

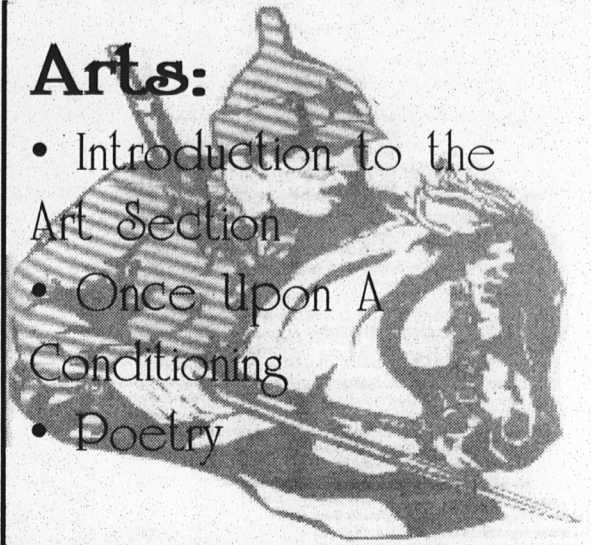
THE COLLEGE

VOICE

VOL. XV • ISSUE NO.8 • May, 1995

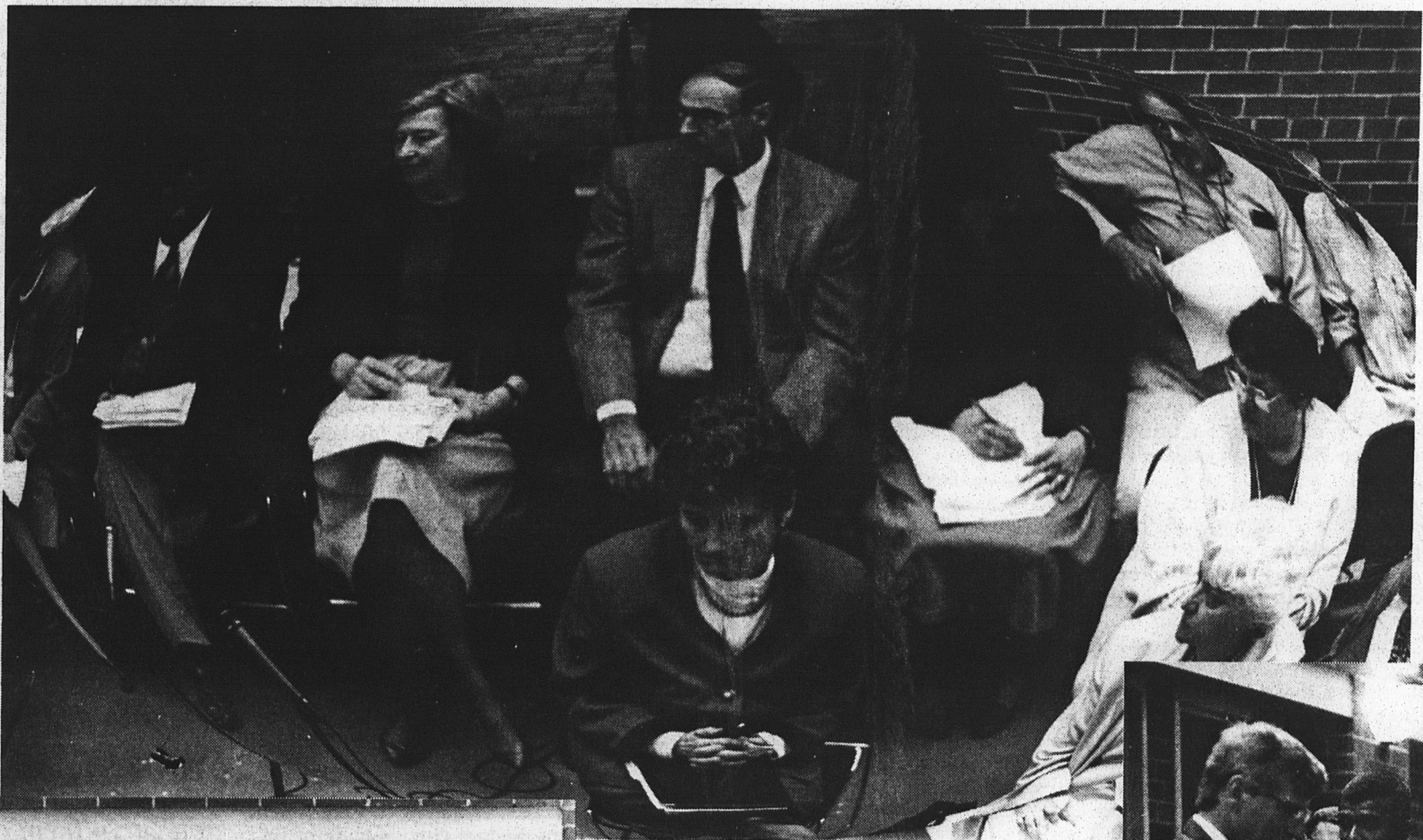
Arts:

- Introduction to the Art Section
- Once Upon A Conditioning
- Poetry

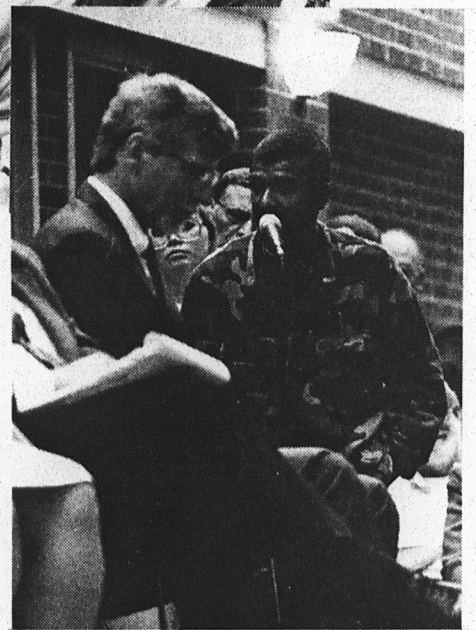


The Absurd

Theater of



**ADMINISTRATION
COMMITTEE
ANNOUNCES
\$6.6 MILLION
CUT TO CSI,
17% OF
THE TOTAL
BUDGET**



Student - "Professors and students off Administration's cut back committee! No budget cuts and no layoffs!"

SG President - "I'm Proud to be on the Committee!"

"Mock Hearing" Becomes Divided

The Separation Between Students and Administrators Becomes Clear

by Lou Bardel

On Thursday, May 11 a public meeting was held by the president of C.S.I., Marlene Springer. The meeting was called to announce the findings of the Retrenchment Committee, a group of professors, student government representatives, and members of the C.S.I. administration. The committee was set up by President Springer to aid her in preparing a contingency plan that deals with the impending state and city budget cuts. Present at the meeting was the ad-hoc committee, the president herself, many uniformed security guards, and plainclothes "peace officers". In addition, many faculty, staff, and some students came to protest what promises to be the worst "fiscal crisis" in the history of CUNY. In the worst case scenario, Governor Pataki, along with his subordinate Mayor Giuliani, have put forth a cut in funds as high as 162 million to all of the city universities. C.S.I. is expected to absorb up to 11.2 million dollars in cuts the coming Fall semester.

The proposed cuts, explained in detail through an internal memorandum, were announced on May 5. The program of budget cuts must have final approval by the president in order to be put into effect. Placed on the chopping block by the ad-hoc committee was the abolition of the whole Health and Physical Education Dept.; elimination of degree programs in Industrial Management Technology and Mechanical Engineering Technology; \$680,000 in funds that go towards university contracts, supplies, materials, equipment, and any unexpected repairs; the elimination of 34 College assistant programs (many times these positions are given to students on campus to aid in staff and administration duties). Also slated to be enforced in the proposal are the forced retirement of many faculty and staff to the tune of 1.6 million, who by the way were encouraged by the president to return as adjunct professors resulting in a near 50% pay cut.

Today's meeting which was hardly publicized, except in the S.I. Advance the day before the event, resulted in low student turnout. The only group giving out information about the event was the College Voice. Conspicuously missing from the chance to publicize the event was the administration, the Professional Staff Congress (PSC) union that is supposed to represent the teachers who are being fired, and the whole elected body of Student Government. Despite the lack of outreach for the meeting, many members of faculty and some student advocates showed up to plead for mercy, criticize, or denounce the

devastating impact of the cuts put forth by the Retrenchment Committee.

The public meeting was set up in such a way that anyone who had a question would raise it by asking the committee as a whole, then a representative from the group stood up and gave an answer. President Springer rarely answered on any of the inquiries, barely standing up only to tell the crowd that time was running short and demanding that the proceedings come to closure. It was made explicitly clear by some of the statements and questions from the crowd

Today's meeting which was hardly publicized, except in the S.I. Advance the day before the event, resulted in a low student turnout.

that the president decided exactly what was going to go through and what wasn't. Although by the lack of vocalness from the president it seemed she was only a participant, not one that has the final say in the matter of "retrenchment." When students asked the panel why they were capitulating to the cuts Pres. Springer never responded.

The members of the committee are Acting Vice President Mirella Afron, Professor Mary Ellen Arrington, Mr. Michael Bloomberg, Ms. Gertrude Brier, Professor George Custen, Mr. Frank Dely, Professor Gloria Garcia, Professor Michael Greenberg, Acting Dean Joan Hartman, Vice President Carol Jackson, Professor Alfred Levine, Professor Louise Malarkey, Professor John Osakue, Dean Raymond Pavia, Mr. Cliff Peterson, Professor Elliot Rothkopf, Ms. Liz Seder, Ms. Lori Seggio, Professor Ruth Stark, Professor Stephen Stearns, and Dean Martel Zeldin.

Many students wondered how a supposed student leader like Cliff Peterson, or Student Government President Lori Seggio could be on a committee that figures out the best way to implement budget cuts. "If indeed they are the student representatives they claim to be, they should be at the forefront of the fight to stop the cuts, not to help administration carry them out," said one student present at the meeting. The main rationale being that as student representatives, how could they in principle cut one group of students over the other. That logic running contrary to SG Pres. Lori Seggio's idea that she was on the commit-



A grim faced President Springer and an anxious Dean Affron were just two characters in the absurd production of firing faculty and cancelling classes in the "fairest way."

tee to "defend students", stating that she was "proud to be here on this committee today." The debate becoming embroiled in whether one should deal with the "fiscal reality", or try to change it.

Towards the end of the meeting a few faculty were calling for some type of job action to protest the budget cuts and the illusion of communal "sharing of the pain." One only has to glance at the retrenchment proposal to see that cuts to administration represented less than 10 percent of the total slashes to school funds. "This isn't a fortune 500 company, this is an institution of higher learning. It should not be run like a business" said CSI student Michael Beyes. Michael said that both his degree programs, Industrial Management and Mechanical Engineering Technology, were being cut out next semester and wondered out loud where that left him in the fall. President Springer did not respond to Michael's question.

After the meeting was over a group of students and faculty proposed a rally at the campus next Wednesday on May 17. The rally critiqued by many to be a case of "too little, too late", shows that there are other alternative courses to take when fighting the budget cuts, outside of the

current political structure of lobbying and letter campaigns. An example of this was earlier in the year on March 23 when 20,000 students took part in an independent mass action around City Hall, the biggest rally in the last two decades of New York.

"Many students wondered how a supposed student leader like Cliff Peterson, or Student Government President Lori Seggio could be on a committee that figures out the best way to implement budget cuts. If indeed they are the student representatives they claim to be, they should be at the forefront of the fight to stop the cuts, not to help administration carry them out,"

The following figures are from the Retrenchment Committee report. Though most tenured and full-time faculty did not have anytime to organize rallies to stop the cuts, they managed to sit through long bureaucratic meetings helping the administration fire fellow workers, and eliminate classes.

Reduction \$2,612,000

The Ad Hoc college-wide committee identified the following as areas in which savings can be effected:

1. **No-Reappointments:** \$185,300
2 Associate professors
1 Senior CLT

2. **OTPS:** \$680,000

The subcommittee reviewed the entire college budget, cost center by cost center, and made specific recommendations by code: contracts, supplies and materials, equipment, and repairs.

3. **College Assistants and Health center staff:** \$380,000

The subcommittee recommended the elimination of 34 college assistant positions throughout the college and reductions in the part-time physician and nurses.

4. **Substitute lines:** \$559,000

IN Spring 1995, the college filled 22 lines with substitute faculty and staff members. 15 lines were recommended to be unfilled.

5. **Efficiencies and Economies:** \$808,000

Efficiencies are recommended in both academic and administrative areas. These include reducing sections by increasing class size, closing the college on Sunday, reducing the number of locations at which weekend college courses are offered, closing the campus between 11:00 PM and 7:00 am, reducing reassigned time, reducing non-teaching hours owed.

Restructuring and Retrenchment: \$4,345,000

Furthermore, the Ad Hoc committee has identified the following academic areas for restructuring and retrenchment.

1. **Health and physical education:** \$663,000

The department to be abolished.

2. **Engineering Technologies:** \$592,000

The degree programs in industrial management technology and mechanical engineering technology to be abolished.

3. **Centers: research Associates:** \$50,000

2 positions to be restructured or eliminated.

4. **Retirements:** \$1,596,000

We expect a significant number of faculty and CLT retirements areas for restructuring and retrenchment:

1. **Senior Administration:** \$260,000

1 position already eliminated.

1 position left vacant.

- 3 Executive pay plan/Rem title positions to be restructured or eliminated.

2. **Higher Education officer series:** \$538,000

12 positions to be restructured or eliminated.

3. **Classified staff:** \$647,000

15 positions to be eliminated.

ARRESTED STUDENTS HAULED INTO COURT

STUDENTS FORCED TO ENDURE HOURS OF PAPER WORK WITH BUREAUCRATS

By Sarah Husain

Students who were arrested on March 23 and April 11th went to court on May 8th and 9th. The students, who were defended by Lawyer Ron McGuire, faced mostly disorderly conduct charges for the 23rd, as opposed to the more serious charges of criminal trespassing on April 11th. These charges against the students are the clearest example of the use of oppression by the state against student activist.

On May 8th students gathered with supporters at 9 am in front of the court house located on 346 Broadway. The hearings that day went relatively quick as the last student left the courthouse at 3:30 p.m. All of the students asked for Adjournment in Contemplation of Dismissal (ACD's). Under this agreement the charges against the students will be dropped after six months, if the students are not arrested again. Though most students believed that they were arrested unfairly the decision to accept the ACD's was motivated by the waste of time they spent in court that day.

However, on May 9th it was a different story for the 43 arrested at City College (CCNY). Ron McGuire, CUNY coalition lawyer, told the group of students that the judge was not giving every student ACD's, which they had agreed to take before coming to court that day. Though the judge said that some students would not receive ACD's if they had prior records, it remained unclear what different charges, and punishment they would receive. The judge's contempt for the students was made clear in his remark that he did not know "if there were murderers or burglars" amongst the arrestees.

After students heard about the judges decision there was a switch of plans. When the students came to the court they wanted

to take the ACD's like the day before. However, based on the judge's decision the students made the decision to stick together. At one point when there was some ambiguity on the part of the students as to what to do, several students spoke up recalling the decision they made, as a group, to fight these cuts even if it meant getting arrested. The political idea of strength through collective action compelled almost all of the students to change their pleas from ACD's to not guilty.

When the students were arrested at CCNY for organizing a hunger strike and a peaceful sit down, they were charged with "criminal trespassing." These charges were ordered by CCNY President Moses, which meant she had to sign the affidavit to allow the arrests of students by both the NYPD and CUNY's SAFE team. At the court it was discovered that a CUNY SAFE team sergeant and some unknown person, whose signature was illegible, had signed the document. This act on behalf of the administration is illegal and should not be acceptable in court because under the law the owner of the property, in this case the president of the college, had to sign the affidavit. The lawyer told the judge that the charges were not legitimate and should be dropped but the judge at that point had decided that the illegal actions taken by the administration and police did not warrant a dismissal of the charges. A new court date was scheduled for June 19th where the fate of the students will be decided. The students are calling upon community and labor to support them by coming to their defense on that day.



The criminal court system continues to serve as an oppressive apparatus, collaborating with the NYPD and CUNY SAFE Teams to enforce the rule of the bosses.

Both bosses parties have declared war on working people and the poor

Only to fight back, defeat the 'Contract' and stop the cutbacks, workers need a political party and a program of their own...a labor party, based on the unions and a perspective of militant class struggle, not continued support for the Democrats in any way, shape or form.

The Republican-controlled congress has set its sites laying waste to any and every social welfare program it can get its hands on. Their first hundred days of office saw them aim their fire at the poorest and most vulnerable sections of the working-class by gutting welfare, AFDC and school lunches. Still aiming to further "balance" the federal budget on the backs of working people, they promise that even more devastating attacks are on the way.

Amongst other things, these include doing away with the 40-hour work week, overtime pay and other labor legislation dating back to the 1930's. And in targeting Social Security and Medicare, which cover all workers after they retire, the GOP hopes to once and for all get rid of the notion that government has any obligation towards those that capitalism makes poor, homeless and hungry. By continuing to take even more from the poor to give to the rich, the Republicans would like nothing more than to complete the transformation from welfare state to welfare state that their Democratic party predecessors began during their tenure in office.

Democrats: "lesser evil" or...

While Republicans have taken the lead in mounting the current round of assaults on working people, they had the tactic support of the Democrats every step of the way. From welfare "reform" to tax cuts for

the rich To more money for the military to getting "tougher on crime" to "reducing government," Republicans and Democrats differ only in form, not in essence.

Far from opposing the agenda underlying the "Contract," the Democrats instead boast that they pioneered the whole process to begin with. Or as Bill "end welfare as we know it" Clinton put it 'we have started it, we led the way.' And for once, they're not lying. Being a capitalist party from top to bottom, the Democrats, no less than the Republicans, take their marching orders from the same corporate kingpins and financial tycoons who really call the shots under American -style democracy.

...Never more evil

When it comes to promoting an anti-working class agenda, the Democratic party is second to no-one as their record in office boldly illustrates. As president, Jimmy Carter reinstated the draft and raised the Pentagon budget to then record levels. At the same he cut federal funding for abortions for poor women, since, in his words, "there are some things in life that just aren't fair." During the Reagan and Bush years, the Democratic-controlled Congress went along with all of their attacks on workers...at home and aboard;

continued on page 5

Fact Sheet On The CUNY Peace Offices

- So far this year, the SAFE team has been deployed to several board of trustee meetings, including the February 27 meeting when the board declared financial emergency.
- On April 11, the SAFE team made its first arrests, of 47 City college hunger strikes.
- On April 26, the SAFE team disrupted a peaceful hunger college vigil. Even more disturbing, hunger security closed the building two hours early and had a list of CUNY students from other campuses who were not to be let inside the building.
- Peace officers are engaging in intelligence gathering on CUNY student and faculty activists.. The CUNY concerned faculty have reported instances of harassment, including interference with e-mail activists, the unusual presence of security personnel around the offices of faculty and the use of video cameras by university security to record demonstrators and observers, at both on-campus and off-campus CUNY protests. Following off-campus protests involving arrests of CUNY students, the CUNY central administration, with the assistance of the NYPD, generated a list of all student activists who had been arrested. Photographs and names of student activists are being distributed to campus peace officers.
- Who Will be Policed?**
 - Campus administrators assure us these peace officers are here for our safety, but our current security has been adequate. They claim crime is down by 30% because of peace officers, but that's insignificant when you realize the number of reported crimes per campus is roughly 10 a year.
 - They claim the security initiative is a response to the tragic stampede at city college, but facts prove them wrong as their plans clearly preceded this event. The peace officers are a response to and an attempt to quell CUNY protests.
 - At a time of unprecedented cuts to CUNY, after CUNY has already lost \$200 million over the last 5 year, CUNY is building up a security force that will cost at least \$22 million a year. Departments are being eliminated and faculty will be laid off, but more money is made available for peace officers.
 - Chancellor Ann Reynolds was brought to CUNY to shrink it and to deny higher education opportunity to New Yorkers, and she knows she won't be able to cut CUNY without resistance. The CUNY security initiative will help her do just that—no matter what students and faculty might think.
 - Peace officers have special powers: they can carry weapons including guns and pepper spray and have 24 hour arrest powers in New York state.
 - A special security force consisting of 33 sergeants will be deployed to any campus to handle large demonstration or protests, civil unrest, or when there are speakers whom college officials determine may cause a "public safety concern." This force is called the SAFE team (special assistance for events) and was created in December 1994.
 - There are currently 130 sworn-in peace officers out of 530 security personnel CUNY-wide. The goal of the administration is to replace all security personnel with peace officers, increasing the force to a total of 850.
 - While current entry-level CUNY security personnel are exploited—paid minimum wage—peace officers will start off with a salary of \$25,000 a year, nearly the salary of an assistant professor. They are paid from the same budget line from which financial aid comes; the more money there is for peace officers, the less there is for financial aid.
- History**
 - In the spring of 1991, just following student protests against budget cuts and tuition hikes, plans for this new security program began. The first step in the initiative was to hire a new University security director, Jose Elique. Prior to this position, Elique was Director of the anti-terrorist squad for the port authority for ten years.
 - On January 5, 1995, Elique requested the assistance of the NYPD in training the SAFE team.
 - In March, the SAFE team received two days of training from NYPD's disorder control unit in mass arrest procedures, prisoner carry techniques, building entries, use of flex handcuffs, and building clearing techniques.
 - SAFE teams will be deployed at the request of the campus president, the Chancellor or her designees; in other words, the decision does not have to be the campus president's. Once on campus, the squad leader, not the president, is in control until "order is restored."

INTERVIEW WITH FACULTY UNION HEAD- MOHAMMED YOUSEF

This interview was conducted on Thursday, May 11th, at the conclusion of the Retrenchment Committee hearings. As head of the faculty union, the Voice sought his position on the Committee's proposed \$6.6 million cut to CSI.

Voice: What do you say about the two million plus dollars slated to be cut at CSI by the Retrenchment Committee?

Yousef: We were only given three minutes so I was not able to complete my presentation. This committee should go back to the drawing board and come up with the six million dollars which I believe is there already as of now and it will probably grow, without reductions, without cutting anybody. There is a huge number only promised one semester. Employment there is no guaranty to them. Six million dollars represents a 15% cut for us, other colleges are allowed to come up with a 10% plan. They should stay with that and present it to the Chancellor. [Referring to the elimination of substitute lines in the Committee report] The reductions we have here, if we make this all 22 lines not refilled, the reductions reach \$820,000 and the number \$2.6 million becomes about \$2.9 million. This refers only to one semester the rest of the numbers are annualized. For a year then it becomes \$1.6 million. [Referring to the elimination of the Health and Phys Ed, Industrial Management Technology and Mechanical Engineering Technology programs and Research Associates].

These are retrenchment, these are people losing their jobs in each category so I don't want to touch that now. [Referring to the forced "retirements"].

These also are categories of losing jobs.

Voice: Why don't you want to do anything about these cuts...

Yousef: I don't want to touch these. I'm saying at this time we should go to here [pointing to the \$2.6 million cut slated by the report] this number is way understated. I hope it's not intentional. It's probably close to three million dollars by now. If you add to this the senior administration cuts \$260,000, I'm not even asking for more cuts, you're dealing with three million dollars comfortably. If you add to this the 3.6 million that we figured out together, that becomes \$6.6 million compared to a \$40 million budget; this is about 17%. That's almost double what City College is offering and what Hunter College is offering. We saved some programs, we saved some departments and we saved some level of programmatic integrity for this college. I think now we are down to the bone. Remember, I said in my presentation, we don't have a college in SI by tax funds. For us to say we don't have this program you can go to Tottenville (for example). Maybe we can claim that for Manhattan, Brooklyn or wherever but we cannot claim that here. You should fight and President Springer should fight, for she is our spokesperson, our leader to insist that we have every single program in this campus that students want and that the Staten Islanders want.

Voice: You have made the numbers very clear but what have you done to organize a defense against these cuts, in particular as head of the faculty to lead an action against this. I don't understand what you mean by "the President is our spokesperson" when she is paid to carry out these cuts...

Yousef: No, no spokesperson in terms of the academic side. Instead of our willingly accepting cutting this program or the two year degree, I think she should fight for a comprehensive offering, I think even the Chancellor admits to that in the Consolidation Report and the APP, the Academic Program Planning.

Voice: The union in particular, the union....

Yousef: I have sheets on what the Union has been doing in Albany, in City Hall... in

print media, the Advance had an advertisement, the New York Times, on TV, our president was there, all the administration were participating and sponsoring practically every demonstration, including the vigil we have this afternoon, that is the one at City hall at World trade Center.

Voice: There are faculty, union members, sitting on this administration committee, a management committee. If this were to happen in any other union...

Yousef: No, no, we don't have a single officer of the PSC sitting on this committee. I made a point of having no officer sitting on the committee.

Voice: It doesn't matter, they are still members of the union.

Yousef: Yes, they are members of the union, but you see this is the philosophy, if we are going to go through this process, as you know we have here what we call academic government. OK, so we can't have it both ways. We can't say we are not going to participate in one part but not the other. If we are not going to participate, we are not going to participate. We don't have here an industrial model where we say we just get our paychecks and the management decides everything for us. We have a collegial model where we say

Yousef: No, no its their academic freedom to serve. In other words, they were invited to serve. Remember, what would be the result if they didn't serve, it would have been much worse. I'm not defending them, its a question of a horrible process, the board came up with and actually the president was very much careful to follow the process as credit to her.

we participate together. Now I agree that the report that was written did not speak well for the faculty participating in this. But probably they didn't see this report as written. In other words, they may have accepted the points in it, but in the original report you have a \$6 million cut before you touch anybody else. Probably they would have come to the same conclusion as I did. That maybe you should stick with the \$6 million cut and that's it.

Voice: instead of having these kinds of negotiations, or rather, entrapment of faculty in an administrative committee, should you not as a union come together as a united front to deal with them from a position of strength?

Yousef: When you get older and become a faculty member you will appreciate what I'm going to say to you. I will be put on some kind of "Let's say moralistic gallows" or something if I say to them, "Don't exercise your academic freedom". That's what I'm saying.

Voice: its academic freedom that is being cut...

Yousef: No, no its their academic freedom to serve. In other words, they were invited to serve. Remember, what would be the result if they didn't serve, it would have been much worse. I'm not defending them, its a question of a horrible process, the board came up with and actually the president was very much careful to follow the process as credit to her. Another thing that is a credit to her is that she was the first president that thought about the value of our senior faculty. She wrote to all the faculty and told them you would be welcome to come back and have all the faculty privileges: your office, your computer, the facility and also teach a course, if you like.

Voice: As an adjunct...

Yousef: Yes, but not with less pay because they will have their full pension. Those people will be retired with an incen-

tive which will bring them to even more than 100% pay.

Voice: They have to leave after an year, nevertheless, right.

Yousef: They will have to retire, that is correct. On the other hand everybody retires, nobody has a job forever, nobody lives forever. Some retire painfully like my good friend Michael Petrides who passed away last year, a young man, and that is one way of retiring. Another way is you opt to retire early in life and do other things.

Voice: But these are forced retirements...the administration is saying that these people must go.

Yousef: No, no I assure you the administration is not saying that. I will not accept that. It was completely on incentive that people who are ready to retire will be given credit to an additional three years of service and they took advantage of it. Except for perhaps my being a little too young for it, I would have taken it, too. It's a good deal, not a bad deal, that is, financially. Now by keeping them here, I think that would preserve continuity and service to our students and that's our purpose. Now on the other hand what I'm saying is the number stated here (\$2.6) is understated.

What's the purpose I don't know. I raised this carefully, clearly and forcefully; I hope they revise this, I hope the Committee catches on.

Voice: Will the union be doing something about this. Isn't a job action in order here when massive cuts are in store for the members?

Yousef: I'm glad you raised that because one of the things I would like you to print, if I may, is our lobbying effort, directed at City Hall and Albany. That person who is coordinating the campaign is working day and night. He is an officer and a Latino, too. He is the one who is actually saving the CUNY budget. He is an officer of the PSC, he is saving the CUNY budget. In Albany, in the City Council, he is our lobbyist. As you know, lobbying requires certain training, certain contacts; you develop that.

Voice: It also requires certain compliance and certain acceptance of the status quo. Instead of mass action and strikes, which was the way in which, for example, the CIO was created in the 1930s, what has happened to that tradition of labor militancy which allows working people to defend themselves on the basis of their own interests without pleading to the bosses...

The above interview was interrupted by a professor who burst in with frantic anger at the earlier proceedings. The Voice reporter sought to interview him but he was too upset and did not want to even provide his name. This despite a brave effort to conduct a conversation while in hot pursuit of the fleeing stricken faculty member.

PROFESSIONAL STAFF CONGRESS - OF MICE AND MEN

By MD Wijerama

The Professional Staff Congress (PSC) is the union in which the faculty at CSI and throughout CUNY are organized. Having its own resources from the dues of its members and a organized network that spans CUNY it can be a powerful instrument of defeating the devastating \$162 million cut that the ruling rich have proposed for CUNY. This cut entails a \$1000.00 tuition hike and the elimination of SEEK and numerous other programs that will

TASKS & PERSPECTIVES

effectively bring to an end the City University system as a Public institution that serves the educational needs of the city's working class youth. The cuts will also lead to the firing of hundreds of full and part time faculty at a time when classes are already overcrowded and the need is for more faculty.

The PSC despite the enormous potential it possesses to be a powerful force to stop the cuts through taking strike action in conjunction with students and staff have acted as a junior partner in the budget cutting.

At CSI's Retrenchment Committee hearings Mohammed Yousef, head of the CSI faculty, did not call for the dismantling of the committee which has as its express purpose the execution of cuts. Nor did he condemn administration for setting up a cutback committee before cuts had even gone through which fully exposes administrations complicity in the budget cuts. Nor did he condemn the participation on this cutback committee of members of the union. His statement amounted to a quibbling over the estimation of the amount proposed in the committees report. He claimed it really added up to \$6.6 million as opposed to the \$2.6 million as stated in the report. Granted the speakers from the floor were limited to 3 minutes, yet in his interview with the Voice it was clear that it was his politics that was limited and more-over limited to the interests of the budget cutters.

The main gripe of the union should not be the "numbers" of the cuts but the cuts themselves. To argue as Yousef does that other colleges are being asked to cut less or in other words that the cuts should be the same for each college is to apriori accept the cuts and participate in a parochial game that is divisive and dangerous for any united movement. The PSC should be organizing the faculty of all the colleges of CUNY on the basis of an injury to one is an injury to all - the bedrock principle of unionism and opposing cuts across the board.

However the principle of the PSC leadership seems to be an injury to you is better than an injury to me and if that doesn't work an injury to the members i.e. faculty is better than an injury to the leadership. This bureaucratic approach is nothing new to the American labor movement. The practice of union bureaucrats lining up with management against the workers is a tradition that goes way back to the good old days of Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The fact that CSI faculty were desperate enough and scared

continued on next page

...Of Mice And Men

enough to get on a administration led cut-back committee is instructive enough about the character of the PSC leadership. If the PSC was united behind a leadership and program of fighting the cuts no sane faculty member will get on such a committee. Of course there will always be a few right wing nuts but they would immediately be exposed as scabs and isolated rather than faking as they do now as the "realistic and sober saviors". A clear line must be drawn between management i.e. administration and workers i.e. faculty. This line is an objective one that arises from the situation that management wants to cut and workers do not want to get cut. This line must be declared by the PSC leadership whose responsibility it is to defend its members.

Instead of fighting the administration, the PSC has cozied up to them. Yousef was full of "credit" to President Springer and administration and even claimed that "administration were participating in and sponsoring practically every demonstration". This is plainly false. In fact it was administration which ordered NYPD on campus to arrest 42 students on a peaceful hunger strike at City College. Similarly administration has not uttered a word about the police violence against students at the March 23rd rally nor on subsequent

occasions. Over 300 CUNY students have been arrested as part of the campaign to destroy the movement to defend CUNY. Administration has not uttered a word in their defense. They have responded to budget cuts by creating a new centralized security force - the SAFE team - which has the authority to carry guns and issue arrests and by creating Retrenchment Committees. One must either be a moron or a collaborator to support administration in light of this. It is not a question of the good or bad personality of the administrator, they are paid to follow orders and if the order is to carry out cuts, that is what they will do. President Springer is not about to forego a six figure salary and a house on Todt Hill for some poor adjuncts or students.

To Yousef, fighting back means "lobbying" otherwise known as kissing buttock. When asked about taking a job action Yousef retorted that there is a PSC officer lobbying "day and night" and "actually saving the CUNY budget". On top of that he is a "Latino". Students and faculty should forget their worries, there is Lobby Man, he can kiss several politicians buttock with a single puck, can leap over logic with a single bound, its a bird its a plane its Lobby Man... no, maybe it is a bird.

The PSC should be organizing the faculty of all the colleges of CUNY on the basis of an injury to one is an injury to all - the bedrock principle of unionism and opposing cuts across the board.

However the principle of the PSC leadership seems to be an injury to you is better than an injury to me and if that doesn't work an injury to the members i.e. faculty is better than an injury to the leadership.

Lobbying as Yousef himself claimed "requires certain training, certain contacts", which effectively excludes the masses of students, faculty and staff effected. It is different from a democratically elected leadership of a mass movement that would meet with the rulers of the city to put forward the demands decided upon by the movement. It is the buckram maneuvering of a self selected elite, usually hired out or appointed.

A strike is a mass action that involves the whole membership of the union. One obvious prerequisite for any strike action is understanding the principle of the strike - which is the main weapon of any union. Another prerequisite of any successful strike action is internal democracy in the union which allows for the fullest participation of the membership in deciding on the strike. The absence of even the contem-

plation of a strike by Yousef is indicative that this PSC leadership is completely useless as a means of defending the faculty facing the budget axe. Indeed it is an obstacle. Faculty truly interested in defending their jobs and the quality of CUNY education should get off their buttocks and organize an opposition to their bureaucratic leadership and begin to prepare for a strike. CUNY students have proven their willingness to fight to defend their education. The entrance of faculty into a common front with students will energize the whole movement and bring whole new layers of students into the fight. Guiliani, Pataki and Wall Street will suddenly find the money they claim is not there. One need only look at the portly bank accounts of the super-rich "suits" that have been mugging us to find it.

Declaring War on the Bosses Parties ...

continued from page 3

slashing social services to the bone while lavishly funding *contra* wars around the world.

In New York, it was Democratic party politicians from Beame to Carey to Cuomo to Dinkins, all elected with the votes of labor and NYC's large minority populations, who led the way in administering the same crippling cutbacks, layoffs and "givebacks" that Guiliani and Pataki are dishing out today. Indeed it was under the Democrats that open admissions and free tuition at CUNY became a thing of the past. Now, from Clinton on down, Democrats don't even pretend to be "friends of labor." Instead, they openly vye with their Republican "rivals" over who can more efficiently impoverish more workers with less overhead.

Yet most union officials along with the self-proclaimed "leaders" of the minority communities and the women's movement and even many self-styled "socialists" still look to the Democrats as some sort of alternative to the Republicans. Others give back-handed support to the Democrats by focusing solely on the role the Republicans play, letting the Democrats off the hook. Clearly they are barking up the wrong tree. Far from being any sort of "lesser evil," support for the Democrats has never been so evil. For now, more than ever, independent working class politics, a labor party based on the unions and a program of uncompromising class struggle, not the conciliatory class collaboration of the union bureaucracy, is what's on the order of the day.

Behind the "Contract:" soaking the poor...

The last decade saw America's ruling rich transfer more and more of its resources away from economic development and social services to outright swindling and financial speculation. Deindustrializing and decapitalizing America's inner cities and industrial heartlands, they increasingly shifted production to low-wage areas in the "Third World". American workers, whose wages constantly declined as the cost of living continued to rise and who already were receiving *less* social welfare benefits than anywhere else in the industrialized world, are, thus, in no way responsible for the ongoing crisis the capitalist economy finds itself in as a result of this policy of plutocratic pillage and plun-

der. Yet both Republicans and Democrats still agree that in order to make American capitalism more competitive on the world market, workers wages must be slashed even more and already inadequate social services cut back even further.

Continuing the radical redistribution of wealth (from those at the bottom to those at the top) which took off under Reagan, *both* bosses parties aim to transfer even more wealth out of the pockets of the poor and into the reserves of the rich. Making working people tighten their belts around already lean waists while bloated bankers and bondholders continue to gorge themselves on "free trade" *a la* NAFTA and GATT is their idea of trimming the fat. Meanwhile, in America's big cities, the gap between rich and poor more and more rivals that of "Third World" countries like Guatemala.

...To bail out the rich

At the same time as both bosses' parties rage against welfare for the poor and needy, they continue to increase welfare for the rich and greedy. Supposedly that provides "incentive" for the ruling class, which

monopolize the wealth that working people create for them, to get the economy moving again. Needless to say, they are only going to do so under conditions favorable to their profit margins, not to the livelihoods of the majority of the population that has to work for a living.

So more money than ever is slated for the already bloated Pentagon budget. Along with what's already being spent on various covert wars around the world and the overt invasion and occupation of Haiti, this amounts to little more than a handout to the military-industrial complex. No funds can be found for America's deteriorating inner cities but billions are on hand to prop the rulers of Mexico and Russia as they attempt to do their economies what Clinton and Gingrich are doing here...and benefit the same American bosses in the process.

Having already increase taxes on workers to the point where most tax dollars come out of our paychecks, they now propose even more tax breaks for those who need them the least since they already make the most. And while badly needed

social services are on the chopping block, the billions slated to go to interest payments on the debt (and the debt itself) to billionaire bankers and bondholders remain scared cows.

Since the two-party system in fact means one party rule of the rich, by the rich and for the rich, workers are supposed to silently take this one-sided war on the poor which threatens to impoverish millions and set the clock before the new deal when the raw deal was standard fare for all those who had to work for living. That is the grim future that continued rule by the rich, be it under the Republicans or Democrats, holds out for the vast majority of the American population. And yet the riches and resources, not to mention the productive capacity for creating g them in abundance clearly exit. Only as long as they remain in the hands of a handful, and as long as corporate greed takes priority over human need, poverty, not plenty will be our lot in life.

Without struggle there can be no progress

The gains made by minorities in the sixties and under attack today were all won by the militant struggle of the civil rights and black power movements. The limited social welfare measures now under assault were likewise products of the militant labor upsurge of the 1930s. The lesson is clear: without struggle there can be no progress. Only in both those periods, the American ruling class still enjoyed enough elbow room on the world market so it could afford to grant a few reforms in order to contain such struggles. Today, however, it face stiffer challenges than ever before from its rivals, so all of its representatives agree that even more austerity is on the order of the day for working people.

Therefore, to propose letter-writing and lobbying the same politicians who dance to the tune that Wall Street whistles is a deadly illusion. It will disarm any effective fightback...just as any and all support to the Democrats has always tied the hands of organized labor and the movements of the exploited and oppressed. Militant mass actions that mobilize working class politics are what's needed; not continued crawling and groveling before the same politicians who take turns in enforcing austerity.

For labor action against the "contract"

It is the working class which controls the creation and flow of wealth in this coun-

continued on next page



Philadelphia Transit Workers Win Modest Gains

By Michael Schreiber

Philadelphia - Last month, striking transit workers vowed to do "whatever it takes" to gain a decent contract from the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). The strike remained solid for 14 days. And yet, union negotiators settled for a contract with very few gains.

Beginning on March 28, about 5,200 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 - drivers, mechanics, janitors, cashiers, and other workers - shut down the City division of the nation's fourth largest transit system. The timing of the walk-out was quite effective since it occurred during the busy pre-Easter shopping season.

The suburban Red Arrow division soon closed down when SEPTA locked out the workers, members of United Transportation Union Local 1594. Finally, on April 7, about 300 drivers and mechanics on SEPTA's Frontier division also walked off the job after their contracts expired.

The regional rail lines and the subway line to New Jersey, however, remained in steady operation during the strike. In fact, rail ridership increased 60 percent.

On one afternoon, TWU picketers stood across the tracks of a single rail line, which disrupted service for a few hours. But the TWU leadership made little attempt to organize picket lines outside the rail barns, or to appeal to the rail unions to call out their members in solidarity. If this had been done, the railworkers would have been eager to express their solidarity, since they too are under attack.

After 14 days, morale remained high among the strikers, although many union members were suffering economic hardship. The TWU had no strike fund and paid no benefits to strikers. And SEPTA had stopped paying medical benefits.

In the early morning of April 10, a tentative settlement was announced between SEPTA and union negotiators. By evening, most buses, trolleys, and subway cars were in operation again. Unfortunately, the workers were sent back to work without even having seen the new contract. Voting was not scheduled until five days later.

According to the settlement terms that were announced publicly, workers will receive a 3% yearly raise. However, the raises will take place each Dec. 15 rather than toward the beginning of the year, as the union had demanded. Thus, wages will likely fall behind the rate of inflation.

SEPTA agreed to minor improvements in sick pay. As in the old contract, workers will get no pay at all for the first three days of illness. Starting on the fourth day, they will get a mere 45% of their pay, up from 39%.

Pensions for future retirees were a key issue during the strike. Under the old contract, SEPTA gave the workers no credit pensions on wages above 35,000 a year. In the settlement, SEPTA agreed to raise the "cap" to \$40,000.

But the union gave up concessions in regard to workers' compensation. Under their formula, injured workers will be paid slightly less than their regular wage and can be placed in an expanded list of "light duty" jobs.

The settlement was brokered behind the scenes by an official from the mayor's office. After the agreement was announced, Philadelphia's Democratic Party Mayor Rendell - obviously believing that the strike was brief enough to have done him little damage - said that the workers "deserved the raises and they worked hard for them".

But two weeks earlier, Rendell had taken an entirely different position. As the strike

deadline approached, he scolded SEPTA workers, saying that they should feel lucky to even have a job. He then urged SEPTA officials to stand fast in their anti-labor proposals.

Nor did the striking workers receive any sympathy from members of the City Council. These mainly Democratic Party politicians, who had once styled themselves "friends" of labor, were now either silent or downright hostile to the union. The SEPTA brass had big business behind them as well. According to The Philadelphia Enquirer, prior to the strike, SEPTA officials got the approval of the executive board of the Chamber of Commerce for their tight-fisted negotiations strategy. In effect, the city's capitalist establishment and the elected officials that represent it decided together to force a strike.

The Philadelphia city administration contributes less funds to its transit system than any one of the other 20 largest metropolitan areas, although it gives away a fortune in dividends to the bankers and the millionaire bond-holders. But these facts were generally ignored by the media, while they concentrated on horror stories about poor people who could no longer get to supermarkets, clinics, schools, and jobs because of the walk-out.

The Daily News, a low-brow tabloid that claims to be a "working-class" newspaper, took particular delight in poking fun at Local 234's flamboyant president, Harry Lombardo labeling him the "guru" of the TWU.

Lombardo, to his credit, stood up for the rank-and-file unionists during the strike. "It's tough for workers," he pointed out, "and not because there's not any money. It's because the money is being concentrated into a smaller number of people's

hands."

Lombardo repeatedly denounced the city administration as one that works "for the benefit of the rich and privileged." He put down SEPTA's chief spokesperson as a "million dollar pimp."

After the settlement was announced, however, Lombardo was more subdued. "You can't always get what you want," he said. "What more can we possibly gain by staying out, and is it worth it?"

A couple of days after the tentative settlement, I spoke to some rank-and-file bus drivers who were back on the job. They told me that although the union officials were trying to "sell" the new contract, and most drivers seemed to favor it, some were having second thoughts. The new contract "looked real good in the newspapers," one said. "But what did we really get?"

It appears to me that the TWU leadership could have obtained much more for the union members, given the strength of the strike.

Lombardo and three other union officials, despite their radical sloganeering and stunts for the media, never took the elementary step of setting up effective picket lines outside the rail barns. But even so, the strikers were united to the end; nobody went back to work until it was over. Buses and trolleys were at a standstill. The center city corporations and department stores were clearly hurting and agitating for a settlement.

In the end, the Lombardo leadership (no doubt feeling pressure from the TWU international) simply gave in and opted for an easy compromise with management.

This article was reprinted from *Socialist Action*.

... War on the bosses parties

continued from previous page

try, not Clinton, Gingrich or their bosses on Wall St. It is those workers, still organized into powerful multiracial unions, who, through their collective activity, can stop that flow of wealth and bring the bosses to their knees. And in going so, they can rally behind them all of the nation's working people and poor. Similar such struggle by Italian and French workers hand already forced "their" right wing governments to back off from their anti-labor agendas.

With their across-the-board attacks on all worker, the bosses have laid the basis for a unified fightback by all workers. That is why they need to constantly scapegoat the most vulnerable sectors of the oppressed (i.e., welfare mothers, immigrant workers, etc.) as a desperate divide-and-rule ploy. Only what stands in the way of a unified and effective fightback are the pro-capitalist union leaders and the middle class misleaders of the movements of the specially oppressed. Through their ties to the Democratic party. All of them sabotage any and every fight before it begins. For when the bosses say cutback, they say "share the pain," instead of fightback. As if those who inflict the pain in the first place have any intention of feeling it.

Break with the Democrats...

Any economic struggle against the agenda proposed by both Republicans and democrats entails a real political struggle: building a labor party, based on the unions and a program of militant class struggle that will fight for the interests of working people and not bow to those of Wall St. That means fighting not just at the ballot box but on the battle lines and picket lines of all the struggles of the exploited and oppressed.

Such a party would have the potential to unite behind it not just workers and the

poor, but even those sections of the middle class hardest hit by the current crisis. But to do so it must address our needs and not those of our needs and not those of common exploiters and oppressors as do those who support the Democrats...and thus accept cutbacks as "inevitable" products of a system that the Democrats up-holds every bit as much as the Republicans do.

Already corporate greed has ignited no shortage of struggle against it from coast to coast. In California, Workers have united to fight back against the racist proposition 187.

In the mid-west, Staley, Caterpillar and firestone workers are contorting the unionbusters head-on. On April 9th, thousands converged in Washington to defend abortion rights. And sentiment for a labor party, reflected in LPA, is beginning to make more and more headway within the unions themselves, forcing even some of the bureaucrats to talk tough. Only talk is not enough; the struggle to build a political voice for labor entails a rank-and-file rebellion to oust those same pro-Democrats party bureaucrats who stifle labor's economic voice by refusing to even fightback at that level...because of their support to the Democrats.

...Build a labor party

A fighting labor party can and must be built through linking up all these struggles on a political level, both locally and nationally. That entails articulating a class struggle program that poses a real alternative to both bosses' parties such a program begins with a fightback against the current round of cutbacks but must end with working people making and taking the power for themselves through socialist revolution so that the riches and resources created by the majority can finally be used to benefit that majority and not the minority that monopolizes them now!

...Sri-Lanka

advantage possessed by the government. **Free Trade and Free Death**

The policy of giving free reign to foreign multi-nationals, the setting up of free trade zones, where workers were stripped of all protection and foreign capital reaped super profits launched by the previous UNP regime helped to exacerbate the tensions between different regions of the country as development took on a very uneven pattern. Since the so-called liberalization was launched the Sri-Lankan bourgeoisie has enriched itself and foreign consumer goods are commonplace in the capital and other urban centers. The remaining 99% of the country have suffered enormous economic hardship, increasing unemployment, stagnating real wages and war. A left wing rebellion led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), a Maoist organization, erupted in the South of the country in the mid-80s as thousands of youth facing the prospect of unemployment reacted against the UNP government's give to the rich policies. This was crushed brutally by the UNP, which created death squads that "disappeared" thousands of rural Scintilla youth.

The PA came into power on the promise that it will not end the unbridled rule of the profiteers and have a "capitalism with a human face". The sweeping victory of the PA emboldened the working class which feeling it had a government in power that was on its side launched a spate of strikes against bosses that had ruled with contempt for almost two decades. Sri-Lankan workers played hardball against bosses too used to being able to layoff workers on whim. Several capitalists were taken hostage and one was threatened with being thrown off the roof if he did not hire back the employees he had felt like firing. Workers were able to win many of their demands and the PA regime committed to

continuing free market policies but having promised relief to workers were unable to crack down immediately. However Sri-Lankan and foreign capitalists were assured that order will be restored and that no change will be made in its pro-capitalist policies.

It is only through a workers revolution that peace and prosperity be brought to this troubled land. The resources of Sri-Lanka must be brought under the democratic control of its workers and the uneven development which is blowing the country apart be halted. A revolutionary front must be launched by the Sinhala workers of the South, calling for a plan of egalitarian economic development for the whole country and the recognition of the right of the Tamil people to self-determination. It is only such a program that will unite the people of all ethnicity's and religions under one banner and bring an end to the torrent of blood being spilled by the workers and poor.

Since the so-called liberalization was launched the Sri-Lankan bourgeoisie has enriched itself and foreign consumer goods are commonplace in the capital and other urban centers. The remaining 99% of the country have suffered enormous economic hardship, increasing unemployment, stagnating real wages and war.

Market Liberalization and the Rise of Fascism In India

By MD Wijerama

The recent victory at the polls of the far right Hindu chauvinist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Shiv Sena (SS) in the Indian states of Maharashtra and Gujarat comes in the wake of increasing communalist violence between Hindus and Moslems. Tensions between the many ethnic and religious groups of India a huge nation, comparable in size to continental Europe and with a population of over 800 million have intensified with the move towards mass privatization of industry. The logic of privatization, dictated by the US and its international financial institutions the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, has led to mass layoffs and attacks on the already meager standard of living of millions of Indian workers and peasants.

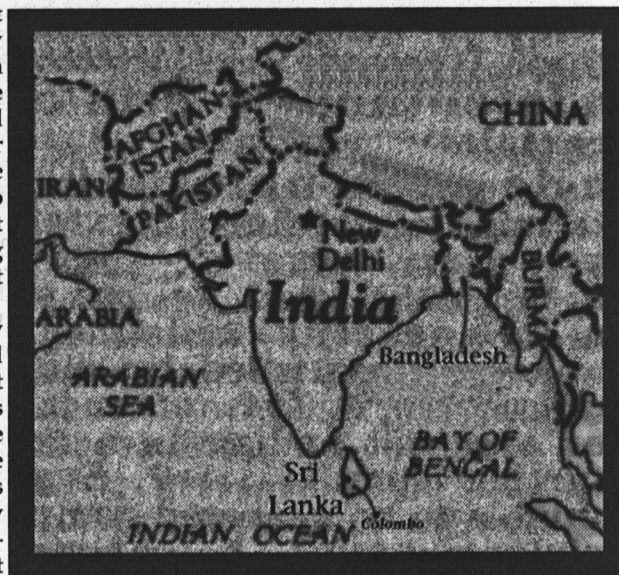
The Indian bourgeoisie without its Soviet prop has opened the doors to western capital hungry for the super-profits that could be garnered by exploiting Indian labor. In order to facilitate this the ruling Congress party has begun the process of selling off nationalized industry leading to massive layoffs and devastation for the toiling masses. The increased misery of the people has heightened the search for radical alternatives. The bourgeois parties - Congress and Janata Dal as well as the reformist workers parties - the Communists, are all seen as parties of the established order. The far right BJP and SS through its demagogic appeal to Hindu chauvinism and ultra-nationalism poses itself as an alternative. Despite bombastic militancy they represent the same "free market" misery. The expatriate newspaper India Today in its March 17th issue reported: "The big question on everyone's

lips is what implications the Congress Party's debacle would have for ongoing economic reform programs. And surprisingly, the popular perception among the business and industrial communities here is not so grim. In fact the refrain is, *nothing will throw the reforms off course*. The BJP and SS are largely parties representing India's small owners who are also being hit hard by the influx of foreign capital. LK Advani the leader of the BJP has stated, "Foreign capital should be welcome only in high technology areas of infrastructure. ... There is no harm in having a power project set up by a foreign multinational company. But in the consumer sector, where there are a lot of small industrial units and cottage industries providing employment to millions, if you allow foreign companies to come in it will render hundreds of thousands jobless." Paul Brass, a US "India scholar", speaking at a forum at Columbia University in NYC stressed the importance afforded a strong central state by the Indian ruling class: "The method increasingly pursued by the central government in the case of secessionism, and proposed to be strengthened by the BJP, is brutal suppression of all secessionist threats and insistence on the full integration of Muslims in India as politically Hindu India". Speaking of this Hindu chauvinism Brass continued, "moreover, it has now become entrenched as the predominant ideology of the upper class, upper caste Hindu society in northern India." The BJP and SS play the role of the armed thugs of Indian big bourgeois who at this point are willing to tolerate some demagogic anti-western sentiment in exchange for terrorizing Moslems and other minorities into submission.

The so-called market liberalization inevitably entails sharply uneven development to the detriment of in general India's workers and poor and also whole regions. The far right uses this to heighten communalist tensions by scapegoating non-Hindus for the plight of the suffering masses.

The Indian ruling class by virtue of its wealth and power will not and cannot oppose the dictates of its senior rulers in the US. The resulting divisions that are created between the peoples of India likewise will only be contained through violence. These divisions are at once fostered by the policies of privatization and then suppressed through violence.

The working class of India has grown tremendously since independence. There are two mass workers parties in the Communist Party Of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India - Marxist (CPI-M) which have controlled the state governments of West Bengal and Kerala for many years. However they have modeled themselves in the bureaucratic fashion of their former counterparts in Moscow instead of fighting for a workers revolution and socialism. The ideology of revolutionary socialism as espoused by Marx and Engels in the 19th century and the Bolsheviks in the 20th is the only ideology which proposes a radical egalitarian alternative to capital-



ism by uniting the working class irregardless of race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, etc. to take control of the means of production and use it for meeting needs instead of profit. The Indian Communists have strayed far from that uncompromising militancy of egalitarianism towards compromise with the Indian bourgeoisie. As such millions of Indian toilers while attracted to the banner of communism are frustrated by the complicity of the Communist parties in the crisis of Indian society. Indian workers urgently require the building of a revolutionary communist party in the tradition of the Bolsheviks which will unite the people around the banner of equality based on workers power if India is not to head down the path of the former Yugoslavia or worse.

Sri-Lanka: The Killing Fields Resume Only Revolution Will Bring Peace!!!

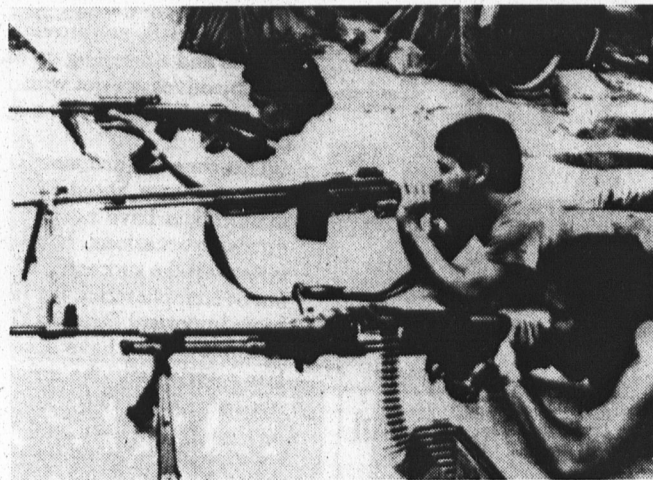
By MD Wijerama

The peace process entered into by the Peoples Alliance (PA) government and the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has collapsed. The LTTE has downed two Airforce transport planes killing 94 servicemen and sank the largest Navy vessel killing all board.

The PA swept into power at the end of last '94 with the promise of ending the reign of terror of the previous United National Party (UNP) regime which had ruled with a tight fist for 17 years. Amongst the main promises of the PA, a cross class alliance of the main opposition bourgeois party and reformist workers parties, was an end to the war between the Sri-Lankan government and the separatist LTTE. The war was bloody, costing some 70,000 lives and billions of dollars in this poor semi-colonial country off the southern coast of India.

The PA regime since beginning the peace process had lifted the economic embargo on the North and East regions of the country which are LTTE strongholds and had inaugurated a plan of economic reconstruction to rebuild the war ravaged North-east. These moves were welcomed by the LTTE. However the LTTE demanded that the Pooneryn army base in the North be dismantled which the PA regime was not ready to accede to. The LTTE has carried out limited but devastating attacks on military installations to push its agenda in the peace process, the first being the sinking of two Navy vessels at the beginning of the peace process 4 months ago.

The latest attacks came at a time when the heads of state of South Asian countries were meeting at a regional conference, SAARC, to promote free trade and cooperation in security matters. In fact this was a major concern raised by Sri-Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga. The LTTE may have seen this as a sign of bad faith on the part of the PA regime. The PA regime is confronted with the possibility of resuming the war with the LTTE. However by all accounts the Sri-Lankan military is ill prepared for resuming an all out offensive while the LTTE, has equipped itself with surface to air missiles nullifying the air



LTTE separatists fight for mini-capitalist state

cont. previous page

The Soviet Collapse and Indian Development

The collapse of the Soviet Union, India's primary trade partner since its independence from imperial Britain, has placed India and all other semi-colonial countries at the mercy of US capitalism. The ruling class of India through its main political party - The Congress Party has lurched to the right, accepting the US New World Order and its policy of privatization's, layoffs and budget cuts.

It is instructive to contrast to India, the response of revolutionary Cuba, a country where the means of production were taken away from the ruling few and put to the use of employing, feeding, clothing, sheltering and otherwise serving the vast majority - the workers and peasants. Despite the US led economic embargo to starve Cuba into submission Cuba has not accepted the New World Order slavery. Unlike revolutionary Cuba, India remained capitalist after its formal independence from Britain.

The Indian bourgeoisie, the lackeys of British capitalism, led by Near and Mahatma Gandhi, were able to consolidate power. The Indian workers and peasants who waged a heroic battle to expel the brutal British colonialists lacked a revolutionary political party that could lead it to bring the resources of India under its control and for its use. However, India as with all former colonial nations was already stunted in its development, lacking a strong indigenous industrial base and a strong indigenous bourgeois class. The Indian bourgeoisie had to implement industrialization through the medium of the state rather than through the process of slow capitalist development as had occurred in the old imperialist capitalism's of Europe and America. The alliance with the Soviet Union was determined by these parameters. The provision by the USSR of considerable aid and cheap oil and technology was vital for Indian development in a world where US imperialism was hell bent on using the "Third World" as a source of super cheap labor, raw material depots and assembly centers. However the alliance with the Soviets was opportunist on the part of the Stalinists in Moscow as well as the Indian ruling class. The bureaucratic caste that sat upon the Soviet workers state like a festering pimple was more interested in "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism than promoting the revolutionary aspirations of Indian toilers, as a result through their satellite party in India, the Communist Party of India (CPI) they gave support to the bourgeois Congress Party.

Congress has ruled post independence India almost continuously till today. The role of Congress as the leading bourgeois party of India and the leading political force of India is being challenged by the far right BJP/SS. Fascism becomes the new face of the Indian bourgeoisie in a period when the stability of the Indian State is being undermined by the secessionist forces unleashed through its prostration before US imperialism's New World Order.

**DOWN WITH FREE MARKET, COMMUNALIST SLAUGHTER!
FOR A SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF SOUTH ASIA!!**

Stop Retrenchment! No Cuts! No Layoffs!

Administration taking its cue from its bosses at City Hall and Albany has announced a "Retrenchment" plan for the elimination of \$6.6 million worth of departments, faculty and staff. *This even before the cuts have been finalized by their superiors.* Administrations role as management who serve the sole purpose of policing the City University for the budget slashers is clear. The presence on the so-called "Retrenchment Committee" of Student Government "leaders" and faculty is a betrayal of the fight to stop the cuts. However, it is not these practitioners of "realism" that will determine the outcome of the struggle. The mass and militant action of CSI and other CUNY students as witnessed on March 23 is what will halt the budget ax of Pataki and Giuliani. Pataki did announce after the 23rd that he would *reduce* the cut backs. The rogues gallery that comprised the Committee stand exposed before the students, faculty and staff of CSI. The can talk all they want about "fair" firings and elimination of classes as long as that list does not include them. It only makes it clear who our allies are and who our enemies are. While Student Government members support their President it is clear by the last SG elections, where only 240 students voted, that they have the least support of the student body. As for the faculty members on the Retrenchment Committee we ask - Will you hand deliver the pink slips to your colleagues?



As summer approaches, students empty out of the university yet the cuts remain looming over us. Student militants must look to organized labor. The working class has no summer vacation, it will be at its posts, in the subways, hospitals, factories and offices. It is they who have the power to turn off the spigot of profit that is the life blood of Wall Street and its hired goons in Albany and City Hall. It is organized labor that can shut the city down through a general strike and send the budget cutters scurrying. We know that organized labor too has its bureaucrats - the agents of the bosses. We must appeal to the rank and file, and particularly those rank and file oppositions like New Directions in the Transport Workers Union (TWU), who act in the interests of the ordinary worker, who act on the basis of class independence and class struggle. CUNY militants must enter into an alliance with New Directions and all workers who are ready to kick some boss ass. The money exists, the Fortune 500 millionaires of New York who live in luxury while we are being cut, fired, and shot at by NYPD, will pay for their budget crisis not us. Tax the Rich! Cancel the Debt! Students and Workers Unite!!!

ATTENTION: All School Employees Rally to Stop the School Budget Cuts

Thursday, May 25 • 4:00 PM. • City Hall Park

Which of the following prospects pushes your buttons?

- Larger classes
- Classes held in auditorium, gyms, hallways, cafeterias and closets
- Larger caseloads / fewer support services
- Fewer course offerings: art, music, business, phys ed, languages electives
- Scarcer supplies, textbooks
- Salary cuts (loss of EIT funding)
- Accelerated building deterioration
- Demands for contract "savings"
- More students, fewer paras in special ed classes
- Loss of summer school, sports, after school programs
- Skeleton office staffs
- Restricted library hours, fewer librarians
- Food and transportation cutbacks

if any of these have you worried, take action!
Our schools face almost \$800 million in funding cuts. After \$1.4 billion lost in the last four years — and more students streaming in annually — all of the above can result if we do nothing. You have a major stake in the outcome of this crisis.

Sing up today to stand with your colleagues to protest the education budget cuts — and save our students' futures and the future of our profession. let your voice be heard at city hall on may 25, at 4:00 p.m. — because— a million minds matter.

United Federation of Teachers (UFT)

THE COLLEGE VOICE

The College of Staten Island Student Newspaper

Editorial Board

J.P. Patafio
Managing Editor

COMMENTARY EDITOR,
FEATURES EDITOR,
ARTS EDITOR,
PHOTOGRAPHY EDITOR,
ADVERTISING MANAGER,
COPY EDITOR,

Sarah Husain
Manjula Wijerama
Debra Behr & Lou Bardel
Still Searching
Sean Madigan
Frank Giallombardo

DEVON BLINTH
EDITOR-AT-LARGE

Faculty Advisor,

Onwuchekwa Jemie

Staff: Matsunaga Kyoko, Craig R. Whitney,
Ken Changpertitum, Adel Assishi, Sean Madigan, Marco Sante

Contributors: Barry Lituchy, Tom Smith, Chris Anderson

Know Us: THE COLLEGE VOICE IS A MONTHLY NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED BY THE STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF STATEN ISLAND.

Reach Us: OUR OFFICE IS LOCATED AT 2800 VICTORY BLVD, RM. 1C-230, STATEN ISLAND, NY 10314 Tel. 718.982.3091, Fax 718.982.3098.

Sue Us: OPINIONS EXPRESSED ARE THE WRITERS AND NOT NECESSARILY SHARED BY ANYONE ELSE. NO PART OF THIS PUBLICATION MAY BE REPRINTED IN WHOLE OR IN PART, IN ANY FORM, WITHOUT THE PERMISSION OF THE EDITORS. THE COLLEGE VOICE IS A MEMBER OF THE COLUMBIA SCHOLASTIC PRESS ASSOCIATION, THE ASSOCIATED COLLEGIATE PRESS AND THE COLLEGE MEDIA ADVISOR

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED UNDER COPYRIGHT LAW

A RESPONSE TO STUPIDITY

FIRST GET YOUR FACTS STRAIGHT THEN WRITE, OR AT LEAST YOUR BRAIN IN PLACE

By Sarah Husain

This is a response to an article written by Chris Zeyer, "Stupidity of a Protester II: The Town Meeting" in the Banner Issue XIV.

Chris Zeyer has written two pieces about the budget cuts fight back, both of the pieces are outrageous and makes a student wonder if he is for or against the cuts. When discussing the cuts, readers would appreciate that a college student write something factual and readable. Making comments like:

I couldn't stand watching students parading around practicing acts of futility. I figured it was youth and ignorance spewing their opinion. I found out a few weeks ago that age and arrogance can be just as foolish.

Mr. Zeyer obviously does not understand, I guess because as he says he "has no life" that the proposed budget cuts to CUNY is no joke.

These cuts that threaten to shut

thousands of students out of an education, are the highest cuts in the history of CUNY. The cuts propose to increase tuition by a d \$1000 (the result of a \$148 million cut in state funding), a 10% cut in Financial Aid, the elimination of SEEK, elimination of thousands of classes and laying off of 100's of faculty and staff.

On March 23 when 20,000 students came out to protest the cuts, they weren't there "practicing acts of futility", or coming out to protest for their education because they had nothing better to do or don't have "no life." March 23 was a historical day, that protest was one of the largest since the Vietnam protests in NYC. It was a mass militant action that was organized independently by students, not by some so-called "student leaders" (SG) or NYPIRG or Administration. As a result it forced the politicians to announce that there will be reduction in the proposed cuts.

One lesson to be learned from the 23, that the "violence" that broke out was initiated by the NYPD, the hired thugs of the State and City politicians. Obviously those 20,000 or more High School and CUNY students were a threat to the present economic situation of the City. Since the Republicans and the Democrats are proposing to cut all sectors of the social services that working people rely upon, the 23 the march down to Wall street would've been a catalyst for other sectors such as labor to launch a fight back against the cuts. The demand of those students to march to Wall street was directed towards the Rich who control the City. Surely this symbolic act was carried out with help of workers on April 4 and it raised the consciousness of the Working Class of this City, State and Country.

The violent response of the State illustrates the class conflict that are rising between the ruling rich and the working class. The uneven distribution of wealth under capitalist system, is becoming evident more and more due to the cuts that the two leading parties keep throwing on the backs of the working class. The only way to control the situation, the politicians unleash their hired thugs, the cops, by macing, clubbing and arresting students.

The "picnic"? I Think Not!

He goes on to call the town hall meeting on April 13th a "protesting prostitution" and a "picnic." Transit getting cut is no "picnic", this City not only relies on public transportation, but the proposed cuts will fire 100's of workers. The cuts to Health Care and Hospitals threaten to eliminate

30,000 home-care workers, who are women, black and Latinos. Medicaid alone is being slated of 1.3 billion dollars, which is the State's single biggest employer.

On April 13, when Pataki came to Staten Island, his first visit since the budget cuts were proposed, he believed that he would not get a negative reception to his budget proposal. Well, he got a surprise. More than 500 Transit workers from Amalgamated Transit Union and School bus drivers were out in force. The whole auditorium was full, not just the "upper back bleachers", Mr. Zeyer. This action was not "cute"

Nobody "wasted time for questioning" because the protestors weren't there to negotiate, they were plainly there to convey the message in force against the budget cuts. Pataki spoke of so-called "democracy." For whom? Well the workers there exposed it by their chants and jeers that the proposed budget cuts didn't come out of a democratic procedure. plainly these budget cuts only benefit a the few rich and hurt the majority who are the working people

or "protesting prostitution" it was a threat to politicians as well as their Multi-millionaire bosses. The Transit workers have the power to shut the city down, if they go on a strike this city can not move. An example is the Philadelphia Transit workers Strike. The workers there went on a strike for 12 days and won all of their demands. If Mr. Zeyer calls a workers protest a "picnic", he surely does not understand the social power of the workers.

The strike in Philadelphia was not heard of in the corporate media and this obviously negates Mr. Zeyer's comment that "each group" at the April 13th protest was "trying to entice a media person with sayings like 'Come here, I got something you can print, or showing off their big, bright signs for a camera.'" Any fool, unfortunately not Zeyer, who looks closely at the News knows how racist and bias it is. The only thing that it is successful in doing is brain washing people, and Mr. Zeyer is definitely one of them.

Democracy for Whom?

The workers as well as CUNY students were not "just wasting time for questioning with all the hooting and hollering." Pataki was only their for his own benefits. He wanted to support for and defend his budget proposal. Nobody "wasted time for questioning" because the protestors weren't there to negotiate, they were plainly there to convey the message in force against the budget cuts. Pataki spoke of so-called "democracy." For whom? Well the workers there exposed it by their chants and jeers that the proposed budget cuts didn't come out of a democratic procedure. plainly these budget cuts only benefit a the few rich and hurt the majority who are the working people.

The question posed to Pataki about taxing wall street, evidently Mr. Zeyer doesn't understand. That question was not only for Pataki but to expose the Republican and the Democratic parties politics as well as who they represent. Both parties in this country are of the ruling class. Recently Clinton gave \$50 billion to Wall Street to bail them out of Mexico and Giuliani gave a \$50 million tax break to 1st Boston Bank, one of the richest bank in the world. Surely, these two decisions that both the Republican and the Democratic parties made weren't in any benefit of the working class. The only thing that both parties offer is to eliminate Welfare, education and health care to built prisons and further poverty for the masses.

Pataki's answer to that question, that if

he taxed the rich he would be "taxing them right into New Jersey" is a foot in his own mouth. His answer only exposes the fact that workers are held hostage by the corporations. His logic only crystallizes the fact that ruling class dictates the lives of the majority of the people in this country and world wide. If corporations get taxed then they will move to another place to find cheap labor and exploit workers their. Why is it such a big problem for corporations to switch places? Because they leave workers jobless and misery. And the conclusion is that workers are the slaves of corporations. When the politicians cry about a so-called "deficit crisis" and start cutting social services to pay off the loans to the rich and corporations who by government bonds. By cutting social services they further increase poverty and misery by layoff City and State workers to benefit the rich by trying to "balance" the budget which they create themselves.

Think before you write!

The so-called "sheer stupidity" that you, Mr. Zeyer, call the questions of the protestors on April 13th, only shows your own "sheer stupidity." The lack of content in your superficial criticisms is revealed in your paternal suggestions to the "misguided protestors". You suggest that protestors should remain orderly (as if there can be order when people's lives are in danger due to the cuts) and ask the magical questions that will catch "THE MAN" (Pataki) "off guard."

It is obvious that you pose formal rec-

WHITHER THE CUNY STUDENT MOVEMENT?

By Barry Lituch

On March 23rd 1995 the CUNY Coalition mobilized over 20,000 people for one of the largest and most militant demonstrations against New York City's ruling class in history. With only ten days to organize, the same coalition joined forces with the hospital workers' union, 1199, to put some 15,000 students and workers into the streets for a march and demonstration at Wall Street that called for the full reversal of the budget cut proposal and demand that the government to increase the taxes upon the richest layer of society, the capitalist class. In little more than a month a powerful new movement took hold of this city and shook it to its foundations. Unlike the fake-left alternatives of Democratic Party hacks, union (mis)leaderships, isolated sects and race & gender identity cults, the CUNY student movement built a united front on the principles of militant direct action and class struggle politics led by the city's predominantly black and latino working class youth. Where all other movements have failed, the CUNY movement has ignited a broad based fight back against the proposed budget cuts to the city's and state's working class that has a chance to win.

But just when the CUNY movement has won the respect and admiration of the entire state, and possibly the entire country, it appears that the coalition may do the unthinkable — fall apart. Will the CUNY coalition snatch defeat out of the jaws of victory? Let's hope not. An effort must be made to overcome the fatigue and disappointment that unfinished business brings in the aftermath of great exertion. The need to pause and reflect upon the successes and weaknesses to consider the options for the coalition. The coalition needs a balance sheet of the work it has organized thus far.

The goal of the coalition has been to stop

ommendations because you lack any substantial analysis of the politics, beneath the smiles of the politicians you don't at all pose an alternative of fighting the cuts. Your fascination with "image" replaces the political demands that must be put forward. This is not accidental on your part.

Unlike you, we have an alternative to the cuts (some of which you do not understand but yet have the arrogance to criticize) based upon the needs of working people. When we put forward the demand to tax the rich, a demand that received mass support from the crowd that day, it is with the understanding that we know that the politicians will avoid at all cost the implementation of such measures. They don't want to tax the corporation because it is against their interest, that is the interest of the bosses. When we demand that there should be no layoffs, no budget cuts it is not just some "wanna-be 60's" who want to scream in front of the cameras but is based upon the needs of students and workers.

In the end the fundamental problem is one of ownership of the means of production, that is the private ownership of the industries and banks that produce all the wealth in society. We want to place the future of society into the hands of those that produce it - the workers, not the fat administrators or capitalist. The way in which this will be accomplished is through the ranting and raving that you, with foolish pride, denounce so arrogantly.

the budget cuts by militant, mass action. The work done thus far has been successful in showing that CUNY students have the power to build such actions and to give leadership and a voice to broad sectors of the population of this state. Through militant grass roots leadership thrown up from the various campuses, the CUNY student movement has gained hegemony over all other possible leaderships from CUNY in fighting the budget cuts: USS, administration, faculty and faculty union. The coalition has been able to do this because of the political positions it has taken. These political principles are not as fully developed as they should be — but they have been sufficient to provide the alternative vision and strategy that the working people of this city and state have been desperately crying out for years. The roots of this vision lie in the implicitly class struggle perspective taken by the coalition. The coalition has united black, latino, asian and white working people around a set of demands that are based not on the ruling class' explanation of what is and isn't "possible" in this city, but rather on the real needs of working class youth, and especially the needs of the doubly and triply exploited wpmen, black and latino youth who singled out deliberately by Pataki and Guiliani for destruction. In other words, the coalition has put forward demands that fall outside of the realm of capitalist possibilities and envision a CUNY that would serve the interest of the community instead of big business interests. The demands for free tuition and open admission, no cuts, no disciplinary action against protesters, etc. But above all, these demands have been linked to one strategic goal: SHUT THE CITY DOWN! This will be accomplished through a general strike of the workers of this city with the support of the communities in which they live.

continued on page 11

PART-TIME PRESSURES

By Paula T. Melleby-McKeown

I enjoy going to school at CSI. I have been a part-time student here since 1984, attending nights and weekends, as do a large majority of part-time students. Unfortunately, I have continuously found services severely limited for part-time students.

After trying for several years to make various excuses, including underclassman status and bad luck, I have realized that CSI does not understand the part-time student's plight. I am not accusing the administration of purposely ignoring a large percentage of their students. I truly believe it's accidental, but it is happening, which is sad for a school that has one of the largest offerings of night and weekend classes in the CUNY and SUNY systems. Now, with the drastic budget cuts currently looming over CSI's head, I am afraid the already limited services to us will become virtually non-existent.

I have experienced many obstacles during my years at CSI. I have had to work different majors and in each case have never met my advisor, and not for a lack of trying. Every time I have been assigned an advisor, he has never been available at night or on the weekend. During my earlier years here, I tried several times to meet my advisor by taking days off from work to be at their office during their posted hours. But it never worked out: either the postings were wrong, the line was too long and the advisor had to leave because his office time had expired, or the wrong campus had been listed. I still have not met my current advisor simply because he only has two individually posted office hours each during the day. I believe advisors should be assigned to students based on that student's enrollment status, as well as the type of degree they are seeking. Why assign an advisor when, if your advisor is not available at night. In many student's cases, they are taking an option within a degree major where the assigned advisor is the only one in that option.

Some may wonder why a part-time student doesn't just take a day off from work to accomplish a few administrative functions. Those who wonder about this are usually full time student or attend during the day. A part-time student usually works during the day and has limited amounts of time to take off from work. A student could end up using most of their time attending to functions at this school, if their boss allows them to take the time to begin with, not including time usually taken off to study for midterms or finals during the semester.

Besides the advisor situation, there is registration. At most colleges, registration is a simple one step process and can even be done over the phone. But at CSI, if you follow the school's rule, you should see your advisor well in advance of registration to discuss your progress. Since you are given an assigned time and date to register, you better be there at that time or you can almost be guaranteed those classes will be closed if you wait too long. Since there is only one late night for the registrar's office, if your registration falls right before or after that time, you run a high risk of that class being closed by the time the next late night arrives. The Registrar's hours are 11-4 Monday through Wednesday, 11-8 on Thursdays and closed on Fridays. Once again, the school is ignoring those students who work in the city or at jobs that do not allow them to be at Willowbrook in the middle of the morning or the middle of the afternoon. Registration could be conducted over a shorter period of time if hours were adjusted more realistically for students.

As a part-time student, it takes several years to attain upperclassman status. Even then, the registration process tends to be a grueling ritual that boggles the mind. As a student with senior standing, the classes

I need do not have many sections, with few offered nights and weekends. This semester one summer class was closed out on the second day of registration. It took me two weeks to get an over-tally card from the instructor and register again. Now, as I am writing this article, I have been sent a letter by the school indicating one of my fall classes has been canceled by the college. The reason is assumed to be budget cuts but they have cut a class I need to graduate, which has only one section so therefore, the class has been eliminated altogether from the fall schedule. It's the only class left in that curriculum that meets at night or on the weekend. The letter

part-time student, I am never kept up-to-date on the everyday issues occurring on campus. The only issues that have been brought to light have been the budget cuts and rallies to stop them. This is a vital issue to all of us and has brought together CSI, but it's also the only issue that has been mentioned night and weekend students. Some professors take the time to pass flyers around classes to make you aware of services available to students, but in 11 years of attendance at this school, I have only had two professors kind enough to take the time to do this.

ated simply because of the limited hours of the day they attend college. The part-time student needs to be taken more seriously by both administration and faculty.

Now, as I am writing this article, I have been sent a letter by the school indicating one of my fall classes has been canceled by the college. The reason is assumed to be budget cuts but they have cut a class I need to graduate, which has only one section so therefore, the class has been eliminated altogether from the fall schedule. It's the only class left in that curriculum that meets at night or on the weekend.

ATTENTION NON-DEGREE STUDENTS BECAUSE OF THE UNCERTAIN CUNY BUDGET THE FALL 1995 REGISTRATION OF ALL NON-DEGREE UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS HAS BEEN POSTPONED INDEFINITELY. YOU MAY APPLY FOR MATRICULATED STATUS AT THE ADMISSIONS OFFICE, 2A RM. 208 OR AFTER AUGUST 11, 1995 CALL 982-2120 FOR INFORMATION.

This sign was posted outside of the registration office. This measure by administration has locked out up to 500 non-matriculated students.

tells me I need to be at the school the next day at 11AM and 7PM to add another course. Adding insult to injury, one department tells me I can call the Registrar's office and they can tell me over the phone what classes are available. The registrar's office tells me they are "lying" and cannot do that. I am told that closed classes will be made available to a limited number of students (maybe 2 or 3 seats) shortly before 11AM. This is wonderful for those student whose classes that were closed have other sections they can fit into. My problems are (1) this class has only one section so it is completely closed out; (2) it is the only one left at night in that curriculum, which happens to be my major; and (3) unless I am at the Registrar at 11AM, I will probably not be lucky enough to be one of the first two or three student to get into an already closed class. The person who painfully took the time to tell me this information really didn't care that I simply cannot be there at 11AM because I work. In her opinion, "that's just too bad."

Besides the registration problems, there are other services that are limited for part-time students. The cafeterias close at 8:00 sharp, you have to get to the campus center to get a vending machine. If your class is on the south side of the campus, you can forget it. The staff in the cafeterias don't want to hear it either. They tell you to complain to the administration if you don't like it. They are probably overworked themselves, being there from early in the morning until late at night. Regardless, you can be at a class until 10:00 at night but have no services available to you.

Some other problems are lack of notification of thing going on at the campus, issues discussed and voting of student body. As a

There have been some improvements made for evening and weekend student since the move to the Willowbrook campus. The security offices are open until late at night and security is very apparent on the campus. There is free coffee in the campus center if you can get there during the break from the class. The library's hours are also more accommodating, even during winter and spring break. The problem that we are now faced with is a dangerous decrease in State and City funding for our education. Even though CSI was making slow progress in accommodating evening and weekend students' needs, there has still been a need for more progress. After speaking with so many part-time students who feel the same isolation from amenities available to the rest of the student body, we wonder what will happen once the budget cuts have been fully implemented.

Although the school is facing tremendous budget cuts, part-time students' rights and privileges need to be explored by a faculty member or assigned committee to assure equal treatment with the rest of the student body. Additionally, it would be worth investigating ways to make registration a simpler process for all students. Even though evening and weekend students' lives are most complicated at the hands of the system, there are full time students who go through similar hardships trying to register, even transferring to other schools just to make their academic lives simpler. Students deserve to be treated equally when pursuing an education, and certain groups shouldn't be alien-

"THE GRABBING HAND, GRABS ALL IT CAN..."

The Retrenchment Committee Public Meeting

By John L. Abraham

Looking at the crowd, who had assembled for the public meeting of the retrenchment committee, I was surprised by what I thought was a low turnout. The forum was meant to inform the college population of how our education would be affected when state budget cuts are enacted. I learned that the retrenchment committee's purpose was to give recommendations to our college President about which departments and faculty would be judged "appropriate" for elimination. I thought that the public was free to voice their opinions, however, listening to the rules of the discussion and the time limit set up by the committee, I was convinced that it was not free speech. Despite this "retrenchment committee" hearing being billed as public, there was no attempt by the Administration to inform the students of the meeting.

I learned that the Phys Ed department and the Electrical Engineering department are going to be eliminated. I wondered how can an administration which has devoted so much space and money for athletic areas, the largest of which would have to be our five baseball fields, now justify the elimination of the related department. The answer given was that we would still have varsity sports and that members of the college community would still have use of the facilities. That answer did not sit well with me, for instruction in these areas will be eliminated with the abolishment of the Phys Ed department. This contradicts the original purpose of their costly construction.

Administration suggested that some teachers were not really being laid off since they were scheduled for retirement. Recalling a prior discussion I had with a former professor, he mentioned that he was slated for retirement due to the shrinking budget. Indeed, those positions being "retired" are not scheduled to be filled, effectively reducing the number of full-time faculty at the college. This is a clear attempt to replace full-timers with their job security and benefits with underpaid, overworked, adjunct staff which will have an impact on the quality of our education.

I learned that professors who chose the early retirement option given would be entitled to a full year's salary aside on top of their pension. I still cannot see how this will save money, paying for faculty who would not even be present. The committee informed us that some "retired" faculty would be permitted to remain on to provide free instruction for the period covering their severance. This solution seems

continued on page 15

SG's Vacant Forum: Unpublicized and Empty

by Marco Sainte

I wonder if anyone knew about the open forum that was held by student government recently. "Was there an open forum?" you're probably thinking. To answer this common response that I usually get on this matter: Yeah, there was one. On April 26, 1995, on a Wednesday Student Government (SG) held an open forum for the thirteen candidates to express their views and where they stood on the many factors that concern our college, such as the budget cuts. The event was held in 1C 109 at 2:30. No one from the entire student body showed up. Maybe the students had too much studying to do; after all it is getting close to finals. Or maybe it had something to do with a comedian that was performing at the Green Dolphin Lounge. Or maybe CSI students just don't give a damn. The latter is what many in SG members think.

I know a lot of you now think that this is going to be another one of those articles which bash students for not participating in "their government," spreading the general belief that students simply don't care about what goes on in the higher offices of college. And yes, that is a small factor in this instance. But this particular article has a certain twist on things. This writer feels that SG did not publicize it enough.

I know I'm going to be attacked by the SG for this statement. I can almost hear it: "What do you mean, we didn't publicize the event?! We put up signs everywhere! What are you, blind?! Or are you just trying to make us look bad?" Well, I'm sticking to my belief, and I can support my claim.

How many people saw those signs? Really, how many? I know that there were signs put up; I did see a few at the cafeteria doors. But there were only a few signs,

that hardly caught anyone's attention. I also didn't notice it in any other buildings, and I'm sure the other students didn't see them either, as my next point will show....

Ask anyone you meet or bump into, whether they be friend, foe, or stranger, if they knew about the open forum; I guarantee you that they'll say no. "An open

ria, or if that's too much of an inconvenience, in front of the building, just like they did with Culture Day. Everyone would be able to see it, people would definitely know about it, if not before, then at the very day it began. You need open space for an event like this, any fool will tell you that.

Why didn't I see anyone giving us this information? Why weren't there any people giving out flyers? Why didn't I see a table or something with a big sign for information about this event? Why weren't the candidates themselves sticking their faces at people saying "Come to the open forum, hear my views, vote for me," (vote for what, what views? It would be nice to see some of them on the promotion signs)?

what?"... "What open forum?"... these are the answers I get when I approach people with this matter. Next to no one knew about it, and hardly anyone knows about it even to the day I'm writing this (5/3/95). How can so many people be kept in the dark about this, I have no idea... except for its not being efficiently publicized. I'm not ruling out the possibility that there could have been those who knew but didn't care, but I have yet to find these people. Maybe the reader has; maybe he/she's one of them. Just try the aforementioned exercise, you may help to see if my analysis is right (and get a chance to make new friends in the process).

Also, the event being held in a small room shows little publicizing. This is supposed to be an open forum. Everyone is supposed to be able to have easy access for attending and viewing. It should be easy to spot, not shoved in a corner somewhere. Why didn't they try to hold it in the cafete-

Why didn't I see anyone giving us this information? Why weren't there any people giving out flyers? Why didn't I see a table or something with a big sign for information about this event? Why weren't the candidates themselves sticking their faces at people saying "Come to the open forum, hear my views, vote for me," (vote for what, what views? It would be nice to see some of them on the promotion signs)? They didn't even bring their friends with them to witness the event. So even the candidates themselves weren't publicizing the forum. And they are actually griping about this! Candidate Edward Delphan was complaining that students just didn't care anymore; that they were fed up with a SG that didn't do much for them; Candidate Christine Crowdell was angry with the turnout, stating that she has a right to be heard, that her views should have been exposed to the public. Candidates Allan DiBiase and James Lombardo both agree

that there should have been better publicity, with Lombardo adding that they should have been in open space and that probably not many knew where the room actually was.

SG could have done a better job than this. Come on, let's be honest. If smaller groups like NYPRIG and the CUNY Coalition can get the word around the campus of rallies and meetings, then the SG should definitely be able to spread their news more efficiently. With more resources at their command than the other aforementioned groups, the fiasco that was the open forum was completely inexcusable. No matter what they say, there simply wasn't enough publicity. They could have done better... unless this is what they wanted. What if they really wanted a low turnout at the forum? Students not influencing and taking part in their government can be a good thing for those who want to control it. Having a hand in who goes in and who goes out; who stays and who leaves, is a great way to do just that. Students are beginning to lose that ability by not seeing who's in a particular office and where they stand on certain issues. And this is good for the guy in there who might be supporting the cuts and hikes against us and yet we are not fighting back by kicking him or her out. For those who believe this is a far fetched idea, the retrenchment meeting that was given on 5/11/95 was not publicized at all to students, even though the information was supposed to be given to the "college community" (thereby saying that the students are not part of that community). This meeting was essential to students, for it was discussing the programs that were to be cut, programs that students take, programs which are a part of their education. What if this was really meant to happen? Ahh... it's just a thought.

WHITHER THE CUNY MOVEMENT ...

The alternative strategy that has made this coalition successful has been simple and yet unique on the current political scene: independent, mass, democratic grass roots organizing that explicitly and totally rejects the racist, sexist and class oppressive two party capitalist system, as well as the corrupt union bureaucracies, the venal CUNY administration and all other factions that cut deals with the cops and the ruling class. Also the coalition has contested capitalist legality every step of the way on the basis of democratic and human rights, rejecting the legalistic obstacles put in the way by the police and state. By its principles and its strategy this movement shall be known by its proper description ~ revolutionary. Of course, we are also non-violent. But does that mean that the cops have a right to kill us, to brutalize us, to trample us with their horses as they did on the 23rd?! We have the right to take precautions to defend ourselves from police violence. Finally, the CUNY movement has understood that it by itself does not have the power to shut the city down or even stop the budget cuts. It has understood that it must reach out to other segments of society that face the same struggle against Pataki & Guiliani, and have similar (class) interests, in particular organized labor and the black, latino and asian communities. The CUNY movement has reached out — despite our differences — to the leaderships of these and other groups — not because we look to them for leadership; on the contrary, we do it because we want to unite with these sectors of society with whom we share a common and interest in order to lead them in a united front struggle against the ruling class! Students, workers and all oppressed communities united under the CUNY leadership can win because together we have the forces to do so — disunited (or united under reformist leaderships), WE

LOSE. On April 4th we spoke over the heads of Dennis Rivera and Al Sharpton to tens of thousands of protesters. No wonder Dennis was so angry! Too bad for him. But very good for the people.

Now lets look at the weaknesses. The main counterweight to the good politics of

to take the necessary actions to prevent the chaos that occurred on the stage and also could have provided the additional support to the tactical team to help it resolve the problems that arose on that day. Clearly a serious planning committee that was accountable to the coalition body would

Of course, we are also non-violent. But does that mean that the cops have a right to kill us, to brutalize us, to trample us with their horses as they did on the 23rd?! We have the right to take precautions to defend ourselves from police violence. Finally, the CUNY movement has understood that by itself it does not have the power to shut the city down or even stop the budget cuts. It has understood that it must reach out to other segments of society that face the same struggle against Pataki & Guiliani, and have similar (class) interests, in particular organized labor and the black, latino and asian communities.

the coalition has been the lack of effective leadership and structure. All of the coalitions actions to date have been severely constrained and diminished by the lack of elected leadership and accountability for specific tasks. When we have elected tactical (for the 23rd) and negotiating committees (for the 4th), they have been empowered to do too much, and as a result both demonstrations yielded too little in the way of results. What has been missing most of all has been an elected planning or steering committee that has real authority to take action. Unless such a committee is constituted soon this coalition will be unable to carry on as an effective force that can lead the fight back against Pataki and Guiliani in this city. An elected and accountable planning committee could have helped prevent the short comings of both the 23rd and 4th actions. It could have met

have helped the negotiating team through the overwhelming difficulties which were unavoidable when faced with the job of working directly with the leadership of 1199. How could the six we elected carry out all of our wishes on the 4th when they had no accountable body to fall back on for advice and support? We face the same problems with the upcoming actions. If we do not elect a serious, accountable planning committee to carry the ball in between meetings the coalition will be overwhelmed and collapse as a result of insufficient leadership.

Consider some of the problems associated with April 4th. 1199 claimed that we had an agreement on what speakers could and could not say. Considerable pressure was put on our speakers to conform to 1199's censorship. Much to the credit of our coalition we put forward speakers who

didn't buckle to this pressure. At one point Dennis Rivera threatened to shut the demo down (instead of the city). This should not have been allowed. Dennis Rivera does not own us — rather, he owes us. We brought out for more people than he did, even though we had far fewer resources and personnel and the shortness of time (ten days) hurt our organizing ability far more than his. Also, the way the demo ended was dead wrong. Not only was Steve from Baruch College unfairly cut short, but so was the whole demonstration. When I asked 1199 at the Sunday security meeting what time the permit was due to expire on the demo, I was told 7:30 and that the rally would continue until 6:30 PM. 1199 shut it down before 5PM. Why? Who made these decisions? We certainly didn't. Indeed, any possibility of a peaceful, sit-down protest at the end of the rally — or any other additional action was precluded by the fact that we did not elect a planning committee that could have worked out contingency plans separate from the negotiating committee. I believe now as I did before the demonstration that a limited civil disobedience action such as a sit-down would have been possible. Had we planned it with an elected body it could have been carried out and won thousands of the angry, rank and file workers facing lay-offs to our cause and to our leadership. It is a lost opportunity that may not come again.

Let me add that I think that the negotiating team did a fine job — as good as possible under the circumstances. But their job was only to represent us, not make decisions for us. Hence, we needed another elected body that could have considered our options. Since we didn't have such a body we had no options. We became the prisoners of 1199.

We must do better next time. As unlikely as it may seem, the fate of millions of working people in this city and state rests with the passionate, courageous and revolutionary CUNY student movement.

IT ISN'T "YUGOSLAVIA," AND IT ISN'T CIVIL WAR: FALSE CLAIMS FROM THE "LEFT"

By Manuela Dobos

Contrary to the headline of the story by Barry Letuchy in the Voice a while ago, a South Slav federation of six component republics no longer exists; only Serbia and its Serbian sidekick, Montenegro, insist on calling themselves "Yugoslavia." This is ironic, since that federated state ceased to exist due to the decade-long, anti-Yugoslav program of the top brass in the Serbian Communist Party, in the Serb-dominated secret police and Army and among a shamefully large number of Serbian intellectuals.

As elsewhere in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, when it looked like the Communist party apparatus would lose its hold, Serbian Party-boss Slobodan Milosevic turned to racist nationalism in order to keep power. This Serbian nationalist creed, fanned for years by daily reruns on Party-controlled TV of atrocities committed against Serbs during WWII, holds that Serbs have always sacrificed themselves for others and have only been crucified in return. Hence, they must get their own ethnic national state by any means necessary, and, since a quarter of them live far from Serbia proper, that state must have jurisdiction wherever there are Serbs (watch out, Chicago!). These were Milosevic's words for the world to hear in August 1989, well before the other South Slavs began withdrawing from the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. These words were cleverly chosen for they echoed the most popular political program in Serbia ever since it was launched by its rulers in the 1830's: Greater Serbia.

Milosevic spoke them in Kosovo, an area worshipped by the Serbs as the scene of their 1389 defeat by the Ottomans but where 95% of the population is Albanian. Milosevic had unilaterally annexed autonomous Kosovo the year before. The brutal, racist, military and police dictatorship set up by the Serbs over the Albanians at that time still goes on. (And if anyone doubts the Amnesty International report on the closing of schools, jobs, and hospitals to the Albanians, or the daily arrest, torture and murder of civilians, go ask the Albanian students at our College who are refugees from there and Montenegro).

So the Communist/Nationalist leadership of Serbia was already at the job of unilaterally redrawing borders long before free elections and referenda in the other republics led to declarations of independence. These republics left a structure which the Serb leadership had been resolutely undermining anyway. Not for the first time in Balkan history did the other South Slav peoples, after having tried to make a federation of equal nations work, opt out of an imposed "Serboslavia." Far from having destroyed the Yugoslav idea, the republics which declared their independence on June, 1991 and then in April, 1992 represent the only possible hope for one day rebuilding it.

Not only is there no Yugoslavia, but the one-sided aggression against virtually unarmed Slovenes, Croats and then Bosnians and specifically directed at civilian populations (the bombardment of Dubrovnik in late summer, the razing of Vukovar in the late Fall of 1991 all had no military objective) was clearly never a "civil war." That sobriquet conveniently equalizes the parties to the conflict, and thereby exonerates Serbia of aggression. That is why it is a term used by the Serb leadership and by all its intended or unintended collaborators. (Today, it is more like a regular war, in that the victims have rallied, and have organized themselves into armies. They are determined to fight and to win, despite inadequate arms, because they have no alternative).

I appreciate Barry Letuchy's concern

that the US government not lead us into another military crusade for good against evil. The previous crusades, so touted, have been nothing of the kind. Under the pious slogans, the US always had a different agenda in its forays into, say, Vietnam (positioning vis-a-vis USSR and thwarting social revolution), Central America (thwarting social revolution), the Middle East (oil; leaving Saddam alive as a balance against Iran) etc. The one possible exception we have to look at is WWII, but that has to be a separate discussion.

But Letuchy can rest easy: the last thing the US, under any administration, wants to do is intervene to stop Serbian genocidal aggression in Bosnia & Herzegovina (B&H). For one thing, it has already intervened on the side of the aggressor, the fourth largest and best equipped army in Europe, by declaring an arms embargo in July, 1991 and getting the UN to do the same in September. This affects only the victims of the aggression. This is the main reason that Serb military forces now occupy 1/3 of Croatia and 70% of B&H: the hands of these pillaged peoples have never been untied. And neither the Croatian nor Bosnian governments ever asked for US troops; they just want to be able to defend themselves, and this the US, Britain, France,

continue to violate the supposedly NATO-guarded no-fly zone). Naturally, the Bosnian Serb military forces laugh at each "peace" plan. And each plan gives them more concessions than the last! In case Congress (over half of which voted to lift the arms embargo) or the UN General Assembly (which did the same twice) gets too obstreperous, Clinton is rescued by the British and French who clamor that their troops in the United Nations Protective Force (UNPROFOR) must not come under fire. With friends like the US, British, French and German governments, B&H needs no enemies.

Why do these governments want to appease Milosevic and Karadzic, self-proclaimed (Montenegrin) leader of the Bosnian Serbs? Because they all prefer dealing with the militarily strongest for the sake of "stability" (Bush sent Baker to Milosevic in May of 1991 to say that the US supported "Yugoslav integrity" and the next month Milosevic sent his Air Force to bomb Slovenia when it declared independence; if he thought the US would not care, he was right); because they want Yeltsin - or a suitable substitute - to preside over an undiminished Russia, even if it means murdering Chechens. Lots of small, unpredictable states in the Balkans would set

The government of the US has pretended to live up to the basic international covenants it signed between 1941 and 1949 (right to self-determination, action against violent unilateral border changes, support to the right of national self-determination, support against aggression, anti-genocide convention) and to some sixty Security Council resolutions for UN action against the Serb onslaught (they remain dead letters).

Germany and Russia refuse to allow.

Indeed, Letuchy's mistake is believing that the US is "on the side of the Muslims," and not essentially in league with the Europeans who want to appease the Serbs. Despite a ground-swell of public opinion, an unprecedented resignation of six experts from the State Department and a public statement by another eleven, all protesting US policy on B&H, and despite Clinton's opportunistic rhetoric during the election campaign, US policy remains what it was under Bush: make a deal with Milosevic. US rhetoric (ranging from sincere but deluded statements from officials to ludicrously empty threats from Clinton) has even made the situation worse for the victims. The government of the US has pretended to live up to the basic international covenants it signed between 1941 and 1949 (right to self-determination, action against violent unilateral border changes, support to the right of national self-determination, support against aggression, anti-genocide convention) and to some sixty Security Council resolutions for UN action against the Serb onslaught (they remain dead letters). By so pretending, the US is in a better position to browbeat the B&H government to go along with appeasing the Serb leadership, that is, participate in its own destruction. B&H has been forced to sign on to two partition-plans devised by those Great Powers which legitimize Serbian conquest and violate the multi-ethnic basis of the B&H government. Each plan is presented with the promise of carrot/stick action to the Serbs; each time the carrot is given but the stick is withheld (most recently, some of the sanctions against Serbia were lifted in return for not supplying the Bosnian Serbs; dozens of helicopters from Serbia to the Bosnian Serb forces in eastern Bosnia

a bad example for the ex-Soviet Union. In short, the Great Powers are acting as they often have in the Balkans - in "concert," in support primarily of each other's power, so that they can tend to the important matters: dividing the globe into trade blocs, establishing enough forceful and reliable structures to keep populations, i.e., labor, quiet and ready to accept any conditions imposed by the new capitalist reorganization of the global economy.

Why does Letuchy maintain, instead, that the US is preparing to go to war against Serbia? Hard to say, he presents no evidence. (The 20,000 US troops promised are for helping to get the British and French out if necessary). The US has "foreign policy objectives in Bosnia." Which might they be? He doesn't say. So what are the other 2,870 words of his article about? The Great Conspiracy to Hoodwink the American People to go along with this unmotivated policy, the existence of which he does not even try to prove.

And THAT is the real reason for the article: to persuade people that what they have seen with their own eyes is a complete lie. The object of Letuchy's article is to divert attention from the actual story of what is going on in ex-Yugoslavia with the familiar American theme of blame-it-all-on-the-media. That is demagoguery.

In fact, the TV and press have predictably passed on to more saleable issues (Simpson). Genocide has occurred elsewhere with no resolution, and well-meaning people have turned away in their confusion and helplessness. But the basic truth about the former Yugoslavia remains: after three years, a great human horror of disastrous political consequence for us all is still happening. For the first time in 50 years in Europe, at least 200,000 civilians, of which 30,000 children, have been

slaughtered because of who they were. These are the Muslim Slavs of B&H (44% of the population), and to a less extent, the Croats there (17%) and in western and eastern Croatia. Of the 1.5 million refugees - parentless, childless, scattered in camps in the neighboring South Slav republics and in Hungary, Germany, Norway and Holland (but NOT in the US, Britain or France) - the overwhelming majority are the Bosnian Muslims who have been "ethnically cleansed" out of their homeland by Serb military forces in the biggest land-grab since Hitler took over Czechoslovakia. Similar to Nazi methods, Serb forces have waged terror on this population from incarceration in camps where men were tortured, starved and murdered (particularly educated professionals) to "systematic, mass rape" (final U.N. Report on Rape in B&H, June 1994). Further, the extermination of the centuries-old, Islamic, urban and multi-ethnic culture of Bosnia has been clearly the goal. Over 800 mosques and churches, libraries, ancient art and book collections have been obliterated.

It is not the same as the Holocaust. The Nazis went hunting all over Europe to exterminate every last Jew; these nationalist Serbs just want to eliminate all trace of Muslim Slavs and Croats from Bosnia & Herzegovina. But it is indicative of how extensive, corroborated and voluminous the evidence of this genocidal aggression has been that the greatest outcry and organizing of support for B&H has come from Jewish groups throughout the U.S. and Europe. This is happening despite the fact that Jews were massacred along with Serbs and Gypsies in Croatia and the north-western part of Bosnia between 1941 and 1944 under the Nazi-installed Croatian fascist "Ustasha" regime. Because of this there are some Jewish apologists for Serbia, but organizations like the American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, and a host of other temple-based support groups, recognize the fallacy in justifying perpetrators of genocide today because they suffered the same two generations ago. That position ("all Croats are congenital fascists") perpetuates the same racism which killed several hundred thousand Serbs, Jews and Gypsies under Hitler's Croatian puppet regime.

The evidence of genocide has been gathered by the following human rights and humanitarian organizations: Helsinki Watch, Amnesty International, the Commission of the Special Rapporteur to the United Nations, Tadeusz Mazowiecki; Physicians for Human Rights, the International Rescue Committee and the International Committee of the Red Cross. This is not even a complete list of organizations or individuals who have gathered such information or who have brought their testimony forward, some of which has finally been processed for the War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague.

Letuchy writes that they are all lying. It never happened. A normal person would ask, why organize such an astronomical fraud covering two continents, with hundreds of thousands of accomplices, thousands of rigged books and tens of thousands of fabricated stories involving prominent authorities all over the world? There might be an answer, but it is not to be found in Letuchy's article. His entire article is simply a denial: "None of these extraordinary charges have ever stood up to scrutiny."

The testimonies, forensic evidence, photos, specific investigations by the above organizations and individual reporters do not add up to "scrutiny" for Letuchy because he has already decided that they are all a part of the conspiracy of "non-gov

continued on page 14

THE C.I.A. WAR IN THE BALKANS (AND ITS DEFENDERS)

By Barry Lituchy, Adjunct Lecturer in History, Brooklyn College

Rather than present a substantial analysis of any one aspect of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, Professor Dobos chose to make me the focus of her rambling and incoherent *essay*, if one can call it that. While her childish attack on me is quite pitiful, what is more astonishing is her inability to marshal evidence to make a case one way or another. Indeed, she displays little regard for facts and sources in general, the bread and butter of real historians. Ms. Dobos doesn't seem to get it — if you want to prove that all of the charges of rape and genocide against the Serbs are true, then give us the facts and their sources. Instead, Dobos throws out the long discredited numbers of 200,000 dead Muslim civilians, including 30,000 Muslim children, contrived by the Muslim regime and disseminated by their public relations firms. These bogus figures are mathematically impossible and have been ridiculed even by some of Dobos' own sources, such as George Kenney, one of the State Department officials who resigned over Clinton's Bosnia policy and who recently exposed this fraud in a New York Times Magazine piece. Elsewhere she avoids specific numbers or details (e.g. on rapes), or simply lists institutions without stating what it is that they actually say. For example, Amnesty International, the Red Cross and others now dispute the Muslim regime's data on rapes. This all may be a nice trick to show the undergraduates, but it doesn't wash here. The only thing this bankrupt method reveals is Ms. Dobos' cheerleading for U.S. and NATO military aggression in the Balkans. By default it confirms the original arguments I made in the February issue of the College Voice: namely, that the U.S. media has provided the American public a steady diet of distortions and outright fabrications about the civil war in the former Yugoslavia (manufactured by the governments and their public relations firms) that conform to and justify U.S. foreign policy, and that these charges do not stand up to careful scrutiny (or the ramblings of a Professor Dobos).

Interestingly, Dobos dodges the fundamental question I raised of whether the U.S. media distorts news about foreign conflicts in order to conform to and legitimize U.S. foreign policy. It would appear from her defense of the media's coverage of Yugoslavia that Dobos does believe in the fundamental integrity of the media, which either reflects her political sympathies for the status quo or simply a craven opportunism that adapts to anything. But by not directly confronting this issue she successfully avoided the key question of whether the media in general is "objective" and trustworthy, or in fact an instrument of social control. While she dodged this key question, Dobos focused her stumbling attacks on a couple of issues that were important, such as America's foreign policy objectives in Bosnia and responsibility for the break up of Yugoslavia. These will be the questions I answer here.

Who is responsible for the break up of and war in the former Yugoslavia?

Over the past two years Professor Dobos has traveled around the CUNY and college circuit, making public speeches on behalf of the Muslim and Croat regimes, and advocating U.S. and NATO bombings of the Serbs. (Who paid for all of this?) Like all defenders of U.S. imperialism and its "wonderful" free enterprise system, Ms. Dobos is quick to place responsibility for the problems of the world on the victims and the powerless, but never on the powerful who actually control the world's wealth. Just as the U.S. media always blames the poor for its poverty, so too it

blames the destabilization of less developed countries on their own lack of development. In her opening comments, Dobos likewise places primary blame on the peoples of the Balkans: ancient ethnic rivalries (nationalism) and particularly Serbian nationalist aggression are to blame, she says. Like the U.S. media, Dobos is perpetuating a myth, a myth that serves as a smokescreen to protect the real forces behind the break up and violence of Yugoslavia: U.S. and German imperialism, the real predators behind the carnage in the Balkans.

That's not to say that nationalism is not involved in the break up of Yugoslavia. It served as the vehicle for both political counter-revolution (secession) and capitalist restoration. But it was always a symptom of the degeneration of the political system inside Yugoslavia, not a root cause. Moreover, it was not special to Serbia; it was generalized through all of the republics. *The rise of nationalist leaderships in all of the Yugoslav republics was part of an evolving degeneration and corruption of the Titoist political system that was conditioned by external factors. These external factors were the worsening economic prospects for Yugoslavia internationally and therefore domestically, decades long U.S. and Western imperialist support and funding for nationalist forces within and without Yugoslavia, and finally the determination by the U.S. and Germany to destroy once and for all the great social gains of the Yugoslav Revolution by imposing political and economic sanctions to destabilize and strangle the independence of the federal government of Yugoslavia.*

The main goal of the capitalist powers since World War II was to destroy the collectivized property forms and other gains won by the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia in order to reestablish a neo-colonial capitalist system in the Balkans. But to destroy the social gains of the Yugoslav revolution in the end meant destroying the multinational state as well. The rise of nationalist-restorationist politics throughout Yugoslavia was also encouraged by an increasingly unequal distribution of wealth within the Yugoslav federation that favored Slovenia and Croatia and which in turn fueled ethnic resentments, rivalries and separatist nationalism. But nationalism was only the ideological shell within which capitalist restoration was politically expressed, it was not the source of the conflict.

U.S. Foreign Policy Led to the Break up of Yugoslavia

Since World War II U.S. foreign policy toward Yugoslavia has been driven by two major strategic objectives. The first was the long term desire to overturn and destroy the achievements and independence of the Yugoslav socialist revolution. The second was the need to exploit Yugoslavia's isolation from the Communist bloc after the Tito-Stalin split in 1948. The latter was aimed at driving a wedge between the world communist movement, thereby fracturing communist economic and political unity and fostering ever greater dependency on the capitalist West for Yugoslavia. Thus, the policy was complex and contradictory: on the surface, friendly and supportive; beneath the surface, destructive and predatory.

These policies emanated from the National Security Council of the President of the United States. Recently declassified National Security Decision Directive 133 from March 1984 on Yugoslavia lays it out: "We will seek to expand U.S. economic relations with Yugoslavia in ways which ... strengthen Yugoslavia's ties to the industrialized democracies. U.S. policy will be to promote the trend toward an effec-

The main goal of the capitalist powers since World War II was to destroy the collectivized property forms and other gains won by the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia in order to reestablish a neo-colonial capitalist system in the Balkans.

tive, market-oriented Yugoslav economic structure." National Security Decision Directive 54 of September 1984 stated "...the primary long-term U.S. goal in Eastern Europe is to (censored) facilitate its eventual reintegration into the European community of nations."

But everything changed with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries in 1989. With their passing, Yugoslavia became little more than a relic of the Cold War. In the eyes of the U.S. government, Yugoslavia had outlived its usefulness. It was time for the immediate overturn of the collectivized economies of Eastern Europe and the bureaucratic workers' states that defended them. As the Communist bloc countries fell one after the other only Yugoslavia and the USSR remained. As the Berlin Wall fell, a reunified Germany stepped forward to reassume its old role as the dominant imperialist power in Central Europe and to reclaim its age old imperialist sphere of influence from the Baltics to the Balkans.

In the Fall of 1989, just prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall, Yugoslav Federal Premier Ante Markovic was summoned to Washington. He was told by President Bush in no uncertain terms that Yugoslavia must immediately dismantle its socialized economy, hold multi-party elections and move to a full market economy, otherwise Yugoslavia would be cut off from the IMF, the World Bank and the capitalist world. If Markovic agreed, economic aid and trade would continue. Markovic agreed to the deal. But the deal was economic blackmail and political suicide for Yugoslavia. The 1989 IMF loan was tied to a brutal, U.S. imposed austerity program that cut wages to workers and subsidies to state industries throughout the country, devalued the currency, ordered the shutting down of numerous state owned industries, ruinous debt for equity swaps that literally gave away socialized property, and the lay-off of tens of thousands of workers. It was a time bomb that permanently destabilized the country. Tensions rose as the unemployment rate shot up to 20%, workers walked out on strike, and nationalist tensions spilled over into angry demonstrations.

Meanwhile, the C.I.A. issued its blueprint for the break up of Yugoslavia in the Winter of 1989-1990. This report bluntly declared that "the Yugoslav experiment has failed, (and) that the country will break up" and that "this is likely to be accompanied by ethnic violence and unrest which could lead to civil war." This C.I.A. report was incorporated into Congressional Research Service Report No. 90-333 "Yugoslavia: Crisis in the Federation," released in July 1990. Its contents were leaked to the media and reported by David Binder in The New York Times on November 28, 1990, "Yugoslavia Seen Breaking Up Soon." What we know about the C.I.A. report indicates that "the Company" already was acting on its assumptions: it was providing financial and other assistance to groups and key individuals organizing secessionist movements in the six republics. By January 1990 well financed right wing political parties had sprung up in Yugoslavia, with elaborate resources. These were reactionary nationalist organizations that had not existed within Yugoslavia for fifty years, but which all traced their roots back to the fascist wartime Croatian and

Bosnian Muslim Ustasha party.

In an attempt to appease U.S. and European imperialism, Yugoslavia held elections in four of the six republics in the Spring of 1990. In Slovenia two pro-socialist parties won the most votes, but due to the election laws a coalition of about a dozen tiny, reactionary, pro-capitalist parties (including at least one which used the swastika as its symbol) called Demos won a combined 53% of the vote. In Croatia Tudjman's Democratic Union Party won a 43% plurality and took complete control of the government there. In Bosnia the voting was split among nationalists along ethnic lines, but the Croatian and Muslim formed a majority bloc that called for secession. The country at this point was still not doomed. Still there was no war, no secession, not a shot had been fired.

But U.S. and German imperialism was only now implementing the final phase of its plan for the destruction of Yugoslavia. The military journal Jane's Intelligence Review published a report in September 1994 ("Croatia's Intelligence Services" by Marco Milivojevic), documented that German intelligence agencies helped establish a separate Croatian intelligence agency in 1990. Documents stolen from Sarajevo government offices from 1990 (and seen by this writer) also reveal the extensive supplying of armaments by Germany and Austria to the Zagreb and Sarajevo republics prior to secession.

Meanwhile, legislation was passed in the U.S. Congress openly calling for the break up of Yugoslavia. On November 5, 1990 Foreign Appropriations Bill #101503 was signed into law by President Bush. This bill ordered the immediate cut off of all aid, of all trade, of all credits and loans to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within six months unless separate "national" elections were held in each of the country's six republics, and that the procedures and results of those elections would be deemed illegitimate unless they met full U.S. State Department approval! Finally, and most significantly, the bill approved U.S. funding for political groups, movements and individuals that the U.S. considers "democratic." Millions of dollars flowed into Yugoslavia to ultra-nationalist politicians and demagogues like Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic. In February 1991 the European Council followed suit with the same demands and controls on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In May 1991 Croatian nationalist militias attacked Yugoslav government army bases in Croatia leading to the first fighting of the civil war. Seven weeks later Slovenia and Croatia declared their secession from Yugoslavia. Following their recognition by the European Community, Muslim and Croat nationalists organized a referendum on secession that completely disregarded the rights of the 34% Serbian minority.

The national and democratic rights of the two million Serbs of Bosnia have never been recognized by any Western government to date. Had such a recognition been granted, the fighting in Bosnia would have never started in the first place. But the Serbs became the enemy not because they demanded a separate state. They became the enemy because the Milosevic regime in Belgrade did not follow suit with market economy reforms. The national, demo-

continued on page 14

...FALSE CLAIMS FROM THE "LEFT"

... AND ITS DEFENDERS

environmental organizations, . . . media, human rights groups and public relations firms" to bring the American people into war against Serbia. And the reason he gives is that the public relations firm which represents B&H, Croatia and the Kosovo Albanians, also once represented Kuwait, and released one false story about Iraqi atrocities there. Until that story, as opposed to all the others, was found to be untrue, some human rights organizations took it seriously, according to the author Letuchy cites. Hence everything the Bosnians, Croats and Albanians say must also be false. And anything any human rights and humanitarian organizations say about Bosnia must also be false.

(It is not true that the Serbs have no public relations representative to counter these "planted" stories because of US economic sanctions against Serbia. Ultra-nationalist Serb-Americans had already taken care of that necessity well before the sanctions. Since it is too difficult an undertaking to sell the "Serbian side" credibly, they have chosen instead, since 1987, to collect money for other purposes from Muslim-haters around the country, including the substantial and prosperous Greek communities. And these are the people with whom Letuchy is associated via the "Coalition to Prevent Intervention into Yugoslavia." The American mainstays of that group, so-called Leftists, are the followers of Ramsey Clark, who conceive their duty simply to support anyone who opposes the U.S. government. Thusfar, that has meant Saddam and Milosevic. Next, it could mean Russia's Zhirinovskiy, or maybe even the Michigan militias. What is Left about that? Why work with such mindless disinformers if you have a commitment, as presumably Letuchy has, to the international struggle against the tyranny and destructiveness of the rule of the profit-makers, and for socialism, national self-determination and international cooperation to solve our terrible planetary problems?

Letuchy grasps at straws (supposedly inaccurate photo captions, articles in the British press about alleged CIA covert aid to B&H armed forces, the canard about how Bosnians shoot other Bosnians to force the US to intervene) in a desperate attempt to deny, because what is being denied is so enormous. The minutiae of such desperate logging is not worth an article, but there are some gross and offensive denials which need to be flagged.

— the Serb forces have done nothing that Muslim and Croat forces have not done.

True. The difference is, however, in timing, magnitude and planned policy. The Serbs started the ethnic cleansing and continue it as we speak in the areas occupied by the Serb forces and in Serbia proper (Sandjak, where Muslim Slavs also live). And there are far fewer Serb victims of ethnic cleansing than Bosnian Muslims. While all that attends ethnic cleansing (rape, atrocities, inhuman incarceration, plunder) has been used by Muslims military forces, but far less than the Croats, and more so against each other than against Serbs, this has been in response to the brutalization already unleashed by Serb forces and not policy. "Systematic" is the term used by all the reports, one of the many indications of the planned and premeditated nature of this project, a project to create Greater Serbia.

Making the sides equal in atrocity is essential to claiming that this is "civil war;" there is no good or bad side. This is the object of Serb propaganda in this country. It is similar to the point of view which wants to deny that there is a particular problem with violence against women, because there are some violent women who beat up on their male partners. Women and men are not equal, above all when it comes to violence. The Croat and Bosnian-Herzegovinian sides are not equal to the Serb juggernaut.

— Mass systematic rape of Muslim and Croat women is not true, because there are no figures.

Yes, the numbers of certified cases are not there to back up the testimonies by Muslim and Croat women about others they saw held in rape camps, abused and killed, forcibly impregnated. But women have not come forward to give their own personal experience in as many numbers for very understandable reasons: they are afraid of further maltreatment by their own male-dominated societies. There may never be a definitive number here. Meanwhile, to trivialize the experience of those women who were horrendously tortured with some story about a reporter who only found 4 willing to testify when he expected 4,000, is twisted. Enough testimonies are there for anyone to read, in several volumes, in a number of different sources: the rapes were not the occasional violence of war, they were "systematic," part of the policy of the commanding officers of the Serb forces to chase out people from their country in such a way as to make sure they never come back.

The "criminal" government of B&H deliberately shot its own people in order to get UN and NATO military involvement.

Along with the rape issue, I have tried to get to the bottom of this. I find that the source of all these stories (they begin with the May 23, 1992 bread-line massacre which was also immediately touted as self-inflicted) is anonymous "UN informants" quoted in the London-based newspaper, *The Independent*. Of course, the other source is the staff of Bosnian-Serb General Ratko Mladic, which says that about every atrocious shelling of the people of Sarajevo that manages to get covered internationally. But there has never been any other confirmation of these anonymous sources, no matter how many highly regarded journalists like Misha Glenny have decided to believe the story. In fact, Tom Gjelten of Public Radio did his own investigation of the Market-Place shelling of February 1994 and came to the conclusion that the UNPROFOR authorities deliberately planted the suspicion about the origin of the bomb, when there was ample evidence of its Serb origin, and have steadfastly refused to divulge their reasoning or data. The fact of the matter is that there are many players desiring the capitulation of the B&H government to the "reality" of Serb victory and would like it to simply disappear. First among these is the UN, as the Sarajevo-based reporter David Rieff so ably described in his article "The UN - Accomplice to Genocide" in September 1994 issue of *The Balkan War Report*. Having had to be a fig-leaf for the Great Powers' unwillingness to intervene against aggression, the UNPROFOR undertook "humanitarian aid" instead. To deliver this, they have to remain friendly - indeed, appease, - the Bosnian-Serb besiegers, who up the stakes whenever they want. The result has been that UNPROFOR is occupying army in B&H, actually playing the Serbs' game. The Bosnians' (Muslim, Croat and Serb) own government is in the way. A campaign to discredit it could easily include, and in my opinion did, the calumny of their shooting their own people.

In contrast to innocent Serbia, or to the quest of the Bosnian-Serbs for self-determination, B&H is an Islamic Fundamentalist foothold, and Croatia is fascist.

True, Serb propaganda about the Muslim Slavs is launched specifically to be a self-fulfilling prophecy: kill enough of them, make sure they get no help, and the survivors will become the Islamic nationalists they never were before, in much the same way that surviving European Jews became Zionists after the Holocaust. If good people do not find a way of helping B&H, this may indeed be fulfilled. But B&H is still a duly elected, multi-ethnic

cratic right to self-determination is being withheld from the Serbs of Bosnia and Croatia precisely for that reason. The Serbs are demonized for the same reason as the Cubans or the Iraqis: they are opponents of the New World Order who must be punished and made an example of.

U.S. Policy Today in the Former Yugoslavia

The U.S. lit the fires of civil war in the former Yugoslavia. But now it can't seem to put them out. The truth of the matter is that the U.S. does not want to put them out. Instead, the U.S. is itself involved in the war in Bosnia and is militarily aiding the Croatian regime as well. Dobos claims she is unaware of U.S. military involvement in the former Yugoslavia. But that would mean that she is ignorant of the dozens of reports in the European media documenting direct U.S. military and C.I.A. involvement in the war in Bosnia. On August 17, 1994 the British and French press reported confirmation from the Clinton administration that the U.S. was no longer observing the arms embargo on Bosnia and that the C.I.A. had already established a covert arms pipeline and military training program for the Muslim army (see "Clinton Orders A Covert Arms Plan for the Bosnians," *London Times*, August 17, 1994).

In November 1994 the Muslim regime launched a massive offensive with these new arms and with the presence of U.S. military advisors. The European media immediately covered the story of C.I.A. advisors on the ground. "U.S. Accused of Aiding Bosnian Forces," in *The Independent* of November 12th reported that former NATO General John Gavin was heading the American military presence in Bosnia, providing training, satellite intelligence and aerial photographs. *The European* on November 18th reported that C.I.A. advisors were providing air traffic control, tactical and planning advice in the Bosnian military offensive, was building airfields and pointed out that "Though the number of Americans in Bosnia is small, the technology at their disposal gives them enormous potential to influence the course of the war," (see "America Has Joined the War in Bosnia"). *The Guardian* in its story "C.I.A. Agents Train Bosnian Army," of December 17th, *The Observer* in its November 20th piece "America's Secret Bosnia Agenda," and *The Telegraph* ran feature stories detailing not just U.S. military involvement, but naming the leading military figures running the operation.

In this country the Clinton administration mobilized a diplomatic and media denial and cover up of the story. The American media either ignored the story or ran the government denials, only briefly alluding to the reports in the European and world media. Eventually, the story was covered by some military experts such as Retired U.S. Colonel David Hackworth, (Military Affairs Analyst for *Newsweek*), and then picked up by Roger Cohen in the *New York Times*.

Are these journalists and publications pro-Serbian? Hardly. They are all consistently pro-U.S., pro-NATO and anti-Serb. In a word they are all pro-imperialist, publishing all of the other crap that Dobos selectively focuses on. However, unlike most of their slimier American counterparts, they are publishing in massive detail the extensive U.S. and C.I.A. involvement on the side of the Muslim and Croat regimes. The failure of the U.S. media to cover the story speaks volumes about the controlled and superficial nature of American culture. It also confirms what I wrote in my earlier piece, that the U.S. media reports the war in such a way that it conforms to U.S. foreign policy objectives in the Balkans: i.e.: military intervention on the side of the Muslim and Croat forces against the Serbs and the imposition of U.S. client states throughout Southeastern Europe directly controlled

by the U.S. and closely tied to America's chief allies in the region, Germany and Turkey. The desire by the U.S. government to cover up the story from the American people and to present a public posture of neutrality reflects U.S. military and diplomatic strategy as well as its understanding of the need to set the American people up for a war that they would never support if they knew the truth behind it.

While the C.I.A.'s and Pentagon's involvement in the war in Bosnia has been extensively revealed, there is plenty about the civil war in Yugoslavia that has been kept from the public. One of these is the success that the Serb forces have had in countering U.S. and NATO military intervention. When the NATO flyers of Bosnia were halted in early December of last year, the reason given in U.S. media was a failure of will by the U.N. and the Europeans against the Serbs. But the truth, as admitted in a December 12th piece by Roger Cohen, was that the Serbs had SAM 2 and SAM 6 (surface to air missile) systems — a very nasty surprise for the imperialists! However, what Cohen didn't report, and was hardly covered by any of the Western media, was that the Serbs had shot down several NATO jets with these systems, including American jets. This is one of the most extraordinary cover ups in recent memory. But it's not surprising. The shooting down of NATO jets was a great victory for people all around the world that proved that the people can stop the American imperialist juggernaut, even in the post-Cold War era.

What's At Stake in the Yugoslav Civil War?

The U.S. claims that the UN's "humanitarian role" in Bosnia has failed. This is a lie that would make Goebbels blush. There never was nor could there ever be a humanitarian role for the UN, the US or NATO in Bosnia. The role of the U.S. and its allies in the Balkans is to reconstitute a neo-colonial system in the Balkans for U.S. and German capital. Until the break up of Yugoslavia is complete and the neo-colonial client states are firmly established, the U.S. and its German ally will not want peace. The British, French and Russians rightly feel that they are getting cut out of the deal, but they will be allowed to feed at the carcass of Yugoslavia only after the largest beasts have had their fill. As for the peoples of the Balkans, they are all being oppressed. They did not vote for the break up of Yugoslavia. And were a referendum to be taken today they would probably vote to go back to a socialist federation of the Balkans.

In the long term a socialist federation of the Balkans is the only political solution that can protect the rights of the interpopulated peoples of Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, today there is no multinational socialist party in the tradition of Tito's Partisans to fight for such an end. But a peaceful resolution in the short term could be attained if representatives could agree to a just divorce, respecting the right to national self determination of all of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, including the Serbs. But that cannot be accomplished with U.S. military support for the conquest of all of Bosnia and Croatia, against the will of the minorities that live there. The Serb struggle against U.S., UN, NATO and German intervention in the region is a just one, for self determination is impossible while imperialist troops are on the ground.

Indeed, much more is at stake in the former Yugoslavia, for a victory by the Croat and Muslim regimes would not only be a devastating blow for all peoples fighting the bloody hand of U.S. aggression, it would also be a victory for clerical fascism and Islamic fundamentalism all around the world. While nationalists like Dobos call for more NATO bombings and fan the flames of nationalist hatred by scapegoating an

continued on next page

continued on page

...FALSE CLAIMS

government with Serb and Croat members of the cabinet, with a constitution committed to multiculturalism, which was always the biggest characteristic of B&H society even before it was conquered by the Ottomans in the 15th century. To this very day, the Bosnians of all three nationalities intermarry (1/3 of all marriages in Sarajevo, more in Tuzla, less in smaller towns). Two hundred thousand Serbs continue to live in B&H; they are part of the Government's steadily mounting army (at the moment, the B&H defenders are probably three times larger than the Karadzic/Mladic Bosnian-Serb forces), as are the Croats. Everyone knows that whatever move to more Islamocentrism exists in B&H today, it is occasioned by the genocide and is still amazingly small. As for President Alija Izetbegovic's book of over twenty years ago which Letuchy misrepresents, it is a theoretical treatise about Islam and society which never called for an Islamic state in Bosnia. It was seized on back in 1992 by Serb propagandists knowing full well this was a way to score brownie points in France and the US, where anti-Muslim feeling is growing. If Letuchy is really concerned about Islamic Fundamentalism, he should join the efforts to support and uphold one of the the most tolerant, secular, rational, intellectual and urban Islamic cultures ever created, and not leave its survival - in denatured form - to Iran or Saudi Arabia, the only ones supplying some means of self-defense to Bosnia.

In the case of Croatia, there is no doubt that the Tudjman party includes throwbacks to the "Ustasha" and their racist para-military groups have committed atrocities. But in contrast to Milosevic, Tudjman's opposition is not made up of movements worse than he. There are many non-fascist groups opposing Tudjman's long-time plans to partition B&H with Serbia. The Bosnian-Croats resent Tudjman's having forced leaders upon them, when their own were and are a part of the B&H government. The hope of democratic opponents to Tudjman in and out of Croatia proper lies with the Federation with B&H and a strong military alliance against aggression by Serbia. It is the hope of all democratic and progressive people.

Mirko Pejanovic, a Serb member of the Presidency of B&H, put it this way:

"...it is clear that the war in Bosnia is not between its peoples, but between two opposing visions. One side believes in a peaceful and democratic society based on the continuity of Bosnia's multiethnic and multireligious fabric; the other seeks a militaristic and fascist structure based on religious and racial purity, established by mass murder and deportations....Why is the voice of democratic Serbs ignored by governments professing unconditional support of parliamentary democracy, in favor of that of war criminals [like Karadzic]?...The people of B&H yearn for peace. We have suffered enough. Yet if peace with justice is denied to us, we shall be left with no other choice but to continue our struggle for survival, come what may. The Bosnian Army may lose battles, but the people of B&H will not lose the war." (Dec.1994)

... ITS DEFENDERS

oppressed nation for a war they did not create, I stand by the position I have taken all along: **U.S., UN and NATO Out of the Balkans! Defend the Serbs Against Imperialist Aggression! Long Live the Yugoslav Revolution!**

All of the documents mentioned above can be obtained for a nominal fee from: **The Coalition Against Western Intervention In The Former Yugoslavia**

PO Box 10-0674, Brooklyn, NY 11210

Down with Capitalist Austerity Measures! Long Live The Autonomous Mass Struggle!

This is a statement written by K.I.L.I. Komite Inite Lit Inte(Unity Struggle Unity Committee)

Working people here in the US have been targeted by US capitalists and their government for massive cutbacks and various repressive measures such as those outlined in the "contract" and "prop. 187". These measures are a symptom of a profound and deepening crisis in the US led worldwide capitalist-imperialist system of domination. Faced with tremendous structural deficits the world over, the capitalists and their governments are imposing austerity measures on working people in various countries to try to recoup their losses and patch up their crumbling empire.

The working class and the masses here in the US must build strong unity to be able to wage a successful struggle against capitalist aggression. We must also develop strong solidarity with ongoing struggle of the popular masses all over the world: the fact is that we all face a common enemy.

The surging deficits and the deepening worldwide crisis of imperialism are at the root of imperialist aggression both here internally in the US (such as the "contract") and abroad, with multilateral military intervention and so-called "UN peace-keeping missions" being a favorite tactic of the imperialists. It is in this light that we must expose the so-called "Mission Restore Democracy" in Haiti. On Sept. 19, 1994, a US led invasion force(which at one point was built up to 20,000 US soldiers) began what is shaping up to become a prolonged military occupation of Haiti under the absolutely false pretense of "restoring democracy". Despite massive pro-US media propaganda, the facts speak for

themselves:

-The US has consistently openly or covertly supported brutally repressive dictatorships throughout Latin America and the rest of the world, particularly those of the Duvaliers and their cronies such as Cedras in Haiti.

-Even with the total sell-out of the opportunist Aristide government to US demands, the only reality of its so-called restoration is that of a puppet government implementing US occupation policies. Aristide's return is just a carrot being used to deter popular resistance to the big stick policies of US led occupation: IMF and world bank austerity measures that are being imposed on the masses.

-The occupation forces have systematically collaborated with reaming reactionary paramilitary groups such as FRAPH, the macoutes and their "attaches" to maintain a high level of insecurity and reprise throughout Haiti. In most cases, the situation of the masses has only worsened: hundreds have been killed, robbed, beaten or have disappeared, while the cost of living has skyrocketed.

It is obvious that the only goal of the US led occupation was to restructure the crumbling Haitian repressive state apparatus and enhance US imperialist domination of Haiti. That is precisely why the occupation force are managing a state of maintained terror in Haiti, while they are working to hold sham elections to install US backed candidates into office. Opportunist and populist petty bourgeois led movement such as Lavalas, MPP, FNCD and OPL are playing into this plan by taking part in these sham elections and working to reorganize the repressive state apparatus in the interest of the dominant classes while they demobilize the popular

masses from their autonomous struggle.

IN Haiti as in the US, elections are but a force, at most a populist ploy to fool the masses into submission. History has shown us that elections can never be a road to popular power. But the masses are not so easily fooled. Recently, in Haiti, such as in a massive demonstration in Cape Haitian on March 20, thousands have taken to the streets to demonstrate against government austerity measures, the high cost of living, lingering repression and the occupation. Revolutionary organizations such as ORPA(Haitian Revolutionary Proletarian Organization)and MRTA (Haitian Revolutionary Worker's Movement)are working to build the autonomous mass struggle and develop the revolutionary struggle, under working class leadership.

Here in the US, revolutionaries must also organize the mass struggle under working class leadership. To build an autonomous mass movement, we must break away from opportunist and populist politicians, petty-bourgeois reformist leadership, and corrupt sold-out unions. We must forge ahead and rebuild the autonomous mass struggle based on the real demands of the masses and the uncompromising revolutionary struggle to bring about their realization. We must seize the initiative to build our autonomous struggle and organize around these struggles, under working class leadership. Popular camp unity should be a proletarian led struggle!

•Oppose Imperialist Aggression All Over The World!

•Oppose the US-UN Occupation of Haiti!

•Long Live the Revolutionary struggle of the Working Class! Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

...SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

continued from page 20

Row population." Over 80 percent of those sent to death row from Jamal's Philadelphia are black, some one-third of those on the row from Philadelphia sent there by...Judge Sabo.

In the 1987 case of McCleskey v. Georgia, the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged the overwhelming racial bias in the application of the death penalty but argued that this didn't matter because, "taken to it's logical conclusion (this) throws into serious question the principles that underlie our criminal justice system." Thus Chief Justice Rehnquist & Co. reaffirm the principle set forth by Justice Roger Taney in the infamous 1857 Dred Scott case, that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

The racist death penalty goes hand in hand with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by cops on the street to keep black people "in their place." The fight to abolish the death penalty is part of the historic struggle for black equality in America.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The forces of racist "law and order" have been mobilizing to push through Jamal's execution. After announcing its plans to air a series of commentaries by Jamal, National Public Radio (NPR) caved in to pressure by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police to cancel the broadcasts. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole threatened on the Senate floor to cut off NPR's federal funding. Evidently NPR's prestigious "All Things Considered" program could not "consider" letting a black man falsely convicted of killing a

cop speak from death row. Yet on 8 November, NPR found it acceptable to broadcast the murderous ravings of an anti-abortionists bigot who threatened that if Florida gives Paul Hill the death penalty for murdering a heroic Pensacola abortion doctor, "blood will run in the streets like nobody has ever seen"!

The capitalist politicians, media, and especially the Philadelphia FOP want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him. Pennsylvania, author of a bill to speed up executions, said he's "specifically interested in (Jamal's) case. We're going to see him die." **In fighting legal lynching of Jamal we will strike a blow against the entire apparatus of racist, capitalist repression.**

Mumia Abu-Jamal does not stand alone. Over 40,000 have signed petitions or sent letters to the governor demanding Jamal not be executed. Unions representing millions of workers—including the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT); the Metro Toronto Labour Council and Vancouver Public Employees in Canada; Section 10 of the Mexican Teachers Union SNTE; ILWU Locals 6 and 10 in San Francisco and ATU Local 308 in Chicago, as well as unions in Britain and Australia have taken up Jamal's cause. Harry Belafonte, Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, Congressman Ron Dellums, Danny Glover, Whoopi Goldberg, Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, Jr., the Workers Organization for Socialist Action (South Africa), the Palmares Cultural Foundation in Brasilia are just some of the individuals and organizations who have



"Don't tell me about the 'valley of the shadow of feath,' I live there."

joined tens of thousands who say: "Mumia's Abu-Jamal Must Not Die."

Make the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the voice of the voiceless that the police want to silence, a rallying cry against the racist death penalty. Raise your voice and organize, in your unions, community, youth and church groups, to demand that Jamal must not die. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty!

The forces of racist "law and order" have been mobilizing to push through Jamal's execution. After announcing its plans to air a series of commentaries by Jamal, National Public Radio (NPR) caved in to pressure by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police to cancel the broadcasts.

A

R

T

S

As one scans the articles within the newspaper one realizes quickly that the Voice is, in no uncertain terms, clear student advocates. The editorial board, realizing that the only way to end student oppression, and on a larger scale, class oppression that extends anywhere that the ruling class does not place their bankrolls, is to be committed to the marxist analysis of the socio-political spectrum. The reason being that CUNY students are generally found to be on the bottom end of the economic strata with usually little or no property, nor economic wealth, they are the epitome of what is to be considered the poor and working class. Marx never capitulated once in terms of the class, nor to the democratic rights of the majority. Unfortunately, today's capitalist society is the antithesis of the vision Marx sought when he coined the term "Communism." It is to say the least an alternative society, one that the capitalist-owned media rails and wails against unconditionally.

The arts section seeks to be a part of that social and economic counter-culture. We invite anyone out there interested in divorcing yourself from plastic, commodity-driven, so called "art" to stop by and find out what the Voice is all about. This newspaper is one of the few publications in the city of New York that is not owned or under the thumb of the rich. We see issues from the standpoint of the student, we do not present news through the eyes of the bourgeoisie.

Seen as a thorn in the school administration's side, there are rumors of plots within the administrator-controlled student government to end the publishing line for the College Voice newspaper. If successful, students will be left with the Banner, the other student publication, a newspaper committed to nothing. It would be the triumph of mindless chatter and megalomania, homophobia and manufactured consent, if the Voice, after 25 years was to meet its demise amidst the chaos of reactionary, ruling class hysteria. We wish to show all the negative and positive aspects of student life, a majority of which work half, or part-time, and deserve a medal for not going crazy under the pressure of class and job exploitation. The arts section wishes to be a platform for the students, workers, and poor alike.

As for the crowd of cynical elitists, who place form before function, take care chasing do-do birds down dead-end alleys. Justice to the revolution.

Anyone interested in writing for the arts section of the college voice should come to rm. 1c-230.

Once Upon Conditioning

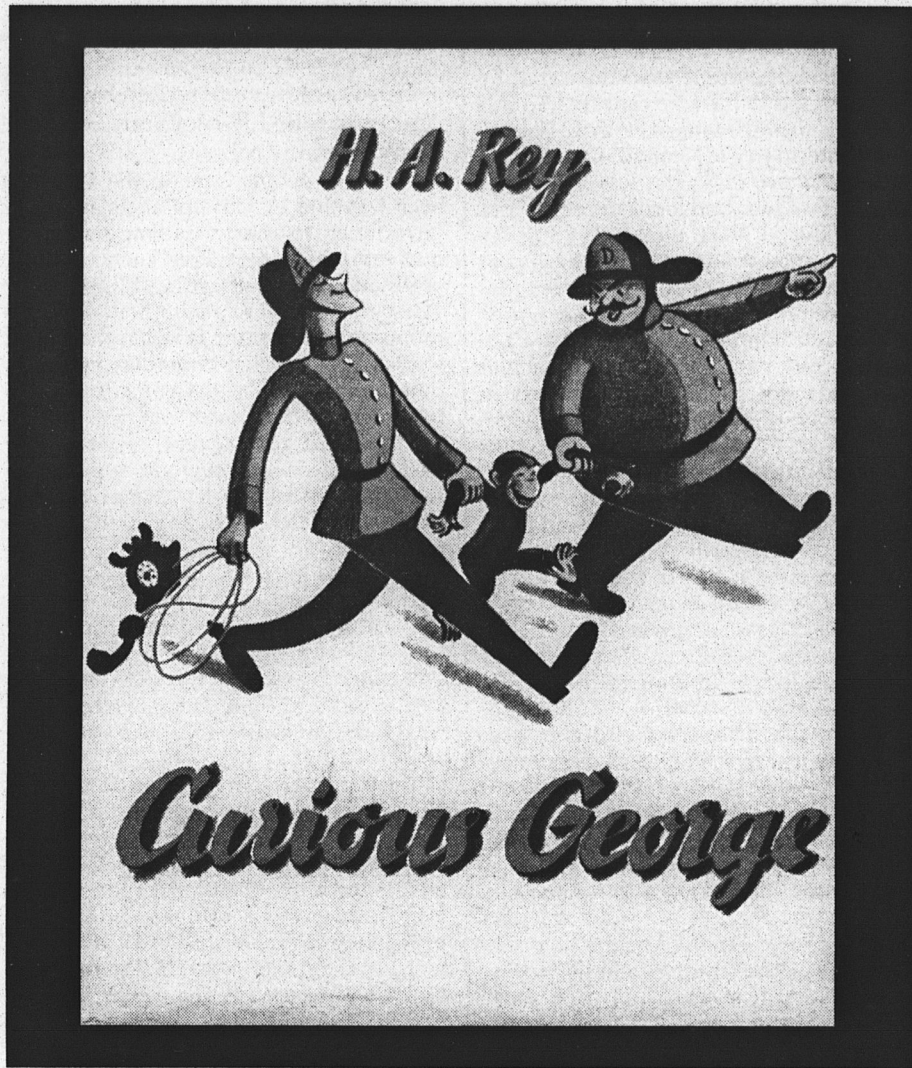
By Debra Behr and Benjamin E. Andre

It is no mystery that children are conditioned since the beginning of their comprehension in order for them to develop into socially execrable adults. Not just parent influence, but cartoons, movies, toys, and the average story play parts in a child's conditioning. All these mediums are tools to teach the ethical and moral lessons of becoming well-developed law abiding citizens. However, if we look closely at some of messages in the stories that are read to our children, we can easily see the false conception between the colorful pages of children's books. To further the examination into children's stories, I have asked the assistants of a consumer of such books, Benjamin E. Andre, a four year old boy, for who these stories have made an impact in his conditioning.

The story of "The Three Bears" dictates the roles within the traditional family. Momma Bear's image is too soft while Papa Bear's is too hard. Automatically this story delivers the message that woman are soft and men, of course, are tough. If the images of the female characters aren't soft then the images of being bad are seen in the character of Goldie Locks, the intruder who seeks shelter in the Bear's home. When Benjamin was asked about the role of Goldie Locks, he replied that she was a "bad girl".

Another popular children's fable that contains the messages which children absorb is "Little Red Riding Hood". The story is about a little girl dressed in red who is the main desire of the Big Bad Wolf. The wolf decides to dress in woman's clothing (the garb of the little girl's grandmother) in order to eat Ms. Hood. The impression that children formulate about transsexuals being evil can be perceived. The hero of the story is hunter, a man who cuts open the wolf in order to rescue the devoured women. Not only is the story of Little Red Riding Hood against transsexuals, it delivers the message that woman are helpless and need the assistance of men to be freed from bondage.

Children's stories do not condition children to accept the weakness of women but imperialism and imprisonment of other cultures. The book "Curious George" by H.A. Rey is a story that implants into the minds of young readers the possibility going into a foreign country and steal a



living being. George, a monkey and the story's protagonist, is trapped by an imperialist dressed in yellow. Against George's will, the imperialist kidnaps him in order to imprison my monkey in a zoo. The book's narrative plants the impression that it was perfectly correct for imperialists to go into Africa and entrap the continent's inhabitants. H.A. Rey might as well have written a book that was perfectly acceptable for slave traders to invade Africa to capture slaves. Later within the story, Curious George does get locked up in jail due with his mischief with the fire department. The result of this story, the monkey supposedly ends up in a 'better'

prison; the zoo which George does not resist.

Children's story will always capture the mind of children but why are parents settling with stories that teach sexism, homophobia, enslavement? Parents believe that these stories are basic tools that teach our children to read. These stories have created a generation of adults that believe that dressing in drag is not expectable and that enslavement is correct. While parents continue assume that these stories are harmless, generations and generations of child will believe in the wrong messages that these stories are applauded with.

New Gallery Opens on Campus

By Melissa Rothberg and Jennifer Scott

Well we've been on this campus for about two years. Now is our opportunity as part of the student population to see what it has got to show. On Thursday April 27, 1995 a reception was held to celebrate the enormously anticipated opening of the College of Staten Island's first housed gallery. Members of Staten Island's art community, including members of the creative arts faculty and administration, gathered to view the newly installed exhibition entitled AMERICAN SCREENPRINTS. Screenprinting can be defined as the process of stenciling a design onto a tightly bound screen and applying it onto a surface with a squeegee. The screen is usually silk but can also be done with various materials.

This collection was loaned for exhibit by Reba and Dave Williams who are among the top screenprint collectors in the world. The collection features priceless screenprints by artists like Stuart Davis, Jasper Johns, Jackson Pollack, Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol. It shows that screenprinting is not just a medium for mass production. It remains an appreciated art form. When conversing with the Williamses, we learned that prints from the 1930's and 40's like the ones featured in

this show are particularly rare because of their tendency to crack and tear over time.

The exhibition, curated by Diane Kelder, a CSI art history professor, offered appropriate subject matter. Light, yet thought provoking. The perfect collaboration of works to launch the further endeavors of this new gallery. Displaying American modernism at its best, the collection will be on exhibit through June 11.

This new impressive gallery space can be compared to what you would find in Soho. The viewing area consists of 1,600 square feet with a separate room for preparatory work. The opening of this gallery would not have been possible without the endowment of Lucille and Jacob Friedland for whom the gallery was named. Native Staten Islanders, Lucille is an artist who has previously exhibited her watercolors in the library during the fall 93 semester. Although no longer residents of the Island, they strongly advocate the need for the betterment of cultural activity here on campus. Jacob Friedland strongly stated, "We need this gallery!"

The organization entitled The Friends of Friedland Gallery, has been established so that community members of Staten Island as well as the campus can help keep

the gallery operating. Contributions from the Friends will enable the gallery to retain generous loan exhibitions of high quality like the one currently being featured so that our campus can benefit from it. This new construction will be beneficial to the students. The intended goals of the gallery are to feature four annual exhibitions, consisting of two curate shows, a jury student show and a show featuring faculty members. The gallery will also be the place to finally display CSI's own collection of works on paper acquired from 1975 through 1992. It features such artists as Manet, Daumier, Frankenthaler, Rauschenberg, and Segal. Not just for exhibits, the gallery will also become a useful teaching tool. It will coincide with art and history lectures and will offer internships to students enrolled in the Museum and Gallery Training Course offered here at the college. Lectures and tours of the exhibit are also available. Gallery Hours are Monday through Thursday from noon to 4:00 p.m. and Saturday, from noon to 3:00 p.m.

The Friedland gallery has a bright future. It will complement the creative arts activities promised to the newly constructed arts center in the future.

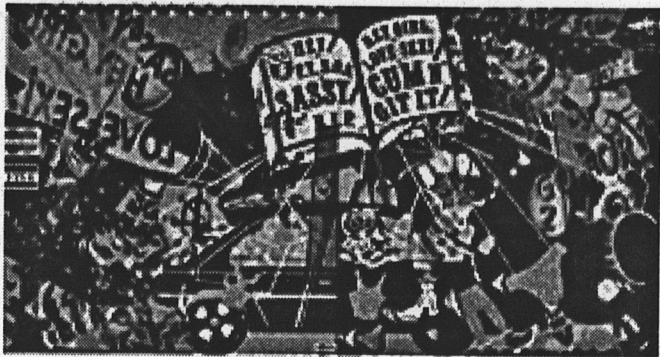
The Whitney Biennial's Best

By Frank Giallombardo

When politicians in Washington DC speak of cutting funding to the arts the targets of their assaults are usually contemporary artists working out of the mainstream. In past Biennial Exhibitions the Whitney Museum of American Art has scanned far and wide for works from those artists it believes are the most interesting and innovative in North America. The Whitney's curators are especially fond of artists whose work often surprise, shock, and force a viewer to ponder again and again the definition of art in our society.

Three cases in point are on the third floor of the 1995 Exhibition. Coming off the elevator you're stunned by the scent of oil which beckons you to a mixed-media sculpture called "Peace Keeper" by Nari Ward of a grease-covered hearse resting on a mass of exhaust pipes resembling a bed of bones, under a collection of mufflers, and all imprisoned in a cage of aluminum bars. Another Ward sculpture consists of burnt baseball bats and a wall of oven pans. Then there are the photographers Nan Goldin and Catherine Obie whose works of androgenous, body-pierced, Gay and Asian models would most likely be denounced by Senator Jesse Helms for its unnerving, sexually explicit content.

Indeed, though, there are many works which cause the viewer to ponder what are the artists' intentions, whether they may be profit, recognition, or art for its own sake, as well as how in all likelihood these artists are able to get away with some of the things they create (especially after one figures in the costs for the largescale projects).



Lari Pittman, *Untitled #30 (A Discovered Chronology of Insistence and Resignation)*, 1994. Courtesy Jay Garney Modern Aart.

Aside from new artists there are works displayed by some more familiar names, like another load of rusted metal from Richard Serra, new scribble paintings by Cy Twombly, and a trio of nightmarish photos by Cindy Sherman. Deeper lasting impressions (including Sherman, arguably the best photographer in the show), however, come from the new artists selected by curator Klaus Kertess, who designed this exhibition to emphasize "art's metaphorical functions". The artist, Kertess states, "draws us into understanding by creating new combinations of meaning. And, if we let our eyes be willingly stirred, we will see more light than shade."

If you want your eyes really stirred it's best to start at the top. On the fourth floor the viewer is greeted by a pair of loud, exciting, colorful paintings by Lari Pittman, done in acrylic, showing a circuslike world of consumerism, commercialism, and bawdiness. Logos of MasterCard and VISA are painted next to bursts of chunky white paint and clothes made of gold glitter. Andrew Lord's sculptures of a giant jug, vase, dish, and cup are a clever use of

bronze. Jason Rhodes has a sculpture involving a donut making machine and other strange gadgets. Stephen Mueller has three spacial paintings reminiscent of Kandinsky. Brice Marden's paintings, inspired by Chinese calligraphy, create the illusion of lines coming out at the viewer. Philip Taaffe's silkscreen designs on black background recall Chinese block type.

The third floor holds the more interesting and odd exhibits. There is a sculpture made of twisted mattresses and cake by Nancy Rubins; in Peter Cain's paintings one gets a contracted way of looking at automobiles; Alan Turner's paintings gives viewers images of amalgams of human body parts; the kitschy, loud, and cartoonish paintings of Peter Saul present a humorous interpretation of two Bible tales. But it is the paintings of Frank Moore that transport the viewer to a surrealistic world, a la Dali or Magritte. His "Yosemite" is a commercialized view of vacationers at a state park, complete with well-known cartoon characters, people hiking up mountains of American coinage, and snakes coiled around redwood trees. The

painting is even framed with wood and acorns. Another of his paintings is a waterfall with chemistry formulas rising out of the misty chasm.

The most impressive works on the second floor, again, were paintings. Jack Pierson has created a mammoth work of photographic pointillism that completely outdoes anything by Seurat. There are also impressionist landscape works by Jane Freilicher and realistic paintings skillfully rendered by Catherine Murphy, particularly one of a woman's bathroom sink after she has cut her hair. Her detail of hair floating on the water surface and the reflection in the bathroom mirror is astonishing. In the Lower Gallery is a painting by Nicole Eisenman that was very surprising, considering what in Oklahoma City in April. It is the aftermath of a bombing of the Whitney showing medics trying to find and help survivors, men trying to retrieve paintings, and a blank section where an artist is trying to recreate the entire scene.

After all the talk and arguments about cutting funding to the arts it's great to know there are still artists with incredible talent and the power to mesmerize, enlighten, and entertain our senses. Not only are our eyes stirred, but our emotions as well. If the politicians are actually to cut funding for the arts they better think twice before eliminating the painters mentioned in this article.

The Biennial is co-sponsored by the New York State Council on the Arts and the Philip Morris Companies Inc. It runs until June 4 and is located at 945 Madison Avenue.

MUSIC & HAIR

What Else Is There?

ARTISTS INCLUDE:
 ELTON JOHN
 MELISSA ETHERIDGE
 SALT-N-PEPA
 THE CRANBERRIES
 AND MANY MORE

HIGHLIGHTS HAIR DESIGN
 1953 Victory Blvd
 447-HAIR

FREE CD SINGLE
 WITH A HAIRCUT FOR H.S.
 AND COLLEGE STUDENTS
 ONLY.
 WHILE SUPPLIES LAST
 *STUDENT ID REQUIRED

War!
by Larry (L.H) Jacobs
(Early 1940's)

Might crushes right,
All minds distorted.
Fear in the fight,
Mass destruction reported.
Bewildered in their plight,
Most are slaughtered.
End in sight?
No! More ordered.

Without any thanks
Their bodies gone dry.
From all the ranks,
They come to die
Fathers, sons- Bloody banks.
Mothers, babes-Come, cry.

Everything is gone to naught,
And lives lost in vain.
Many too distraught,
From the terrible strain.
All seemed caught
In the crimson rain.
Given a thought,
Realize we the gain?

Busload Home

I have the kiss of a lover
even if I don't know you-
Breeding alcoholism in my chest
Hatred across my back
I carry it both-all three
Legs and glances while hurting
lurking somewhere, shirking something
I hide-
I might be in the dark grass
or a bush,
Under a station wagon
Across the street
Behind your sunglasses
Beneath your sleep
On your heart
Next to your love, needing

-Brian Belulovich

God Is A Democrat

Born 6 feet tall, reality just fell on me
like a fresh poop from Heaven,
God, in his good grace, gave this to me

The devine hand gave me war
He gave me hatred
God gave us A.I.D.S.
God gave us freedom, and exploitation

God descended from the skies and blew
Hiroshima to bits
God knows all that is amoral, then let's it happen
God sees all things filthy and underhanded

God wears a badge
In black robes he convicts
In a governors suit he pulls Mumia Abu Jamal's
switch

God sees the earth, and plays games behind
walls, then
Providence smiles and tells you that he loves you
God makes it possible for union busters and
punks like Guy Molinari to become
Staten Island's District Attorney

God is created in red, white, and blue
I DON'T BELIEVE IN GOD!

L. Bardel-5/16/95

Salesman's Creed
by Larry (L.H) Jacobs
(1950's)

My profession has taught
to take seven noes
Before all is for naught.

Three noes I've got,
but then I learned.
I almost forgot.
After seven times spurned
From noes begot,
Yesses are earned!



Just for the Moment
by Larry (L.H) Jacobs
(1989)

What was important
isn't any more.
What is important
won't be any more.
What will be important
is just for the moment
And no more!

Alas,
Freedom To Be
One.

Know My Name

by Suheir Hammad

Assimilation is a mother...

a mother who no longer knows her child's name

Or how

Ibrahim became Abe

Khalid became Charlie

Yusef became Joe

How about little Mohammed?

Whose mother awaited his birth with devoted anticipation
and upon his arrival

blessed him with the name of the prophet of God,

the prophet of God's most beautiful name

Mohammed became "Mike"

Suha became Suzy

Fatma became Faith

Yasmine became Jesse

Suheir

Whose name carried the spirit of an extinct flower that
bloomed nocturnally and fragranced eastern skies

Suheir became Sue...

'cause she was sick of teachers calling her

Shuhair-Sher-Sahra and sahair

Sue was neat, easy, all American apple pie

The problem was none of us were all American apple pie

None of us...I wasn't... neat and easy

Assimilation is a mother

who doesn't know your name

calls you

a name not born you

a name not born you

How are the spirits going to know me

How are the ancestors going to find me

How can you know me if you don't know me name?

The melting pot

boils your soul and swallows your juice

serves you on a bed of wilted greens

This mother eats you alive

Mother

you don't know me if you don't know my name.



Debra's Last Words

by Debra Behr

I can't hear the conversation.

Does it matter.

Floating between all I wish to know,

and the personal isolation.

Perhaps I'm just stoned

I usually remember,

the embarrassing remarks fall from my mouth.

It must be a personal examination.

Does it matter.

I can't hear the conversation.

Waiting for the perfect statement.

Waiting for the sun to rise

over the horizon.

Then all that was said

would be part of something

or part of the conversation.

I could be complaining about,

about all the spoken words.

That would only be repeating the apology,

over and over again.

Who sees you complaining,

when your floating between

the space in your head.

Maybe it's the just the situation I'm in.

If only I could hear the conversation.

I was never the type to contribute.

Never the one to create the atmosphere.

Isolating within the ongoing,

words never said.

Who's listening anyway,

when you can't hear the conversation.

I can't hear the conversation.

This could go on forever.

I can't hear the conversation.

Maybe I'm not paying attention.

I'm so entrained with the thoughts,

dancing in my head.

I would like to know the ideas

spoken from mouth to mouth.

Maybe I'm flying too fast.

This is going to go on forever.

It usually does,

when I can't hear the conversation.

I would like to know,

what this was about.

I feel guilty for asking.

That's the way I am.

Trapped between the ideas,

and the words I don't understand.

Would you like to know what I'm thinking,

when I fade into the conversation.

The Muse

by Silvana Guadagnoli

It's not enough to have the gift.

I want to be the muse,

To be the why and the because

Of all your joys and blues.

The Calliope of your dreams,

For you alone would sing,

And watch unworthy paramours

Fall dead beneath her wings.

Creation's born from love's embrace;

Your bed becomes my shrine.

Forever there you'd worship me,

As Bacchus pours us wine.

Immortal twice! I'd live so long,

I'd outlive words and deeds and songs.

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

This statement is put forward by the "Partisan Defense Committee's Campaign to Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal". They can be reached at PO Box 99, Canal ST. STA., NY 10013. Phone # 212-406-4252.

We are in a race against time to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a courageous black journalist, fighter for social justice, and a political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania. Mumia Abu-Jamal is the victim of a racist frame-up. As a former Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter, and an award-winning black journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Jamal has lived a vibrant life of struggle on behalf of the poor, the black and the dispossessed in this country. Even from the hideous conditions of death row, Jamal continues to speak out for the oppressed in commentaries which appear regularly in newspapers all over the country. It is precisely because he is a beacon of hope and strength in the fight against racist injustice that the forces of reaction and repression want to silence Jamal forever by execution. This racist legal lynching must be stopped!

The threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal is not only inherently racist and barbaric, it is also the first explicitly political execution attempted in this country since the government murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Just as the Rosenbergs were murdered in the McCarthyite climate of Cold War anti-communism, the persecution of Mumia Abu-Jamal takes place in a context of a right-wing Congress pushing a devastating rollback of the gains made by blacks, women, gays, and the labor movement through hard-fought struggles. The death penalty is the centerpiece of the right-wing backlash for racist "law and order." Clinton's new Crime Bill, passed just before the midterm elections, mandates the death penalty for 60 more federal offenses, effectively making the death penalty the law of the land even in states that abolished it.

In Pennsylvania, Republican Tom Ridge won the state house on a pro-death penalty platform and pledged to sign death warrants as soon as he takes office as governor on January 17. Foremost among the over 170 men and women on Pennsylvania's death row is Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) openly boasts of its campaign to kill Mumia, rallying outside the state house and bombarding the television and radio talk shows with bloodcurdling calls to "get on with it."

The campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical stage. Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass and including the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, are filing an application for a new trial in Pennsylvania state court in early 1995. While availing ourselves of every legal resource at our disposal to save Jamal's life, death penalty abolitionists cannot expect justice through the capitalist courts. We must rely on and organize the tremendous power of social protest to save Mumia. The power and exposure of international protest may well have prevented South Africa's white racist rulers from killing Nelson Mandela while he was in prison as they killed Steve Biko and countless other anti-apartheid militants. Were it not for mass mobilizations against Jim Crow "justice," the Scottsboro Boys would have died in prison for a crime they did not commit.

The cops and their friends in high places know that Jamal symbolizes capital punishment in America—you better know it too. Join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The Frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

In the early morning hours of December

9, 1981, Jamal was working as a cab driver and saw his brother Billy being beaten by police officer Daniel Faulkner. Jamal got out of his cab and took a near fatal bullet in the stomach. Jamal was found sitting on the curb and bleeding nearly to death. Faulkner was dead. Jamal was sent to death row in a classic Southern-style racist frame-up on charges of killing a police officer. While critically wounded, Jamal was beaten, kicked, rammed into a pole and dumped on a hospital floor by police, where he was beaten again. Jamal has always maintained his innocence, but was presumed guilty by the hanging judge and prevented from presenting a defense in a frame-up trial fraught with violations of Jamal's constitutional rights, from jury selection to closing arguments.

THE JUDGE: Albert Sabo—the "king of Death Row"—has sentenced more men and women to death than any other sitting judge in the U.S. A former under-sheriff for 16 years and member of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, Sabo is known by defense attorneys as "a prosecutor in robes." Sabo limited cross-examination of prosecution witnesses, saying at one point, you "don't have to prove that every witness is a liar on the stand."

THE PROSECUTION: Joseph McGill—no stranger to frame-up prosecutions. One of his victims, Matthew Connor, spent 12 years in prison before his release in 1989, when McGill's illegal concealment of evidence was exposed. In Jamal's case, to relieve jurors of any responsibility for the legal lynching, prosecutor McGill told the jury, "you are not asked to kill anybody. You are asked to follow the law... the same law that will provide for him appeal after appeal after appeal." In earlier cases tried by McGill, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that this same argument required automatic reversal of the death sentence.

THE DEFENSE: Jamal was denied the right to represent himself or have the attorney of his choice. He was allocated a mere \$150 for pretrial investigation in a case in which the police has already interviewed 125 people. Jamal was removed from the courtroom and missed most of the prosecution's case. His court-appointed lawyer was unprepared for trial and repeatedly asked to be relieved. He was later disbarred.

THE JURY: In a city which is over 40 percent black, all blacks except two were excluded from the jury. One black juror was dismissed by the judge himself and replaced with a white juror who stated that he was not sure he could be unbiased in this case. Another juror's best friend was a Philadelphia cop.

THE EVIDENCE: Critical evidence demonstrates Jamal's innocence. The prosecution's case claimed that only Jamal and his brother came anywhere near Faulkner until the backup cops arrived. But four witnesses stated they saw a third man shoot Faulkner and then run from the scene. McGill & Co. produced as a witness a hospital security guard who claimed to hear Jamal confess to the

shooting. But the officer who took Jamal into custody and stayed with him reported that Jamal remained silent the entire time. His testimony was not produced at trial. The defense was told he was "on vacation"

and unavailable. Testimony of other eyewitnesses was not produced at trial.

THE SENTENCING: Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to die for his political activities and beliefs. McGill secured the death sentence by telling the nearly all-white jury that Jamal's membership in the Black

Panther Party and use of the slogan, "power to the people" and the old Maoist dictum, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" 12 years earlier "proved" he was "cop-killer"!

THE APPEALS: The Pennsylvania Supreme court ignored its own precedent to reverse the forbidden "appeal after appeal" argument and affirmed the sentence of death against Jamal. Months later, in another case, Pennsylvania's highest court re-established its earlier precedent. In 1990 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Jamal's appeals, which emphasized that he was sentenced to death because of his Black Panther Party membership. Yet two years later the same court reversed the death sentence of David Dawson, ruling that evidence of his membership in the white supremacist Aryan Brotherhood prejudiced the jury.

From Philadelphia, PA to Washington, D.C., the courts have adopted special rules for Jamal and racked up a mountain of constitutional violations. The men in black robes want black men's blood.

The Philadelphia Story—Rizzo Town
From the vicious 1871 riot by white gangs which left four blacks dead to the bombing of the MOVE commune on May 13, 1985, Philadelphia has always been a racist hellhole. Blacks ghettoized in dilapidated, overcrowded housing; segregated rundown schools; black unemployment and infant mortality nearly twice that of whites; the status quo brutally enforced by racist, trigger-happy cops led by Frank Rizzo—this is the Philadelphia in which Jamal was born and raised. This record of former mayor Frank Rizzo's against black population of Philly is a tale of state-sponsored terror—and at every turn, Jamal was there to expose and protest the injustice.

In 1966 Rizzo led a unit of 80 cops in raids against meetings of the militant civil rights group SNCC. In 1967 Rizzo led busloads of baton-wielding cops in an attack on students protesting the dismal education in Philadelphia's antiquated and segregated schools. Fifty-seven students were arrested and 22 seriously injured. Among those students fighting to rename Benjamin Franklin High School for Malcolm X was the 13-year old Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Jamal was beaten and arrested by Rizzo's plainclothes cops for protesting a 1968 presidential rally for George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. In September 1969, Rizzo's cops raided Black Panther Party headquarters and tore apart the office. Fifteen-year-old Minister of Information Mumia Abu-Jamal was among those

arrested. Later that year, armed cops surrounded the Church of the Advocate on December 14, as 1,000 people inside paid their respects to slain Panther leader Fred Hampton, who was murdered in his bed by the Chicago cops and FBI ten days earlier. Mumia Abu-Jamal was the first speaker at the even, which was widely covered in Philadelphia newspapers. Three weeks later, in January 1970, Jamal was featured in a front-page article about the Panthers in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

In coordination with the FBI and its deadly COINTELPRO operation against the black movement which left 38 Black Panther Party members dead, Rizzo and Philly police compiled files on 18,000 people and 600 organizations. This campaign of police terror culminated in the infamous August 1970 raid on the Philly Panther office in which Black Panther Party members were lined up against wall and forced to strip naked while the press looked on. Rizzo became an icon to the racist "law and order" crowd.

Jamal, the young student activist, CO-founder of the local Black Panther Party chapter and renowned journalist, could not have—and did not—evade Rizzo's deadly eye. Jamal was among the journalists covering Rizzo's press conference following the August 8, 1978 siege of the MOVE commune's Powelton Village home by hundreds of heavily armed cops. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one cop and threatened, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to be held responsible and accountable for what you do."

The state's opportunity for "settling accounts" came three years later, on December 9, 1981 when Jamal was shot in the chest by a cop and railroaded to death row.

Stop Racist Legal Lynchings!

To the brutal reality of rampant joblessness, impoverishment and the epidemic of homelessness, the rulers of American society have no solution but increased repression. Schools crumble - build more prisons. Factories shut down - gut welfare and hire more cops. Sixty percent unemployment for black male youth - throw them in boot camps. Housing shortage - declare a "war on drugs" and raid public housing, throwing whole families out on the streets.

With 1.5 million people behind bars, the U.S. is far and away the world's biggest jailer, imprisoning blacks at a rate far than South Africa's apartheid rulers ever dreamed of. Over 25 percent of young black men are under the "supervision" of the very criminal "injustice" system.

Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder. It represents the legacy of slavery - legal lynching - a continuation of the ideology that proclaims that black people are not human and can be killed with impunity. State executions are a social act meant to intimidate and brutalize a whole people. The death penalty shackles the ancient tradition of torture to the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state.

Texas rang in the New Year by executing Jesse Dewayne Jacobs, a man they know was innocent of the crime he was sentenced to die for! This grotesque murder exposes the symbolic value of the death penalty to the ruling class: the all-powerful state will decide who lives and who dies. Truly in the death penalty we see the impulse to genocide.

As Jamal wrote in the prestigious Yale Law Journal, "You will find a blacker world on Death Row. African Americans, a mere twelve percent of the national population, compose about forty percent of the Death

continued on page 15