plan is the Scheiber plan, which was developed by Sylvester Scheiber who is vice president of the benefits consultant company Watson Wyatt Worldwide). This plan is two tiered, the first tier offers a maximum monthly benefit of \$410 for workers with 35 years of work experience and guarantees at least 50% of that for workers with at least 10 years. The second tier returns 5% of workers FICA tax to invest tax free for retirement. These accounts would be owned and managed by workers and would be available for tax free withdrawal at age 62.

Social Security is in jeopardy not because of a demographical problem but because Wall Street wants another offering, in the name of high returns, to the Gods of Greed

The dangerous current that runs through each of these plans is common stock investment. The manner of this investment, who initiates it and manages it differs but the dangers that this introduces to the system are the same. The dangers and recklessness of privatization are many and some of the pitfalls are evident now while other lurk right around the corner. The first problem is the administrative costs of these changes. Current administration of Social Security uses 1% of funds while the model of privatization that the U.S. seems to be modeling itself after, the Chilean model, sucks up 13% in management and administrative costs. The next and most evident problem is the linkage of almost the entire country's savings to the stock market. The danger may not essentially be a stock market crash as much as a 10 or 15 year bearish downturn in the market. As Edith Fierst, a Washington attorney and member of the Advisory Council, stated "Payments on Social Security have always been made on time, there have been no scandals. This is not true for the private markets." When the historical average stock market returns of more than 12% end so does the full payment of Social Security benefits. The most solid, most necessary and consistent program in the history of the United States is currently being exposed to the land of insider trading, account churning and stock swindles. Another offering, in the name of high returns, to the Gods of Greed.

lacking is not the resources, but the political movement of the masses. Who does not agree that education should be free and open to all those that want to attend! Like the building of space stations for future explorations of the universe, a portion of the national economy should be oriented toward the goals of meeting the basic and fundamental need of educating

Don't believe the hype: solutions to the Social Security "problem"

The greatest lesson that we can possibly hope to pass on is this - Social Security is not going bankrupt! As stated earlier with no changes in the system it still pays out 77% of benefits. That is a major improvement on many of the government's other social programs, in comparison, Social Security is downright healthy. What makes privatization even more ludicrous is that there is a simple solution to the problem that will insure the 100% payment of benefits for the next 75 years. The Social Security tax can be raised by 2.2% (1.1% for workers and the same for employers) and the program will function properly. This move will add \$65 billion a year in today's dollars and act as a short term (if 75 years can be considered short term) solution. We can combine the tax raise with the elimination of the cap on the amount of income that is taxed. This would shift the burden back to the high-earners while still being equitable because their added contributions will be returned in higher benefit payments. This measure will save \$39 billion in today's dollars. We can also look to change the breakpoints of

the program that we stated earlier (90-32-15) and make the program even more progressive (90-22.4-10.5). This will once again shift the responsibility to those who should bear the burden the most - the rich. This measure will save 39.6 billion in today's dollars. A combination of all or some of these measures will satisfy the need for adjustments in the Social Security program without introducing elements that can destroy it.

We cannot allow big business and the government to sell 95% of the American population down the river. Social Security is in jeopardy not because of a demographical problem but because of the greedy minions of Wall Street and the Right wing project of destruction being waged against any remnant of the American social net. The biggest problem Americans face today, in relation to Social Security, is that the important questions are not being asked. A top down solution to this problem is the only way Social Security and many other societal problems can be effectively resolved. Groups such as "Challenge the Lies" (PO Box 748, Cambridge, Ma 02142), the American Association of Retired People and some unions and public interest groups are currently fighting privatization. Contact your elected officials immediately (who are supposedly there to represent your interests) and express your opinions on the Social Security issue. ■

the entire society. Under capitalism, however, the meaning of "education" is defined by the profit margin. Open admission and tuition free higher education are impossible due to the strangle hold of the private profit. Let us break these chains of free market realism and start demanding the impossible. Free education for anyone who wants one! ■

...Yugoslavia

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fundamentalist they didn't love (or financially support). And in their desire to tail after every Islamic fascist from Izetbegovic to Hamas they are not much different from the CIA which uses Islamic movements to destabilize governments from France to Algeria to Russia. Clearly, the so-called "collapse of communism" was not limited to the regimes in Eastern Europe, but manifested itself in an inter-

Since World War II, the U.S. has sought to destroy the social gains of the Yugoslav revolution and restore a neo-colonial market system in the Balkans

nal rot of almost all groups identifying themselves as "left" around the world.

America's war against Yugoslavia must end

The current crisis is yet another installment of the U.S. plan for undermining the multi-national and non aligned socialist state of Yugoslavia. For seven long years the U.S. government and the corporate media have waged a relentless propaganda campaign against the government in Belgrade, scapegoating it and Serbian nationalism for the break up of Yugoslavia. Naturally, the U.S. media

has tried to present this as the only reason for the destruction of a country that once had one of the highest standards of living in the world. But what the media has never reported has been the role of the United States government and its European allies in the planned and deliberate destruction of that country. From the very beginning both our government and the media have targeted the Serbs and the Yugoslav Government as "the Enemy."

The establishment of Yugoslavia in 1918 was a progressive step for the peo-

ples of the Balkans who had lived for five hundred years under the brutal colonial rule of the Turks and the Germans. It 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. A majority in this new country consisted of Serbs, and even to this day Serbs are numerically the largest and politically the most important people in the Balkans. It has long been known by the great powers that to conquer the Balkans you must first conquer the Serbs.

Thus, in 1941 when a reborn Germany

expansionism, this time under Adolf Hitler, attempted to reimpose their hegemony in the Balkans, they dismantled Yugoslavia, divided the Serbs into several mini-states, and established an "independent" fascist Croatian state. A gallant multi-national, revolutionary struggle was led by the mostly Serbian and Jewish Partisan forces against the combined 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. The Partisans' goal was not only to liberate the country from fascism but to establish a socialist republic. To do so they had to wage war against the Serbian monarchists (Chetniks) as well. The result was a second Yugoslavia, a socialist, multi-national republic, in which a non-aligned and economically prosperous country emerged.

But a new war — sometimes open, sometimes covert — has been waged against this second Yugoslavia almost from its very birth. Since World War II the U.S. has sought to destroy the social gains of the Yugoslav revolution and restore a neo-colonial market system in the Balkans. To do this the C.I.A. rescued tens of thousands of Nazi Collaborators after the war and supported the revival of the fascist political movements from which they came. America's war against Yugoslavia became more overt with the imposition of sanctions and greatly increased American economic, military and intelligence support to the secessionist movements in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia in 1990.

As the U.S. aided the dismantling of Yugoslavia in 1991 and 1992, a neo-Nazi dictatorship in Croatia and an Islamic fundamentalist regime in Sarajevo became entrenched. When Serbs who

lived in Croatia and Bosnia opposed the break up of their country and raised militias to defend their right to secede, the U.S. encouraged the governments of Croatia and Bosnia to brutally suppress them. This resulted in the expulsion of nearly a million Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia. U.S. military support for these actions extended to a series of bombing raids in 1994 and 1995, culminating in the carpet bombing (with cruise missiles and radioactive depleted uranium bombs) of the Bosnian Serbs by NATO forces and the current occupation of the former Yugoslav republics by NATO. The issue of possible U.S. war crimes in the Balkans has been ignored by the major media. The partition of Yugoslavia has not only been a tragedy for the Serbs, but an immense step backwards for all of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. The legacy of U.S. involvement in the destruction of Yugoslavia will add yet another bloody page in this nation's history to go along with the Middle Passage, Wounded Knee and Vietnam.

Today this war continues with the open support of the U.S. government to groups who seek to destabilize and topple the government of Slobodan Milosevic in Yugoslavia and replace it with a neo-colonial client state subservient to Washington. These groups, like the U.S. government that finances them, will not stop until they destroy everything that belongs to the people and the last bastion of economic and political self-determination and resistance to American domination in the region. We must call for an end to all U.S. provocations in the Balkans, and for the defeat of the Zajedno fascists. U.S., U.N. NATO Out of the Balkans! Death to Fascism and Imperialism! Long Live The Yugoslav Revolution! ■

...Had enough

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nize workers internationally or support struggles to do so. Instead they allied themselves with America's bosses against the workers of the Third World, in many cases becoming the fifth wheel of Washington and Wall Street's anti-communist cold war crusade. In doing so, they not only aided and assisted the exploitation and oppression of working people overseas but here as well. For the bosses, unlike the union leaders, are quite aware of the fact that an attack on one is an attack on all and will continue to do both as long as they are allowed to get away with either.

...Be realistic

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mentary that less than 10% of our nation receives a higher education. In fact there are more people incarcerated than there are people enrolled in higher education. While the US is responsible for half of the world's \$600 billion military spending, the President speaks about giving crumbs to Pell grants and tax cuts to a minority of the population. This is the status-quo, an absurd reality where the ruling class wants to define into some post-modern jargon discourse on difference and helplessness.

While "globalization" may have brought with it *quantitative* changes within the framework of imperialist capitalism, the fundamental contradictions that have long characterized the latter have not only not gone away, but are, in many ways, intensifying. Poverty for the many amidst plenty for a few remains the order of the day in a system in which the products of the labor of that many flow into the pockets and profits of that few. Millions of workers in the western world, not to mention the former Soviet bloc, are now clearly worse off than a decade or two ago. All expect to have even less than their parents did. None expect to have more for their children. Meanwhile bloated bankers and bosses continue to preach "less is better" to them. As capital continues to expand internationally, so too do the ranks of the

The time has come to act, to radically change the order of things. We must put a stop to these ludicrous attacks upon our quality of lives and make public a radically new (yet so old) idea of what education should be.

First and foremost education should be free. Money is the transcendental discriminator; in capitalist society where most things are commodified the idea of "free" is inextricably linked to the person's ability to pay for it. That is not "free" but merely more of the double talk politicians and bankers like to use so much since they are the recipients of that "freedom". Let us not be fooled, corporate profits are at record highs, CEO's are making mil-

working class, which is now a majority of the worlds population. Capitalism cannot escape another of its contradictions...that its growth goes hand in hand with the growth of its potential gravediggers.

Of course, Consiousness may lag behind being...but only for so long and when the latter finally does catch up with the former it usually does so with giant steps. Hence the current wave of struggles around the world after years of employer attacks. The world's workers have proved that they can not only still fight but that they can win battles to temporarily tame the tide of neo-liberal economic enslavement. But can they reverse it altogether and go on the offensive? Clearly not with the kind of leaders that almost all existing workers organizations are still saddled with. That requires the building of an

lions upon millions, there is plenty of profits and accumulated capital out there to create a higher education system where the student does not have to pay one single dime. Yes, free from taxing tuitions.

Open admissions for everyone and anyone who *wants* to learn. No one should be denied the right to knowledge via formal education. These notions of standards of excellence ring hollow when compared to the standard of proper funding. With the degenerated state of public high schools can anyone justifiably speak of standards? Is it not ludicrous to speak of standards when outdated books are scarce and overcrowded classrooms are plentiful. And what about that parent

alternative leadership, rooted in the most advanced layers of the working class and based upon a program and perspective that places the intrests of the working class as a whole above all others. That especially includes the interests of those of their respective ruling classes mascarding as the class-neutral "national" interest. Such a leadership must be as "global," if not more so than that of the bosses. For all workers share the same interests and have the same foe. That is why the ideas of revolutionary Marxism remain as relevant today, at the close of the centur, as they were at it's beginnings. For not only does the problem remain the same, but so too does the answer: working people taking the world into their own hands and running it for the benefit of those alone who doall of the world's work...themselves ■

who had finished high school and now would like to attend college? Are they to be denied because at this point they can not pass a single test? Yes, the bureaucracy is mind numbing and that is why it must be replaced by democratically run councils of staff workers, educators and students who actually make the school function. the high paid administrators can keep their jobs if elected but the six figure salaries and perks have got to go.

We should be bold and unremitting in our demands for they are not impossible. These are not demands that society can not meet due to lack of resources, both materially and personally. What confines us is the ideology of the ruling class

Social insecurity

Not only our future, but that of our born or unborn children's futures are in peril as well. Social Security is under attack by the greed mongers who rule Wall Street

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

As you read this decisions are being contemplated that can put all of our futures in peril. Not only our future but that of our born or unborn children's futures also. Social Security is under attack by the greed mongers who rule Wall Street. The most bizarre element of this situation is that this attack being waged upon the most progressive program in our country is being presented under the guise of saving it. In order to save this program, the experts say, we must subject it to the ultimate zero-sum game, Wall Street. Conservatives and Liberals alike are prepared to expose almost the entire American population to the hazards of the market whether they like it or not. The responsibility of providing for Americas retired and disabled workers will be passed to institutions without a shred of social consciousness, driven by bottom line mentalities. This would be the most disastrous course of action our country has taken in regards to its own citizenry and it further exposes some of the relationships that exist within the ruling class of American society via the government and big business.

Social Security: what it is.

Social Security is the last remnant of the American Governments attempt to stabi-

lize the economic playing field for the American working class. The equilibrium of the American class structure had been split asunder by the Stock Market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression that raged during the early 1930's. In response to this President Franklin Roosevelt introduced a series of band aid measures to keep the Capitalist machine running. The most substantial and successful program introduced was the Social Security Act of 1935. When Ida May Fuller received her first Social Security check in the amount of \$22.54 in 1940 this program that attempts to protect millions of American workers and their families from poverty because of retirement or a disability was launched. Since then the program has become so popular that it has been considered the "third rail" among American officials as they desperately attempt to court the highly motivated bloc of elderly recipients. With the introduction of Reaganistic economic policy in the 80's, as author Michael Parenti clearly indicated, the Social Security taxes were used to offset deficits in the regular budget, paying for White House limousines, FBI agents, jet bombers and coporate subsidies. The Conservative Revolution ushered in by Newt Gingrich and his cronies in 1994 has effectively, through the relentless propaganda campaign run by right wing think tanks like the Cato Institute, de-stigmatized the Social Security issue and opened it up for

radical restructuring.

According to the American Association of Retired Persons, Social Security benefits

Over 140 million American workers pay 6.2% which is then matched by their employers up to a maximum of \$62,700.



are given to 29.5 million retirees and their spouses, 5.2 million widows and widowers, 4.3 million disabled workers and their spouses and 3.65 million children of retired, deceased or disabled workers.

The money paid to Social Security recipients is inflation resistant thanks to an amendment to the program made in 1975 that links benefit payments to the Con-
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MTA contract continues downsizing trend

Acting more like "labor lieutenants of capital," than working class leaders fighting for the interest of their rank and file, the union bureaucrats betrayed the members in the interest of keeping the "peace" with the bosses

BY JOHN SMOLNY

With a slight majority the Transport Workers Union (TWU) approved to extend the current contract, with cosmetic changes, by two years. More than anything else this latest facade of contract negotiations reveals the utter bankruptcy of the union leadership in the face of an assault upon the workers by the Transit Authority (TA). Acting more like "labor lieutenants of capital" than working class

leaders fighting for the interest of their rank and file the union bureaucrats betrayed the members in the interest of keeping the "peace" with the bosses.

What was revealed through the contract negotiations is the crisis of the present union leadership during this era of downsizing. Schooled in the days of labor/management "peace" of post-war prosperity these union bureaucrats have no independent ideology from which to organize an effective campaign against the attacks upon their members. Wedded to

the idea that capitalism is the only game in town, reforms for "better wages" and "fairer working conditions" are all that these labor lieutenants of capital know. What happens, however, when the market is not expanding and the only way to increase the profit margin is by squeezing more out of the workforce for less? Where do these reforms end up if not as give-backs with the hollow hope that things will get better some day?

The days of the "social contract" between the bosses and workers are over,

and the capitalist class, driven by the record returns, Wall St. is on the attack. The "old guard" and their bankrupt strategy must be swept aside if the situation is to become better for the union and the working class as a whole.

A contract of deceit and intimidation

Like their corporate siblings, downsizing was the name of the game for the TA. In

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