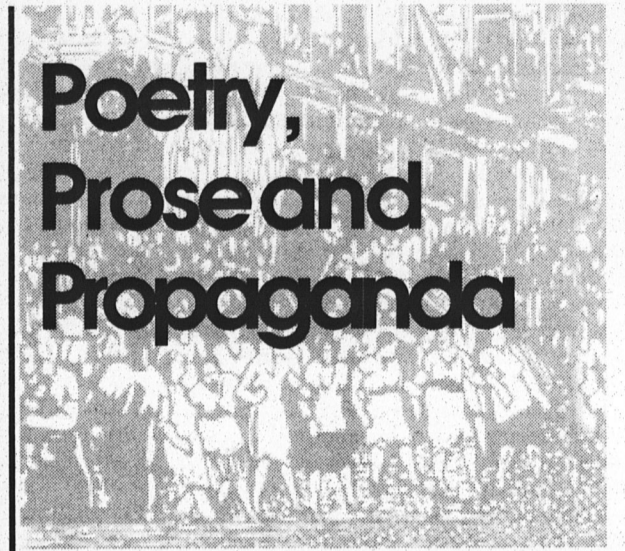


THE COLLEGE

VOICE

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Poetry,
Prose and
Propaganda

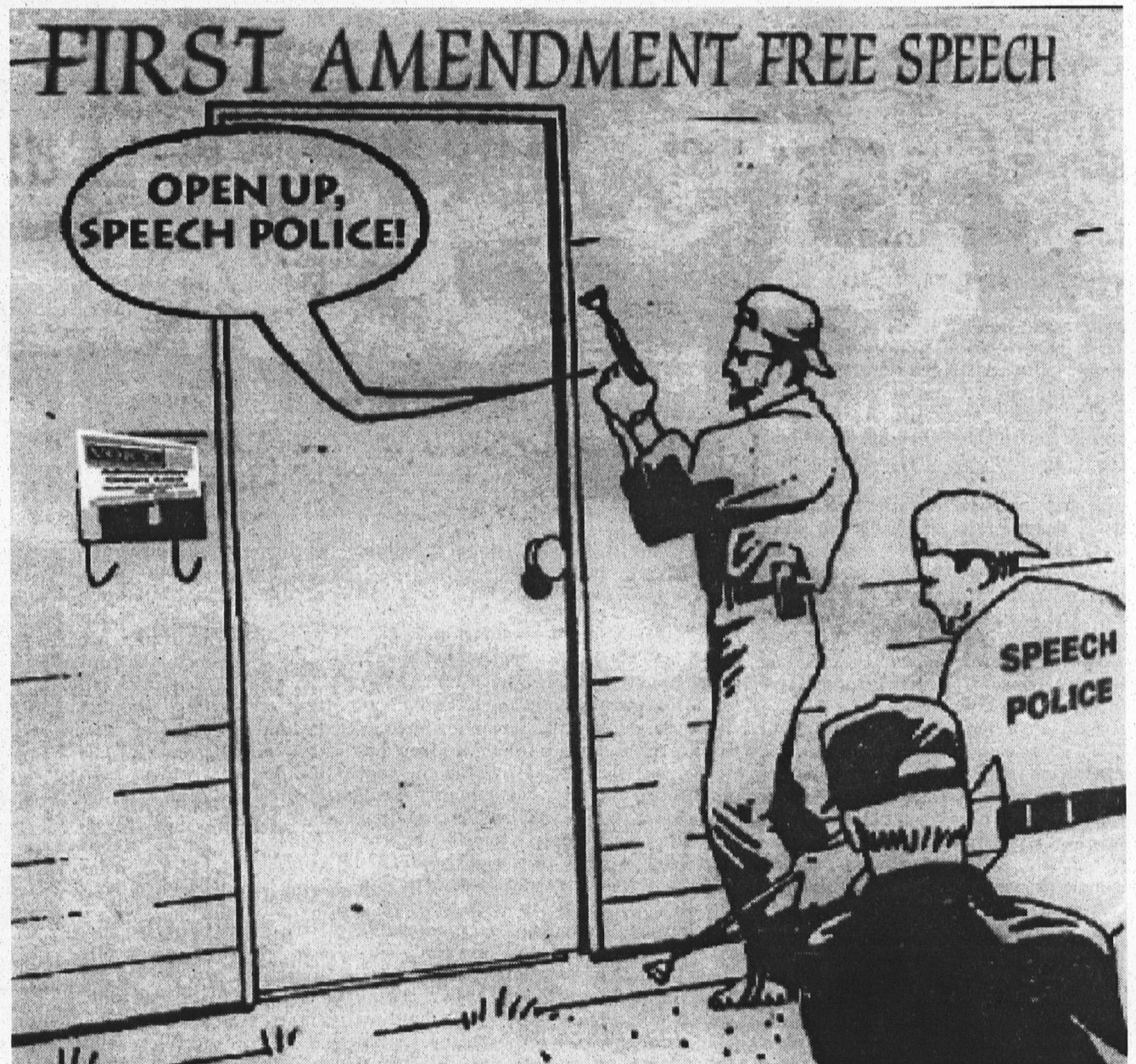
You Have the Right to Remain Silent

*"This outrage on morality
is called law, and judges
are found wicked enough to
inflict penalties on truth."
- Thomas Paine*

Welcome to the first issue of this 16th edition of the College Voice. While most students were enjoying their summer vacation, members of the Voice were fighting for the existence of the newspaper, which the Publication Commission (PC) of Student Government (SG) was trying to defund. In the News section there are a series of articles exposing the hypocrisy of SG senators who attempted to close the Voice for "political reasons."

While locally the fight on campus has been to defend the Voice, nationally and internationally there has been a mass upsurge to defend the life of US political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Both these issues connect under the banner of Freedom of Speech. Mumia is a revolutionary who fights against state-police brutality and racism. He is on death row for his political beliefs. According to many civil liberties lawyers who have reviewed the evidence of the case he was clearly framed up by the Philadelphia Police force for a crime he never committed. The Voice which has laid out a dossier of Mumia's case, fights on the side of students against racism, sexism, and exposes the administration for what they truly are is also being attacked for its political line; no matter how much both administration or the SG would like to deny this fact.

Further more all of these afflictions are part of a larger attack which the capitalist system launches everyday on the US working class and the workers throughout the world. We have a special feature by Ernest Mandel which delineates the origins of the State apparatus that has gone about systematically reducing the welfare of the entire working class of the world.



Dossier: The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal US Political Prisoner

Student Government Attempts To Shut Down The College Voice

by MD Wijerama

Following in the footsteps of Pataki and Giuliani the so-called Publications Commission (PC) of the Student Government (SG) attempted to shut the College Voice (CV) down over the summer. Claiming fiscal distress SG senators Joe Canale, also chair of the PC, Meri Kaufman and Ed Dieghan led the effort to ram through what they termed a "merger" of the Banner and the Voice. In the initial meetings of the PC on which a delegate each from the publications are also represented no reply was forthcoming as to what exactly the fiscal constraints were. The aforementioned clique of "senators" instead met the queries with heavyhanded arrogance ramming through a motion for the "merger" despite the opposition of all 3 delegates from the Voice, Banner and Ictus Review.

The proposed merger aimed to eliminate the budgets of the Banner and the Voice and create a new single newspaper to the liking of the PC. The Banner and Voice represent two very different sets of views on how to deal with the problems of students.

The Banner, one of the two campus newspapers, was created in 1993 from a split from the Voice. The main reason for the split was hostility towards the militant wing of the paper. The present editor of the Banner, Michael Garofalo, states their purpose in the slogan "we are committed to nothing".

The policy of the Voice has been and remains a united front of all student organizations against the cutbacks of the Administration and their bosses in Wall Street and City Hall.

Student Government which is busy carrying out a series of cutbacks ordered by Administration against student organizations is governed by a sense of bureau-

cratic duty towards whoever is calling the shots. As such particularly the more cynical elements on SG felt far more comfortable with the Banner and its "committed to nothing" program than with the militant, pro-student, pro-working class work of the Voice.

The stated assertion of senators Canale, Kaufman and Dieghan that there were budgetary restrictions did not hold up to the facts. The funding for the publications comes from the \$53.00 student activity fee which of course had not been changed. The political motivation behind the "merger" though carefully concealed behind vague claims of fiscal constraints was obvious in the wording of the motion which included the language "fiscal constraints and other reasons".

Under pressure from the members of the Voice who began a campaign of popular outcry by having letters of protest sent in and a legal campaign to prove that its right to free speech has been violated the politics of the PC clique became clearer. On being told that the Voice is an anti-racist paper Joe Canale stupidly remarked "there is no problem of racism on this campus". To say as much is to say that there is no racism in society in general since our campus is a part of the society. He further attempted to dictate what a campus newspaper is and what it is not. Never having worked on a publication before and being semi-literate and illogical in his analysis this dangerous buffoon-

ery was sharply dealt with in the comments of the Voice editors. This prompted Canale to run to Dean of Students Carol Jackson and Head of Security in fear for his safety. The incredulous Ed Deighan was so perplexed at the SG meeting of July 10 by the resistance of Voice members to the forced merger that he threatened to kill JP Patafio the outgoing managing editor and made comments about his own sexual confusion calling JP a faggot and comparing him to a woman. Meri Kaufman rushed to the aid of her now rabidly incredulous and overflowing colleague retorting, "I'd rather be called a faggot than a racist". Her point was well taken ?!

The sustained pressure of Voice members and the concern of professors like political science lecturer Harry Caesam forced the PC to withdraw from its initial plans of completely eliminating the Voice. The Voice was offered \$3000.00, a nevertheless damaging reduction from the previous years budget of \$9000.00. The Voice as well as the other publications are produced voluntarily by students. The production of a paper however involves printing, equipment and maintenance costs. The Voice had already been cut the previous year to the bare minimum required for simply printing costs sufficient for a monthly paper with a circulation of 5000 and average of 20 pages. The Banner, the more recent of the two publications under the new proposal will receive 4 times

more at \$12000.00, be given the status of official newspaper and allowed to publish a weekly.

The transparency of the PCs duplicity about "fiscal crisis" was now fully confirmed by this blatant act of political bias. Amazingly Ed Dieghan still doesn't get it. He offered this sparkling observation, "I don't wanna here 'bout nutting. I'm here ta deal wit de numbers. I never even read de freakin Banner or de Voice". We understood perfectly.

At the time of this writing the Voice has been successful at bringing its printing line to \$5200.00 by shifting over \$2200.00 from its advertising revenue from the 94-95 academic year to 95-96. In true Mafioso fashion the three intellectuals on the PC demanded a percentage of this revenue which was repelled in bug spray style by the Voice.

We have at CSI a cancerous dynamic unleashed under the weight of the current attack on CUNY by Pataki and Giuliani, whereby SG has become a tool of administration in carrying out cuts against fellow students. The ideology of this tendency is the technocratic "committed to nothing" program.

The attack on the Voice is part of an overall attack on all CSI student clubs. The already meager budgets of CSI clubs have been slashed in half from \$1000.00/year to \$500.00/year.

Who Controls Student Government? Students or Administration?

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**fight
BUREAUCRACY**

SG Fiscal Conservative's Take \$1800 Trip to Washington

By JP Patafio

Despite claims of a shortfall of funds in the student government (SG) coffers three SG senators will be attending a "student leadership" conference at the Grand Hyatt hotel in Washington D.C.. Ironically two of the senators on the trip, Senator Edward Deighan and Senator Meri Kaufmann, are precisely those who shouted loudest last spring and over the summer for fiscal responsibility when it came to spending money for student interests.

The trip funds will be allocated from the SG reserve fund of \$52,000. It will cost students \$1818.16. Normally such a low amount would be less scrutinized, however, upon further examination of SG funds and some of the cuts that were proposed by SG on student clubs, the figure reveals the lack of political savvy; or just the lack of concern "student leaders" have for the CSI student body.

Last year when students throughout CUNY were mobilizing against the cuts, funds were desperately needed to hire buses for student transportation to and from rally sites. Newly appointed senator Edward Deighan, who agreed with the latest round of budget cuts and tuition increases, argued against "wasting money" on such student activities like protesting budget cuts.

Senator Meri Kaufmann, who is also Clubs Commissioner, has been embarking on a campaign to defund clubs to such a point that their operating budgets are less than half of what they were last year. Kaufmann claims that these cuts must take place, without any input from the clubs at all since voting took place in the summer when club reps were not around. Though feeling the pressure of "fiscal constraints" Kaufmann has found it feasible to vote herself a trip to this luxurious so-called "leadership" conference. A conference

Instead of spending money informing and organizing the students of CUNY around the budget cut issues, they are slashing the spending on students services while spending money on trips for themselves. Like their senior partners in administration and City Hall the "leadership" that they strive for is unchecked power and a more comfortable position for themselves.

whose cost by the way is equal to half the entire 95-96 Voice budget.

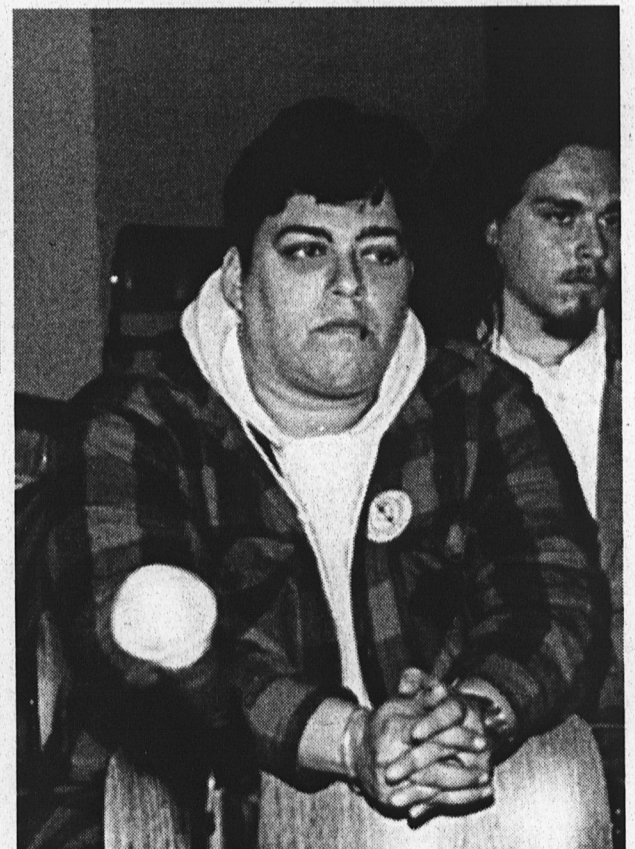
Fiscal Responsibility turns to Fiscal Folly

According to SG's 1995-96 budget there is \$7,500 allotted for "leadership" events. This money is matched by Auxiliary Services bringing the total amount to \$15,000 for leadership events. However, the \$1800 for the trip is coming from a separate line (a \$52,000 slush fund) raising the total amount of funds for "leadership" events over \$16,000. The money spent on these activities, where only a handful of "student leaders" participate, could be diverted to student activities that effect and include the activity of more students.

Like most "leadership" events that offer "to put you out in front," the conference agenda reads like a team concept manual from the big bosses. One that management can hand out to the workers so that they can produce more corporate profits for less pay and more hard work. Like one of those late night infomercials promising the potential buyers everything under the sun, the brochure to the NCSS student leadership conference ensures the "student leader" comfort and future success. "Participants at NCSS are invited to relax in the lap of luxury in the heart of DC's

excitement at a special rate-just \$99 for a single or double room, \$119 for a triple or quad..." What distinguishes this conference is that at the end of the third day the participants will take a "Certified Student Leader Examination" that they can hang on their walls in order to prove their "leadership" qualities. This for just an extra \$79 per person. Those who marketed this conference knew exactly what type of "leaders" they were inviting to come.

The move by SG to allow this trip to happen, while the student newspapers and clubs are being cut, only shows who's leadership qualities these junior bureaucrats are mimicking. Instead of spending money informing and organizing the students of CUNY around the budget cut issues, they are slashing the spending on students services while spending money on trips for themselves. Like their senior partners in administration and City Hall the "leadership" that they strive for is unchecked power and a more com-



Meri Kaufmann, Clubs Commissioner, cuts clubs funding but finds enough money to go on a trip.

fortable position for themselves.

The conference is not until November 18 and students are encouraged to let their

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**Write for the
Voice!**

Publications Commission - Anything but Democratic

By JP Patafio

Despite having been elected with less than 160 votes combined, three Student Government (SG) senators on the Publications Commission have displayed their contempt for the democratic process and the free press. By wielding control over the funding of the publications they have attempted to shut down the *College Voice*, and have created a relationship with the other two publications, *The Banner* newspaper and the *Ictus Review* literary journal, that could be characterized as anything but friendly.

Publication Commissioner, Joe Canale, who never served on any student publication became temporary commissioner at the beginning of the summer. Immediately he appointed three other people to the commission, all of whom never served on any student publication. The appointed members were, Ed Deighan infamous for being the only SG senator favoring the tuition increase and budget cuts, Meri Kauffman who is the senior member and Christine Crowdell who lost in the SG elections. The rest of the Publication Commission (PC) is made up of one member from the three publications.

For many of the meetings over the summer the PC found itself split, with the Commissioner and his appointees voting one way while the representatives of the publications voting in opposition. It is no coincidence that such a split occurred in the PC. The publications range politically from liberal to the left radical politics of the *Voice*, while the SG members and Crowdell are "fiscal and social conservatives."

A Move Towards Censorship

Last year there were a few SG senators claiming that CSI needed only one newspaper, one of the senators pushing this was Meri Kaufmann. Without any clear reason for this move Senator Kaufmann continued to push this idea. She found a receptive ear with the new Commissioner (Canale) and the other appointed members. Meeting as a group the Commissioner and his appointees decided the fate of the publications before he even sat down with them to discuss the so-called "fiscal problem," and the dubious "other reasons."

It is believed that Meri Kaufmann, who exclaimed at a publications committee meeting that their intention was "to shut the *College Voice* down," is a major player in this anti-democratic maneuver.

The decision to have one newspaper was made by the Commissioner and his

appointees without the consultation of the two newspapers. In fact it was only revealed after the publications pointed out that there were two newspapers on campus while the agenda item read as if there

fund two newspapers. He has, however, voted affirmatively to have SG pay over \$1800 for a student leadership trip at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Washington D.C. [see *Fiscal Conservatives take \$1800 trip to*



Junior Bureaucrat, Joe Canale, receives lessons from top administrators on how to run a student organization undemocratically

were only one. Agenda item five of the June 26 read *Funding of Student Newspaper*. When objections to this agenda point were

Anti-democratic measures, in this case coupled with an attack on free speech, necessarily entails staunch resistance from those who are the victims of such policies.

made Senator Meri Kaufman intervened and claimed that it was a type

error. However, this turned out to be a lie, for later on in the meeting senator Kaufmann motioned to fund only one newspaper "due to financial constraints among other reasons."

When the motion to fund one newspaper was put forward by Senator Kaufmann there was considerable heated debate in which the publications reprimanded the Commissioner as a lackey for already taking sides on the issue. The publications pointed out that their first amendment right to free speech was being violated by forcing the two distinctively different editorial policies of the newspapers to merge.

Senator Edward Deighan, the "fiscal conservative," put forth the most strongest argument why SG could not afford to

Washington]. Two of the three people going to Washington are Senator Meri Kaufmann, and Senator Edward Deighan. Ironically the \$1800 trip to Washington almost makes up the difference between SG's allocations to publications last year as compared to this year. Last year SG allocated \$41,418 this year they allocated \$39,300, the difference is \$2118. So much for fiscal conservatism.

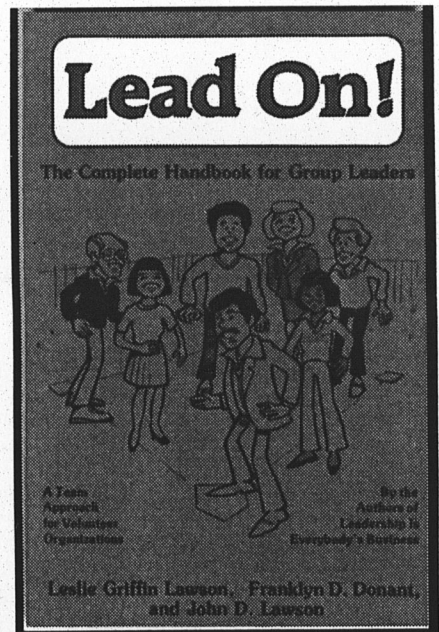
The publications put forward several options on how the two publications could be funded equitably, while spending the same amount of money as last year. When it was exposed through these recommendations that it was not fiscal constraints but politically motivated abuse of power on the part of the SG Publications Commissioner Joseph Canale, the discussion was closed. At a student government meeting Meri Kaufmann motioned to cap the discussion to twenty-minutes despite the fact that few members on SG knew much about the situation. In the end, the two papers were financed inequitably by SG.

At the July 24th Publications meeting the argument of "fiscal responsibility" gave way to the political. The Commissioner, by playing favorite to the *Banner*, was able to split the two papers. He assured the *Banner*, the paper noted for its lack of depth when dealing with important issues, an

increase in their budget from last year, while the *College Voice* was reduced to half of the budget it received last year. The *Voice* was displaced as the official newspaper of CSI to become the official political journal of CSI. The change in name is not as important, as the decrease in funding for political reasons.

Anti-democratic measures, in this case coupled with an attack on free speech, necessarily entails staunch resistance from those who are the victims of such policies. The PC meetings over the summer were not exception to this rule, and the resistance, mostly from the *Voice*, led to the Commissioner ushering amendments to the governing by-laws for the PC as a whole. What is most significant of the Commissioner's need to control things was that these amendments were not voted on, nor was there any time allotted to discuss the reasons for them. Despite objections to the way in which the changes were made, and to the amendments themselves it was passed by the SG senators.

It is no surprise the SG senators on the PC attempted these measures during the summer, a tactic picked up from the administration. Nor is it surprising that the publications, the *Voice*, the *Banner*, and the *Ictus Review*, are now applying for a



Text book leaders vote themselves \$1800 trip

referendum that would put aside a certain portion of the student activities fee for each publication, while giving them more autonomy from those who want to stifle free speech and mass democratic participation.

"Peace"-keepers or Police State?

-The Frightening Ambiguities of CUNY's New Security Policies.

Tom Smith and Andrew Long, CUNY Graduate School

Over the last several years, with the appointment of Chancellor Ann Reynolds and the 1991 student strike, the CUNY Administration has adopted increasingly repressive and hostile policies toward students who organize political opposition to recent budget cuts. *New York* magazine has aptly likened this repressive campaign to the policy organized by the Nixon's "Committee to Reelect the President." CREEP's campaign included domestic spying and campaign interference against critics of the Vietnam War. It resulted in the Watergate scandal, which so profoundly shook American society in the mid 1970's.

Like the old CREEP, the CUNY Administration has a penchant for Orwellian euphemisms. In their jargon, their new

tactical teams are called "SAFE", their new armed cops are called "Peace Officers." There are secret lists of student agitators. And all this is justified as providing greater "assistance," out of "concern" for the welfare and peace of mind of students and their relatives.

Here are the facts about the CUNY Administration's own home-grown version of the Watergate Scandal:

Spies Off Campus

The CUNY Administration has revealed they used campus security guards to spy on students who participated in off-campus protests against the budget cuts.

In the fall semester of 1994, the student government officers at BMCC—Candice Camillo, Manuela Janvier, Denyse Esposito, Camill Wynn—were summarily

suspended, and then reinstated, and summoned to disciplinary hearings. The officials were leaders in the on-campus protest movement against the budget cuts. These four students were held personally responsible for whatever possible violations of which the hundreds of students involved in the movement were accused by security guards.

The was obviously an attempt on the part of the Administration to decapitate the protest movement. They miscalculated badly, however. Their attempt stirred up a large amount of student resistance, throughout CUNY. And the students had at their services attorney Ron McGuire—a master at picking apart cases just like this. What looked like a simple hatchet job, therefore, backfired. The hearings

dragged throughout the school year, and culminated in a compromise which did not penalize the students.

In the process, however, defense attorneys Ron McGuire and Roger Wareham instituted a "discovery" process. This required the Administration to reveal facts deemed necessary for the defense. They obtained the security guards' logs. Log notations of several BMCC peace officers on the 22nd and 23rd of November revealed that they had been assigned to plainclothes duty. McGuire questioned one of these guards. He revealed to McGuire that one of his duties at this time was to follow and identify student protesters who went to City Hall to protest the Guiliani Administration's cutbacks to BMCC.

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CSIVoice To Go TheWay of New York Newsday?

By Rob Hollander, CUNY Graduate Center
If you thought retrenchment was not bad enough, now student governments (SG) are getting in on the act. The new SG of the College of Staten Island is in the process of defunding one of CUNY's best and most outspoken local college newspapers, the College of Staten Island *Voice*, claiming fiscal constraints do not permit two newspapers on campus. Campus publications are funded through student activities fees which are unaffected by state and city budgets and budget cuts.

Despite the claims of financial constraint the student government has approved a twofold expansion of the *Banner*, a non-political campus paper. The SG nevertheless claims that politics were not a motivation behind the cut in funding to the *Voice* and the concomitant expansion of the *Banner*.

The *Voice* is a twenty page paper published every three to four weeks and distributed to many CUNY campuses including the Graduate Center. As a political forum, it has built a reputation for its radical editorial views, the activist intensity of its writers, as well as the depth and seriousness of its political coverage and analysis and its willingness to publish from a Marxist perspective. The paper frequently solicited and published articles by doctoral students and faculty at CUNY. In the forefront fighting the recent budget cuts, the *Voice* collaborated with the *Advocate* in producing a newspaper for the CUNY Coalition Against the Budget Cuts.

Representatives of the student governments claim that overspending in past years led to the exhaustion of the reserve

fund, bringing the student government close to bankruptcy. As a result, the publications budget was drastically cut for the 95-96 year. The SG decided that only one newspaper could be supported on campus. Citing both the charter of the *Voice*, which sets forth a broad editorial policy inclusive of issues beyond local campus news, and the wide distribution of the *Voice* on other campuses, the SG chose to prefer the strictly local *Banner* as the one newspaper which best serves the students of CSI, despite widespread recognition of the low quality of its editorial and reportorial substance.

Shortly after the end of the spring session, while most students were out of school, the new Publications Commission of the student government recommended a merger of the *Voice* with the *Banner* as a way of retaining the *Voice* while complying with the SG decision allowing only one paper. Both newspapers rejected the recommendation. A new plan was drawn up by the Publications Commissioner, Joe Canale, intended to allow for two campus publications, one the official campus newspaper, the other a political forum. This plan calls for a \$12,000 allocation for a

campus paper, to be published weekly, and \$3,000 for a monthly forum. In addition, both papers will be allowed to reclaim all their advertising revenue which previously had reverted to the student government's general funds.

The staff of the *Voice* contends that opposition to the political views expressed in the *Voice* is the underlying reason both for the decision to fund only one paper and for the disproportionate funding in the current plan. Since the *Banner* has never published on a weekly basis, the justification for funding it at a weekly rate represents an expansion of the paper. Authorizing such an expansion for one paper while cutting back on the *Voice* seriously undermines the argument that fiscal constraints are the motivating factor. More disturbing still is the unquestioned assumption that a strictly local newspaper is *ipso facto* more deserving of student government's decision. The *Banner* has been deplored by one college administrator as having "caused more trouble for us than the [radicalism of the] *Voice* ever did because of the *Banner's* animal house mentality."

To those of us familiar with the *Voice*, this stifling of a vital organ of the free press is a disturbing development. The *Voice*

was an impressive paper among CUNY senior college productions. It was substantial, provocative, concerned with global issues as well as with the politics around CUNY. Among the college papers it distinguished itself by appealing to an audience wider than just the local campus students. With its largely non-white staff it turned itself into one of the few CUNY-wide papers of interest.

Since the expansion of the *Banner* at the expense of the *Voice* cannot be defended on fiscal grounds, it seems unmistakably clear that the motivation behind the disparity is indeed political. Members of the student government at CSI have gone on the record supporting the state budget cuts, placing them at odds with the editorial stance of the *Voice*, which militantly favored and advertised demonstration against the cuts.

Further considerations undermine the SG's claims of fiscal motivation. The College Association, a body composed of Administrators, students, and faculty, must approve all student government spending. The administration itself must sign off all checks as well. The ultimate responsibility for any overspending on the part of the student government rests squarely with the administration, and it is they who should be held accountable. Administrators are paid handsomely for their responsibilities. The student government chosen for reasons of its own to punish a high-profile student political forum for the oversights of irresponsible administrators. Sadly it is the students of CSI, the school itself, and not those administrators, who will suffer from that choice.

The ultimate responsibility for any overspending on the part of the student government rests squarely with the administration, and it is they who should be held accountable. Administrators are paid handsomely for their responsibilities.

"Peace"-keepers or Police State?

Continued from page 3

city and public safety, has revealed to *Daily News* reporters that he himself was one of these plainclothes peace officers in attendance at the City Hall rallies (*Daily News*, August 14, 1995). And according to *College Voice* editor and witness J.P. Patifio, CUNY peace officers were present in the police precincts where CUNY student hunger strikers were taken after they were arrested.

It would appear that these incidents are not isolated. Rather, it is part of a concerted effort on the part, not just of BMCC, but of 80th Street, to gather information on radical students, to control them, and to diminish the effect of their political activity.

Peace Officers and "SAFE Teams."

Peace officers now appear on all the CUNY campuses. Unlike regular security guards, these officers have the power to arrest and may bear arms such as firearms, pepper mace, batons, and handcuffs. Administration officials have justified this by the tragic December 1991 City College stampede, when 9 people lost their lives. However, the Mollen investigation of this tragedy revealed that the NYPD were on campus during the stampede, yet did not take the appropriate steps to avert tragedy.

In actuality, the peace officer corps was planned shortly after the 1991 CUNY strike. This is about the same time that the Henderson rules concerning campus disciplinary hearings were revised. These revisions gave the Administration broad powers to stifle any activity on the campuses deemed disruptive. This was justified as necessary for the preservation of the rights of those who respect the ideals of university education. These ideals would be protected—from those who are upset about the Administration's complicity with the politicians of the rich, who wish to strip us of our rights to education.

But even more ominously, in January, selected peace officers have been formed

into a special squad. This squad has been officially dubbed the "SAFE Team," which allegedly stands for "Special Assistance for Events." It has its own badge—a picture of an American Eagle with its wings spread over a furled American flag. Its official mission is to facilitate better security at student events. But its real function is to deal with campus protests.

According to a memo from 80th Street, the special squad was trained by the NYPD in crowd-control and mass arrest procedures. It is in fact, the equivalent of a campus "SWAT" team. The "SAFE Team" may be invited onto campus by the campus president, or ordered there by the Chancellor. Once on campus, the "SAFE Team" is under the control of the squad commander, not the campus president.

According to *Daily News* reporter Karen Avenoso, "with the exception of a single job fair, the squad has been deployed only for student demonstrations and trustee meetings that drew protesters"—despite the Administration's claims that the team was launched to "provide extra security at large events, such as the 1991 . . . stampede." The SAFE team has been used 6 times already. Besides the job fair, these included the two hunger strikes at Hunter and City and three Board of Trustees meetings.

Upon examination of these events, it becomes clear that the SAFE team is a tool of the Administration: an organized brute force. It is there to short-circuit the political process, to silence protest voices, and to carry out the Administration's budget-cutting agenda without opposition.

At City College, although arrests were made at midnight, the SAFE team arrived on the campus at 7 the preceding morning. Thus it was obvious that from the beginning the Administration was interested only in arrests—not in dialogue.

The three Board meetings at which the SAFE teams appeared were officially "open" meetings. But they allowed only a

very small number of faculty and students into the room in which the meeting occurred. Nevertheless, at these meetings, the Board made far-reaching decisions about whether and how to implement the tuition hikes and budget cuts proposed by Pataki and Giuliani. As a result, Psychology Professor William Crane and student David Suker of City College have launched an injunction against the Administration for a violation of the Open Meetings Act, and are demanding that the decisions made be revoked. In his letter, entitled "CUNY's Authoritarian Rule," Dr. Crane asserts that "The abundance of security personnel at the beginning of all three meetings suggests that security concerns somehow influenced the choice of the [inadequately sized] rooms." Dr. Crane further asserted that these security concerns were not merely technical: "But it would be a mistake to assume that CUNY's leaders were otherwise committed to open and responsive decision-making. Reneging on prior assertions [by the Chancellor in 1993 that such summertime decisions would not occur again], they fundamentally altered the university in the summer, when most student and faculty governance bodies do not meet and couldn't react."

According to Elique's own memo to the NYPD, Elique "requested that SAFE's training forces on handling 'civil disobedience incidents'." Elique also urged that such instruction—which included training in arrest protocol, clearing buildings and how to carry arrested students—be provided before spring because of anticipated protests at that time against budget cuts." (Avenoso, *Daily News*, August 14, 1995).

The CUNY Enemies' Lists and "Out-reach" to the NYPD

The following was reported in an article by Michelle Rogalla in the May 16, 1995 issue of *The Hunter Envoy*. During the hunger strike at Hunter College on April 26th, a student from City College was ini-

tially barred from entering the campus. The reason given? His name appeared on a "blacklist" of students who had participated in a city-wide protest which had occurred the previous day.

The NYPD released this list prior to the students' arraignment; this is an infringement on their privacy. The Administration used it to bar a student from a campus: since CUNY is a public institution, this was a violation of free speech and public access laws. But Hunter College Dean Sylvia Fishman defended these unconstitutional acts by stating, "we have the right to ban anyone from this college we want to." After students protested, the student was permitted on the campus, and officials promised to release the list. No one outside the Administration has been able to obtain this list, however.

As Ms. Rogalla reports, "Apparently, this type of list is now part of normal CUNY procedure. Lists are generated by the NYPD after every protest and demonstration and are then sent to 80th Street. They include student names, addresses, social security numbers and specific information about arrests." In an article entitled "The CREEP at CUNY" in the August 14th issue of *New York* magazine, reporter Ed Shanahan confirms this. He cites an internal "memo written by university vice-chancellor for student affairs Elsa Nunez-Wormack to CUNY security chief Jose Elique" on April 11th. In it, Nunez-Wormack refers to an "appended list," which "shows the student status of the individuals on [Elique's] original list." This additional information includes "social security number, spelling of name, affiliation," etc. Shanahan writes that the list referred to is "CUNY's very own sixties-style ['Nixon administration'] Enemies List, compiling the names of campus radicals, arranged alphabetically, with identifying racial characteristics and supplemented with personal academic

CUNY: MASS STRUGGLE DISSIPATED

by Walter Daum

CUNY: Mass Struggle Dissipated

The savage budget cuts in New York promoted by Governor Pataki and Mayor Giuliani triggered a big response by tens of thousands of workers and students this spring. Although the attack hits the entire working class, students took the lead in the fightback. The protest movement in the City University of New York was the largest student upheaval in the U.S. in 25 years—and unlike its 1960's counterpart, it was mainly working-class. The eruption of Black and Latino working-class youth opened up the possibility of a general strike against all the budget cuts in New York. But the students' initiative and zeal was dissi-

Strike committees should be formed and mass open meetings called where all can have their say and where democratic decisions for action can be taken.

pated by a labor and student leadership unable to come up with any strategy except to appeal to the same bourgeois politicians who were leading the offensive. This struggle gave the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) our best opportunity yet to offer leadership to young workers in struggle and win an audience for our program of proletarian socialist revolution. While the struggle did not realize its potential, revolutionary-minded workers and youth should consider the experience: it put our politics to the test against other groups claiming revolutionary answers.

WORKING-CLASS STUDENTS IN LEAD

Echoing the attacks coming from Congress and the President in Washington, the New York Republicans' cuts are aimed at solving the capitalists' crisis at workers' expense. All have a sharp racist character designed to split the working class. Pataki's program of destroying welfare, firing thousands of public workers, slashing education and drastically cutting already appalling health services, promised misery and even death for thousands. Giuliani upped the ante, demanding even deeper health and education cuts by the state so that the city's proportionate contribution could be reduced. Amid howls of outrage by working people and token protests by union leaders, it is not surprising that CUNY was in the forefront of resistance. CUNY is a proletarian institution: three-quarters of its 213,000 students work for a living, half of those full-time (a reality apparently unknown to Giuliani, who told protesters to "find a job"). Since the 19th century, CUNY has been the hoped-for route to a decent job for working-class youth. After 1969, when a Black and Latino student struggle won open admissions, CUNY's enrollment began to reflect the city's working class.

CUNY was one of the institutions hardest hit by the cuts. Pataki and Giuliani would have removed a quarter of its funding, wiping out dozens of departments, ending the SEEK program that provides aid for the neediest students, firing 1000 faculty and staff members and forcing a \$1000 (40 percent) tuition hike. This would devastate CUNY, making clear that the only future that capitalism offers Black and Latino youth is low-paid labor, poverty and prison. The initial shock of the announced cuts led to a predictable response by university officials and union, faculty and student leaders: pilgrimages to the state capital in Albany to appeal to the legislature. Their focus was on the state Assembly, controlled by Democratic politicians who posture as "friends of the people." Aiming to save CUNY, they begged the politicians to cut other services instead. Many students, however, soon realized that mass action was necessary to fight back. Protests erupted on many campuses, and a citywide CUNY Coalition

Against the Cuts was formed. Despite the working-class character of the movement, with Blacks and Latinos in the majority, the Coalition leadership was more middle-class, disproportionately made up of graduate students. Few students saw how committed the ruling class was to making severe cutbacks—and how far-reaching a struggle would be necessary. Supporters of the LRP were active in the struggle. We fought hard against the orientation to the

capitalist Democrats, argued that strike action by the entire working class was needed to stop the attacks and urged that CUNY students begin such a struggle. But we could not overcome illusions in the Democratic Party held by many activists—fooled by the smothering embrace of union bureaucrats who "supported" the struggle only to derail it. The reformist line was reinforced by the outright hostility to revolutionary ideas of middle-class leftists, notably the International Socialist (ISO) hacks and the anarchist Love and Rage group, who refused to speak the truth about capitalism and how to fight it.

REFORMISTS DRIVE TO DEAD END

The first mass action was taken by the hospital workers' union: 30,000 workers rallied at the Empire State Building on March 1. But instead of encouraging the workers to spread a call for strike action against the cuts, 1199 union president Dennis Rivera told all to go home and send postcards to "Dear Governor Pataki" begging for his support. Himself an official of the New York State Democratic Party, Rivera's line was, "If the Assembly doesn't fight for us, we're dead." Next, on March 16 several thousand CUNY students marched to the World Trade Center in a rally sponsored by the Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus of Democratic hacks. The politicians' answer was to organize another protest in Albany against Pataki, and then urge people to register to vote for Democrats.

The Coalition's rally took place on March 23 at City Hall. Over 10,000 students and staff members came looking for action, and thousands more high school students would have shown up if the cops and school officials had not kept them off the subways. One indication of the movement's fighting potential was that we sold over 100 copies of Proletarian Revolution. But the leadership offered no way forward. The main slogans were "Student Strike Against the Cuts!" and "Shut the City Down!" In reality, the only "strike" intended was to pull students off the campuses for the rally, and the only thing "shut down" would have been traffic.

The leaders hoped to march to Wall Street, the symbolic center of finance capitalism and the real power behind Pataki. But they had not prepared the crowd for a march ahead of time, intending instead to prove their militancy by challenging the police. When the cops showed up in strength with riot gear and tightly patrolled barricades, the leadership's disarray was blatant. Fights broke out on the podium over who could speak and how to march. Cops brutally attacked hundreds of protesters, arresting dozens. The confusion was political, not just organizational. It stemmed from the leaders' strategy of moving from one protest to another. Talk of strikes and shutting the city down was hollow rhetoric, not meant to lead to workers' action against the anti-working class budget cuts. So the opportunity was squandered of pointing a political finger at Wall Street, even if it was not possible to march there. The arrests, on top of the aimlessness of the rally, led to a loss of vital

momentum.

Moreover, rallies alone, however much they energize participants and win support from onlookers, are no answer—unless they are a launching pad for further action. As a bulletin

distributed by the LRP explained: Those who chant "The Students United Will Never be Defeated" are right to feel energized by the big demonstrations but are wrong to think that a struggle by students alone can win. ... Organized as students, they do not have their hands on the production of profits, which makes capitalism run. The working class ... can shut

down the economy's profit-making and bring the rulers to their knees. Under the circumstances, we argued for a specific tactic: since working-class students conscious of their hopes for the future could inspire the rest of the working class into struggle, we called for a CUNY Strike to Spark the Working Class

to fight against all the cuts. Since in the past student "strikes" have too often meant little more than takeovers of campus buildings by small groups, we spelled our slogan out: A student strike must mean working-class action. The campuses should be used as organizing bases to appeal to greater numbers of working-class people. And the strike should be against all the budget cuts, to show that we are fighting for the interests of all the working class and oppressed.

Strike committees should be formed and mass open meetings called where all can have their say and where democratic decisions for action can be taken. We need to start with informational picket lines as soon as possible to spread the call for the mass student strike with real picket lines that shut down key parts of the campuses. A genuine strike does not mean elitist "guerrilla tactics" but mass action by the working-class students. While the tactic of occupying

buildings can be useful in a mass strike, small-group actions must not be allowed to confine the struggle to a handful of activists and derail the opportunity for a mass struggle. We fought for our program through leaflets, phone calls and agitational interventions at rallies. (Our leaflets are available to interested readers on request.) We won students from several campuses to work with us, young workers who saw the impact our strategy could have on their families and friends. Many agreed with our approach for a general strike: Another danger is sectoralism: the idea that CUNY can be defended separate from a struggle against all the attacks against the working class and oppressed. This is a dead-end; we have no interest in passing the CUNY cutbacks on to other sectors of the working class, which would only prepare the way for even worse attacks tomorrow. Anyway, it is us, our families and neighbors that depend on all the gains that are under attacks like welfare and health care.

In contrast to our concrete proposals,

the leadership's program of repeated aimless protests amounted to a more militant version of Rivera's pleading with the politicians. Thus, as the March 23 rally fell apart, several hundred students and supporters marched to nearby Borough of Manhattan Community College to assess the situation. But with the microphone controlled by the leadership clique, little discussion was allowed. An ISO representative told the crowd that the thing to do was disperse. A march to police headquarters to support the arrested students took place, but no future mass actions were proposed. The chance to build on the fight-

Cops try to stop over 10,000 students from marching to Wall street on March 23, 1995.



ing spirit of tens of thousands was wasted.

RIVERA MOVES IN

At the next Coalition meeting the leadership was handed a way out. A representative from 1199 announced that the hospital union was planning a march to Wall Street on April 4, the anniversary of Martin Luther King's murder, along with religious figures led by the demagogic Democratic politician, Rev. Al Sharpton. The unions would mobilize between 20,000 and 30,000 workers, she said, and the CUNY students were invited to join as equal partners. LRPers spoke in favor of a student-worker action, pointing out that it was a great chance to show a key section of the working class the way forward. The rally could kick off a CUNY strike, and we

The leaders hoped to march to Wall Street, the symbolic center of finance capitalism and the real power behind Pataki.

could appeal to union members and other workers to fight for a general strike against the budget cuts. These reasons were the opposite of the pro-capitalist leaders'. We warned that Sharpton and Rivera could not be trusted; they wanted a joint march in order to moderate the students'

militancy lest it infect the workers, whose explosive feelings have been kept under the surface so far. The 1199 proposal passed, but our motion for a CUNY strike to spark the working class was tabled, largely through the efforts of bureaucratic leaders and the ISO. By the time of the following Coalition meeting a week later, it was clear to hospital workers that 1199 was not seriously building the rally. The union's posters advertised a "Walk for Justice" apparently to honor Dr. King; protesting the budget cuts was reduced to small print. So an LRP comrade who is an 1199 hospital worker came to the meeting and effectively challenged Rivera's rep's glowing report of union preparations.

Our strike proposal was again put off, in order to kill it. Political discussion was minimal: the leaders instead pushed an undemocratic and time-consuming voting structure intended to limit the influence of "outside" (i.e., left) organizations and supposedly increase participation of

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A Plague Upon Us

Liberalism in the CUNY Coalition Last Spring; Which Way Forward in the Fall?

by Tom Smith

When the CUNY Coalition Against the Budget Cuts was founded, the movement was vibrant, alive and full of promise. We would have meetings at the Grad Center of hundreds of people, full of undergrads, grad students, adjuncts, faculty, women and men, blacks, Hispanics, and whites. Our slogan was "Shut the City Down," around which a great many of us united. We gained enormous publicity with our March 23rd march, which tens of thousands of college and high school students attended.

For the moment, the Coalition is dead. Some of this might have to do with the summer recess. But well before the end of the Spring 1994 semester, our numbers and our morale were in serious decline. In our exhaustion from the March 23rd and April 4th events, we became disorganized. We fell into support for civil disobedience as our sole strategy. We also went through a period, not just of exhaustion, but of vicious race- and red-baiting.

I'd like to discuss these problems in detail, and trace them to their source: the ideology of liberalism. While there were many anarchists, Maoists, and black nationalists in the group, the leadership was liberal, and these other groups shared with these liberals certain key destructive assumptions.

Civil Disobedience: Not a Great Strategy

Our task in the Coalition must be to attract masses of people into taking direct political action against the ruling class. This can lead to a general strike which can bring capitalism to a standstill. We live under a state that is controlled by the capitalists—the same people who now seek to destroy us. They seek to shore up their profit margins by lowering our wages and our social spending. Only by incurring pain upon the capitalists can we force them to back down. Only by organizing people in mass direct action can we get the masses even to think about taking state power away from the capitalists, and for themselves. To do that, however, we have to provide an alternative to the bankrupt leadership of the privileged trade union bureaucrats. They have run the trade union movement into the ground in order to kiss up to Capital.1

So our Coalition has to really be a mass Coalition. It must pull in masses of working people into our organization and our actions.

What occurred on April 25th however, was more of the nature of the liberal/anarchist tactic of 'civil disobedience'. So in my opinion, it was basically a waste of time. Civil disobedience is not done to create mass opposition, to involve large numbers of people. Instead, it is designed to get a small number of participants arrested. Along with lobbying, liberals do this to "send a clear message," to prick the conscience of the powers that be, to show them that their policies are unjust. The anarchists and Maoists do it to confront the police directly, by just "being disruptive." The murkier the objectives, the greater the dis-organization, the better. They do it to "spark" the conscience of ordinary bystanders, to put forward to them a "revolutionary line." But whatever the explicit motive, CD is not really designed to attract ordinary people to the movement. In fact, as with many CDs, the action on April 25th was designed to upset and frustrate ordinary people. It disrupted their lives. It prevented them from going home from work!

Fear of Elected Leadership

Another big problem with the Coalition was the fact that for months, we had no

permanent, elected leadership. What we had was a planning committee with a floating membership. Any one could come in and vote. Decisions were made on a week-

We live under a state that is controlled by the capitalists—the same people who now seek to destroy us. They seek to shore up their profit margins by lowering our wages and our social spending.

to-week basis. Nobody was in charge: which was just fine with the anarchists, who are against organization on principle.

As a result, however, we degenerated from an organization that pulled together tens of thousands of people into mass actions, into a group that couldn't organize anything larger than thirty people. Even when we did our mass actions, there was great confusion. For example, the stage was in chaos on March 23rd. A tactical committee of 5 had been elected. But they basically lost it. They had no larger elected leadership to support them and to pull them together. And because we had no such elected leadership on April 4th, we weren't as prepared as we might have been to deal with the shenanigans of 1199 labor bureaucrat Dennis Rivera.

Red- and Then Race-Baiting in the Coalition

Let me first define 'baiting'. It occurs whenever someone dehumanizes or demonizes another because of his or her race, or gender, or political position.2 In the Coalition, the baiting began with red-baiting. For that was its purpose, from beginning to end. A few narrow-minded individuals began to badmouth revolutionary leftist groups who had come to Coalition meetings, as well as far-leftist students who had occupied positions of leadership on March 23rd and April 4th.

These red-baiters argued that "these leftist groups bring in their outside agendas about 'the working class', and 'revolution', but I'm concerned about public education!"—as if the two were mutually incompatible (rather than intrinsically linked).

There were problems with some of the left groups. Some indeed were in it just for the recruiting. Others, especially the ISO, were actually liberals-in-disguise. They worked to quash our "Shut the City Down" disruptive focus, for fear of upsetting the trade union bureaucrats (For this reason, and despite their claims to be "socialist," the ISO participated fully in the red-baiting I am about to discuss). Still others, though sincere in their commitment to the goals of the Coalition, were at times out of touch, or arrogant in their revolutionary purity.

But in the first place, who doesn't have their own "agenda?" Who is above self-interest? On the basis of a narrow self-interest in educational issues, however, the red-baiters pharisaically claimed immunity from self-interest. They claimed sanctity by way of narrow-mindedness! This was sheer demagoguery.

It is only through democracy, through the give and take and the full clash of opinions in free debate, that an organization can transcend the petty self-interests which all individuals possess, and act with a truly "general will." The red-baiters wanted to close down democracy just because the lefties annoyed them. This was like giving the baby an acid bath for a diaper rash. The cost was that we lost people, their contacts and resources. When we operated undemocratically, we alienated people in general from our ranks, no matter what side of the political spectrum

they came from.

To bolster this red-baiting, heretofore ignored, the red-baiters stage-managed some prime race-baiting. This was done by blacks, of whites.

In the past, concerns had been raised about the overwhelming preponderance of white students at the Coalition meetings, despite the fact that the CUNY population is largely people-of-color. Such concerns were legitimate. The rational response was of course to recruit more students-of-color to the meetings. Instead, white leftists and grad students were race-baited. A guest celebrity speaker was asked to appear: former Black Panther and political prisoner, Dhoruba Bin Wahad. While Dhoruba can often be a powerful radical speaker and thinker, he leans on occasion toward black nationalist race-baiting. On this occasion, unfortunately, Dhoruba told whites that the primary problem on the Left was their racism. Although this was his first (and last) meeting, Dhoruba implied that this was also the basic problem with the Coalition. He thus implied, without any evidence or argument to back this up, that the reason there were so few people of color at Coalition meetings was that whites had conspired to keep them out. He told whites that it ought to be their lot on the Left to "defer" to blacks.

Because of Dhoruba's celebrity on the Left, no one opposed these remarks openly. Instead, his remarks encouraged other black race-baiters to chime in. Whites were told, loudly and disruptively, that they "NEVER DO THE RIGHT THING," but that they "OUGHT TO DO THE RIGHT THING!" One race-baiter charged that having meetings—any meetings at all—discriminated against poor single mothers like herself, who had to work as well as domestic chores to perform!

Amidst the division, general confusion, adulation and intimidation thus created, the liberal red-baiters pushed through a new structure. It ended one-person-per-vote, where anybody off the street could vote. In place of mass democracy, each campus was given two votes—just like the US Senate. These votes were determined through a time-consuming "caucus" process.

In essence, each campus became its own decentralized island—each its own miniature nation-state. Black nationalists saw this as more "representative." The new structure would allegedly better represent community colleges, and their overwhelmingly black and Hispanic student populations. But it was a real mystery to myself and to other students, black as well as white, however, as to how only two votes could adequately represent the diversity of views present on any campus. I will readily concede that such concerns about campus and community representation clearly have their place—but only as a part of leadership elections, not in voting structures for the general body.

The real intent of the proposal, and the race-baiting, was to repress "those annoying leftists." This was revealed very clearly during the discussion period. Dhoruba and the liberals supported the proposal in the name of "student autonomy" from "outsiders," i.e., revolutionary groups. At one point, Dhoruba even said, referring to leftists, that once the proposal passed, "these people who like to talk so much at meetings will be able to talk only among themselves."

What the new structure did was to destroy democracy. It made it nearly impossible for leftist minorities to unite together on a CUNY-wide basis. Thus we could no longer effectively challenge the liberals' consensus that CUNY should remain iso-

lated in our fight against the cuts. Beyond this "CUNY-first" mentality, it further encouraged a "my campus first" parochialism. This proved extremely divisive. Resentments flared, and whole campuses left, when individual campus leaders said they weren't being recognized as much as other campus leaders for their contributions to the Coalition.

The anarchists in the Coalition were hopeful that such parochialism might be created, however. Besides cheering on Dhoruba's baiting, they thought it would force people to "organize more intensively on their own campuses."

Ironically, however, the worst feature of the new structure was that it drove people away, whether inside CUNY or "outsiders." In fact, when the high school students planned a rally for June 9th, they wanted nothing to do with us. This rally could have really benefited from student unity. But the high school students had been thoroughly alienated by the paltry two votes they were so magnanimously granted in the new structure. They also felt that they had been used merely as cannon fodder for the sporadic CD actions in April. Nobody likes being manipulated and marginalized in this arrogant manner.

Because of the lack of democracy as well as direction after April 4, attendance began to decline drastically. But that wasn't enough for the race-/red-baiters. They then moved the meeting site up to City College, in order to merge mystically with the "community roots" up there. And still, to their liking, among the twenty or so people who showed up, there were "too many grad students!"

It finally became obvious to all that the Coalition was at the point of extinction. But rather than admit their errors and work with the leftists to reverse the damage they had caused, the red-baiters dropped out of the Coalition as well. They showed indeed to whose "agenda" they were committed!

Liberalism: an Irrational and Bankrupt Ideology.

All these problems—CD fetishism, fear of elected leadership, red- and race-baiting—can be seen as the product of the dominant ideology of the capital-

ist system: (corporate) liberalism. Let's now discuss this ideology in depth: its motivations, its primary assumptions.

Liberalism was an ideology manufactured by corporate elites at the turn of the century. The materials with which corporate elites worked to fashion liberalism was the Puritan religion.

In all aspects, this ideology was meant to prevent the outbreak of united mass direct action against capitalism.

In the first place, the aim of liberalism was to foster ameliorism: to convince people that if they were patient enough, they could use the system itself to gradually make things better. This was designed to keep people in the Democratic Party. It was meant to deflect the attention of the working class away from independent class politics, direct action, revolution, and socialism. All such worldly concerns were demonized, in the great American tradition, as sinful, non-conformist, and anti-social. The red-baiting in the Coalition may be seen as merely an extension of this essential feature of liberalism.

Secondly, liberalism is both profoundly individualistic, and yet, at the same time, corporate. The sanctity of the individual, or, by extension, the small group, the corporation, the nation, etc.—is so precious it

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...Mass Struggle Dissipated

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Black and Latino students (in reality the opposite of what it did). Yet despite the red-baiting, our fight for strike action drew support from students from several campuses. And an LRPer, known as a revolutionary, was voted to be one of the Coalition's faculty speakers at the rally.

April 4 proved to be a further step away from the necessary mass action. The unions brought few workers plus a few hundred stewards and officials, and student participation was also way down. Although they had agreed on the limited protest strategy, tensions between the union bureaucrats and student leaders continually threatened to explode. At the start, Rivera insisted that the rally be orderly; after one angry student speech, he threatened to call off the march. Sharpton, who himself once wore a wire for the FBI, all but accused some students of being provocateurs who should be thrown out of the demonstration. At Wall Street the tensions erupted. Several ministers and union hacks, apparently invited by Sharpton and Rivera but not on the agreed-upon list, were outraged when they didn't get to speak. Walter Daum of the LRP was pressed by the stage managers to shorten his speech but did get in arguments for a general strike and workers' revolution, and an attack on the union leaders' anti-Pataki Weekly News for building illusions in the Democrats.

Then, in a bizarre scene at the podium, one student denounced the "fucking liberal" speeches and union marshals tried to grab the microphone from him. He and others successfully resisted and began chanting, "Pataki, you liar, We'll set your ass on fire"; this was then repeated substituting Giuliani and then Clinton. That done, Rivera went up to the mike and declared the rally over.

DEATH OF A MOVEMENT

After the April 4 fizzle, the student movement collapsed. Coalition meetings fell from several hundred to a few dozen, and mass action was totally forgotten. A hunger strike at City College—a last-ditch effort in the absence of a movement—won some support but little participation. There were 47 more arrests, on the order of college president Yolanda Moses (who postures as a "friend" of the movement). On April 25, a series of tiny rallies by students and other cutback victims fed into traffic-blocking sit-downs at Manhattan bridges and tunnels during rush hour—a desperate tactic proving the bankruptcy of the leaders. One protester told the New York Times, "I know what it's like to have a hard day at work. ... But we're out to give people a headache like the headache we'll have trying to figure out how to pay for school next year." Being a pain to working people like a petty Pataki is the opposite of a working-class answer.

When the budget was finally announced in June, CUNY faced about half of Pataki's cuts along with a \$750 tuition hike. City College, for example, will lose about seven of 36 academic departments. Other social services, especially those benefiting the poorest sections of the working class, did even worse. On top of this, while working-class families will see their costs go up and benefits down, businesses and the rich get an immediate tax break: "Unless you're among the wealthiest of New Yorkers, you won't see much of a reduction in what's withheld from your paycheck until 1997." (Albany Times Union, June 3.)

All this had the support of the majority of Democratic legislators. Even worse, some union leaders went a level beyond their previous betrayals. As the Village Voice wrote:

The heads of five city unions ... signed a letter drafted by Mayor Giuliani asking the governor and legislative leaders to pass a budget giving the city \$950 million in relief, most of which would come in the form of state actions allowing the city to reduce Medicaid and welfare benefits. (May 30.)

The treacherous union heads included the Teachers' Sandra Feldman and the DC 37's Stanley Hill, both social democrats and the latter a long-time ally of Dennis Rivera should never be interfered with by society-as-a-whole.

Despite the union bureaucrats' discomfort on April 4, the student leaders had presented no real challenge to Rivera & Co. Their efforts to make the demonstration more radical-sounding were empty guerrilla tactics. The best of them were from the would-be Trotskyist Revolutionary Socialist Group (RSG). They wanted militant action and sometimes spoke for a general strike, but their political line got in the way. RSG leaflets and speakers offered a labor party as the alternative to the Democrats. They are also supporters of Labor Party Advocates, although critical of its leadership and strategy. That means they have some notion of the current "left" labor bureaucrats forming such a party. As we show in our lead article, in the absence of mass action by the working class, a labor party today can only mean a class-collaborationist party led by such traitors. The RSG also raised the slogan "Tax the Rich," a favorite of liberal populists and a few left labor folks. Unlike the transitional slogan "Expropriate the Banks and Industries," "Tax the Rich" is reformist, not revolutionary.

Although they had agreed on the limited protest strategy, tensions between the union bureaucrats and student leaders continually threatened to explode.

The problem became clear when Pataki came to a televised town meeting in Staten Island in April, and hundreds of workers and students turned out to protest. An RSGer got the floor to demand the governor raise taxes on corporations. He replied, "We've already taxed them all the way to New Jersey"—reminding his audience that capitalists are free to move their businesses and the jobs that come with them. Unfortunately, Pataki won that round: without expropriating

the capitalists or taking state power, there is no way for the working class to discipline capital

A further problem was the RSG's continual focus on agitation addressing broad ideas at the average level of the mass of people in struggle. While this is necessary, a small revolutionary group must keep propaganda as its main task: training the

most politically advanced workers in order to build the revolutionary party. But the RSGers saw themselves as organizers, trying to straddle the line between working-class strike advocacy and middle-class protest politics. When the student movement ebbed, they proved unable to shift course. They went along uncritically with the small-group tactics of hunger strikes and traffic-blocking that the Coalition degenerated to at the end. The cutbacks have not yet been felt in full force. When they are, a revived student movement may yet be able to play a key role in the working-class struggle. We believe that the lessons of Spring 1995 will prove to layers of revolutionary-minded young fighters that building the communist party is a task that cannot be postponed. The crisis is intensifying, explosive struggles are inevitable—and working-class youth cannot afford to go into battle with reformist leaders.

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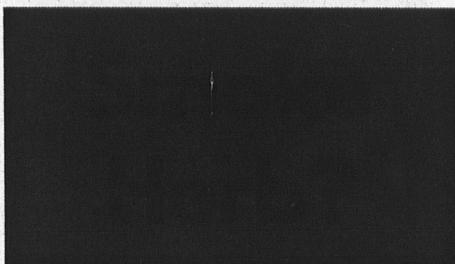
... Fiscal Conservatives

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"elected leaders" know just how they feel about such self-serving actions.

As the Voice went to press on August 31 the fiscally conservative student government voted in two thirds super majority to reinstate funding for their refreshment line to the tune of approximately \$45 per meeting. The line is used to supply SG members with food and beverages during their meetings. Since the body meets twice monthly over a period of one academic year (nine months) the cost to students is \$810. Speaking on the condition of anonymity one senator remarked, "... we don't get paid for [SG membership] so we should at least eat during these meetings." Upon hearing the news CSI student Tom

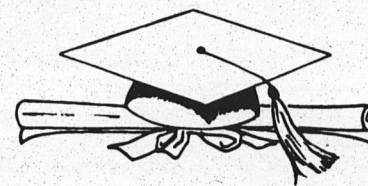
Jones stated, "So let me get this straight SG screams poverty and cuts things that directly affects [students] like funding for library books, emergency student loans and then turns around and votes money for food for itself. Do they think we're stupid or something?"



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... Plague Upon Us

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should never be interfered with by society-as-a-whole.

Of course, there is a contradiction here. What about the very real dangers that the corporate body holds for the freedoms and welfare of the individual: the problems of authoritarian manipulation and conformity, exploitations and oppressions? Doesn't society-as-a-whole need to intervene, to protect the individual from these dangers? Do we really need no society at all? Or do we need instead a just society, with state and society democratically controlled by the masses: in other words, a democratic workers' state? But liberals merely ignore these problems.

This is, of course, no accident. A workers' state is the last thing that capitalists want. They seek above all to rationalize a state of affairs where corporations are allowed to exploit, oppress, starve and kill people around the world—all in the name of "individualism." When the masses try to get what they need by forming themselves into small groups, to lobby the government—that's fine too. It's "pluralistic," it's "exercising their democratic rights responsibly"—and it presents no challenge whatsoever to the existing unjust system. But when the masses attempt to fight back, en masse, this must be branded as "inherently totalitarian."

It is understandable that capitalists would believe in this ideology, and try to get their slaves to believe in it, too. But it is lamentable when anarchists, et al. accept elements of this ideology as liberatory. By so doing, they sabotage the fight against capitalism. For they internalize, as Friere would say, the ideology of their oppressor.

Whether they be liberals, anarchists, Maoists, or nationalists, bourgeois thinkers really do not believe that freedom can be found in democratic, egalitarian decision-making. So they either imagine an anarchist utopia, where we are all free to be left alone, "autonomous" from each other, without any responsibilities whatsoever. Or they look to all-benevolent leaders for salvation: from the Maoists' Great Helmsman, to the macho nationalist, to the liberals' elite state and corporate planners that run our society today.

Finally, corporate liberalism holds that poverty is not the products of capitalists and bureaucrats, who seek to divide, conquer, and exploit the masses. Instead, liberals believe that poverty is the product of the racism of white-people-in-general; that all forms of discrimination—racism, sexism, and homophobia—are produced by mass immorality and ignorance. In this view, the sinfulness of white people in general is responsible for the problems of poverty. This is an ingenious method of blaming the majority of the working class itself for ideologies and attitudes fostered by the ruling class. The solution lies in moral and economic "reform," "education," and mutual "tolerance," via "pluralism." "We as a society must come together to stop racism and sexism" was and is today the pious refrain. But though it sounds nice, this piety said nothing about

the structural, class inequality in our society, and the different agendas and levels of power which result.

So in practical terms, liberalism means only confusion. It means that we really don't know who our enemy is. It becomes completely acceptable to see the working class as our enemy. It becomes acceptable to bait whites in our own group, and even to do CD against working class commuters, as a way of stopping the ruling class's budget cuts!

Conclusion: Democratic Socialism, not Liberalism, is the Way to Go!

Liberalism preserves and celebrates the Puritan values of individualism, conformism, and competition. Thus it discourages mass action, effective leadership, democratic decision-making, and attitudes of mutuality and inclusion between and among activists.

The goal of socialism is to empower people. That can only be done via a united, revolutionary, integrated, democratic working class fightback against these budget cuts. It means that all peoples are included and empowered—not that some are excluded to aggrandize others.

The Coalition may soon rebuild itself. But what has to be addressed is, which direction for the Coalition. Liberalism or socialism? I think it should be toward socialism: more mass actions, elected at-large as well as campus-based leadership, democracy, and outreach toward the working class. The last two ideas are intricately related. Our democracy should involve one person per vote. It must aim to include anyone who sincerely wants to fight against these cuts. That means high school students and teachers, rank and file workers, and welfare recipients, as well as any and all university students, adjuncts and staff.

Otherwise, the Coalition, or whatever succeeds it, will not be able to fight these cuts successfully.

FOOTNOTES:

1 See Robert Fitch, "Is New York Still a Labor-Town?", New Politics, Winter 1995.

2 I reject the contemporary definitions of racism and sexism, popular among "politically correct" liberals and black nationalists. In this view, only whites can be racist; only males can be sexist. We must certainly recognize that the existing system privileges white over black, and male over female; and rewards white racism and male supremacy. We must recognize that blacks and females bear overwhelmingly the brunt of these evils. But these liberal ideologies stereotype whites and males as exclusively and inevitably racist and sexist. They scapegoat each and every white male, for the racism and sexism inherent in our capitalist social structure, and fostered by the ruling class. Such definitions themselves make perjorative and dehumanizing generalizations, based upon pseudo-scientific theories of cultural and/or biological determinism. Thus they are themselves irrational and destructive: forms of racism and sexism in their own right. The story I am about to relate proves the destructiveness of such petty-moralistic hogwash.

... SG to Shut Voice

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The permanent presence of administrators most notably Allen DiBiase at SG meetings and their close collaboration with the most anti-student senators like Joe Canale, Meri Kaufman and Ed Dieghan is the clearest evidence of who really controls SG. It is inexplicable how administrators who are paid to carry out the anti-student budget cuts can sit in on the deliberations of the supposed leadership body of students - SG and influence the creation of student policy. This is like letting the wolf guard the chickens and indeed the metaphor is accurate in more ways than one. Allen DiBiase who styles himself a figure of Socratic dimensions broke out into a bout of quite un-Socratic heckling during the remarks of the Voice delegate at a summer SG meeting.

The administrative body known as the CSI Association has the authority to approve the proceedings of SG. How do students check the proceedings of Association and other administrative bodies? There is no such mechanism.

The funding for SG comes directly out of the \$53.00 tax levied on students known as the student activity fee. It is from this substantial sum total roughly \$250,000 that student clubs and activities are coordinated. These monies could be very useful in planning a well coordinated campaign to fight the state/city effort to destroy CUNY. In order to do so or any other activities that students decide are of importance to them there must be from the start student control of student funds without any administrative meddling.

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Administrator, Allen DeBiase, secures bureaucratic processes.

by Stretch

CUNY Must Be Open to All, Defend Open Admissions

CUNY's open admission policy, won through the militant struggles of, particularly, Black and Latino students in the late sixties has been the defining characteristic of the university. This policy is what enabled the many hundreds of thousands of working class and poor youth from the ghettos and barrios of N.Y.C. to the third world nations of the Caribbean and Asia to get a college education. College education, once a preserve of the ruling rich, through open admissions was now open to all.

The imposition of tuition in 1976 (CUNY was free previously) was the first blow, the first narrowing of the open door. In 1995 we're still looking at a CUNY which is in great demand and is greatly needed by non-privileged youth but whose door is now being forcibly shut to those very same. Under the guise of higher standards and cutting costs, politicians of both parties have managed to lower the quality of a CUNY education and make getting that education a much costlier affair. What the "Republicrats" mean to say by higher standards of education is actually higher barriers to an education. Laying off faculty and eliminating academic programs does not a higher standard make.

As part of Administration's corporate style "restructuring" schemes (we thought this is still a university) CUNY is being transformed into a two tier university. Remedial classes are to be restricted to 2-year community colleges while the 4-year colleges accept only those that pass the entrance exams.

CUNY students are not fooled by the rhetoric of "standards" being spewed by the budget cutters. Increasing standards would require hiring quality faculty, or any faculty for that matter, buying books for the empty library shelves and expanding resources and programs. Just the opposite is happening. By ending open admissions students are being forcibly kept out of a college education. CUNY being largely nonwhite and female shows this to be a clearly racist and sexist purge. We're being told to enroll at the nearest prison not the nearest CUNY campus. After all prisons are the largest growth industry in urban areas.

The 20,000 CUNY, SUNY, and high school students that rocked City Hall with chants of shut the city down on March 23 show another way forward-the path of class struggle. However, students by themselves will not save CUNY, because the attack on CUNY is part of the attack on the city's working class as a whole. Our strategy must remain, "Students and Workers Unite" and our weapon a massive General Strike that cripples the bosses system. As the great abolitionist Frederick Douglas said, "Power concedes nothing without struggle."

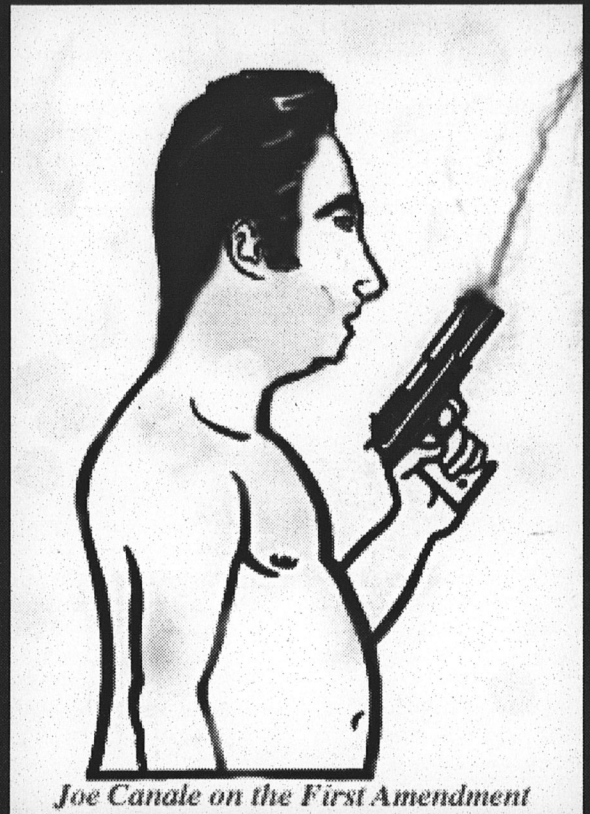
Join the Struggle - Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

US Political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is in a state of limbo. Recently having been taken off deathrow at the 11th hour the notorious judge Sabo is to return to court to render the verdict of whether Mumia will have a new trial. The reason for Sabo's only ever granted *stay of conviction* is because there is a national and international movement demanding that Mumia be set free.

At first, with all the disinformation disseminating throughout the country via corporate media, one would believe that Mumia is guilty and it is only because he is a "eloquent writer" that people are coming to his defense. However, when the evidence and the role of the Philadelphia judicial system, from the police to the judge, is combined with the knowledge of who Mumia Abu-Jamal is it becomes clear why they want to silence "the voice of the voiceless."

His unending fight against racist police brutality in Philadelphia, as well as throughout the nation has earned this revolutionary a "bad" reputation with the powers that be. If it were not for the tens of thousands of people throughout the country and world coming to his defense and demanding his freedom he surely would have been executed by now. It was not the American justice system that freed Mumia (as the Rhenquist Supreme court expressed when it stated that innocence does not necessarily mean the overturning of the law) but the million footed masses understanding that the case around Mumia Abu-Jamal involves them. The letter of the law is not the source of justice and most surely the capitalist courts and politicians cannot be trusted to render a fair verdict.

The need for people to become involved in the movement to free Mumia is still urgent. From the unions to the universities let us bind together and march with the conviction of truth and justice down the road that will set Mumia free.



Joe Canale on the First Amendment

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WHERE ARE YOU?

By Lou Bardel

Welcome to the commentary section. We aim to confront our social enemies who impose the ideology and divisions that detract and destroy the peace and security of the average man. To know that 5% of the world's population controls the means of production, capital and land is to know that anyone who is not part of that 5% is subjugated to various degrees. From the racially divided minority families and youths; to the MTV angst-riled US teenager; to the lonely Bowery alcoholic; to the citizen of one of the so-called "Third World" states that must face 10pm curfews, and the bloody warring of factions fighting over the means of profit; all people who are not part of that 5% are victims of the class war. For some it bleeds more than others, but in the interests of true egalitarianism we all have the priority of standing up and fighting the economic and political powers that be. What is a freedom fighter?

The time has come, has been, to stand up and fight for your rights.

Cornell West put it this way:

"To be a freedom fighter is to attempt to galvanize and energize world-weary people into forms of organization with accountable leadership that promote critical exchange and broad reflection.

The interplay of individuality and unity is not one of uniformity and unanimity imposed from above but rather of conflict among diverse groupings that reach a dynamic consensus subject to questioning and criticism."

The time has come, has been, to stand up and fight for your rights. To protect the many. Activists and political prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal who recently had his death warrant stayed, but has yet to escape his sentence, must be protected. Mumia must be saved not only because he is innocent of the trumped-up charges against him but because he represents an honest voice of resistance against right-wing slander and attack.

For all critical minded people who live for the right to self-determination they must stop living through the eyes of the 5%, they must stop living through the eyes of the ruling class. That means, for New Yorkers, to question the words of Newt Gingrich, the bi-lines of the New York Times and the New York Post, the curriculum of the City university, the so-called protective services of the NYPD. The time has come to organize around the demands for a new third political party, a party that serves the interests of the average child, woman, and man. That party should fight and represent the demands for woman's equality, the end to gay and lesbian discrimination,

the outlawing of any type of racial segregation. That party, most importantly should fight for a system that breaks the laws that create the economic hegemony of the few, in short to redistribute the wealth.

Students and staff control of the university! Down with the administration! Workers control the worksite! Down with so-called management! Citizens control the state! Down with totalitarianism, down with the republicrat!

The commentary section aims to provide a forum for all those who strive to put an end to class and race oppression. The pages of the commentary section seeks to provide a place for debate. An arena for discourse between writers and groups on any pertinent social issue, whether it be differing opinions on how to free the working class and bloody poor of oppressed society, or the fight nationally against the right-wing assault on the livelihoods of the working class, or the role of the current student government as either just another bunch of "junior administrators," or actually a body that defends and seeks to better the welfare of students. The commentary section is an open environment for those interested in social and political freedom.

Part-time Students: Money and Respect

By Paula T. Melleby-McKeown

Summer vacation is NEVER long enough. Just like weekends, they seem to go by faster and faster. If you're a part time student trying to get your four year degree before social security kicks in, you probably went to school this summer to earn that degree just a little sooner. If you did, you've only had four weeks off from school and BAM - you're back to the old grind again. But - things have changed in that short four week vacation! You're faced with overcrowded classes, cancelled courses, teacher shortages and MUCH HIGHER tuition.

The spring and summer months were very eventful: as if it wasn't bad enough that our wonderful state and city governments decided students could afford to shoulder the burden of significantly higher tuition and drastically reduced financial aid, they wanted to make schools specialize in certain areas of curriculum, forcing students to commute to different colleges to earn their degree. Obviously looking good on paper, the government officials felt students had nothing better to do than travel on public transportation day and night. Adding insult to injury, the New York City Transit Authority decided not only to raise fares, but to cut out student discounts, because the city and state don't want to fulfill their monetary obligations to the TA. The student discounts were saved, but what about everything else?

We all know what's happened over the last several months regarding CUNY increases, decreases, class and teacher shortages. Complaining now about what we all fought so hard to prevent in the spring is a lost cause. Everyone pulled together, did their best, and averted a worse disaster. Now is the time for us to evaluate the results and start to do something about where our money is going.

Most of us know how devastating these changes are for full time students. But what about the part time student? I wrote a commentary in the last issue regarding what I viewed as the pressure on part time students. As a result of positive feedback, I will be writing a News/Commentary feature in each issue of the Voice

specifically for part time students. I have been a part time student since 1984 and have long felt that the needs and issues of part time students are not addressed properly. With the new obstacles being faced by all students, it is important ALL students' needs be addressed.

I have spoken to many other part time students who have felt exactly the same regarding our lack of rights, respect and inability to get action on many issues. After all these years, I believe it is time for someone to step in to start publicizing the true needs of this large section of the student body.

The tuition bill for this semester was offensive. It's no secret that the Pataki and Giuliani administrations had approved a drastic increase in CUNY tuition in June. Yet the shock of receiving the Fall 1995 bill was tremendous. It's time to start re-examining what we are getting for our money and voice what we feel we are entitled to for what we are paying the College of Staten Island.

A point to begin is to examine where our money is going that we pay for student activity fees. Where is this money going? Other than an occasional free cup of nuclear coffee in the campus center, I have yet to see this money at work for part time students. Both cafeterias close before 8pm - before many evening classes give breaks - heaven forbid you should walk in at 7:50 or 7:55. You will get very unpleasant service, or maybe even a locked door. There are no soda or snack machines in any other buildings other than the campus center and the small cafeteria. So what are we getting for our money? An occasional movie in the lounge being shown when we are either in class or studying?

The whole point of this column is to bring to the surface the complaints and problems of part timers at CSI. There are many more to point out. In future articles we will focus on many more microscopically to explain exactly how difficult it is for a part time student to live at CSI. If you have any issues you would like to see addressed, or any comments you have about our issues, please let us know.

Welcome Back to Hell

A recap of what's happening to your school's curriculum

by Marco Sainte

Ah, September. Back to school. Time to return to the books, the classes, the teachers, the girls, the guys, the budget cuts... yes, the budget cuts. Don't tell me you forgot. The class war party ain't over until the fat lady sings, and right now, she's got laryngitis. Students should know that there is still a voice of resistance left.

Many of you are already aware of the effects of the budget cuts announced last semester by the President Springer appointed "Retrenchment Committee." However, too many of you may not be. Many of you still think nothing drastic is going on. Many of you think that despite the \$750 increase that it's still a bargain to attend school here. Many of you think that we should shut up already with the budget cut noise. Well, sadly, many of you are wrong.

A lot of you will probably be in shock when you find out that entire degrees have been totally obliterated. That's right! For those who didn't know (and you should have by now), all engineering degrees are gone. Finished. Kaput. Goodbye.

This decision made by the Retrenchment Committee has left lots of students out on a lurch. Many don't know what to do, or where to go. For any students in this department who didn't know (impossible), now you do. Good Luck!

I'm sure everyone knows by now that there is no such thing as physical education on this campus anymore. No health classes,

no gym classes...anything that has to do with this department is no longer in existence. Yet, the new building that was especially made for this department has just been finished. For what? What's the point for having a building that nobody will even use? It's amazing when you realize the ridiculousness involved.

If you have been using your brain, you would see that there really is no bargain. You are paying more for less than what you had just last semester. It's time to face reality. You are paying \$750 more combined with a 10% slash in financial aid for the following: no phys. ed., no engineering degrees, larger classes, fewer teachers, fewer staff, fewer time allowed in the library and computer rooms on the campus, including the college being closed on Sunday, and so forth. This is your so-called bargain. This is what your raised tuition gives you. This is what student activists have been trying to prevent. This is what they were trying to warn you about. But many students here at C.S.I. wouldn't listen. The College Voice has been telling you from the beginning, but you wouldn't listen.

All over the CUNY system there have been thousands of students fighting against this (the protest on March 23, 1995 in front of City Hall turned out nearly 15,000). Thousands were resisting, thousands were speaking out against this attack. And everyone knew what the deal was. Everyone knew what the cuts would mean. Every-

one it seems but you, the average C.S.I. student. You might feel insulted, but it's true. It's a fact that not too many of us were at the rallies. CSI was not well represented at the rallies, protests, and meetings against the cuts. The obvious question was WHY?

YOU would think that students would see the danger of apathy.

It seems that there are many reasons why they didn't stand up for their rights. Many CSI students were misinformed, or were on the other camp's side (Giuliani's). I have actually found a few who were on the side of the cops at the March 23 rally. Maybe the students are just numb. Maybe it's true that Staten Islanders just don't give a damn. I don't know about that, but evidence is pointing in that direction.

Human beings have long held the belief that man is the superior animal simply because of the advanced organ in his/her head. It's time to start using it, CSI. Be worthy of that self-proclaimed title as the "higher order." Realize that you are losing your education little by little while paying more and more for it (tuition has been raised over \$1,000 in the last six years). It's time to face the fact that you are NOT separate from the rest of New York City. Whatever effects people in the other boroughs will also effect us here. Do not think that you will be a separate city very soon.

Do not think that Giuliani is your friend. He is not going to set you free as a city. He needs your votes, and he'll say anything to

get them. The people of Staten Island voted for Giuliani by an overwhelming majority, and now the corrupt chickens have come home to roost. He is not your friend. If he was, you and CUNY would not be in the shape you are in right now. It's time to wake up!

Oh yeah, I think you should know about what WE are going through, here in the College Voice. We're facing some drastic cuts ourselves. Student Government (SG) plans to hand us \$5,200 as our budget these next two semesters. That's barely enough to produce leaflets, let alone a newspaper. I'm sure SG knows it too. So why are they doing this?

They don't like our politics, our stand on certain issues. We attack the frequent vicious role that SG plays in student issues. In other words, they don't like us for exposing them. They are giving the excuse that they do not have much money to give us and The Banner. However, they're sitting on \$52,000 that has gone unspent. Wow, does something seem wrong with this picture? It looks like hell to me.

I'm going to finish this piece now, but the war is not over yet. I would like to thank anyone who may have done work last semester for the struggle against the cuts. For those students hurt by the cuts severely, I give my condolences. For those whom this article refers to, the apathetic ones, take these words to heart because I'm getting tired of repeating them. Wake up! It's really about time that you did.

The Marxist Theory of the State

Part I ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE IN THE HISTORY OF SOCIETIES

by Ernest Mandel

Editors Foreword: The following piece by Ernest Mandel is the first installment of a new educational series that will be in the pages of the Voice this semester. We hope through the introduction of the fundamentals of radical working class politics from the writings of Marx and Engels to VI Lenin and L. Trotsky to contemporary masters like Malcolm X. We will be able to sharpen the theoretical and analytical tools of those seeking to fight the attacks by Wall Street and their racist representatives in Washington, Albany and City Hall. Mandel in analyzing the historical and political roots of the State puts forward a topic of extreme centrality to all those fighting to change their lives and the society in which we live. This vital contribution to working class political analysis will be presented in three parts. Read, enjoy and organize.

Voice Educational Series

A. PRIMITIVE SOCIETY AND THE ORIGINS OF THE STATE

The state did not always exist.

Certain sociologists and other representatives of academic political science are in error when they speak of the State in primitive societies. What they are really doing is identifying the State with the community. In so doing, they strip the State of its special characteristic, i.e., the exercise of certain functions is removed from the community as a whole to become the exclusive prerogative of a tiny fraction of the members of this community.

In other words, the emergence of the state is a product of the social division of labor.

In other words, **the emergence of the state is a product of the social division of labor.**

So long as this social division of labor is only rudimentary, all members of the society in turn exercise practically all its functions. There is no State. There are no special State functions.

In connection with the Bushmen, Father Victor Ellenberger writes that this tribe knew neither private property nor courts, neither central authority nor special bodies of any kind. Another author writes of this same tribe: "The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general."

The same holds true for the peoples of Egypt and Mesopotamia in remote antiquity: "The time is no more ripe for the patriarchal family with paternal authority than it is for a really centralized political grouping...Active and passive obligations are a collective in the regime of the totemic clan. Power and responsibility in this society still have an indivisible character. We are here in the presence of a communal and egalitarian society, within which participation in the same totem, the very essence of each individual and the basis for the cohesion of all, places all members of the clan on an equal footing."

But to the extent that social division of labor develops and society is divided into classes, the State appears—and its nature is defined: The members of the collectively as a whole are denied the exercise of a certain number of functions; a small minority, alone, takes over the exercise of these functions.

Two examples will illustrate this development, which consists in taking away from the majority of the members of this

society certain functions they formerly exercised (collectively in the beginning) in order to arrogate these functions to a small group of individuals.

First example: **Arms**

This is an important function. Engels said that the State is, in the final analysis, nothing other than a body of armed men.

In the primitive collectively, all male members of the group (and sometimes even all adults, male and female) are armed.

In such a society the concept that the bearing of arms is the particular prerogative of some special institution called **army, police, or constabulary**, does not exist. Every adult male has the right to bear arms. (In certain primitive societies, the ceremony of initiation, which marks coming of age, confers the right to bear arms.)

It is exactly the same in societies that are still primitive but already close to the stage of division into classes. For example, this holds true for the Germanic peoples at about the time they attacked the Roman Empire: all free men had the right to bear arms and they could use them to defend their person and their rights. The equality of rights among free men we see in primitive Germanic societies is in fact equality among soldiers—which the anecdote of the Soissons vase illustrates so well.

In ancient Greece and Rome, the struggles between patricians and plebeians often revolved about this question of the right to bear arms.

Second example: **Justice**

In general, writing is unknown to primitive society. Thus there are no written codes of law. Moreover, the exercise of justice is not the prerogative of particular individuals; this right belongs to the collectivity. Apart from quarrels decided by families or individuals themselves, only collective assemblies are empowered to render judgments. In primitive Germanic society, the president of the people's tribunal did not pass judgment: his function consisted in seeing that certain rules, certain forms, were observed.

The idea that there could be certain men detached from the collectively to whom would be reserved the right of dispensing justice, would seem to citizens of a society based on the collectivism of the clan or the tribe just as nonsensical as the reverse appears to most of our contemporaries.

To sum up: At a certain point in the development of society, before it is divided up into social classes, certain functions such as the right to bear arms or to administer justice are exercised collectively by all adult members of the community. It is only as this society develops further, to the point where social classes appear, that these functions are taken away from the collectively to be reserved to a minority who exercise these functions in a special way.

What are the characteristics of this "special way"?

Let us examine our Western society at the period when the feudal system begins to be the dominant one.

The independence (not formal, not juridical, but very real and almost total) of the great feudal estates can be shown by the fact that the feudal lord, and only he, exercises throughout his domain all the functions enumerated above, functions that had devolved on the adult collectively in primitive societies.

This feudal lord is the absolute master of his realm. He is the only one who has the right to bear arms at all times; he is the only policeman, the only constable; he is the sole judge; he is the only one who has the right to coin money; he is the sole minister of finance. He exercises throughout his domain all the classic functions performed by a State as we know it today.

Later, an evolution will take place. As long as the estate remains fairly small, its

The idea that there could be certain men detached from the collectively to whom would be reserved the right of dispensing justice, would seem to citizens of a society based on the collectivism of the clan or the tribe just as nonsensical as the reverse appears to most of our contemporaries.

population limited, the "State" functions of the lord rudimentary and not very complicated, and as long as exercising these functions takes only a little of the lord's time, he can handle the situation and exercise all these functions in person.

But when the domain grows and the population increases, the functions for which the feudal lord is responsible become more and more complex and more detailed and burdensome. It becomes impossible for one man to exercise all these functions.

What does the feudal lord then do?

He partially delegates his powers to others—but not to free men, since the latter belong to a social class in opposition to the seigniorial class.

The feudal lord delegates part of his power to people completely under his control: serfs who are part of his domestic staff. Their servile origin is reflected in many present-day titles: "constable" comes from *comes stabuli*, head serf of the stables; "minister" is the *serf ministrabile*, i.e., the serf assigned by the lord to minister to his needs—to act as his attendant, servant, assistant, agent, etc.; "marshal" is the serf who takes care of the carriages, the horses, etc. (from *marahscalc*, Old High German for keeper of the horses.)

To the extent that these people, these non-free men, these domestics, are completely under his control, does the seigneur partially delegate his powers to them.

This example leads us to the following conclusion—which is the very foundation of the Marxist theory of the State:

The State is a special organ that appears at a certain moment in the historical evolution of mankind and that is condemned to disappear in the course of this same evolution. It is born from the division of society into classes and will disappear at the same time that this division disappears. It is born as an instrument in the hands of the possessing class for the purpose of maintaining the domination of this class over society, and it will disappear along with this class domination.

Coming back to feudal society, it should be noted that State functions exercised by the ruling class do not only concern the most immediate areas of power, such as army, justice, finances. Also under the seigneur's thumb are ideology, law, philosophy, science, art. Those who exercise these functions are poor people who, in order to live, have to sell their talents to a feudal lord who can take care of their needs. (Heads of Church have to be included in the class of feudal lords, inasmuch as the Church was the proprietor of vast landed estates.) Under such conditions, at least as long as dependence is total, the development of ideology is controlled entirely by the ruling class: it alone orders "ideological production"; it alone is capable of subsidizing the

"ideologues."

These are the basic relationships that we have to keep constantly in mind, if we don't want to get lost in a tangle of complications and fine distinctions. Needless to say, in the course of the evolution of society, the function of the State becomes much more complex, with many more nuances, than it is in a feudal regime such as we just very schematically described.

Nevertheless, we must start from this transparently clear and obvious situation in order to understand the logic of the evolution, the origin of this social division of labor that is brought about, and the process through which these different functions become more and more autonomous and begin to seem more and more independent of the ruling class.

B. THE MODERN BOURGEOIS STATE

Bourgeois origin of the modern state

Here, too, the situation is fairly clear. Modern parliamentarism finds its origin in the battle cry that the English bourgeoisie hurled at the king, "No taxation without representation!" In plain words this means: "Not a cent will you get from us as long as we have no say in how you spend it."

We can immediately see that this is not much more subtle than the relationship between the feudal lord and the serf assigned to the stables. And a Stuart king, Charles I, died on the scaffold for not having respected this principle, which became the golden rule all representatives, direct or indirect, of the State apparatus have had to obey since the appearance of modern bourgeois society.

The Bourgeois State, a Class State

This new society is no longer dominated by feudal lords but by capitalism, by modern capitalists. As we know, the monetary need of the modern State—the new central power, more or less absolute monarchy—become greater and greater, from the fifteenth to sixteenth century onward. It is the money of the capitalists, of the merchant and commercial bankers, that in large part fills the coffers of the state. Ever since that time, to the extent that the capitalists pay for the upkeep of the State, they will demand that the latter place itself completely at their service. They will make this quite clearly felt and understood by the very nature of the laws they enact and by

The parliamentary institution is a typical example of the very direct, very mechanical bond that exists—even in the bourgeois State—between the domination of the ruling class and the exercise of State power.

the institutions they create.

Several institutions which today appear democratic in nature, for example the parliamentary institution, clearly reveal the class nature of the Bourgeois State. Thus, in most of the countries in which parliamentarism was instituted, only the bourgeoisie had the right to vote. This state of affairs lasted in most Western countries until the end of the last century or even the beginning of

the twentieth century. Universal suffrage is, as we can see, of relatively recent inven-

continued on next page

The Politics of Imperialism

The Role of Aid Organizations in Underdeveloped Nations

by VJ

We live in a world today that is wracked by over 60 civil wars and poverty, unemployment and disease are the lot of the majority of the planets inhabitants. It is the thinking of some amongst the political left today that the US and other western advanced capitalist countries could and should play a role in ameliorating these conditions. As well intentioned as this may sound we contend that this "humanitarian" aid by western governments is never based in the interests of the worlds suffering and indeed is the creator of this suffering. As such to propose US intervention or that of any imperialist agencies like the UN is extremely destructive and creates confusion in the ranks of western workers who are truly motivated by a desire to change the world in which we live.

Direct agents of coercion like the CIA or the military either work in tandem with so-called aid agencies or follow in each others footsteps.

In the case of Somalian intervention in 1992-93, UN aid personell and other relief agents entered first to evaluate the status of the crisis. When their aid efforts came into conflict with the civil war raging in Somalia, the pretext was laid for the for the intervention of the military. Far from saving anyone 10,000 Somalis and several dozen imperialist sponsored troops were killed.

In the case of Rwanda in 1993-94, French imperialist troops followed on the heels of aid personell. Their mission similar to the Somalian adventure was also dubbed a humanitarian mission to protect civilians. The protection of civilians amounted to the creation of refugee centers in-between the clash of the combatants in the Rwandan civil war. The French declared themselves neutral, however in the context of a civil war where the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) was making gains and the formerly French backed, predominantly Hutu, Rwandan government was on the defensive, the French neutrality effectively took on the character of determining which side will be victorious and under what terms. The French in attempting to prove their neutrality cynically grouped Tutsi's into the refugee camps which serve as the buffer between the combatants.

The French served to perpetuate the myth that the conflict was essentially "tribal" by segregating the Hutus and Tutsi's as if this were the fulcrum of the conflict. One of the disastrous results of this segregation was the massive exodus of Hutus from the southwest of Rwanda where they were localized into Zaire leading to hundreds of thousands of deaths from starvation and disease.

The role of the so-called aid agency apparatus starting with but not limited to those of the United Nations remains the carrying out of imperialist foreign policy, not by guns but through the establishing of a dual infrastructure in the country of intervention that is sponsored by imperialism.

The IMF, World Bank, GATT and the UN are the major international imperialist agencies for the propagation of develop-

ment strategies tailored to the interests of the advanced capitalist countries. The IMF/WB primarily follow a carrot and stick policy in concert with other political and military agencies of imperialism to

The IMF, World Bank, GATT and the UN are the major international imperialist agencies for the propagation of development strategies tailored to the interests of the advanced capitalist countries.

force the implementation of free market "development" policies. In exchange for massive attacks on social services and wages by the semi-colonial, more commonly referred to as "Third World", country, the IMF/WB offers aid in the form of the introduction of multi-national corporations (MNC). Free Trade Zones (FTZ) where labor and environmental protections are removed are set up as the model of development. The banning of unions and the elimination of basic democratic rights for workers results in a myriad of abuses that destabilize the cultural fabric of the country. The toy MNC, Mattel, promoted a program of sterilization of its female workers in the Phillipines in order to avoid maternity from affecting productivity. Children as young as six are enslaved, literally chained to their posts in Pakistan, to produce rugs for major western importers. In the 2000 Maquiladora free trade zone sweat shops in Mexico, almost a half-million workers, four-fifth of them women, slave away for an average wage of \$28 per week.

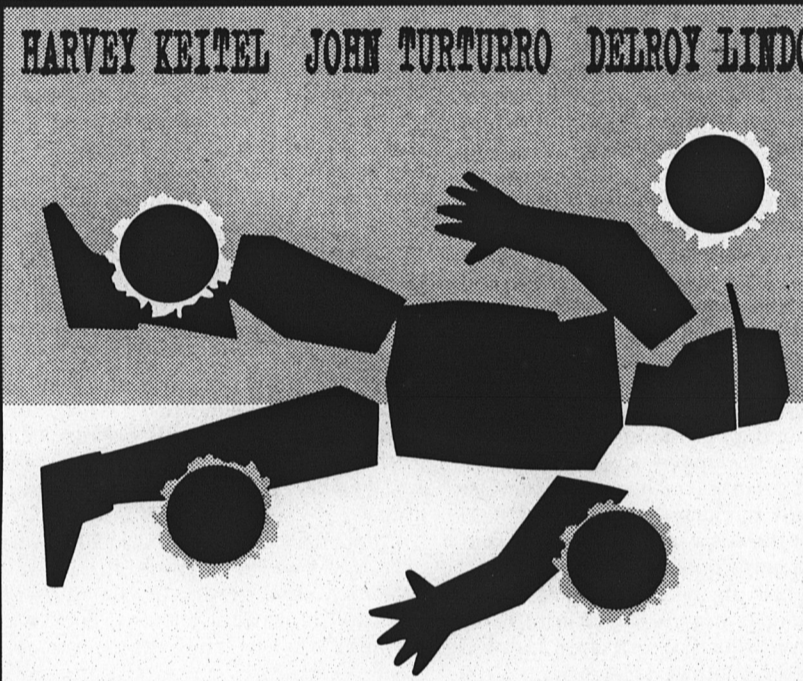
The economic and social policies of the debtor countries thus follows not the needs of domestic development but that of imperialist development. The sources of this are manifold. Most industries set up by imperialism are export based and the commodities produced are not for the consumption of the local people. The FTZ's force out native industry with the greater capital backing they have ensuring that these economies remain non-industrial and raw material based. The raw materials are in turn processed in the imperialist country and sold back as finished product to the semi-colonial country. Although now some light industry and manufacture has been completely transferred to the semi-colonial countries, the imperialist countries have advanced to computer based technologies that increase, not decrease, the development gap between the so-called first and third worlds.

In order to pay back the debt the IMF/WB demand in spirit of "comparative advantage" that productive capacity be used

to increase the export of one or two main usually raw material commodities e.g tea, coffee, bauxite, leading to a flooding of the world market and a consequent sharp decline in price. The result is a net redistribution of capital from the poorer to the rich countries. For example whereas 100 bushels of tea from Sri-Lanka bought 1 radio from Japan, with declining prices for tea the ratio becomes 200 bushels to 1 radio. In sub-Saharan Africa this has led to de-industrialization. Non-industrial economies does not translate into the those populations being well fed by the availability of agrarian product either. "Cash crops" like tobacco and coffee replaced the subsistence economies of pre-colonial days, creating in many instances the need to import food and through the over-exploitation of the soil famine, death and economic collapse.

Concurrent with the gross underdevelopment of vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America is the absence of basic democratic rights that are common to the richer imperialist countries of western Europe and North America. It is through the policies of imperialism through the IMF/WB that substandard conditions of life are maintained in the semi-colonial countries for the maintenance of abundant cheap labor. This requires usually not a little force to sustain typically through the overthrow of pro-worker regimes by CIA backed mercenaries e.g. Congo in the 60s, Mozambique in the 70s, Nicaragua in the 80s to name a few or through direct military intervention by imperialist forces e.g. Grenada in the 80s. Capitalist development for the vast majority of the worlds inhabitants means the rule through terror, shantytowns, unemployment and poverty.

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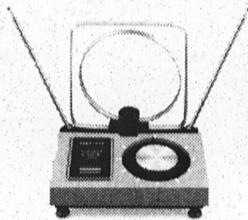
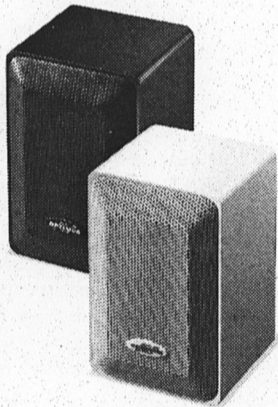


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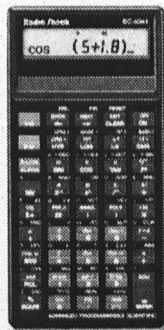
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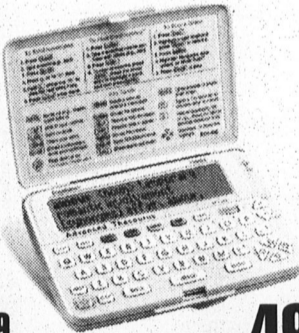
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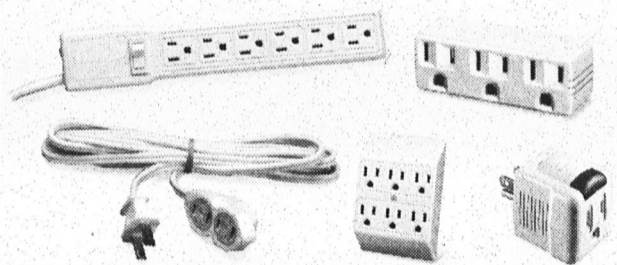
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Televised Injustice: Court TV and the O.J. Simpson Case

by Devon Blinth

In case you have not heard by now, gridiron legend, actor, successful businessman and all around nice guy O.J. (Orenthal James) Simpson is on trial for the murders of his ex-wife Denise Brown and her companion Ronald Goldman. He is accused of killing them by repeatedly stabbing them at the entrance of Ms. Brown's exclusive Brentwood, Ca. condo. The media feeding frenzy has been unlike anything this country has seen since the introduction of the idiot box.

The Simpson trial has drawn widespread interest throughout the US for the usual reasons: America's curious obsession with massive wealth coupled with violence, intrigue and sex. The case, however, is a barometer of American social relations in that race juxtaposed with class is the prevailing undercurrents. Mr. Simpson is an African-American man who because of his vast wealth was offered direct access into the elite quarters of the "white" establishment. Along with his status as a former award-winning football player, and film actor, he sat on the board of Hertz Inc.-one of the largest car rental agencies in the country and was a member in good standing at his local country club. However, when Simpson stood accused of the murders, his access was immediately revoked and he became another black man in trouble. Court TV immediately picked up on the unique nature of this case and began to exploit it under the guise of "objectively" showing the American people the nuts and bolts of the criminal justice system churning out a "typical" case.

This case has been anything but typical. Competing with other networks for viewers, and by extension, advertising revenue, Court TV features cases based solely on entertainment appeal. The format used in Court TV resembles nothing so much as formats used during sporting events such as boxing. The courtroom is viewed much as television presents a boxing ring. Action is shown within a limited space. Focus is directed towards two opponents trading blows back and forth. In exactly the same manner, the camera's lens is trained towards the confined arena of the crowded courtroom. This camera is focused on each nuance of every "punch" thrown by either the defense or prosecution capturing each grimace the succeeding blows produce. The two opponents in this "legal boxing match" are the defense attorneys versus the prosecution. The judge holds the role of an objective and somewhat removed referee. It is he who regulates and channels the blows thrown by the opponents. Unseen is the jury who act much as the unseen referees of a boxing match.

Testimony footage during the Simpson trial has generally focused on one "player" at a time. Apparently only one camera is located within the courtroom and is thus limited in range, therefore, the clearest (and most frequent) view afforded to the viewer is that of the witness box. The witness is centered in the picture looking directly at the questioning lawyer. The bottom left-hand corner of this picture presents an accompanying text providing a varying range of materials including the date, the name of the trial, the name of the witness, the type of testimony (direct or cross) and a brief summary of what type of material is being covered. The viewer is informed whether the testimony is "live" or "previously recorded" in the upper left hand corner of the screen and the lower

right hand corner is emblazoned with the Court TV logo.

Less frequent is footage of the lawyers, judge and defendant. The lawyers are presented in profile with their client and attending attorneys in the background. Depending on the nature of the testimony, the camera will attempt to focus solely on the defendant at the defense table to gauge his reaction when potentially sensitive issues are being discussed by the witness. The judge, who is seated beside and slightly above the witness box is rarely shown in close-up, but rather from a pan view in which both tables and the witness box are seen.

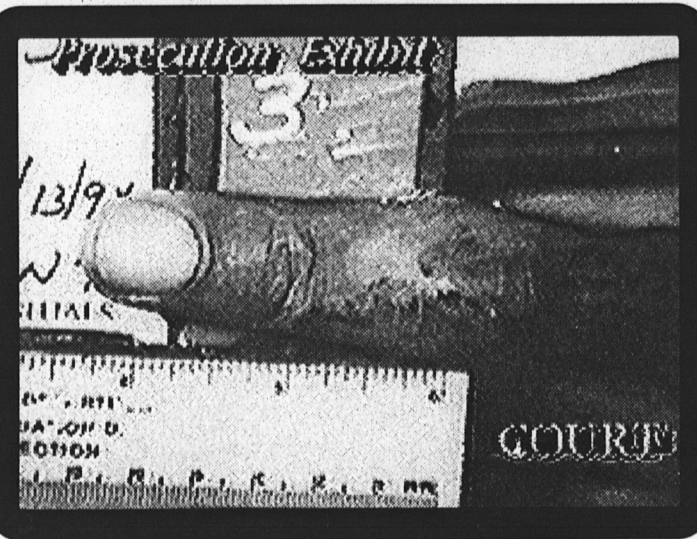
Breaks in testimony are announced by commentary in the studio directly into the camera. Sandwiched between paid advertisements and resumption of testimony, "special guest" legal commentators are present in the studio to give their opinion of the previous testimony. Both "special guests" and the studio commentators are touted as "experienced trial lawyers." In the intermission between testimony, they prove their expertise by debating the relative merits of the defense's case versus the prosecution. Often this involves reference to previous cases that they have been a party or read about.

CTV's alignment with sporting events continues with the inclusion of "on-the-scene" reporters. Like their contemporaries in sports coverage, these reporters lend on-sight credibility by revealing their reactions to the unfolding drama. They provide to their removed TV audience touches

but watch to witness an uncertain ending. In that vein, the attributes of "right" and "wrong" must remain ambiguous, for the arena of the courtroom is the arena where right is ordained to triumph over wrong. It is only by suspending any sense of right and wrong, and therefore any foreshadowings of "win or lose," that Court

balanced. This becomes vital when one considers that the testimony in the Simpson case is expected to last close to a year. Commenting on the sport of wrestling, Roland Barthes, in his essay, *The World of Wrestling*, states that "wrestling is a sum of spectacles." Court TV has sustained interest in a trial lasting over a period of several months by encouraging the impression that each day's testimony is a deciding moment in the drama being presented. Points for each day are added up for the defense and for the prosecution.

The view of justice being structured on CTV is that of a prolonged combative match. Justice is sport. Justice is viewed as being ambiguous. Emphasis is not on the relative "truth"



TV entices the viewer to continue watching extended trials to their conclusion.

It is therefore, vital that Court TV portray both the prosecution and defense as being equal. Initially, any odds maker would have given initial odds in favor of the prosecution in the Simpson case. The prosecution has methodically presented its case and according to polls they (in conjunction with the media) have convinced the majority of Americans that Mr. Simpson is indeed capable of performing two brutal acts of cold-blooded murder towards apparently unthreatening victims.

Like many of the cases seen on Court TV, including the Los Angeles "riot" trials and the William Kennedy Smith trial, vast media coverage before the trials had potentially biased viewers against the defense's case. To combat such positioning, one would logically attempt to bolster the image of the challenger to present him as a worthy contender. The question to be asked then is whether or not the coverage lent by CTV performs this role. The commentary by the CTV correspondents and their "special guests" has traditionally involved an analysis of both sides of the preceding testimony. The commentators deliver their opinion on how any testimony might affect both the prosecution and the defense. They scrutinize the strategy enacted by both parties. In this way CTV has positioned the two opposing sides as equal and demanding of equal weight in their analysis.

The tension between the two opposing positions must always be maintained to create the illusion that the match is always

of the preceding testimony, but on how it might be perceived by the jurors or how it was handled by the lawyers. Suppositions are not put forward on who is right or who is wrong, but how they have played the game. Each day's testimony is given urgency by reference to the timeliness of the material and by a continued emphasis on the time slipping away for Mr. Simpson. Just as CTV is a sum of spectacles, the viewers it attracts are spectators in the sport of justice.

Contrary to its claims to educate the public, CTV is in the business of entertaining them. The view it presents of the justice system is not a view that privileges right over wrong. Rather, it seeks to present court cases in which the sides are balanced and the distinction between right and wrong or good and evil is ambiguous. Emphasis is made on technique rather than righteousness. Justice then, is far removed in its actual impact. While CTV will invariably show the sentencing hearings on any trial it has covered, it omits any visual image of justice after that point. Court dramas reach their climax when the verdict is given—when the spectator sees who wins.

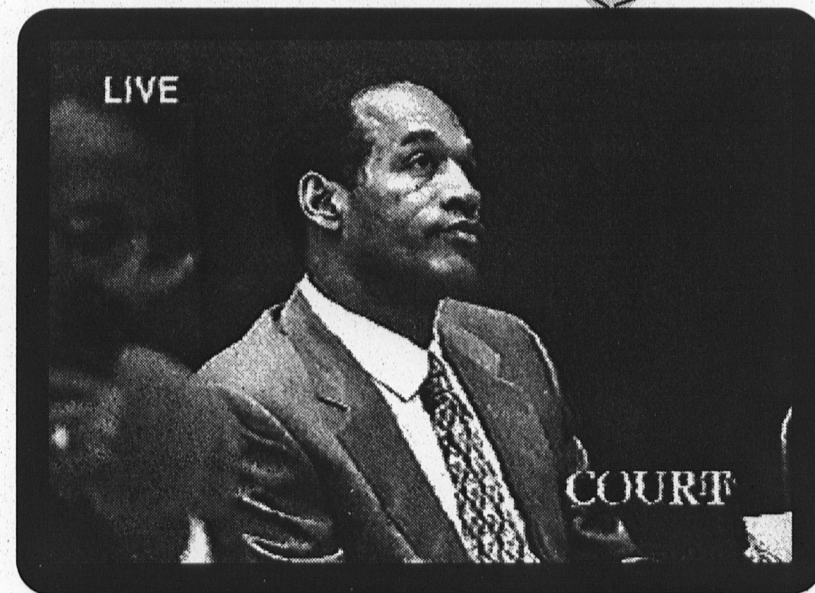
Prominent in its absence is any views of the jury or audience. Rather, the case is seen as though isolated from reality.

The issue of who is right and who is wrong is ambiguous and up for public debate. At first glance, the Simpson trial seems to have very little in common with other popular trials broadcast by CTV. They do possess one common bond. In each case, there is no firm standard by which to judge the truth.



of "local flavor" and pass on inside courtroom speculation that is not shown by the camera. Their role is to provide not just the facts of the case, but the mood of the arena and the spectators present. Studio commentators invite the viewers to partake in viewing the "spectacle" by addressing the camera to speak directly with the audience. They seek to establish a relationship with their viewing audience by lending their own personal history and experience to their commentary of the trial. They trade anecdotes with "special guests" who resemble nothing so much as the seasoned or retired athletes which are found in abundance in any sports commentary.

If Courtroom Television is portraying its trials as nothing so much as justice "matches," what can be deduced by the selection of trials it sees fit to portray? As any boxing promoter would affirm, the essential ingredient in the staging of a financially profitable boxing match is the presence of two equally matched opponents. CTV must choose trials that will capture and hold the public interest. They must choose trials which present opponents who are evenly matched. The outcome of the trial must never be seen as a surety. Tension must always be maintained between the two opposing sides so that the viewer is never certain of the trial verdict. More succinctly put, it's no fun to watch a sporting event if you know from the beginning who will win. (Remember the Tyson/McNeeley bout?) The viewers then, are not watching to see justice served,



I'm Not the Arts Editor...

by Kwame Bard

Welcome to the Arts section, into the nasty, the productive, the world of construction, and the beautiful souls who are suppressed that stand up for their rights, and resist through the expression of "art." The Political-Economic-Social state is all a human construct, an environment created by humans for human cohabitation—and every form of life that is righteous can afford to hurt no longer. Hence, amidst this myriad of social welfare, is a call that is unleashed from the bowels of C.S.I. A call, for social and political revolution.

Beyond the bounds of god, because whether you believe in him or not he supposedly gave "man" free will, so we must fight for righteousness now. Here on earth NOW, because there is just too much suffering and distress to wait for the resurrection. Cancel my subscription if that is the case.

There is bloodshed throughout the so-called "Third World" region. In Africa, in Latin America, Asia and so on. The exploitation and imposed control from above is because of the quest for the dollar bill, as factions battle for control of it's institutions (Similar to the new "Vietnam" situation going on in the Balkan peninsula.) Of course the US organizations like the CIA play their devious role, securing the rights and welfare of the large multinational corporation.

The same FBI and CIA and police department organizations that bust up, oppress student demonstrations, labor union strikes, progressive movements, even the words of an artist or musician are scrutinized for it's "Communist" tendencies. These same governmental organizations that enforce class segregation among the the "blacks" and "whites." So in this regard we are all under attack. But as J.'s Addiction once said, "there is no right or wrong, only pleasure and pain," and it's "so good, it's so good," it could all be so good (Neo-Constructivism of the 1990's).

The black man is dually attacked, the woman dually attacked, the black woman tripply attacked. For anyone to say that the welfare of the average human being on this planet is not under attack is a fool. For anyone to say that racism does not exist is an ASSHOLE! Tell the African-

American, Nicaraguan, the Haitian, the Sri Lankan that racism does not exist as the racial segregation gets more and more clear, and he might laugh at or pity your ignorance. Tell the newspaper strikers from the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Detroit News* that police oppression of constitutional rights does not exist, and he might turn away in disgust.

Over the past year we have seen an assault on constitutional rights like free



speech, like the right to privacy, like the right to free association from the halls of the congress to the anal corners of the C.S.I. student government. The College Voice has been cut in funding from last year by nearly 8,000 dollars because of what? It cannot be because student government lacks the funds, because there is an excess money source of 52,000 dollars that has gone unspent.

Why would SG cut funds to the Voice, when publications like the Banner remain funded at the same level as last year. Is it that President Springer doesn't look sophisticated enough on our front cover? That might be it, but I tend to think that it

is because administration did not like the words underneath her so-so picture, "Pleasantly Detached", or "Theatre of the Absurd."

These phrases used to describe the legislation and decree that descends from the hired lips of Mrs. Springer. The decree that cuts the heads of students, not her Administrative buddies. Their salaries never get cut! Only student activities, student classes, student teachers, student sports and clubs-

Socialist/Constructivist Revolution!?

Artists: the only escape from pain is the class war, the only true war that exists...as martyr Susan Powers said in her Village Voice August piece "In Defense of the Nasty": "art as a bullet in the head of convention, one that instead of killing, inflicts permanent brain damage." "Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery, none but ourselves can free our mind," said Bob Marley. On that note we shall proceed, knowing that the chains of mental slavery that the average man and woman face, the economic stranglehold placed around the artist's neck, are imposed from above. Imposed through the various institutions of the social superstructure. The various social institutions that propagandize their slanted and biased doctrine: like the media, the various mainstream journals of opinion, the schools and universities, the local, state, and national governments, all aspects of the status quo must be questioned. Sometimes a stimulating poem or a painting can speak a thousand words.

The need for the artist to expose the ugly underbelly of society has come, as nasty as it might be. The only prerequisite for artistic submission is that you speak of unity.

Hatred, neo-nazis, racism in any form, sexism in any form, homophobia in any form will not be tolerated. And from the ancient lungs of resistance any type of discrimination will be met with a resounding scream of "FUCK YOU!", not in these pages.

Our regular Arts editor Debra Behr, who is currently transverse across various rooms and boards looking for a home, has been forced to make priorities like feeding herself and finding a permanent homeplace come first above her College Voice duties. Hopefully she will be with us next issue. For now, workers control of production in the commanding heights of fight-back-Literature, under a workers newspaper shall suffice, tho neither situation is satisfactory. There shall be no peace until there is people control over institutions created for the welfare of the many and not the few. Spread the wealth cracker! Speak your mind everyday people!

Anyone interested in submitting material should come to the College Voice, RM 1C-230. Art as a bullet in the head.

A Monday Night Poetic Haunt

by Louis Bardel

In the beginning of the summer, of '95, there began an experimental poetry reading at the Cargo Cafe in St. George, S.I. Starting at 9:00pm that first monday night, the organizers Nanci Richards and Robert Levine (former CSI students) expressed mild apprehension about it's potential. But worry was a waste of time as the reading developed into a weekly success. On any given night there could be a turnout of nearly forty people or more, half of which got up on stage and read.

Sweet sounds, eloquent voice, profound memories, lines of sadness, and political militancy could be heard echoing through the streets surrounding this local artist hangout. Whether it was Rob L. offering unsmiling and sometimes comical metaphor, or Nanci R. laying down the light-hearted, often hysterical improvisation every night was a success. On some nights poetic verse could be heard well towards the early morning, and it seemed with every poet that read the crowd only got larger. The night often ended with poet/actor/comedian Al Peters throwing up some of his righteous vibes, always prefacing his performance by saying, "I'm going to do something a little experimental."

Nonetheless, Al never failed at mesmerizing, and sometimes electrifying the crowd with his various stage personas.

And the list of poets who stood up in front of the crowd and purged their guts is to long to list in this article. There were some notable artists like "Will Winn" who with gentle voice inspires wisdom; quasi-schizophrenics like "Doc" berating modern culture; voices like Marguerite Rivas and her unconventional stories of computer interaction; and the constructive words from rebel poets like David Lipp who rails and wails against the overwhelming feelings of discontented youth who turned out almost every monday night and revealed themselves. Many of the brave poets that showed up were C.S.I. students and poetry at the Cargo has proven itself to be a magnet for various sorts of people. The Cargo is a place that people can meet together on the common grounds of free expression, I advise all to check it out.

The readings are held every Monday night from 9pm to 11pm, with sign-up beginning at 8:30.

The next poem should be read with the words of Karl Marx and the tunes of the Sex Pistols or Marley or Coltraine synthesized, depending on your mood and point of view: in memory of the 43 brave CUNY student hunger strikers who protested the budget cuts last semester. The 43 students who were arrested by the CUNY/NYPD police force upon orders of the CCNY administration.)

God-damned: "Solidarity Forever"

(an obscure internally and externally beaten down union fight song, some now call it a spiritual) **CSI Rank and File adjunct teachers **BEWARE** of PSC union heads, like Mohammed Yousef.

When the union's inspiration through the worker's (and the students) blood shall run, there will be no greater power anywhere beneath the sun, for what force on earth is weaker than the feeble voice of one. But the union makes us strong! For the union makes us strong!

They have stolen untold millions that they never worked to earn, yet without our brains and muscle, not a single wheel would turn. We can halt their haughty power, gain our freedom (from the ad-hoc "Retrenchment Committee") when we learn that the union makes us strong! For the union makes us strong!

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold, greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand fold. We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old. For the union makes us strong. ORGANIZE!!!!!! (around common needs and goals like job and educational security)

FOR THE UNION MAKES US STRONG!!

(dedicated to the teachers and staff of CSI that have to put up with the daily bullshit from management)
Up with the "watchdogs" down with the CUNY "safe" team...

Questions

On that dusty road I see a veiled women,
at the same time on the TV screen I see a women get
fucked.
Freedom, huh, is that what you call it?

On that dusty road I see a veiled women getting beaten
at the same time on the TV screen I see a women getting
whipped.
Equality, huh, is that what you call it?

All I see is blood, pouring, rushing, dropping
oh, god damn, it's all around.
it's on her lips, her mouth
I can't take it any longer!
Justice, huh, is that what you call it?

Little girls learning to cook, to knit, to sweep the
floors, to clean the house to make beds.
little girls getting slapped by their fathers, by their
brothers and little girls getting beaten by their
husbands.
growing up, huh, is that what you call it?

Women getting raped, their nipples being sucked, their
pussies turning red and blue.
their clothes being ripped off, they're screaming,
yelling, crying?
Sex, enjoyment, huh, is that what you call it?

It's a murder, genocide, a fuckin' misery.
When is it going to stop?
Stop, Stop, Stop.
All I see is battered women.
Life, huh, is that what you call it?

Red droplets, bodies on grounds, in bedrooms, in front
of the cameras, in magazines, on the streets.
big fucking posters all over the highways.
commodities, profits, oppression, a big fucking breast and a humungous ass—
Beauty, huh, is that what you call it?

Mom, sister, daughter, wife,
from one hand to another
from one slaughter house to another.
a piece of meat who is used
a mind which is controlled and prostituted
Women, huh, is that what you call it?

S.H.

Sadness comes as happiness...

Sadness comes as happiness
Passes.
Her mind is filled with angry
Thoughts.
She wishes to free her soul of such
Anger,
But it won't go away
Worries about life, about
Anything
Are always on her mind.
Is she
Crazy?
No, just immersed in her
worries.
Why does she have these
THOUGHTS? The question remains
Unanswered.
She cannot reAch for the
ANSWER.
For it is too complex a
DilemNa.
WHY HER? WHY DOES SHE HAVE SUCH
THOUGHTS? SUCH WORRIES? SUCH
FEARS?
SOMEONE....TAKE THEM
AWAY.

by Nicole Susi

FROM THE INSIDE

I am trapped
like a
prisoner
of
love
my cell has four walls
and a window so
the darkness can
be outshined on occasion.
I am comfortable
with my surroundings,
I wear sunglasses
When it get's to bright.

David Lipp
(eye)

THE PURVEYOR OF WORDS

ladies and gentlemaen,
today I bring to you
the latest technology in communication.

WORDS

that's right, BIG ONES, small ones,
high profile, low brow, slurred by intoxication

WORDS

I am a purveyor of fine
spoken
words.

Scantilly clad verses,
verbs and nouns that form
me

ander

ing

chit chat

SUPERCALIFRAGILISTICALLY EXPEALADOCIOUS LETTERING,
embrionically colorful words that are meaningless
but fit like a condom.
Words to wield like a sword
and stab one another with,
these are the new universal soldiers.

NEW, EFFECTIVE, STATE OF THE ART WORDS

in all shapes and sizes,
so what are you waiting for?
let's get mental.

David Lipp
(balls)

IN ANOTHER WORLD

It's time to burn the night
and sleep through the day

morbid thorns make a presence
and pierce dysfunctional thoughts

birds made of fire drive themselves
deep inside cold blistering lakes

beautiful hysteria shakes the trees
from the roots to their final leaves

children run naked and dance
to the melody of beating hearts

the sweet charm of premature insom-
nia
keeps us dancing among the stars

indescribable shapes burn for us
in the crisp silent air

everyone here is devine
in nature's infallible daydream

and we laugh out loud
at what we have become

David Lipp

CAPITAL

There's no peace in capitalist america!
That peace,
That harmony,
That reconciliation,
There's no truce in capitalist america!
Corporations,
Exploitation,
Market liberalization, a fuckin murder.
There's no agreement in capitalist america!
Those toiling masses,
That technology,
That poverty,
There's no dream in capitalist america!
The affliction,
That multi-bullshit-culturalism,
That seperation,
There's no peace for the capitalist mother-fuckers in america!
Criminals, Crooks, Supreme-racist-courts,

All there is, is capital punishment for the capitalist fuckers in America!

S.H.

O What's It Like...

Mind spins
the smell of sensation on the tip of my nose
touch is not what it used to be
how he would relate to you
what would your mother say
the people who you respect
know?
As tho you were being watched
believing no one will ever find out
1.57% volume paranoia
whether what you did offended anyone
why?
Focus in on that 5%
flashes of guilt
all who know want you to suffer?
all your functions
all your writing
are way off.

Curious Debra

Take off that hat little girl...

Take off that hat little girl
do you know what that flag represents?
oh, take off that flag little girl

Your white rosy cheeks
and that blonde hair don't know what they represent.
don't hide behind that white fright, because it ain't yours to
present.

Take off that red, white and blue
you beautiful silly soul
your fragile body ain't fit for the genocide that it represents.

Take off that poverty you poor little girl
the burden is too heavy for you to carry alone.
you ain't nothing but a puppet for their show

Those 50 stars
Are too far-fetched for you to grasp
'Cause you don't know of their past.
Those Red Stripes
ARE NOTHING MORE THAN KNIVES
That has killed plenty of lives.

Oh, take off that flag silly girl
before I strike you right in the fuckin' skull.

S.H.

A KNIGHT
(Revisited)

One day I found a door, ajar a bit
I looked inside and saw a knight
Who lost his will to fight
For "truth and honor"

I asked him why?
And he replied, that none is left,
To live today
"One mustn't look for happiness"

So then I asked the weary knight
What is it that you want?
He never said a word, he
Just looked at me...

n' I shot him.

(poem found on the floor of the cafeteria)

... Easy Kill

continued from last page

My first thought was, if that was so, why did he feel the need to argue, at the guilt/innocent stage of the trial;

'If [there] your decision of course were to acquit, to allow the defendant to walk out, that is fine. There is nothing I can do and there is nothing that the judge or anyone could do that would effect that in any way.

If you find the Defendant guilty of course there would be appeal after appeal and perhaps there could be a reversal of the case, or whatever, so that may not be final.

(From Com. v. Abu-Jamal 7/1/82, p. 176)

Why would a prosecutor, one wonders, tell a jury such a thing, in his 'strongest case ever tried?

But, of course, in this life, all things are relative, as are the terms, 'strong' or 'weak.' For instance, most men think of women as the weaker sex, but if men had to give birth the very thought would make most faint.

Were Com. V. Beasley, Com. V. West, Com. V. Simmons, or Com. V. Baker also 'strong' cases? Logic suggests they were weak ones, for, in each case, Prosecutor McGill made the exact, almost verbatim argument to the jury, and each case was reversed, by at least one appellate court.

Was the trial of MOVE bombing survivor Ramona Africa, a 'strong' one, where the jury was told 'not to worry, Do not concern yourselves about when, or if, others, police, firemen city officials will be charged in connection with the MOVE bombing, and that is not for you to consider? Here, again, McGill played prosecutor, and Ramona spent 7 long years in a prison hellhole, for surviving her attempted murder. (Is it mere coincidence that no other person, no cop, no official, no one except Ramona herself was ever even charged in the police bombing of which she was the victim?).

What of the trial Com v. Conner, where a man, based on police, ballistics and witness testimony was convicted of first degree murder of a girl child prosecuted by Prosecutor McGill, and sentenced to spend

Continued Above

the rest of his natural life, in prison hellholes, where he was beaten, stabbed, spit on and dogged because he was a convicted 'baby-raper'; was this a 'strong' case?

After 11 years of this hell, through the efforts of an extraordinary defense attorney and his family, it was learned that the 'murder weapon' presented to the jury, a 12 Ga. Shotgun, did not cause the baby's death, as she was not shot but stabbed, repeatedly, with an ice-pick. (Mr. Connor was arrested largely on the basis of his known ownership of a 12 Ga. Shotgun).

In all of these cases, McGill (now a defense lawyer for cops in the FOP who rob, steal, or kill) played the role of Prosecutor, sending men to Death Row or Life in prison, with a mustached smile, and a promise to most jurors of the defendant's Right to 'appeal after appeal after appeal.

For such a guy, what does a 'strong' case look like?

...From Death Row

continued from page 21

from the notoriety of their crimes. The only counterpoints acknowledged in the mainstream media are the right to free speech and the interest of writings about death row.

As it happens so often, the terms of debate turn reality on its head. It was not the notoriety of the case that created, spanking-new, a broadcast or publishing opening for Mumia. He was an award-winning journalist and had already appeared on NPR before the 1981 incident occurred. It was precisely his articulate voice for the Afro-American community and his sharp critique of police brutality that made Mumia a target of police harassment and attack. The result was Dec. 9, 1981, when Mumia was gravely wounded and beaten

and then unscrupulously framed for murder despite several witnesses who saw the actual shooter flee.

The armies that occupy the ghettos and barrios can't abide an effective tribune for human rights and Black self-determination. They tried to kill Mumia to silence him in 1981; they are trying to kill Mumia to silence him today. This vibrant human being, with his robust voice for freedom, must live.

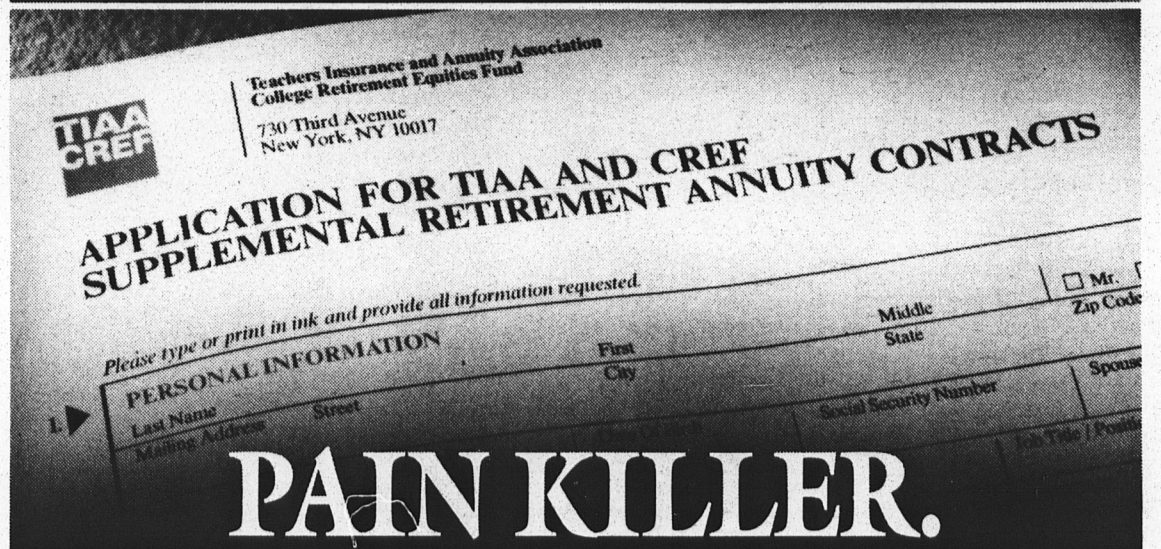
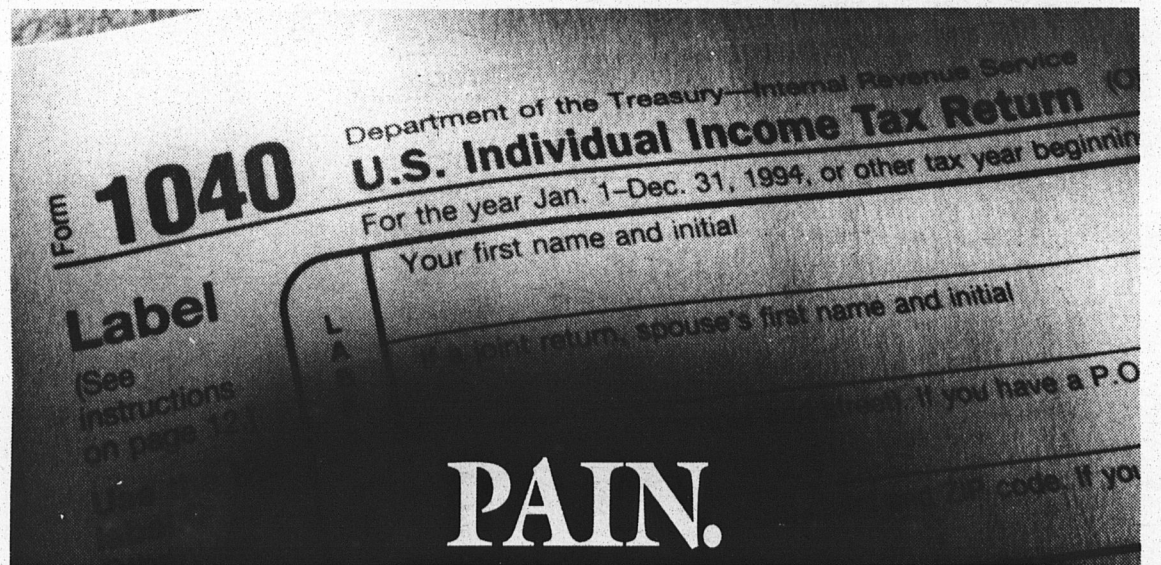
David Gilbert is an anti-imperialist political prisoner in the U.S. He is serving a life sentence in a New York state prison, imprisoned for his participation in the armed clandestine movement. Write to David: David Gilbert #83-A-6158, Great Meadow Correctional Facility, P.O. Box 51, Comstock, NY 12821 USA.

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Free Mumia Abu Jamal Now

CV • Vol. XVI • No.1

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...From Death Row

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provided key testimony in thousands of criminal cases - of just how easy it is to condemn an innocent man to death. He dissects the McCleskey v. Kemp (1987) decision where the U.S. Supreme

Court accepted the data showing extreme racial disparity in the application of Georgia's death penalty but let it stand nonetheless. He sounds an alarm about the rapid march to eviscerate habeas corpus (the traditional right by which prisoners can bring constitutionally based challenges to their convictions before federal courts.)

Unlike other prisoners, "...death row inmates are not 'doing time.' Freedom does not shine at the end of the tunnel. Rather, the end of the tunnel brings execution. Thus, for many here, there is no hope."

But there are also many continuities. Indeed, while Wilbert Rideau and Ron Wikberg's "Life Sentences" (see the review in Downtown, 2/3/93) was loudly promoted as providing the 'real story of inside prison', "Live From Death Row" does a much better job. Mumia provides graphic examples of vicious beatings of inmates by guards, of psychological deterioration and suicides, and of medical neglect tantamount to attempted murder. Yet the perpetrators

in the well-documented cases presented have not been indicted. As the author explains, "...words like, 'justice', 'law', 'civil rights', and, yes, 'crime' have different and elastic meanings depending on... whether one works for the system or against it."

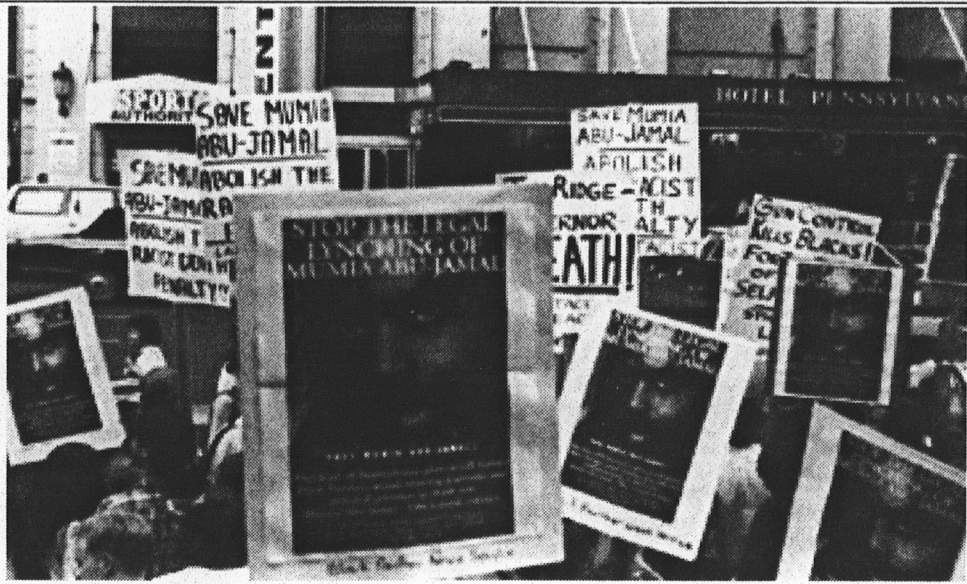
While these violent incidents are the most dramatic, Mumia maintains perspective in explaining that violence is not the pressing daily issue for most prisoners:

"The most profound horror of prison lives in the day-to-day banal occurrences... Prison is a second-by-second assault on the soul, a

day-to-day degradation of the self, an oppressive steel land brick umbrella that transforms seconds into hours and hours into days."

The strength of Mumia's writing is best seen in his vivid descriptions of prison life and in his ability to always educate the human element, even in brief sketches. The broader political essays in this collection are also short and crisp, usually to spotlight one key point or to expose a glaring hypocrisy rather than to present a comprehensive analysis. Thus "Musings on Malcolm" doesn't attempt a complete exegesis of his entire politics but does confront the latter-day efforts to water-down his message. Mumia forcefully reclaims the real Malcolm, the uncompromising scourge of American racism who died for the human rights of self-defense and self-determination.

This book includes numerous other short essays on politics and criminal justice that are well worth reading, the pervasive pattern underlying the infamous beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles; the danger, nonetheless, of the double jeopardy entailed in the federal retrial of the four police perpetrators who had been shamefully



acquitted in a state trial; the sham behind the "get tough on crime" mania, which is a proven failure at reducing crime but a great success as a social program of public employment for a predominantly white sector of workers; the dark, repressive trend towards "Super Max" prisons in the U.S. with conditions of almost total lockdown and solitary confinement.

Mumia perspicaciously cautions against writing off today's youth as "a lost generation", as he limns the social and cultural conditions to which they are responding and indicates the potential seeds for positive rebellion. "If they are lost, find them."

His two pieces on Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party show a rare ability to appreciate the brilliance and the shortcomings of the man. Mumia also brings into focus the crucial role the murders of 38 Panthers played in destroying the party

and makes an impassioned appeal to revive the Panther Party 10-point social program:

"The very conditions that gave rise to party in the 1960's - brutal cops, racist courts, ineffective education, joblessness and the like - still plague our people today." The release of "Live From Death Row" ignited a public controversy. The same forces who generated the pressure to cancel the NPR series - the Policemen's Benevolent Associations and Officer Faulkner's widow (who understandably is

antagonistic to the man she believes killed her husband) - tried to stop publication of this book. They protest that murderers should not be allowed to profit

continued on previous page

... We Must Keep Targetting Him!

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court. But that jury wanted re-instruction on man-slaughter.

So you see this 'strong case', the so-called 'strongest case' that the DA's office has had which the media trumpets time and again is a case that even that jury found to be non-existent.

And now that we have the evidence, now that we have the proof, what we ask for is simple. We ask for a day in court. We ask for a new trial. We ask for a fair judge. We ask for a jury that's properly selected. And if that is given to us, and it's high time that we get it, it's 13 years too late. People write and talk about Maureen Faulkner and her agony and its true. Her husband was killed and she is a widow, and I have nothing but sympathy for her. But they don't talk about the fact that Mumia also has a family, also has children, and he's been wrongfully convicted, and on Death Row for 13 years. That ought to be said. They are both victims, and if anything, Mumia more so.

So, let's all be together on this, let's all be clear. First we ask for Judge Sabo to step aside. He can not give this case what the Pennsylvania Supreme Court says is the most fundamental aspect of any trial. That is the appearance of fairness. He simply

cannot give it to this case because of what he did 13 years ago and because of his overall record. A former prosecutor here in Philadelphia, a man who is considered to be the best prosecutor and the toughest they've had, said what of Judge Sabo? He said Judge Sabo is a 'prosecutor in robes.' And so we don't have to go any further than what Richard Sprig has already labeled this judge. So we ask him to get out of the way. To clear the air. To bring in a judge who can give us a fair hearing. And if we get that, my friends, I have no doubt but that we will prevail in this case, and ultimately will see Mumia back where he belongs here in Philadelphia at work in serving the community.

I brought with me Rachel Goldstein, Rachel has talked to Mumia since he has been moved into isolation. She has also received the 700 pages which the FBI has gathered on surveillance of Mumia since he was 14 years old. And she is familiar with the fact that world-wide they are going to be demonstrations breaking out beginning with today, not only in the United States but around the world on behalf of Mumia. So Rachel and I will both be glad to answer any questions that you might have from the press.

... Points to His Innocence

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ecutors."

The state's case against Mumia rested heavily on the testimony of eyewitnesses and Sabo's rulings often favored the prosecution. For instance, he refused to allow the defense to cross-examine damaging testimony from prosecution witness Robert Chobert - who had retracted his initial statement which exonerated Mumia. Chobert was still on probation for a felony conviction. He cut short the defense's questioning of its own witness, Veronica Jones, despite her serious charges that the prosecution's central witness, Cynthia White, was offered a deal - she could work the streets as a prostitute without fear of arrest in exchange for fingering Mumia.

In addition, Sabo refused to postpone the proceedings so that the defense could call as a witness arresting officer Wakshul, whose police report stated that Mumia made no statement. Though a police document had forbidden it, the officer was "on vacation" at the time of the trial. Instead of scolding the prosecution for losing a key defense witness, Sabo again taunted Mumia with the comment: "you and your attorney goofed."

No help for the poor
Philadelphia spends very little to insure

proper representation to poor defendants in capital cases. Los Angeles can allocate up to \$60,000 per case and Columbus (OH) up to \$40,000. Philadelphia averaged about \$6,500.

Sabo allotted Mumia a mere \$150 to investigate the case from his prisons, hardly enough for a case with over 125 witness statements to follow-up.

Political Persecution

Sabo failed to instruct the jury about how character witnesses could mitigate a death sentence. But he allowed the prosecution to impeach the integrity of character witness Sonia Sanchez, by cross examining her about her political associations.

During the sentencing phase of the trial, Sabo allowed the state to use Mumia's teenage membership in the Black Panther Party to argue for the death penalty. Adding to the lynch mob mentality the prosecutor told the jury that the people of Philadelphia "demand" a conviction in this highly publicized case.

Sabo's association with the police alone should require him to recuse himself from Mumia Abu-Jamal's case. For 16 years, he served as the Under Sheriff of Philadelphia County. He has a lifelong association with the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police - who are vehemently lobbying for Mumia's execution.

***** Action Alert *****

PLEASE CONTINUE TO PHONE AND FAX
Judge Albert Sabo
1286 Wanamaker, Philadelphia PA 19107
ph: 215-686-5100 fax: 215-563-1623

Judge Alex Bonavita, Administrative Judge
516 City Hall, Philadelphia PA 19107
ph: 215-686-3770 fax: 215-567-7328

Governor Thomas Ridge, Main Capitol Bldng Rm
225 Harrisburg, PA 17120
ph: 717-787-2500 fax: 717-783-3369

*** Note: these numbers are all confirmed as of 6 June, but the phones may not be getting answered regularly, and the fax machines are constantly running out of paper because so many are protesting Judge Sabo's possible hearing of the case.

For more information about Mumia's case contact:

Equal Justice USA: PO Box 5206, Hyattsville MD 20782
ph: 301-699-0042 fax: 301-864-2182

Int'l Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal
PO Box 19709, Philadelphia PA 19143
ph: 215-476-8812

Prison Activist Resource Center / PeaceNet Prison Issues Desk
PO Box 3201 Berkeley CA 94703 |
ph: 510/845.8813 fx: 845.8816 |
<http://www.igc.apc.org/prisons/prisondesk.html>
e-mail: parcer@igc.apc.org

The Case of Mumia's Frame Up:

Who is Judge Sabo and Why We Must Keep Targetting Him?

Special from Equal Justice USA and Int'l Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal

The Judge Who Became Death Row's King: Philadelphia's Judge Sabo

In Philadelphia, a "trial depends literally on what judge the case is assigned to," admits Mayor and former District Attorney Ed Rendell.

Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas Judge Albert Sabo's record illustrates Rendell's point like no other. Called "his own jurisdiction" by one defense attorney, Sabo has sentenced more people to death (31 total) than any other judge in the county.

For 14 years, from 1978 until 1991, Sabo served on a select panel of judges hearing exclusively homicide cases. This Homicide Unit is unique to Philadelphia. In virtually every other jurisdiction, judges hear a random mix of cases. It is commonly held that hearing only murder cases can lead to a hardened and even brutal perspective.

Sabo is an icon of the 'hanging judge' and Philadelphia's wanton use of the death. Nationwide, only Los Angeles and Houston have sentenced more people to death.

Sabo has heard fewer homicide cases than many of his colleagues and still ended up with far more death sentences. He has had more of his capital cases reversed on appeal than any other judge (11 total). But in a system where the District Attorney (DA) seeks the death penalty in well over half all homicide cases, the judge has served an important purpose: he efficiently dispensed of the grisliest and most controversial of cases which would have backed-up the dockets of his more evenhanded colleagues.

This may explain how Sabo came to be assigned to the highly publicized case of African American journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal. Convicted in 1982 and sentenced to death for the murder of a Philadelphia police officer, Mumia's case is a painful example of Sabo's style of justice.

Racism

When experts talk about Philadelphia's racist use of the death penalty, many point to Judge Sabo. 91 of the 103 people sentenced to death in Philadelphia are people of color. Only two of the 31 people Sabo sentenced to death are white.

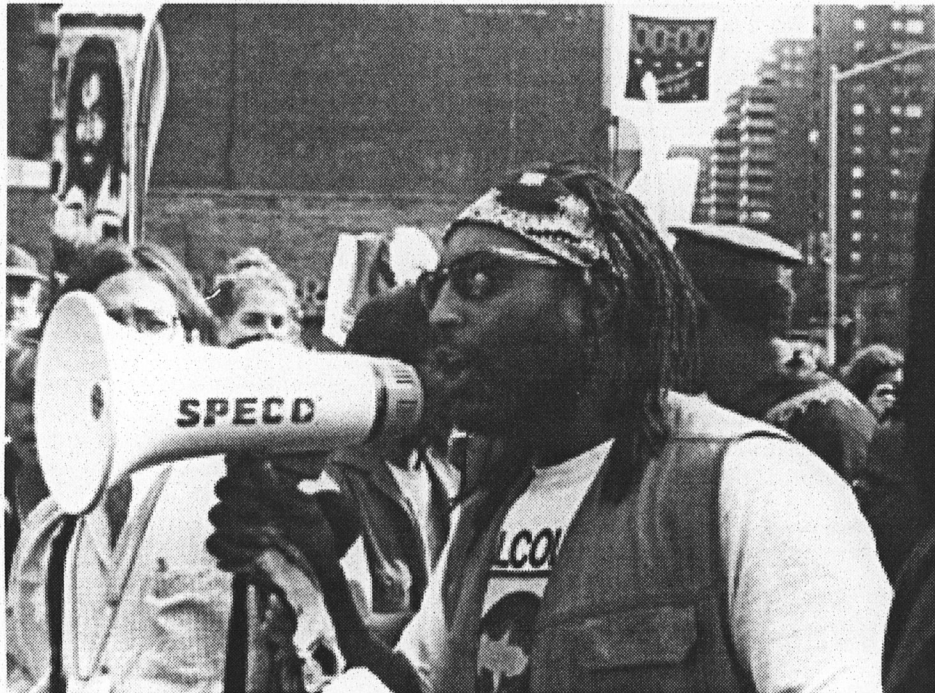
Philadelphia's DA's office has a reputation for excluding black people from juries, a practice strictly forbidden by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Boston v. Kentucky*. A U.S. magistrate found that one Assistant DA actually "kept a running tabulation of the number of blacks left on the jury after each challenged was exercised" while not striking one white juror for any reason. The same DA testified before Congress that such racism was not a problem in Pennsylvania.

Sabo's handling of Mumia's case illustrates such discrimination. Sabo rejected a defense request to place the race of prospective jurors on the record in an attempt to document the prosecution's use of racially motivated peremptory challenges. This means there is no trial record of the 11 of 16 potential black jurors excluded without cause by the prosecution. But when Jamal excluded a black juror because of his law enforcement background Sabo asked him to state his race for the record.

Sabo also replaced one of the three seated black jurors with a white man without allowing her to answer to charges that she had violated a court order that the jury remain sequestered. Later, when he faced a similar problem of a white male juror, the judge was accommodating, adjourn-

ing court for a half day so that a court attendant could accompany him to a civil service exam.

Further, Sabo failed to set a tone of tolerance in the courtroom. The judge ended Mumia's questioning of jurors during jury selection with claims he was making them nervous. The one juror who expressed nervousness claimed that she did not like Mumia's hair, which he wore in



Former US political prisoner, Ex-Black Panther Dharuba Bin Wahad, lends his experience and militancy in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

dreadlocks. Rather than instructing her to respect his appearance, Sabo ruled with the prosecution's request that the Judge take over the questioning stripping Mumia of his right to represent himself

Hostility Towards the Defense

The Philadelphia Inquirer deemed Sabo a "defendant's nightmare." A 1983 survey found that over one third of attorneys thought Sabo was unqualified to be a judge. To this Sabo responded that if he were a defense attorney, "I wouldn't vote for me either," revealing his anti-defense bias.

Sabo has earned a reputation of using contempt to coerce defense witnesses and attorneys. In one case, he held a defendant's wife in contempt when she testified about evidence that he had ruled inadmissible.

In Mumia's case, Sabo held court-imposed defense attorney Anthony Jackson in contempt and imposed a six month sentence when Jackson had followed Mumia's instruction and refused to offer questions for prospective jurors. This situation further heightened tensions between Jackson and Mumia. When Mumia repeatedly protested the court's insistence that an ill-prepared Jackson continue, Sabo banished him from the proceeding with a crude, "Take a hike." "Your honor," Mumia pleaded with an increasingly hostile Sabo, "you're behaving in a way to get me killed, to get me convicted."

Favoring Prosecutors

It is not unusual for a prosecutor to have to warn Sabo he is going too far to support it's side. The prosecutor in Mumia's case found the contempt ruling against Jackson (above) so outrageous that he actually came to his aid. At his urging, Sabo dropped the charge against Jackson.

Little wonder that one of Sabo's colleagues has called his courtroom "a vacation for prosecutors." An Inquirer review of 35 of Sabo's trials found that "through his comments, his rulings and his instructions to the jury, [Sabo] has favored pro-

The Evidence Points to His Innocence

Press Conference speech given by Lead Attorney Weinglass Monday June 5, 1995, in Philadelphia

Today we begin the process of undoing an unjust conviction that was rendered in this building 13 years ago. I am one of 5 attorneys who have been working for months on this case; to renew, to gather evidence, and to do research to undo that conviction and reverse the death penalty.

after the jury was picked, what happened? There was one juror, an elderly African-American woman who was the only juror whom Mumia had selected before his right to represent himself was taken from him. What happened to that juror? In the secrecy of his chambers, and out of Mumia's presence, Judge Sabo removed that juror and replaced that juror with a middle aged white man who said he could not be fair to Mumia. That's the kind of jury he had.

But what we are going to do in this proceeding if we are going to expose the sham. But when people say to me, and the press repeats it often, "Didn't Mumia have a jury trial?" The answer is "No!" And what about this judge who presided. Judge Sabo is known throughout the United States for having put more people on Death Row than any city judge in the United States, including Texas and the south belt and including all the states that have major people on Death Row. And, Judge Sabo has been reversed more than any city judge in the United States, for putting people on Death Row. He has put more African-Americans on Death Row than any judge. Professor Budewitz of Duquesne University, the outstanding scholar of the State of Pennsylvania on Death Row population, said "Judge Sabo's record on race is damnable, and compares unfavorably to that in Alabama or Georgia." So he [Mumia] never had a jury, he never had a judge. He had a prosecutor whose fame is based on the fact that he has prosecuted a demonstrably innocent man whom the District

Attorneys office, 12 years after the man was convicted and had rotted in a cell, had to come into court and admit that it was all wrong, and it was all an error.

He [Mumia] never had a defense attorney. We have an affidavit from his defense attorney who says what? He says, "I was never able to prepare whole parts of this case. I was denied resources. I didn't have a fire-arms expert. I didn't have a pathologist. My investigators left this case before the trial even began." He saw only two witnesses, when the prosecution had seen a hundred. This is the kind of case it is.

And, let me tell you this. The prosecutors now are saying, and the media is publishing, that this is the strongest case they have seen: This case against Mumia Abu-Jamal. This case was the product of coercion an harassment, the product of the prosecution hiding evidence. One of Mumia's witnesses took and passed the polygraph test. What happened to the test? It was deep-sixed. The police didn't like the result. The man who took the test said the shooter ran away. They gave him a polygraph but they didn't believe it. He passed, and they tore up the test.

Well, what kind of a case is this? The evidence is manufactured, the evidence of innocence is suppressed. A jury is wrongfully picked. The hardest judge in the country sits on it. The prosecuting with a reputation for prosecuting innocent people prosecutes. Mumia is not defended by a defense attorney. He has no expert witnesses. The jury goes out, and what does the jury do? Even this jury? They came back and they wanted to be re-instructed on man-slaughter. An undefended case, where Mumia is now sitting on Death Row for 13 years, and that jury wanted man-slaughter. No one in the press writes about that.

No one in the press writes that this jury, even this jury, even an undefended case, even a case without resources, even a case where Mumia was absent for half of the case, [can] imagine the death penalty against a man who was not even present in

With me here today is Rachel Wilkenstein who is behind me, who will also answer questions from the press.

The papers that were filed today constitute over 300 pages, 47 exhibits, 13 affidavits, all of which are directed to the fact that Mumia Abu-Jamal never had a trial, and is a man who is demonstrably innocent.

We also point out that Judge Alfred Sabo should not be sitting in judgment on any of these papers. We are here today partly because of Judge Sabo, and what we seek today is Mumia's first-day report, because he hasn't received one yet to this time.

We also ask for a Stay of the Warrant that was signed by Governor Ridge on Thursday, June 1st. I want you to know that no Governor in the history of Pennsylvania has signed a Warrant for Execution when a person on Death Row was about to go before a judge to have his case reviewed in a judicial proceeding. Governor Ridge was the first judge to intervene, to try to take this case out of the hands of a court by signing a warrant prematurely last Thursday. And he did it because he knew we were going to be here today. This is only the last outrage in a series of outrages which has marked Mumia's case from the very first day.

We now have evidence, we have proof, that the police knew that there were four people who saw the shooter run away that night. And although they cite the fact that they have three eye witnesses, those four people were effectively silenced through coercion and harassment. One had to leave the city of Philadelphia and move elsewhere. Another never was called to the stand. A key witness who was available was not brought in because the Judge refused a Continuance. The police sent him on vacation. He was a police officer. From the very beginning this trial was marked by irregularities—wholesale constitutional violation. The jury was racially picked, in violation of Supreme Court decisions. And

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Unify Against the Racist State

The following is a speech given at a rally on Staten Island in order to inform people about Mumia Abu-Jamal's case by John Paul Patafio.

Over the past few years we have seen a shift in national politics to the right. Attacks upon immigrant workers (specifically those coming from Latin American countries), women and blacks have escalated both in the halls of government and on the streets. We have witnessed a flourishing of racist/right-wing religious zealots/neo-nazi organizations raising their ugly heads from out of the gutter. At the root of these reactionary politics is a decaying capitalist economy. The need to reverse these trends depends upon the ability of the entire US working class to fight against the bigoted racist attacks which divide them.

As the working class finds itself earning a lower wage while labouring more hours the wealthiest five percent fill their coffers with money and gold. A society of extremes is developing before our very eyes. Two-tiered social services divide the country, where the wealthiest sector of society obtains the best services while the rest of us pay more for worsening public services and private ones that care only about the money we hand them. It is within this setting, a decaying economy and a rise of reactionary politics, that the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal must be understood in order to understand its significance. It is at such junctures that the role of the state (i.e., the judicial system, government officials, and the armed servants in the police and army), at whose service these elected officials and respected judges are, is made clear.

What can be the most symbolic message to us here and workers and poor people throughout the country not to fight back against these racist, sexist decaying conditions - the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal - an innocent man who is being persecuted/executed by the capitalist courts for his political views. A longtime participant of black resistance and revolutionary struggle, Mumia was scheduled to die in the most threatening way - via state sponsored execution.

Governor Ridge of Penn. had signed his death warrant and legitimized the mock

trial that had placed this innocent man on death row for the last 13 years. The hypocrisy of capitalist America is revealed in all of its red, white and blue colors - where justice means death, the truth becomes worthless and concealed beneath layers of judicial lies, and democracy a hollow phrase to legitimize murder. Brothers and sisters it is up to us here to right the wrong and free Mumia Abu-Jamal and crush these state institutions which perpetuate the rule by the capitalist few - the real criminals of humanity.

What does the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal represent? Mumia was drawn into revolutionary politics in his youth while fighting against racism in Philadelphia. As he says he was "kicked into the Black Panther Party" by a white Philly police officer who kicked him in the face while he was being beaten by racist thugs outside of a George Wallace Presidential rally. (For those of you who do not know George Wallace, he was the David Duke in the late 60's.)

At the young age of 15 he became Lieutenant Minister of information for the BPP and as he matured he took on more leadership positions. As the 700 pages of FBI files attest to, he was a eloquent speaker who could convey the message of radical politics to broad audience.

Unlike many of his contemporaries Mumia was not executed (like Fred Hampton of the BPP who was gunned down by the Chicago police as he lay in bed with his wife), nor was the government able to frame him up and put him away in jail like so many other BPP members (Dharuba Bin Wahad can attest to that, for he was placed in jail for 19 years for crime he did not commit.) Nor did Mumia give up the struggle after some token civil rights legislation was passed by the US government. He did not seek office as many 60's radicals did, conforming to the capitalist state and enforcing its classist and racist law and order; he did not become cynical and give up on the struggle for justice and a better life. No, up until this day he is continuing to criticize and fight against the injustices that plague America. Dubbed, the "voice of the voiceless," by fellow journalist it is descriptive of who

Mumia represents and why the Philly cops, judges and politicians want him executed.

Even from his jail cell Mumia continues to write about the brutality and racist nature of the judicial system. In his latest book, *Live from Death Row*, [see book review on next page] he cites court cases, facts and sociological studies that expose the systematic racism which chains over 50% of black youth to the criminal justice system. How a black man's life is worth less when it comes to death row sentences. For instance, a black man is 4 out of 10 times more likely to face execution than a white male. If the victim of murder is black then the death penalty will less likely be used, as opposed to a white victim. Though racist and politicians hungry for a position of power will cite these facts as proof to the guilt of the black man, it in fact only attests to the racist nature of the state. By blaming the victim as the criminal the politicians and their experts drive a wedge through black and white working class unity. Like Mumia, we must be forthright in our condemnation of the white supremacist system that throws crumbs to white workers and billy clubs at black workers and youth.

The recent decision by Judge Sabo to postpone the execution of Mumia is both a sigh of weakness by the capitalist state and a maneuver to halt the mass movement. It was not out of the kindness of his heart that Judge Sabo gave Mumia a stay of execution, but the thousands of people throughout the world who are rallying in the streets to save his life.

Though the state has arms, money, politicians and the corporate media it does not have the masses on its side. The rulers of America are terrified of the potential of working people, youth and all those that understand that life is not fair but have no way of

expressing their frustration. When the masses awake from their daily drudgery, from fruitless drinking and partying, when they stop watching the goob tube that fills their heads with misinformation and passivity and they get out into the streets to fight for justice, the powers that be begin to fear, and they should because nothing can stop the million footed when we begin our march to end all forms of oppression and exploitation. When the working class takes control over production, and distributes the private wealth of the capitalist hordes.

The strategy of organizing mass demonstrations, of organizing unions and communities is the way in which we will set Mumia free and expropriate the capitalist exploiters. When we will replace the profit motive with the humans needs motive. Join us in building that movement that will set Mumia free and organize the working class, black, white and Latino, man and women in forging a revolutionary party that will crush the capitalist system and replace it with socialism. Free Mumia Now! End the racist Death Penalty! Free all Political Prisoners Now! Free Mumia Now!



The 1985 police and FBI bombing of the MOVE commune revealed the murderous racist nature of the Philadelphia legal system and US capitalism.

Live From Death Row

'THE TONE FOR IMMEDIACY AND HARD-HITTING REALITY'

Book Review

by Mumia Abu-Jamal; 215 pp. New York, Addison-Wesley (1995) \$20.00

By David Gilbert

"Perhaps we can shrug off and shred some of the dangerous myths laid on our minds like a second skin - such as... the "right[s] to a fair trial, even. They're not rights - they're privileges of the powerful and rich... Don't expect the media networks to tell you, for they can't, because of the [ir] incestuousness... with government and big business... I can. Even if I must do so from the valley of the shadow of death, I will. From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal."

This preface sets the tone for immediacy and hard-hitting reality of "Live From Death Row". The author had been a member of the Black Panther Party as a youth and later became a supporter of the radical MOVE organization. By 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal was an award-winning journalist and outspoken critic of police brutality in Philadelphia, when he was framed and railroaded to the death penalty for the killing of Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. Despite a plethora of injustices and legal irregularities in his case, Mumia is now stalked more closely than ever by the prospect of execution. Pennsylvania's Gover-

nor Tom Ridge signed Mumia's death warrant on June 1, setting an execution date of August 17th, 10:00 p.m.

As of October, 1994, there was 2,948 locked in death rows in the U.S. Some 40% are African American, who constitute only 11% of U.S. population. And the disparity based on the race of the victims - which lives are or are not deemed valuable - is starker.

Meanwhile the death penalty is exceedingly rare for anyone with money and resources no matter how heinous the crime.

Last year National Public Radio (NPR) contracted Mumia to do a series of recorded commentaries about life on death row - and then, after intense political pressure, cancelled them for "editorial reasons." Now, thanks to the publishing house Addison-Wesley, you can read for yourself what NPR censored. "Live From Death Row" is comprised of those commentaries along with several of Mumia's previously published essays. In addition, the book includes an insightful introduction by the acclaimed novelist, John Edgar Wideman, and an informative afterword by Mumia's attorney, Leonard Weinglass.

The invaluable heart is the raw power of Mumia's description and analysis. In my scores of book reviews over the years, I've never used the following phrase, so I don't use it lightly: this book is a must read. The government carefully shields its citizens from glimpsing any human qualities in

the condemned and from learning of the glaring inequities as the justice system grinds forward with the most premeditated of serial murders. Mumia Abu-Jamal's eloquent writing lifts the shroud hiding some 2,948 souls inhabiting the netherworld of our death rows and thus exposes a darkness that sheds indispensable light for understanding our society as a whole.

What is death row like?

"Mix in solitary confinement, around-the-clock lock-in, no-contact visits, no prison jobs, no educational programs by which to grow, psychiatric "treatment" facilities designed only to drug you into a coma; ladle in hostility, overtly racist prison guards and staff; add the weight of the falling away of family ties, and you have all of the fixings for a stressful psychic stew designed to deteriorate, to erode one's humanity..."

Pennsylvania's new death row maintains virtually around the clock solitary confinement, with a mere five hours a week for recreation in outside cages. For many, there is no psychological life. Mumia, always with sharp eye for irony, notes that the prison permits the inmates TVs, which numb the mind, but not typewriters, which could be tools for legal liberation.

Even family visits are turned into exercises in humiliation. In many states, non-contact visits are the rule, preventing the

families and the condemned convict from touching. The denial of physical contact, along with the other difficulties of making a visit, can atrophy emotional ties over a time.

The author recounts, with great poignancy, the visit of his young daughter:

"She burst into the tiny visiting room, her brown eyes aglitter with

happiness; stopped, stunned, staring at the glass barrier between us; and burst into tears at this arrogant attempt at state separation. In

milliseconds, sadness and shock shifted into fury as her petite fingers

curled into tight fists, which banged and pummelled the Plexiglass barrier, which shuddered and shimmied, but didn't shatter.

...Why can't I hug him? Why can't we kiss? Why can't I sit in his lap? Why can't we touch? Why not?" Mumia, the father, summons up extraordinary creativity to soon have his daughter laughing gleefully.

In addition to vivid, human detail on the conditions, Mumia challenges the broader politics of capital punishment. He shreds the pretence of "deterrence" by showing that the states that have led in executions have the highest murder rates. He provides a sobering example - the systematic perjury of a medical examiner who

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The College Voice

Community

Stop the Execution! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Task & Perspective

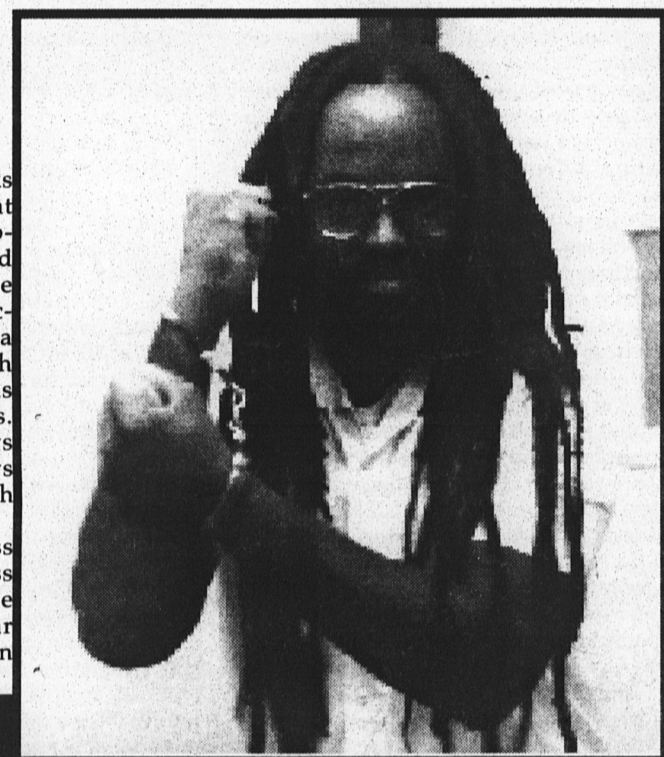
By Roy Rollin

If Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge has his way Mumia Abu-Jamal will become the first political prisoner executed in the US since the Rosenbergs were electrocuted in 1953, themselves victims of a government-orchestrated frameup. An award-winning Black journalist, Jamal has spent the last 13 years on Pennsylvania's death row, having been framed for a crime he never committed in the first place. Convicted in a trial that was a sham of a mockery from day one, Jamal's real "offense" is that he has, since the age of 15 when he was a member of the Black Panther Party, actively fought against the oppression of Black people in the US and, as a journalist, constantly exposed the racist brutality of a key instrument of that oppression, the police.

It is for those "crimes," i.e., for his politics, that he long ago incurred the wrath of the Philadelphia police department, who, along with the FBI, spared no expense in staging an endless array of attempted

the rich and for the rich and injustice for Blacks and the poor. At the trial itself, 'evidence that would have proved Jamal's innocence was suppressed, witnesses were coerced by the cops and Black jurors systematically eliminated. The judge who sentenced Mumia to die, Albert Sabo, functioned as a "prosecutor in robes," and has made a name for himself by sending more people to death row than any other judge in the US. Yet he was brought out of retirement to rule on his own bias. And knowing full well that Mumia's attorneys would be filing papers for a new trial four days later, governor Ridge rushed to sign the death warrant this past June 1st.

Ruling class justice is blind only to the countless crimes of its authors. Therefore only militant mass actions by working people here and around the world can save Mumia's life just as only similar such actions can beat back the bosses' attacks on



US political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal

The fight to save Mumia's life is bound up with the struggle to save our livelihoods; it is part of the struggle of all working people.

frame-ups against him. Unlike so many others who have made their peace with the racist capitalist status quo, Jamal, as the "voice of the voiceless," refused to be silenced...even from behind bars as his newspaper and radio commentaries eloquently illustrate. For those like Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party and now, Mumia, who will not bow and scrape to the institutionalized mass misery that their system offers working people and Blacks, the ruling rich, their courts and their cops have ultimately always had only one answer.

Today Republicans and Democrats try to outdo each other in racist "law and order" rhetoric at the same time they take turns slashing social services, cutting wages and laying off thousands. The death penalty is but another weapon in their bi-partisan war against working people and the poor. To protect their power, profits and privileges the ruling rich will use any means necessary...including legal lynchings and state-sponsored mass murder. That is what passes for "law and order" in their eyes. For be it at home or abroad, the US government remains what Martin Luther King, Jr. called "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world." By murdering Mumia they hope to send a message to each and every victim of theirs: grin and bear it or suffer the consequences. But by saving Mumia, we can send a message to them: we're not going to take it. Working people will not idly stand by and allow the bosses to murder outstanding opponents of oppression like Jamal any more than we will allow them to drive us further into destitution and desperation with their endless austerity attacks.

Everything about Jamal's case boldly shows that capitalist "justice" is just that, justice of the rich, by

our living standards. Recognizing that an attack on one is an attack on all, trade unionists and workers representatives from all across the planet have already come to Mumia's defense. Just as workers can not look to the bosses' cops and courts to dole out anything but injustice, neither can we look to the Democrats and Republicans, who all dance to the tune that Wall Street whistles, to do any differently. Bill Clinton, in particular, has long been a fan of the racist death penalty and has pushed through a series of crime bills that would make many a right wing Republican blush. He has also courted the same Fraternal Order of Police lobby that is beating the drums for Mumia's death at fever pitch.

Black people face daily harassment, beatings and even death at the hands of the police. Workers striking to protect their jobs regularly face the brutality of those same cops on the picket line. The fight to save Mumia's life is bound up with the struggle to save our livelihoods; it is part of the struggle of all working people. Malcolm X once pointed out that "there can be no freedom for (Black) people under capitalism...it can only produce...what the... system was constructed to produce." To construct a system that produces other things besides capitalist exploitation, racist oppression and a death penalty to enforce them, workers need a political party of their own; a labor party, based on the unions and on a program of militant class struggle. Such a party can unite behind it all the exploited and oppressed and begin the fight to create a society in which public needs take priority over private profit and the racist death penalty is seen as a barbaric relic of the past rather than business-as-usual in the present.

30 July 1995

An Easy Kill

The Voice is proud to run articles by Mumia. We are sure that by reading his words it will become clear why his opponents would like him silenced for good.

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The root of the legal term "Trial" is the English word, Try!

At the root of every trial is the State Prosecutor, who tries to convict the Accused, using every means at his considerable disposal; the wealth of the State, the police, experts, and behind it all, the power of government to compel, to intimidate, to destroy.

For far too many defendants, their meager resources are no match for the awesome resources of a government of millions, and the 'battle' is lost before it is even truly joined.

One need look no further than that daily American true-life soap opera, 'The Simpsons' (O.J., not Homer) where you have an enormously wealthy defendant, holding his own with the State, as he fields, quite literally, some of the best legal talent money can buy. Consider if his name were, say, 'O. J. Jackson,' and he was an average, poor Joe, with a mortgage, a 7-year old car, and alimony to pay. Given the same set of facts, isn't it the simple unvarnished truth that this O.J. would be on Death row by now, facing two death sentences?

What does this say about 'Justice' in America? I thought of these things after my Death Warrant was signed a few days ago, and I read, somewhere, that the prosecutor at my trial, Joseph McGill, remarked that it was the strongest case I ever tried.

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