

THE COLLEGE

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Due to the budget cuts the Art's editor had to work overtime in order to pay for next semesters tuition and could not put together the Art section.

Administration Orders Arrest

Students and Workers Drove Pataki Out

Following the events of March 23rd, when students were assaulted by the police, administration received sharp criticism from the Governor and Mayor for "inflaming the political climate." The effects of such misleading criticism has a dual effect, one of pressuring the administration to deal with the students more firmly, and secondly to clarify the political role of administration.

The March 23 rally was a tremendous show of force on the part of the students. Independently CUNY students, through the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts, amassed over fifteen thousand students from colleges and high schools. That rally represented grassroots activism, independent of the Democratic Party, Unions or other organized groups. If such a huge amount of people participated in a demonstration at City Hall with the leading slogan of "Shut the City Down," then the possibility of defeating the cuts, reversing the rightward political trend, and indeed Shutting the City Down is certainly possible. It is the potential of CUNY students, located on 18 campuses spread throughout the five boroughs of New York City, to spark a mass movement that could radically change the political landscape of not only City politics, but national as well. A movement that challenges the political role of the government and the unequal nature of the capitalist economy.

With this threat looming in the air the politicians, both Democrat and Republican, had to react. On the one hand they increased the pressure upon the public sector management, such as high school and CUNY administrators, and with the

other they claimed that their would be a decrease in the size of the cut. The classical carrot and stick approach. The Democrats use the approach of "sharing the pain," and opportunistically try to seize control of the anger and frustration of working people by playing the role of "good cop." They pose themselves as the alternative to the rising right wing. They do not want to stop all the cuts, nor wipe out the social services. No, they just want to decrease spending and slow down the pace of privatizing the public services that millions of working families depend upon. Their counter-parts are more honest. Giving little lip service to liberal jibe, they get straight to the point with their death penalty and union busting politics. Neither Silver Sheldon's or Pataki's budget proposal eliminate the cuts. Both parties represent the interest of the capitalist class, and will not fight to the end the economic attacks on the working class. It is the independent actions of working people (yes that includes CUNY students) which scare the powers that be.

The response by the government is the use of force and intimidation. At the March 23rd rally the police arrested students (besides physically abusing some) and it

seems that CUNY administration has followed suit. The arrest of 43 students at City College by the request of the administration is a clear sign of what they think about the political rights of students, and where they stand concerning the budget cuts. The need to organize students, faculty and staff independently of administration (i.e., management) and to broaden the struggle by linking it to organized labor is essential if these cuts are to be reversed. What happened on April 13th was an example such potential.

That day Pataki, surrounded by all his Republican cronies (Molinari, Straneiri, Marchi) was driven out of Wagner College where the Governor was on the last leg of his Town Meeting tour. He was here to defend his budget proposal, but what he did not expect on the conservative borough was the anger of union workers and CUNY students. The Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) came out in force to denounce the union busting tactics of the Governor and Mayor. In particular the school bus drivers were their in force, coming off the heels of a wildcat strike earlier that day. The Governor was not convincing neither the workers or students that his cuts would increase the services to New Yorkers. In the end the Governor walked out to jeers and the chant of "Hey Hey Ho Ho Pataki's Cuts have got to go."

With the combined power of the CUNY students and organized labor, such as transit workers, teachers, and staff, the power to stop the cuts and forge a new political

movement based on the needs of working people can be achieved. The fight against these cuts must be linked with the public sector unions, who are being hit the hardest and have the ability to shut the city down through a general strike, if it is going to be victorious. April 13th demonstrated how such a strategy can be achieved.

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Mass Rallies Hit City Hall

March 23 and April 4 rallies bring out thousands

By JP Patafio

Within the span of two weeks over 30,000 people came out to demonstrate against the proposed budget cuts. Though the character of the two rallies were different,

News Analysis

the goals and objectives were the same - to stop the budget cuts, and to demand that the government begin to tax the super rich in order to end the budget deficit. The strategy of holding mass demonstrations was used by both, though with different intentions. The union leadership wanted to use the mass demonstrations as a lobbying tool, while the CUNY Coalition wanted to place the power into the hands of the students and workers.

Despite the rallies common goals and objectives there were differences in the character of the demonstrations. The most obvious one was that the March 23 rally was twice as large, twice as motivated, and the police were twice as aggressive with the students. As opposed to the April 4 rally where there were no arrest and no confrontations with the police. The violence by the police was not only due to the "youth factor" as so many people point out, in order to simplify the brutality by the state. During strikes and community revolts the police will be repressive whether the person is young or old, what determines the level of repression is the threat which that particular movement threatens the "status quo." The students could play, and have played historically both in the United States and abroad, a pivotal role in the nature of the class struggle. Their relative free time to organize, and their position in society of not yet being tied down to a family or career, affords them the opportunity to radicalize and organize effective mass movements.

UNITED DEMONSTRATION DESCENDS UPON WALL ST.

By Peter Guagenti

On Tuesday April 4, over 5000 people descended upon City Hall to protest city and state budget cuts in excess of the hundreds of millions. The protest, which marks the 27th anniversary of the death Martin Luther King Jr., included high school and college students, as well as members of the Health and Hospital Workers Union Local 1199, the Transport Workers Union, and the United Federation of Teachers.

Assembled in front of City Hall at 2pm, the protest drew speakers from diverse positions and political affiliations. Included among speakers was the Reverend Al Sharpton, who helped lead the march down to Wall street, John Paul Patafio of the College of Staten Island's Revolutionary Socialist Group, Dennis Rivera, head of the local 1199, and high school and college students from across the city.

Around 3pm, the assembled protesters took to the streets and marched a circuitous route down Broadway to South Ferry, down Water street and up Broad street to at last stand under the stone visage of George Washington, America's revolutionary father, on Wall street. During the entire march, the demonstrators were flanked by an estimated 300 police officers assigned to the area.

Despite fears of attacks by police, the protest against City and State cuts was a peaceful one, with no mirror of the brutality and violence viewed during a similar rally held on March 23. To ensure public safety, Mark Greene, Public Advocate, hired legal observers to watch the demonstration and write down complaints lodged by the protesters.

Shaista Husain, one of the speakers and

Take One; the 23 rally

The Coalition Against the Budget Cuts was a response to the impending budget cuts and formed in the early days of January when the Governor's budget proposal was first released. Essentially an ad hoc coalition, it represented half of the 18 CUNY campuses, and consisted of different political tendencies. What bonded the coalition was the need to fight against the cuts by organizing the broadest mass movement as possible. The coalition counterposed independent mass actions to lobbying and letter writing campaigns. A month later the coalition decided to hold the March 23 rally. With a little over a month to build it the coalition had key organizational shortcomings which revealed itself clearly on the day of the rally.

Though the March 23 rally was massive, with the number of people hovering around the 20,000 mark, the largest rally in the city in two decades, the organizational cohesiveness and the political leadership was in disarray. Despite dozens of meetings in preparation for the event the coalition found itself shorthanded, up against thousands of police, and lack of experience in holding mass demonstrations.

High school student, CUNY students, professors from both systems packed City Hall park and the surrounding streets. The turnout was far better than what the coalition expected. People came out in the thousands to protest the proposed budget cuts, the problem was that the coalition did not know what to do, and could not match the level of organization of the police who penned in the demonstration and blocked the students from marching. The stage, where invited speakers spoke and where the coalition was to control the tempo of the rally, was visibly divided. As the rally continued the confusion on the stage worked its way into the crowd, and when the coalition attempted to march in the streets there was not enough structure

a rally organizer from hunter college, voiced her feelings of victory about the massive demonstration. "I thought it was good," stated Ms. Husain. "We succeeded, even though we had no media coverage. There was a media block, and that's a problem. The first time we tried to march to Wall street (March 23) we had media coverage, but it was distorted. People don't know what we are doing."

Ms. Husain is part of an organization, CUNY Coalition Against the Budget Cuts, which is planning demonstrations all over the city. With over 100 people attending each meeting, Ms. Husain feels that they are beginning to make headway. On Tuesday, April 11, over 30 people will be holding a hunger strike at City College, uptown. There is also plans for a city wide demonstration on April 25.

The new budget reduces state funding for four-year colleges from 614 million to 456 million, while leaving the city funding at 32.3 million. In order to compensate for this \$158.1 deficit, a \$1,000 yearly increase in tuition has been proposed. This will leave a deficit of 41.5 million dollars. Additional cuts will be made in staff and faculty. At the College of Staten Island, half of the adjunct professors are expected to be cut, as well as 60-80 full time faculty. This is approximately a 20% decrease in faculty at a college with already overcrowded classes.

On top of these cuts will be a \$15.1 million dollar cut from state aid with a total elimination of SEEK.

Mayor Giuliani will be releasing his Executive Budget on April 26, and until then, more rallies, protests and demonstrations are expected throughout the city.



Penned in students confront police restraining their right to march.

photo/Andre

to meet the harsh repressive police measures. Eventually over 60 students were arrested and a dozen injured by the police. The coalition's leadership fell apart along with the dissipation of the mass rally.

The combination of a successful massive turnout and loose organization resulted in mixed results, however, what was clear is that there is widespread revolt throughout the entire city against the anti-working class budget proposal. The 23 rally indicated that people are willing to fight back, the problem became how to organize them.

Two days after the March 23 rally 1199 approached the coalition with a proposal to have a joint rally on April 4. Dennis

Rivera, the President of the union, wanted what the 1199 union did not receive when they held a rally of 20,000 people in midtown Manhattan - front page publicity in all the newspapers. What neither one of the groups realized was that the press gave front page news coverage to the violence that took place more so than the political cause. The news coverage on the April 4 rally where approximately 10,000 workers and students showed up would be nonexistent.

The April 4 rally though smaller in size was qualitatively different due to the participation of organized labor. The coalition understood that in order to defeat the cuts against CUNY the struggle against the austerity measures must be broadened to include the entire working class; community groups, Blacks and Latino's, other workers who's jobs are threatened etc. It was in the spirit of solidarity that this rally was organized, and with the understanding that the unions could "Shut the City Down" if they decided.



Thousands of students and workers displayed their potential power to reverse the budget cuts and command political power,

photo/Peter Guagenti

Administration Orders the Arrest of Hunger Strikers at CCNY

By Manjula Vijerama

On the evening of Tuesday, April 11th, CUNY Administration in the form of City College President, Moses and his aides ordered a massive armed arrest of 42 CCNY students and other CUNY students. A group of forty plus students had resolved to begin a hunger strike in the NAC building of CCNY to express their opposition to the deepest cuts inflicted on CUNY in its history by Giuliani, Pataki, and Wall Street. CUNY Administration and their paramilitary - the CUNY cops led the City Cops to handcuff and horde into carefully positioned paddy-waggons 42 students who refused to abandon their hunger strike and vacate the premises. At around 12:00 PM, NYPD and assorted para-military squads from the CUNY cops to contracted engaged in a massive military style operation to squash the non-violent hunger strike 12 hrs after it commenced. Prior to the arrests students on the block outside were pushed back by baton wielding cops in order to secure full control of the area and allow maximum freedom of action by their cops arresting the students. In demonstrations past such as March 23 when over 20,000 students occupied City Hall Park such isolation tactics were used by cops to brutalize the trapped students. As students marched out of the NAC building to the awaiting paddy-waggons they raised their voices in chorus with the students blocked off by barricades and cops: "The students united, will never be defeated!" and "No justice, no peace!". Indeed there was no justice and no peace but it was "no peace for the students, not "no

peace" for Giuliani and his cops. The students seated on the floor offered only the resistance of reason to the heavily armed police, seating firmly and openly on that it is the right of students to remain in the building, a public building of a public university under the threat of privatization. Ron Maguire, a lawyer and long time defender and fighter for CUNY students, was present to ensure that the students were informed of the procedures of arrest so that they may not be entrapped. Reports from Pacifica Radio WBAI were also on the front lines giving coverage to this significant event in the resistance to the cuts. Aside from the Village Voice, a liberal weekly, no other mainstream media was present to cover the event. NY1, the cable news station owned by Time Warner left the scene before the arrests were made. NY1 has distinguished itself amongst other corporate media as the most direct propaganda outlet for the Giuliani Administration.

Since students began taking peaceful measures to resist the devastating \$162 million cut to CUNY and the threatened \$1,000 tuition hike, over 150 CUNY students have been arrested by police. The utter contempt in the response of Pataki and Giuliani to the mass rally of March 23rd to the tune of "stop protesting and get a job" very clearly illuminates the source of the violent and repressive behavior by cops against CUNY students. The "CUNY Cops" a centralized, para-military force answering directly to Chancellor W.A. Reginalds was created with the express purpose of enforcing "law and order" while criminal cuts are forced

through to students. Not only did the CUNY cops issue the arrests but were fully out of the closet, carrying firearms like their NYPD counterparts.

The arrested students were hauled down to the 42nd precinct at 100th St. and Ansterdamn. For booking. A group of over 50 students gathered in front of the police station to demand their release. Chants of "Education is a right, let the students go!" echoed off the surrounding buildings as passing motorists honked in support, and people perred out of their apartments to witness the police state in action.

The level of cop thuggery reached new heights as cops openly manhandled Ron Maguire as he was making his way into the precinct to provide legal counsel for the arrested students. Students chanted "When tyranny is law, Revolution is order!"

The extraordinary degree of repression by NYPD in this most recent round of budget cuts against students stews from the standpoint of the budget cutters to insure that students don't become a galvanizing that brings to life a mass movement of all the people hurt by the cuts. The cuts this time around are so deep and wideranging that every wage earner irrespective of color of creed is being hurt simultaneously, making a general working class responsive to the cuts in the form, most powerfully, of a general strike a very real potentiality. In fact, the central obstacle to

this prospect which Giuliani and Wall Street dread are the well paid traitors at the head of organized labor whose goal in life remains to channel the anger of city workers into the Democratic Party and into "more of the same politics". CUNY bureaucrats like their labor counterparts will encourage those forms of activity like letter writing and lobbying that serve to maintain students as passive recipients of the benifence of Albany, City Hall, and Wall Street. Any activity, especially initiated and developed by students through their own organization forces administration to live up with the NYPD as the decifult topdies of the budget cutters.

At CCNY on the evening of April 11th, CUNY Administration lived its loyalties beyond a doubt.

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CENTRAL CUNY PUTS COPS IN RIOT GEAR ON CAMPUS

By Sarah Husain and Lou Bardel

Angry at the administration, students returned back to the City College (CCNY) campus and held rallies the next day after 43 students were arrested the night before.

At approximately 12 a.m on April 13, 43 students were arrested. Over 12 of those were hunger strikers, at City College (CCNY). The CUNY S.A.F.E team and the NYPD were called in by the local administration and CUNY central Chancellor, Ann Reynolds, to keep the situation under their control. Ann Reynolds told the security teams to arrest the students, who were asking the administration to allow them to have a peaceful overnight sit down in the college. The students were held in prison over night and released at about 8am the next day..

About 150-200 students decided to leave the campus and took to the streets at about 11:30 p.m.. The main reason students left the campus was because they wanted to avoid any arrest by the cops who were ready in riot gear. Students marched to a church on 125th st., then turned around and headed towards Columbia U.. Due to the size of the rally, police officers were unable to arrest students, and precisely because of this students marched where ever they wanted to and disrupted the traffic. The rally was lead by the student leaders of CCNY, however, the march was not planned so the leadership at times was feeless.

The situation remained relatively under control until reaching the march's last destination, Columbia University. At the sight Columbia Univ. security and NYPD blocked the entrances. Due to the lack of leadership the cops were able to split the marches into two. Those in the front pushed their way inside, but the students in the back where subjected to police brutality. Two students were kicked, thrown on to the floor and arrested. A homeless man was also victimized by the police.

The only people not enamored by the movement were school administrators, campus security, and cops. On the contrary it was the administration who ordered the arrests.

Through the use of intimidation tactics, billy clubs and riot gear, they were successful in dispersing the crowd.

The remaining students who were still out on the street gathered a few blocks down from the entrance of Columbia. The student lawyer, Ron McGuire informed everyone that the cops would not tell what precinct the three arrested people were taken. McGuire advised everyone to go home because at that point it was close to 3am, and the rain was pouring.

After first entering the Columbia campus, the 30 student -demonstrators left about twenty minutes later. Despite the Columbia university administration and security who didn't want the protestors to go into the campus, the students showed support. Dorm residents began playing music from their windows, screaming out support to the CUNY students, some even joined the demonstration. Likewise, while marching on the streets, members of the community and drivers-by gave nothing but cheers and encouraging beeps of their horns. The only people not enamored by the movement were school administrators, campus security, and cops. On the contrary it was the administration who ordered the arrests. Meanwhile the Mayor and the Governor of New York refuse to address the true causes of the problems facing NY's student population.

Faculty Supports Rally Despite Union leadership's abstention Concerned Faculty endorses demo

by Chris S. Anderson

On March 23, 1995, City Hall was host to a massive demonstration by opponents to the deep budget cuts for the CUNY and SUNY systems.

Although the demonstrators were largely high school and college students, the faculty attended dressed in full cap and gown to offer support to the students that were let out of class early in order to attend the rally.

Dr. Carol Birman, Professor of Special Programs at City College, has been head of a media committee that is trying to get newspapers and TV to cover the struggle for proper funding. "There's been a media blackout in terms of coverage. Not only today, but all the way through." Dr. Birman continued to say, "The only thing that was on TV was the violence at Hunter College, when police beat students for stopping traffic." Dr. Birman added, "The peaceful demonstrations have gotten very little coverage. I hope the media will come around and give us some positive coverage."

About a half an hour later police pepper-maced and arrested students for attempting to march with their signs down Broadway to Wall Street.

Dr. Birman expressed her concern for the future of the City and State college students. "We can retire if we want," she stated. "It's not going to affect us that much. It's for them that we are here, not for ourselves."

Dr. Jerome Brooks, former Chairperson for the English department at City College and colleague of Dr. Birman added, "Some of the young professors are my former students. I am concerned for their careers as well as my own. If some of my colleagues are fired, I will have to teach more courses."

The majority of the students attending the rally were black and Hispanic. Dr. St. John, Professor of Bilingual Education at City College expressed her concern for Latino students. "I am Puerto Rican, and

it frightens me a great deal because Latinos are the highest in dropout rates. This is an ethnic and class purge that is being perpetuated on us, absolutely, by the Federal and State governments.

Dr. St. John feels that the new standards that may be imposed by the colleges will keep many students in need of an education away. "Our quality of education is poor, from elementary through high school. It's really not educating the students. We are now turning around and saying that it is not the systems fault, it is your fault and we aren't going to let you into college."

When asked how she felt about her education in the State system, Dr. St. John angrily added, "I felt cheated. I don't feel that I got the quality of education my counterparts did."

James Pearlstein, Professor of History at Manhattan Community College since 1967, voiced his concern over his future at CUNY. When asked if the cuts would affect him personally, he said, "Absolutely, my classes get bigger, my students get more alienated, my job situation becomes impossible. I must assign significant amounts of reading and writing to my students so they can enhance their command of language and their ability to analyze, interpret and explain. How can I do that with overflowing classes?"

Dr. Pearlstein supported funding aid for needy students by saying, "The education that the state provides is not in any way a gift to a bunch of chislers. This is an investment in the future of the city and state. It's the human infrastructure that CUNY produces that makes New York what it is."

Dr. Pearlstein foresees the fall of a vast educating system. "I'm afraid that Pataki's cuts will make things worse. I can't survive without City University. The City can't survive without City University. The cuts will make things worse. It's the death of the University."

A High School Student Responds

Political Consciousness of HS Students Underestimated by Mayor and Media

This interview took place several days after the March 23 rally where thousands of high school student joined CUNY students in a rally against the budget cuts. The Mayor and Governor condemned the actions of the high school students, relegating their role to mere pawns in the political process. The reactionary tendencies of the Mayor were revealed when one of his few comments about the rally focused on the mis-spelling of his name. The interview is with one of the high school organizers and aims to clarify the role that these courageous and politically conscious students played.

John Paul Patafio(JP): Okay, I'm with Damaso Reyes (DR).

JP: And what high school are you from?

DR: I go to the Calone School, on the upper west side.

JP: What year are you in?

DR: I'm a junior.

JP: So Damaso, how many high school students you estimate were there, at the rally?

DR: Whew. I think we made up at least 40 to 60 percent. I mean, I got a chance to stand up on the stage and the high school kids were out there before anybody was there, I got there early. There were, a couple 'o thousand high school kids just filling around, you know, trying to (get there) before the rally actually started. So we were out there in numbers.

JP: What prompted the high school students to come out? I mean, everyone knows about the cuts, were the students trying to cut class or...?

DR: No no no. this was for two reasons, one frustration and two opportunity. One about frustration, for the past you know, 15 years, what started with Reagan, what started with Bush, what's going on with Giuliani, Pataki and Gingrich is that people have been cut, people have been hurt, but, the youths, the blacks, the Latinos, all the people who have been hurting haven't had an office or somewhere where they can go to. They didn't have any rallies in the 80's, they didn't have any structure which high school kids felt they could be a part of. so when they saw this big rally happening, they took advantage, they got that opportunity to get out there and get their frustrations heard which they and their parents have been dealing with for the past 15, 20 years.

JP: Mmm hmm. So the frustration was because of the attacks.

DR: Yeah, that's right, because constantly, constantly they're attacking the weakest people, and they know this, the only reason they attack education, they only reason they attack health care, because the people who use these services are not able to speak out like the rich banks are, they don't, they don't control the system as much as you know, as much as a banker would. So they came in, they got this opportunity to voice their opinion, to vent some of that frustration which they haven't been able to vent so far.

JP: How do you respond to people that say high school students were there just to cut classes?

DR: Ugh, I would like to use some strong language, (laughter from both) but I won't. I'll say this: that the way the educational system is now, I wouldn't be surprised if kids cut class. You have kids which are thirty and forty to a class, it's not about education anymore, it's about crowd control, it's about keeping kids in. It's about keeping kids in and not letting them get out, rather than trying to teach them. So yeah who wouldn't, after constantly being told by your teachers, constantly being told by the governor who is cutting you that you don't count, who wouldn't want to leave that kind of system? People are frustrated, it's not that people don't want to learn, it's that all the avenues which they can learn from, SEEK, all these high school programs, summer school, they're

constantly being cut. So these kids don't have any voice. And what do you do when you don't have any voice, you turn to crime, you turn to teen pregnancy, you turn to drugs. Nobody who thinks they have a future, an opportunity...I don't do drugs, I don't get myself involved in crime, because you know, I go to a good school, because I feel I can do something more than just be a basket ball player or a rap star, which is what a lot of minorities in public schools feel. And that's the truth.

JP: Explain the conditions now in high school and how the cuts would worsen them. For example, you said there are thirty to forty kids to a room...

DR: Right, per class. Like if you were taking history...OK, everything I say of course, is a generalization, but these are fairly typical generalizations...Most teachers don't care if kids sleep in class, most kids are you know, doing something else. The teacher gets through to a very small percentage of the people in the classroom. The text books are generally five to ten years old; they are worn. Everybody hears of kids having classes in lunchrooms, in gyms, in hallways. The physical structure of the school hasn't been repaired for twenty years, because of all these cuts.

JP: The future cuts, how much?

DR: OK, um, basically the high schools in New York City are under funded it's been estimated by 14%.

JP: So they're already cut by 14%.

DR: Right. These cuts would just about double that, or more. So it would be from anywhere from 20 to 30%, closer to thirty. Because it's the first thing that always goes, it went with Cuomo's budget, in Dinkin's budget, in so many occasions...

JP: So Democrats and Republicans are alike.

DR: Right. one of the reasons people didn't speak out before is because we had a democratic governor, who we trusted to get things done. and you know, no matter what his intentions we still got betrayed, education still was betrayed. So that's one of the reasons why high schools are so terribly under funded.

JP: When the high school students go out to these rallies, what do you think their level of consciousness is?

DR: Their level of consciousness is very high; these high school kids are not dumb. Giuliani made a comment on some of the signs being misspelled, and maybe those kids should go back to school. The reason those signs are misspelled is because of the education that they've been getting. You don't learn how to spell in one day of your junior year, you learn how to spell in fourth grade. And that's when the cuts were made. These kids are very...I know kids who can come up with...You see, their intellect is being expressed in different ways. When they freestyle, a lot of their stuff has political messages. It's just that, their education hasn't taught them how to articulate themselves in a newspaper, or how to get people together for a rally. What you are seeing here is a lot of energy, but they don't have anything to plug into. They don't feel they have anywhere that they can go, like usually a school newspaper or a collage coalition. They don't have any of that.

JP: So a lot of these (outlets) have been dismantled....

DR: Right, or they just haven't been started, because the teachers don't have time to be a faculty adviser. Teachers come in with the attitude that these kids are dumb, that these kids aren't going to excel, and when you have that from the start, you know you are going to have very few kids who are willing to start a coalition. And plus, where are they going to get the money? It's not what the people here at CUNY do, they don't have an office in which they can set up. They don't have anything like this which the faculty has endorsed, so of course you are going to have a lot of people who are just frustrated

and then the first thing they turn to is violence.

JP: How do you think the struggle for education, the health care, all these public services which the working class uses...how do you think the road to victory is going to be won? And why do you think it's important to target Wall St.?

DR: I think what happened on the 23rd was the beginning of the movement. I hadn't seen anything like it; it was my first rally. In the 60s, a whole generation learned how to protest, a whole generation learned

York. They said this. But who are they serving? They're not serving the blacks and Latinos in Harlem, they're not serving the Asians in Sunset Park, they're serving the people who got them elected, and the people who paid for their campaign, the Wall St. people. They're not taxing them, because they know if they do they won't get money for their campaigns in 97. I mean it's ridiculous to say, but a banker can make a phone call, and mobilize more people in 24 hours than we can ever hope to. Because they have the money, and the



Photo/Andre

Not only did high school students show up at the rally but they were also there in force at One Police Plaza when students marched down to demand the release of students arrested. The students chanted, "Education is a Right! Let the students free!"

how to shut the system down. These kids don't know anything about that. What happened on the 23rd, and what's going to happen on April 4th, and what's going to happen in the future, is going to bring that back. The only way we are going to get any long lasting victory, and I don't mean victories like in the 60s, because you know, 20 years later we're in the same position. The only way a long lasting victory is going to happen, is if we get these kids involved in organizing themselves. any grass roots movement has to have the support of the people. We can teach these kids ourselves, and when I say we I mean everybody. We can teach these kids how to organize, how to get themselves together, how to constructively use their anger and frustration to organize themselves so that they can organize others. But the most important thing is, we have to have people in the community. You can't have people, you know, get that job on Madison Av. and then say I'm moving to a better section. We have to re-invest in the community, and we have to have a wholesale concern from the colleges, from the college students, for people to come back to the community. We have to build the infra-structure so that we can raise a new crop of leaders.

JP: Why do you think Wall St. has become a target? Do you think High school students understand the economy in that sense? I mean, obviously, people generally don't understand the economy.

DR: right. I think very few people, including college leaders, understand how much of a choke-hold Wall St. has on the economy, how much they actually do influence what this government does. And I'm sure high school students have no idea. I know I have, even with me speaking I have no idea exactly how much of a control (they have)—I know it's vast. If we see what Pataki is doing, if we see what Giuliani is doing, what they said is that they were going to serve the City of New

point is that they can buy people, and we cant do that. The only hope we have is that we can funnel some of the frustration of the other 90% of the community, to release the grip. See, Pataki and Gingrich, they're trying to get rid of all the safe guards which were put in effect during the Progressive Era in the 30s, they're trying to strip those regulations and you know what's going to happen? The corporations and the banks are going to have even more control over what the government does. Just look at baseball. You Have these multi-million dollar owners telling government what to do. It's ridiculous. Giuliani is giving Stienbrenner hundreds of million dollars in cuts just to stay in the city. You know, that's what's happening and we have to mobilize 2,000 people just to save our funding.

JP: Let me ask you something: the 23rd was made up mostly of students, with little faculty support. What's the significance of April 4th, having to rally with organized labor? What do you think?

DR: April 4th is not going to be about students, it's not going to be about faculty, it's not going to be about labor. It's going to be about building a united New York, a united America, against this kind of blatant racism, this kind of blatant destruction of our cities. Any one of us individually, the government, the business, can destroy. We see that with the unions, we see that with CUNY. If we can rally, if we can organize the other 90%, and by that I mean churches, I mean Communities, whole blocks of people, if we can do that, which is what the 4th is going to be about, when we do that, then Giuliani won't be able to say: "Well, they're having decisive politics," or, "they have a couple of misspelled signs." They have to be with us, because we will have the other 90% of the community. That's the way victory can be won: through a united front, a united community, a united New York against these budget cuts.

CUNY COALITION CALLS ON MAYOR TO COMMIT TO NON-VIOLENCE

Special from the Coalition

In response to the hospitalizing of a Hunter College student participating in a peaceful demonstration against the proposed cuts to higher education, the CUNY Coalition called on Mayor Rudolph Guiliani and Police Commissioner Bratton today to make a formal commitment to non-violence in responding to many peaceful demonstrations being organized by students.

Before writing to the Mayor and Bratton, the CUNY Coalition spoke with eye witnesses and reviewed press reports and video footage of the incident. Based upon this review, it determined that the attack was unprovoked and occurred just as the students were leaving the area. "We said our piece and were moving off the street, when they rushed in and started hitting anyone within reach," said Jed Sat, a Hunter College student. The demonstration organized by the Hunter College students had about 150 participants.

The CUNY Coalition expressed its fear that the Police Department would respond to its March 23 rally at City Hall, which is expected to have more than 7,000 participants, similarly. The CUNY Coalition's letter asked the Mayor and the Police Commissioner to "send a clear and unequivocal message to your officers that violence cannot be used to curtail this demonstration." A commitment to non-violence has been the CUNY Coalition's public position, which it reiterated in its letter. The actions of the students, the Coalition argues, is not the question. Commenting on the Mayor's response to dissent within his administration, his attacks on the press, and response to groups opposed to his budget cuts, the CUNY Coalition expressed its deep concern this Administration will respond to peaceful political dissent with violence. "Look. We're committed to non-violence. We've trained dozens of marshals to ensure that it stays peaceful. But if the Hunter incident is any indication, this Mayor and Police Commissioner have decided to use violence to suppress their political opponents", said Alex Vitale, a Sociology graduate student.

"Did the Mayor or the Police Commissioner respond to the beating of the Hunter student? No. They sent the signal that beating people up who peacefully disagree with the government is OK. The Mayor needs to reverse that message by the March 23 rally," said Yvonne Lassalle, a CUNY Graduate Student.

The CUNY Coalition is using the March 23 rally to focus attention on the State's and City's lack of commitment to providing access to higher education, health care, social services etc. that have traditionally been the cornerstone of a free and democratic society. For the CUNY Coalition, the current round of cuts to higher education are a continuation of a national trend towards social and economic austerity.

Contact the CUNY Coalition Media Office at •212-642-2851

For the CUNY Coalition, the current round of cuts to higher education are a continuation of a national trend towards social and economic austerity.

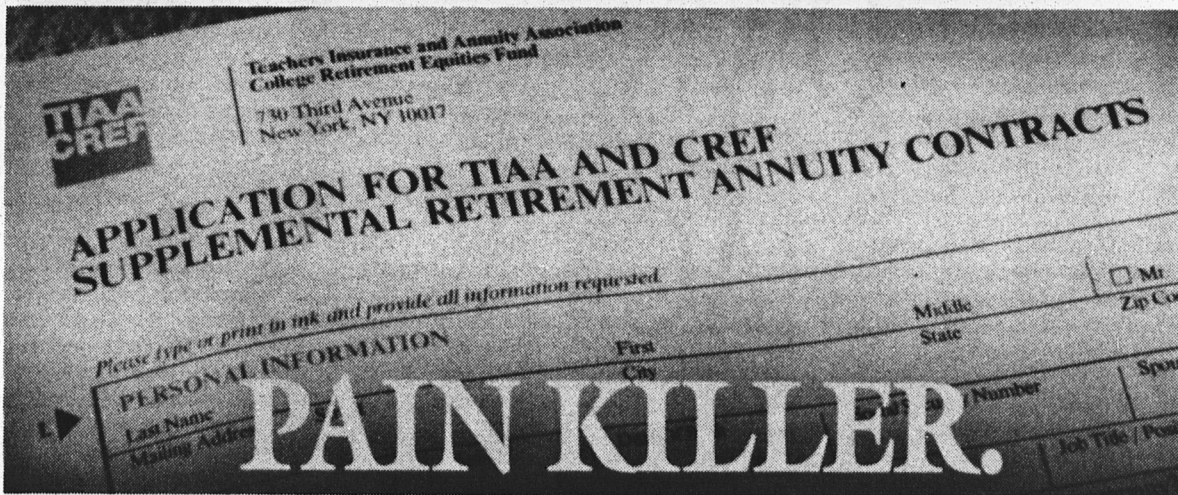
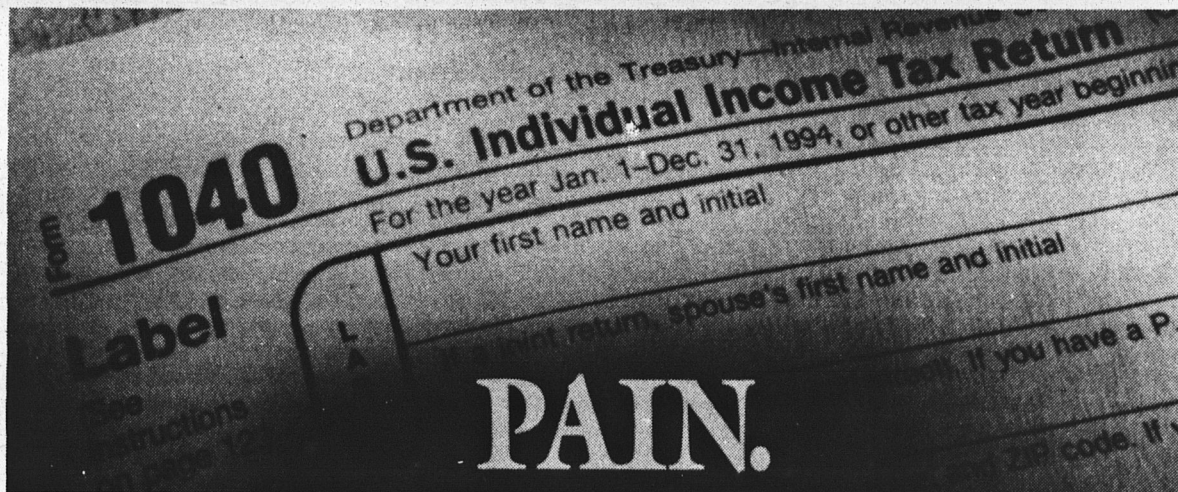


Despite the repeated calls from the stage for nonviolence the police were "just doing their jobs" and applying the laws which repressed students rights to protest.

Defend the Student Activist

Between the March 23rd rally and the hunger strike activities on April 11 there were over 100 students arrested for various charges. The only crime that these students committed was to protect their education. Both the NYPD and the CUNY administration is responsible for these legal charges. Come out and support these students. For more information drop by the College Voice office (BLDG 1C Rm 230) or call 982-3091

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PATAKI SLAMMED BY ANGRY CROWD AT SI PUBLIC MEETING

By JP Patafio & Vimukthi Jayadeva

On Thursday, April 13 Pataki was drowned out by Staten Islanders angry about the devastating cuts the Governor is planning to inflict on jobs and public services. The Wagner College hall was packed with close to a thousand people. This engagement which Pataki and his waterboy Molinari planned as a pep rally for the Governor's policies was overwhelmingly and quite vocally against Pataki's "tough love" cuts.

The transit workers of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) led by Larry Hanley made an impressive act of resistance in mobilizing close to 500 workers to protest the austerity measures of the government. Walking into a crowd of angry school bus drivers, who earlier in the day staged a wildcat strike in response to the Mayor's union busting tactics, the Governor waded to a few supporters in the first few rows, the only ones seated in the . . . With the chant, "Hey Hey! Ho Ho! Pataki's budget has got to go!" it took over a half hour before the meeting could begin. Not even BP Molinari, whom many workers said they voted for but now felt betrayed by, could reign in the crowd, and at one point began a war of words with the workers. The reception at Wagner College was the harshest he has received in his statewide tour to promote budget cuts. The Governor's poor reception was made even more bitter considering that Staten Island carried most of his votes in the city, and is

generally recognized as the most conservative of New York City boroughs.

Once the question and answering period began speakers supporting the Governor were few and far between. Most of the speakers expressed outrage and dismay over the cuts to Medicaid, healthcare, education, and transportation. From handicapped speakers who depend on Medicaid and other public healthcare facilities, and school bus drivers to CSI students, each speaker demanded that the cuts be withdrawn. Even Pataki supporters criticized his budget proposal.

The Governor cited abstract facts and figures to persuade the audience that their concerns were unfounded and that in fact his budget cuts, remarkably, will create more jobs, better healthcare, and more educational opportunities. When dealing with cuts to SUNY and CUNY Pataki cited some "upstate professor" making \$100,000 dollars a year, however, he was reminded that over 50% of CUNY faculty consist of cheap adjunct labor that receives no benefits and have no job security. When CSI student, Sarah Husain, remarked that the government should tax those Fortune Five Hundred millionaires that reside in Manhattan, and the Wall street bond and stock brokers, the Governor responded with that old Wall Street spiritual - "taxes will only scare business across the river." Husain stated, "The Governor and Mayor are willing to fire tens of thousands of state and city workers in order to keep finance capi-



Hundreds of ATU union members showed their strength and ability to change the course of politics.

tal in the city, along with a few hundred jobs. I find it repulsive that the richest class in society receive preferential treatment, which some call corporate welfare, while working people are told to share the burden of pulling the economy out of these bad economic times. It's time that students and workers set the agenda for future public policies." When Ms Husain exclaimed that neither Republican nor Democrats serve the interests of working people the microphone was forcibly removed from her hands by a Pataki/Molinari apparatchik

The most impressive aspect of the event was the strength of organized labor. Due to the objective position of labor in capitalist society these once supporters of the

Mayor, Governor and Borough President because of ethnicity and race are now one of the most militant organized sectors of the workers in the city.

The ATU school bus drivers working for the Board of Education were at the "town meeting" to vent their anger at the complacency of the Staten Island assemblymen and state senators towards the attempt made by the Guiliani administration to bust their union. The sudden swing in support against the Governor reveals the antagonism that exist beneath the superficial "identity politics" of race and ethnicity. The workers were no longer thinking of

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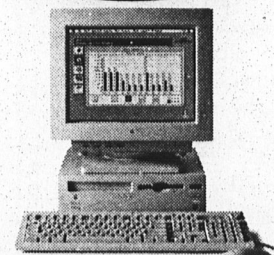
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What is Racism?

An Exercise on The Futility of Both Liberal and Conservative Recipes for the Diagnoses and Cure of Racism, and Other Forms of Bigotry

By George Rozos

Trying to answer the question posed by the title in an intellectual exercise may appear superfluous in view of the painful experience of racism which has to be confronted in everyday life. One may feel satisfied that experience alone is a good enough guide in identifying racism, and that an analytical pursuit of its definition is an unnecessary mental exertion. One

operation behind the conscious surface, of this process of socialization is not an idiosyncrasy of acculturation, but an important feature in the efficient functioning of culture. The unself-conscious socialization and the equally unself-conscious sociable and civilized behavior save valuable time and energy which can be devoted to creative tasks. The prime directive of social disciplines follows directly from these

with observation and what is ascertainable through scientific recording of the immediacy (or surface) of social phenomena, and a corresponding distrust of mediation, or theorizing, about what lies behind the surface.

It is, therefore, no accident that a culture preoccupied with the behaviorist surface has acculturated both the "decent layperson" and the CSI race theorist (lets call them liberal and conservative, respectively) - to a "quick fix" - throwing money at the problem of racism for the former, and pulling oneself up by one's shoestrings under the threat of incarceration or the gun for the latter. Under such circumstances a cultivation of detachment from the surface is a good prescription

- e.g., avoiding "unsafe" neighborhoods, "unpleasant" means of public transportation, "risky" real estate ventures in "deteriorating areas," etc. - as if they were the root of racism, when the real culprit is not color *per se* but stratification by color.

The discussion about hidden codes takes us back to the opening paragraph of this essay and the definition used for racism as "unpacking" of a concept, rather than a tractable, behaviorist dictionary-type-entry, definition of the term. The logic of the spatial analogy of surface—behind-the-surface has forced us to shift our discourse from the consideration of the definition of racism to the consideration of the concept of definition itself.

Whereas in the case of "unpacking" we have a historical or sociological approach, in which the meaning of a concept emerges fully at the end of the discourse, in the case of a formal dictionary-like definition its meaning is delineated succinctly at the very outset. Disciplinary approaches exemplifying this difference in definition are the historical-institutional and the legal-constitutional approaches, respectively, to social problems and racism in particular. Whereas in the abstract dictionary-type case the definition pre-structures the discourse that follows, in the concrete one - the definition as-a-form-of-unpacking - there is nothing to pre-structure, since the definition comes at the conclusion rather than the opening of the discourse.

Significantly, concepts which are vital for the behind-the-surface exploration of racism - e.g., equality, justice, liberty, humanity, and individuality - become elusive if we try to define them in their multi-dimensionality. Indeed, they remain elusive until we give up our effort to approach them concretely, cannibalize them, and hand out the pieces to specialized disciplines - ethics, law, economics, textbook sociology, and so on, which in turn proceed to tag them with abstract dictionary-type definitions.

Far from fortuitous, such cannibalization and dividing up of the spoils is consistent with the behaviorist spirit of our age. It is economically efficient, culturally functional for the stability of the prevailing system, ideologically sanitized, and academically legitimized by the methodological canon as disciplinary specialization. Its functional value for our purposes is that it defuses the explosive potential of concrete definition by allowing disciplines to assign abstract definitions to key concepts. This insulates disciplines by giving them a false sense of logical self-containment but,

Facts and events which constitute the surface of social experience (e.g., black unemployment, illegitimate births, crime, family structure, etc.) are meaningful only to the extent that they are transcended as sensationalist bits of everyday experience and reconstituted in terms of what lies behind the surface, i.e., the inner workings of prevailing institutions.

may further suppose that such an expenditure of effort in order to unpack the concept of racism is necessary only when the experience of it is not decisive enough in rendering its meaning clear. What more does one need as evidence of racism, one might still argue, than a cursory comparison between two low-income neighborhoods - one black and one white? Or, if one cares to move a little behind the visual surface with the help of statistics, one may wish further to compare a number of indices of standards of living - health, mortality, employment, crime, etc. - between blacks and whites. Assuming that no biological differences exist between races that manifest themselves in IQ, or other measures of success among races, the conclusion seems inevitable that the great inequalities in standards of living between races in our society is to be accounted solely by socio-cultural factors. Since, furthermore, the management of essential institutions dealing with education, socialization, and distribution of wealth is in the hands of whites, the charge of pervasive racism seems impossible to avoid.

Though this argument about the presence of institutional racism is essentially correct, it is incomplete and even misleading with respect to social policy. The pervasiveness of racism which a decent common individual identifies experientially, articulates intuitively, and criticizes in generally affective terms, needs to be reconceptualized by shifting the focus from the surface of racist experience to the behind-the-surface makeup of institutions which sustain such experience. In order to make some progress along these lines, one has to begin to get a glimpse of the vast interconnectedness behind the social surface of the seemingly disconnected knowledge and experience on the surface. For example, one has to follow up on the decent layperson's general diagnosis about the inherent (institutional) nature of racism in our society with the crucial question: What is precisely this insidious (invisible on the surface) way in which racism is built-in what, from all appearances, is a neutral institution? The answer lies in the detailed articulation of the components of a racist institution in their functional interdependence. This articulation transforms a political, or a bureaucratic, institution from a cluster of ostensibly impersonal rules about lawfulness, fairness, and objectivity, into an instrument of control and racist oppression.

It would be helpful in this connection to remember that culture, as an anthropological conception, is unitary and predominantly behind the surface. This means that what binds us together as members of a culture and produces those sociable and civilized traits upon which we act in daily life, have been instilled in us unbeknownst to ourselves over the long lifespan of our culture. Furthermore, the invisibility, or

important distinctions about culture: Facts and events which constitute the surface of social experience (e.g., black unemployment, illegitimate births, crime, family structure, etc.) are meaningful only to the extent that they are transcended as sensationalist bits of everyday experience and reconstituted in terms of what lies behind the surface, i.e., the inner workings of prevailing institutions.

When genuine theory (and not the commercial textbook anthropology and sociology of the overwhelming majority of our courses) is through with everyday experience, the latter is more true and coherent than what it appears to be to either common sense or scientific observation. Sociological and physical theory can be viewed as systematic studies of deception, but sociological theory is in addition a study of self-deception at the level of groups. While science uncovers the tricks played on us by Mother Nature, sociological theory unveils the deception induced upon us by ourselves.

In the light of this refresher of what true sociology and anthropology are all about, recent samples of academic thinking and writing about the politics of race in our campus, as well as those of outsiders to whom our in-house race theorists reverently refer for support, reveal a disconcerting lack of theoretical equipment. In parading image after image of black *anomie*, they mirror and reinforce patterns of surface-thinking, which run through our mass culture, as reflected in tabloid press and network coverage. Equally unsettling are their proposals for alleviating the condition of people of color. They place the blame for their condition not on American white culture, where it rightfully belongs, but on black sub-culture itself for lack of self-remedy, for not reconstituting itself along the lines of that of their white oppressors. No one with the slightest comprehension of the meaning of culture just outlined - i.e., holistically understood and operating for the most part below the surface of conscious awareness - would imagine any group - to say nothing of an underclass, or caste - being capable of planning its culture.

Though unrelated on the surface, the incompleteness of the decent layperson's diagnosis of racism, and the shallowness of the indecent prescription by the CSI theoretician of race for self-remedy, are very much related to what lies below the surface of our racist experience. They are both symptomatic of a more deeply ingrained mindset, which cuts across not only this experience, but academic thinking, efficiency in bureaucratic operation, profitability in the marketplace, and even the bulk of everyday behavior in a mass cultural setting. This mindset is induced by a cheap-think and quick-fix "philosophy" called behaviorism. Its principal tenets can be summarized as preoccupation

for both a better understanding and a more lasting remedy of the problem. Put differently, taking time off from a phony activism, triggered by a sway of the ugly surface, does not entail acquiescence, or capitulation, to racism. On the contrary, such intellectual stance (mediation) of (the immediacy) of bare experience supplies a firmer ground, from which to mount a more sustained attack on the scourge of racism and other forms of bigotry.

In the limited scope of this essay, I shall offer some samples of deeply embedded (hidden) parameters of what passes for scholarly discourse on race, but which, in fact, is no more than a scholarly face of racism. They are: the meaning of definition itself, which attempts to delineate subject matter; the closely related topic of division of labor between disciplines sharing in the discussion of racism; and some key concepts; with a disturbing affinity to science, which are tacitly presupposed throughout the analysis of racism. Hidden parameters resemble the hidden codes of a computer writing program which structure one's text according to certain pre-arranged rules. The suggestive part of this analogy is that unless one remains self-conscious about the hidden codes and ready to shift gear from the surface to behind-the-surface of one's text on a moment's notice, one plods along, taking the reality of the surface as the "real thing." In the case of racism, one recognizes only the surface-aspects of racism as evil. He, for example, continues to spout the commonplace and misleading definition of racism in terms of behaviorist stereotyping: Behaving toward another in ways pre-

The claim of equality before the law is conceptually no different than the claim of Social Security Administration that all citizens are equal in its eyes for having an equal number of digits in their social security number.

scribed by one's apparent attributes (color) to which he or she belongs. He acts as if this is the complete definition when in fact it is only a manifestation of the "real thing," i.e., institutionally embedded racism.

Even a cursory observation of the workings of our atomized mass culture shows that it is dominated by ephemeral encounters. Its efficient functioning rests - pious declarations about the uniqueness of the person and constitutional guarantees of individuality notwithstanding - on stereotyping, whether one wishes to give it the antiseptic (sociological) label of "typification," or the more scientifically respectable one of statistical inference. It is, therefore, symptomatic of deficiency in self-consciousness, and an ensuing culturally deep-seated hypocrisy, to direct one's attention to stereotyping in ephemeral encounters of mass cultural everyday life

above all, by keeping them within their turf and preventing them from reaching for their presuppositions behind the surface. Being an integral part of social order, institutionalized knowledge is not comfortable in the presence of concrete definitions, lest their unpacking disturb their self-perceived logical tidiness, and through it, their neat conception of social order.

The dismembered social concepts which pertain most directly to race relations are the abstractive definitions of equality, justice, and liberty. As it can be expected, after their dismemberment these concepts are handled in the legal-constitutional mode under the rubric of disciplines such as political science and law. It is the latter, rather than the concrete historical-institu-

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The Virtue of Remedial Programs at CUNY

By Robert Hollander,
CUNY Graduate Center

CUNY is regularly attacked for offering remedial courses in English language skills and mathematics. Remedial offerings, it is claimed, compromise CUNY's reputation by lowering academic standards in the curriculum. A level of proficiency should be a prerequisite of admission to an institution of higher learning, say these critics. Those without required skills should not be admitted. The attack on remediation is, in other words, an attack on open admissions.

The argument against remediation contains a simple fallacy and is further confused by the irresponsibility of CUNY's critics and the subterfuge of their political ends. That a university can only be judged by the lowest end of its curriculum is simply false. Offering remediation at CUNY in no way compromises its higher level offerings. The mere presence of remediation cannot prevent dedicated students from obtaining the high quality education CUNY has provided for decades. On the contrary, remediation brings that opportunity to many dedicated but underprivileged students who otherwise would be unable to take advantage of it.

By offering remedial courses, CUNY broadens its curriculum to provide a service unavailable in our failed public high-school system. If New Yorkers cannot learn to read and write in the distracting drug- and weapons-filled public high-school environment, why shouldn't they be taught in an environment conducive to

learning? The high-schools are filled with very young kids struggling to grow-up under our society's most adverse conditions. It's no wonder so little actual learning happens there. The CUNY colleges, however, are filled with serious working adults (75% of CUNY students work, 33% full-time) who have chosen to put some direction in their lives. College is about learning, thinking, questioning, sharing knowledge, expanding horizons, and working hard — very hard — to keep up and to get ahead. Drugs and violence are not a part of the scene. The role models are professors, not drug dealers. The college environment is exactly where we want our kids to be even if it's just to learn to multiply fractions and read a newspaper.

Those who wish to eliminate remedial courses offer no responsible alternative to them. If our young people are not to learn basic skills in college, and cannot learn them in high-school, what third alternative is there? Are we to consign an entire segment of our society to illiteracy? Is it to the benefit of this city that many of its citizens cannot read a newspaper to inform themselves of what is happening around them and to them? Does anyone really think that the answer to our urban woes is educational ghettoization? Not having an informed and critical citizenry may be in the interest of those who wish to maintain a stranglehold on political power, but it is not to the advantage of society at large. The members of civil society must be educated and informed or they will not have the wherewithal to bring themselves

successfully into the future. Self-determination cannot be replaced by paternalism, as our current administration well proves.

The City University is and should be unlike any other university: New York is unlike any other town. New Yorkers must understand that remediation is not a danger to CUNY. They must recognize the crucial need among the young of the inner city for remedial offerings, and they must recognize that the integrated college environment is the best place for a remedial program.

The Governor's proposed budget will do more harm to CUNY's reputation, standing, and standards than the presence of remedial programs ever could. Tenured faculty will be fired, making it increasingly difficult to attract high-quality teachers to come here in the future, knowing that tenure means nothing at CUNY. Professors' burdens will also increase. Downsizing will force professors to travel from campus to campus, making the job even less attractive.

Let's stop worrying about how the fulfillment of CUNY's mission will affect the maintenance of its academic standards. CUNY has proven time and again that an institution of higher learning need not be elite and exclusionary to offer the highest possible quality of education. It cannot continue to do that without reasonable funding. The downsizing of CUNY is not the solution to the problem of declining standards, it is the sole cause of the problem.

THE US LOANS AND ASSISTANCE TO MEXICO

By Criag R. Whitney

After a negotiation in late February that lasted for five days, American and Mexican officials agreed on a U.S. loan guarantee and economic assistance package of \$20 billion. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the other industrialized nations, under a veneer of benevolent concern for Mexico's plight, agreed to contribute \$32 Billion in economic and financial assistance.

All of this aid that is to be given to Mexico is, by no means, an act motivated by kind generosity. Even though many small incentives in America - the elderly, small business owners, ordinary working people - have their interests at stake in America's neighbor to the south, the diplomacy of reviving Mexico's beaten economy was performed mainly for the benefit of the tremendously wealthy who invested mightily on Wall St. through their brokers. Mexico is certainly not devoid of any important resources and does not possess a single-industry economy - a characteristic that plagues the Central American and Caribbean nations. Her vast oil reserves, emerging industries, large domestic market for U. S. products, and poorly organized, cheap labor force enable the large investors to receive huge returns on their investments. In other words, they are making much money south of the border. With the deceit of President Clinton's administration and its peculiar coalition with the "new" Republicans led by Rep. Newt Gingrich uncovered and observed, it's simple to understand why the U.S. government moved in its direction towards helping Mexico overcome its economic and financial difficulties.

Another part of the bargain is the American imposed austerity measures brought upon Mexico's shoulders. To insure the prompt repayment of the "loan" Mexico, revenues from PEMEX, the native oil conglomerate, are to be deposited directly in NY branch of the US Federal Reserve. Mexico must also curtail federal government spending in order to put an end to her deficit. Also dictated by the US is the restriction of the money supply in order to top debt payments by cheapened pesos (which effectively means that the payments are worth less than the amount originally borrowed) - a brilliant move financially beneficial to American banking interest. Furthermore, Mexico must regularly report to America about her loan repayment progress.

The peso devaluation on February 20 makes the Mexican economic picture appear even bleaker. The plan, marched by U.S. executive judgement, to erode the value of Mexico's currency, with intent for financial stabilization, led only to investor's and corporations from the U.S. and elsewhere withdrawing their capital from the country. The capital lending rates of the Bank of Mexico rose to 50% from 10%, inflation is expected to exceed 40% (considerably greater than the 16% rate in 1991). Workers in Mexico find it terribly troublesome, due to the inflation caused by the devaluation, to pay their rents, buy their food, and to buy other basic necessities. The Mexican working class, as a whole, feel the threat of unemployment hanging over their heads and 250,000 of them already lost their jobs, swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Holders of small, family based farms are mortgaging their land and selling their livestock and equipment just to preserve some solvency.

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Institutional Racism

continued from previous page

tional ones, which are intellectually more tractable and easier to implement in terms of law enforcement. The institutional approach to social problems, on the other hand, represents a holistic corrective to fragmentation. Whereas the liberal recipe consists in making progressive laws and the conservative in unmaking them, the radical's priority at this juncture is to investigate institutions in their integrity. If social problems are thus approached thinking, one soon realizes that a legal-constitutional approach to a social problem is only a part - in fact, the more shallow dimension of it. This does not entail trampling over people's rights, but rather the recognition that abstractive legalism, or constitutionalism, is intellectually useless and politically reactionary, in the absence of the socially and historically concrete method of institutional analysis.

To pursue the unveiling of the hidden parameters of racism one step further, the legal-constitutional approach presupposes an abstract notion of individuality no different in principle than the abstractive methods of modern science. The claim of equality before the law is conceptually no different than the claim of Social Security Administration that all citizens are equal in its eyes for having an equal number of digits in their social security number. If the affinity between abstractive science, on the one hand, and justice and law, on the other, in terms of abstract equality before the law and, correspondingly, indifference about content is mastered, then the shallowness of constitutional and legal remedies for an underclass can be better appreciated. For a poor black person (the form of) constitutional protection of prop-

erty, or guarantees for the realization of his individuality which presupposes property, are meaningless because he may have little or nothing (as content to pour into the legal form) to protect; or use as material foundation, for his self-realization. More than a century ago, Carlyle, a conservative who valued and practiced successfully the historical-institutional mode, took to task the liberals of his times for their hypocrisy vis-à-vis the working class, in what he scornfully referred as their demand for a "universal right to sleep under the bridges." Another great mind of the period, Hegel, also a master of institutional analysis - claimed by conservatives, liberals, and radicals alike as their patron saint - was unequivocal in stating that individuals are equal before the law, only to the extent that they are equal outside of the law.

On the opposite end of the ideological spectrum, Marx, in some of the most illuminating accounts in the history of the historical-institutional mode, showed how, a middle class, already class-conscious about its hidden cultural parameters, used the legal-constitutional mode - with all its familiar trappings of liberty, equality, and fraternity - to effect its class rule. Two centuries later, the same class has solidified its rule internally by attaining the coherence of a liberal culture, and has extended it world-wide by remodeling stratification by color from an internal to a global phenomenon. Marx also showed how it took a series of bloody revolutions, beginning at the end of the eighteenth century, for the bourgeoisie to uproot, not merely the political system, but the hid-

den cultural codes of the Old Regime, in order to establish its present hegemony. Whatever it may now take to dismantle stratification by color, I shall not venture to predict; but no matter what that may be, it is not likely to resemble the inanities of our in-house race theorists.

ATU faces off with Pataki

continues from page 6

the Governor's Italian background but of his support of union busting.

ATU workers urged members of the community to support their struggle to defeat Giuliani's wildly irresponsible attempt to bust the union and sacrifice training and safety at the altar of "competitive bidding" and cost cutting. The Mayor has threatened to use City Hall employees, with no training or experience, as scabs if the ATU workers do not accept the busting of their union. The ATU school bus drivers have announced that it will begin a city wide strike on April 24 to defend themselves and the school children that will be endangered by the Mayors' attack.

STUDENTS AND WORKERS UNITE TO STOP THE BUDGET CUTS!

Support the ATU against the union busting campaign and help organize support committees in case of a strike.

Whatever it may now take to dismantle stratification by color, I shall not venture to predict; but no matter what that may be, it is not likely to resemble the inanities of our in-house race theorists.

Tough Love Cuts for People with AIDS

Social Darwinism in Government Policies towards the Sick

By Travis Barr

The new Republican administration has been slashing services for the poor, the disabled, and just about anyone else making less than \$100,000 a year, with the claim that they're showing "tough love" and that fending for ourselves is a virtue

will be spared these cuts, there is no way of enforcing such an exception. He is limiting Home Care to five hours a day when people in the final stages of their illness often require 12-14 hour supervision, and, moreover, people who are sick may simply find it easier to hospitalize themselves

have the same sacred appeal in the American tradition as does putting poor women and people of color in their place. But we should count people with AIDS right up among those other oppressed groups as particular targets in this latest round of rollbacks.

security benefits take 18 months to kick in, and most drug users with AIDS don't even live that long after diagnosis. This means that symptomatic substance abusers will be left out in the streets panhandling money—or forced into criminal activity—as a means to survive.

So this is not a cost saving measure; it is purely an ideologic attack on the notion that the state has an obligation to provide for the welfare of its citizens.

we should aspire to. The effect of these cuts on people with AIDS reveals just how cynical and dishonest the rhetoric can be. While it's heartless enough to expect someone with two kids who is trying to go to school to also work full time, it's entirely appalling to suggest that people who are sick and can barely get out of bed should be able to survive on their own income. Of course, nobody's saying that explicitly. But it is implicit in the Medicaid policies recently proposed by the Republicans, and if these cuts go through, poor people with AIDS will die a lot faster.

STATE LEVEL CUTS

The Pataki Administration's first AIDS-related proposal was to cut funding for needle exchange sites in New York State. Volumes of research show that these and other programs cut the spread of AIDS among IV drug users by fifty percent without increasing the use of IV drugs. In fact, the work that needle-exchange workers do in referring their clients to treatment programs has actually lowered the use of IV drugs, although this is not really true for New York City because there are no readily available treatment programs to speak of. Needle exchange programs are, in fact, quite cheap to run, New York State programs cost \$2-3 million and probably save tens of thousands of lives every year from HIV infection. So this is not a cost saving measure; it is purely an ideologic attack on the notion that the state has an obligation to provide for the welfare of its citizens.

Next, the Administration proposed allowing Empire Blue Cross to push a 43% rate hike on its customers. Empire Blue Cross is currently the only insurance provider in New York offering individual plans to people with AIDS. Typically, a person with AIDS will pay about \$4000 in premiums, plus \$1000 deductible and \$2000 as 20% co-payment on the next \$10,000 dollars, for a total of about \$7000 per year. Under the new plan, that total will reach \$9000, making even more people with AIDS unable to afford decent health care and pushing them onto Medicaid.

Far more devastating are the Medicaid and General Assistance cuts. People with AIDS have to wait for 18 months after their diagnosis before being eligible for Supplemental social security Income (SSI) from the federal government. New York State's General Assistance program has always provided income to people with AIDS in the intervening time, so that they would not fall through the cracks. Pataki is now proposing that General Assistance be limited to 90 days per year (and Giuliani, not missing a beat, asked Pataki if it could be further limited to 90 days every two years, just to save the city a few pennies). This will effectively lead people with AIDS having to fend for themselves through 12 to 15 months of illness, and, given that the majority of people with AIDS in New York City are IV drug users, many will be lucky to live 18 months after diagnosis.

Meanwhile, Pataki's cuts to Home Care will force many people with AIDS into hospitals or nursing homes for treatment. Although he is claiming that people who would otherwise require hospitalization

(or to simply give up on many forms of health care) than to visit a hospital each day. However nursing homes are not required to accept any patient—they particularly dislike people with physical illness—and meanwhile, the Administration is proposing a moratorium on nursing home construction. Go figure.

The Home Care cuts are particularly dehumanising for people with AIDS, since most die in their homes among their family or friends. Because they will turn people with AIDS to hospitals or nursing homes, they are not a cost saving measure, even though they are billed as "cuts." They are however, an ideologic precedent to further cuts in social programs: they save the rich on taxes and begin to send the message to the rest of us that we should expect less from our government.

CITY LEVEL CUTS

Sixty percent of New York City residents with AIDS rely on the public hospital system for care. Giuliani's new budget cuts will sell 3 of 11 hospitals and eliminate 1,000 of 8,000 beds. In addition, many hospitals will not be able to live up to the standard of care required to treat several diseases affecting poor people, such as tuberculosis (my personal opinion is that the city government is begging for a massive TB outbreak which it won't have the resources to treat). Without access to public hospitals, and with ever-shrinking treatment programs, people with AIDS in New York City may be left to die from treatable opportunistic infections.

As if to give the AIDS community a hint, Giuliani has just put one of ACT UP's worst enemy's, Fran Reiter, in charge of AIDS for the City. Readers may remember that about a year ago, when Giuliani was trying to eliminate the city's Division of AIDS Services, and hand picked a group of "community" representatives (A few of them genuine) for a "restructuring" panel to come up with a proposal. Last summer, after panel members in the AIDS community protested that it was not being democratically run, Reiter disbanded the committee. A few weeks ago, she enacted a plan to get rid of half of the 800 SRO hotel spaces (these "hotels"—generally one room apartments in deplorable, are the only housing option for people with AIDS, since they are prevented by law from staying in shelters) on the upper west side for people with AIDS by June. Although she claims they will place them into SRO's in other parts of the city "by attrition," i.e., as people die, it remains to be seen if they can get 400 people to die in 4 months. And, once these spaces are eliminated, newly-diagnosed people will have nowhere to go, and will probably end up on the streets. Now as the city's AIDS point person, she has seized control of the IV Planning council and is expected to replace several of the community voices on the council with Administration hacks.

FEDERAL LEVEL CUTS

Although they are not an official part of the Contract on America, attacks on People with AIDS have been abundant in the legislation of the new Congress. They have also been relatively quiet: scoring political hits against the terminal ill just doesn't

First, Congress recently voted to eliminate the \$186 million Housing Opportunities for People With AIDS (HOPWA). The elimination was, in fact, retroactive: the program was eliminated not just for 1996, but for 1995 as well. HOPWA is the basis of funding not just for federal programs under HUD, but for most local AIDS housing programs as well. Moreover, the general cutbacks to HUD, amounting to \$7.2 billion, or 28% of its budget, will also affect people with AIDS through programs that are not specifically targeted toward them. Right now, the National Commission on AIDS estimates that there are 99,000 people who are either homeless or likely to become so. Since people with AIDS are prevented in many areas from staying in homeless shelters, these cutbacks will dump them out into the streets with unprecedented brutality.

Second, the specter of mandatory testing is looming larger: The Ryan White CARE Act is the main source of treatment money for AIDS victims at all levels of government; it is distributed on local levels by HIV Planning Councils (known to activists as "AIDS Mafias") and used for every variety of treatment program. The Act itself is set to be cut back, but even more insidiously, there was a rider tacked on to this year's re-authorization bill stating that any locality that accepts Ryan White funds has to have mandatory HIV testing of pregnant women.

The justification for such mandatory testing comes from a trial last year (Known as ACTG 076) that showed that AZT reduced the mother to child infection rate threefold. What the trial did not examine is the long term effects of AZT (which inhibits cell reproduction) on infants; nor did it test other, less toxic techniques available, such as the "vaginal wash". There were

I am hopeful that this movement will grow, and that as it grows, the rank and file will force the kind of militancy that can defeat these cutbacks and prolong the lives of many people with AIDS who are now slated to die even sooner and faster.

other ambiguities as well; for example, it was not clear that AZT reduced the transmission rate in women with low viral loads. In effect, the trial is being used to prematurely herd HIV-positive pregnant women onto AZT. What I fear most is that women who refuse to take AZT will, following the precedent of the Florida woman who was jailed for being a crack addict during her pregnancy, be charged with "endangering a fetus."

The other ominous implication of this rider is that we may be losing the battle against mandatory testing. There are other indications: for example, in February when Olympic diver Greg Louganis came out as HIV-positive, the media focused not on his amazing career, but on whether or not he endangered pool workers by spilling blood in a diving accident and not revealing his HIV status. I suspect that the criminalization of people with AIDS will become an increasingly common phenomenon with the full support of the media.

Also under the pending welfare "reform" legislation, IV drug users and alcoholics will no longer be considered disabled. This disability funding has been a means for substance abusers to survive after their AIDS diagnosis, since social

security benefits take 18 months to kick in, and most drug users with AIDS don't even live that long after diagnosis. This means that symptomatic substance abusers will be left out in the streets panhandling money—or forced into criminal activity—as a means to survive.

AIDS activists have begun to fight back as best as we can. ACT UP, along with some of the more political AIDS service organizations such as Housing Works, has been getting as many people into the streets as often as possible. Still, especially in the days when AIDS activism is no longer fashionable among the "in" queer crowd, these austerity measures cannot be defeated by AIDS activists alone—as most people in ACT UP are quite aware. Nor should these attacks be seen as limited to people with AIDS. The Republicans are sending a clear message that those of us earning less than \$100,000 a year—that is, all but the very rich—should learn to expect less: lower wages and fewer social services. The Democrats, meanwhile, essentially agree, even if all they're saying is that we should learn to expect less in moderation. It was Clinton, after all, who made national issues out of welfare "reform," tax cuts for the wealthy (when he re-defined the middle class up to the \$200,000 per year bracket), and expanding prisons instead of opportunities. We are all in the same boat no matter who runs our government.

What is required is a broad movement of working and poor people, from community organizations and unions, that will take to the streets in large numbers and threaten the corporations that run this country and its government. Such links are slowly being built, with hesitancy on the part of the bureaucratic leaderships of the unions and the many community groups to have more than an occasional picket. I am hopeful that this movement will grow, and that as it grows, the rank and file will force the kind of militancy that can defeat these cutbacks and prolong the lives of many people with AIDS who are now slated to die even sooner and

faster.

Travis Barr is a graduate student at Columbia, a member of Solidarity, and a member of ACT UP/New York

Come out and join students in defending the arrested students on May 8th and 9th. For more information drop by the College Voice office (BLDG

Administration Steps Up Its Repression

On the night of April 12, 43 students were arrested at the City College of New York. What was their crime? These student activists decided to go on a 72-hour hunger strike on campus grounds. The quick response to the demonstration from CUNY security, and the NYPD, points out some important facts that make clear the role of administration.

The students did not threaten to take over a building, no doors were locked, nonviolence was in order and the students acted peacefully. The hunger strike tactic is one of the most passive forms of resistance and does not threaten the daily functioning of the college, so why would administration call in the NYPD to assist their own police force, better known by administration's florid style, *Public Safety*? The sole purpose would be to stifle any support that the political action may have gathered. Rather than let the hunger strikers garner support, the administration decided to deal with them the same way police dealt with the student protestors on March 23 - with the use of force and intimidation.

The student protestors at City College had informed the local administration of the action that was to take place, and requested permission to stay in the building over night. They were denied twice by City College President Moses. When members of the College Voice went up to support the students shortly after 11PM the President of the College had already summoned the S.A.F.E. team, a special squad of CUNY police (reported in the last issue of both the *Voice* and *Banner*). The students were in high spirits, with arms locked, sitting peacefully inside the lobby chanting slogans and talking about the abuses of authority. It was obvious that they had no other plans but to continue their hunger strike for the remaining 72 hours they had planned. However, even this peaceful action could not be tolerated by the Central administration. The fear of community and city-wide support spreading throughout the 18 CUNY campuses was too much. The administration had to show their superiors, at City Hall and in Albany, that they can "get the job done," and keep those unruly students under control.

This event coupled with administration's latest move to introduce the newly formed "retrenchment committees" reveals their antistudent, anti-staff/faculty role. It seems that the administration's strategy of fighting the cuts is to figure out the best way to implement them. The *raison d'être* of the "retrenchment committee" is to fire people, reduce classes, reduce services, and raise tuition in the most humanistic way. We demand that administration drop all charges against each student, and that the retrenchment committees be boycotted by faculty, staff and even local administration.

Build a Coalition to stop the Cuts!

All the talk, all the smiles, all the pseudo-support from Administration and Chancellor (W.A.R.) will not do an ounce of good for students or workers, now or in the future. Students must come to this realization as soon as possible that the letter writing scheme of NYPIRG and administrators will not help in the least. Mass demonstrations with students and organized labor is the only action that the State Assembly and the community will take notice of. If this reality is not recognized soon, students will have to learn the hard way. For some, that will mean an end to their education. Such mass demonstrations demand organization. At this point the best organization is a coalition where different groups can come together to forge the broadest and strongest movement. Presently only one such coalition exist, CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts. Despite its shortcomings this coalition stands by a nonsectarian strategy of organizing students around a set of demands and a strategy of generalizing the struggle through solidarity and co-sponsoring mass demonstrations (such as March 23rd and April 4th.) The Coalition is only as strong and effective as the number of people who participate. If you, student, staff or faculty, are interested in securing your right to an education, a job, and the political right to determine the future of this society come by the Voice to find out about meetings, events and literature concerning Coalition politics and events.

Facutky Union Responds to Mayor and Governors Remarks Concerning the March 23rd Rally

On March 28, 1995, the Executive Committee issued the following release, copies of which were sent to the Governor, Mayor, Trustees, Chancellory, media, college governance leaders, legislators. You are invited to copy and use:

As scholars and teachers we have a commitment to the truth. The Governor and the Mayor have a political investment in concealing and distorting the truth. We, as public university faculty, are among the few people expressly paid by the taxpayers to seek and to tell the truth.

On March 23, Governor Pataki, echoed by Mayor Giuliani, misrepresented reality. Faculty and students participated in one of the largest peaceful marches and rallies in New York City history, opposing draconian cuts to higher education. Their behavior continues a respected tradition incorporated in the United States Constitution. In reaction to this protest, the Governor's response, supported by the Mayor, was false and misleading. Neither the administration nor the faculty called for the cancellation of classes. Students were not ordered to participate in the rally. Were the Governor's allegations correct, 213,000 CUNY students and 6,500 CUNY faculty would have assembled. CUNY operates from 7:00 A.M. to 11 P.M. at its twenty campuses, and classes met as scheduled.

Equally false and misleading were the Governor's recommendations for clos-

ing the budget gap that his proposed budget would create. Were the Governor's fiscal assumptions about increasing faculty workload, abolishing sabbaticals, and expanding class size correct — AND THEY ARE NOT — the purported savings do not add up to the \$168 million-dollar cut which he has called for. This cut represents over 25% of the State's contribution to

CUNY's budget, as compared to cuts of 4% to other State agencies. The cuts ignore the history of the previous five years, a period during which student enrollment increased by about 15%, full-time faculty declined about 25%, and the State contribution to the base budget was slashed by millions of dollars.

Since 1989 students have borne the costs of steadily rising tuition and fee payments. Thus, the expense of public higher education has shifted from the State to students and their families at a university where two out of three students are working their way through college. Indeed, more than half the student body comes from families earning less than \$25,000 a year. The Governor and the Mayor omit the fact that New York State already ranks only 47th in the nation in its support of public higher education. This proposed budget would drop us even further.

The Governor and the Mayor accuse CUNY faculty of "playing partisan politics."

As citizens we have the obligation to protest the Governor's budget. As scholars we have an obligation to speak truth to power.

THE COLLEGE VOICE

The College of Staten Island Student Newspaper

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National Student News Service, 1995

From where does the violence begin, and how will it end?

"When people of wealth urge the use and show of force, quick death, swift revenge, then it is to protect a little spot of private security against the resentful millions from whom they have filched it, the resentful millions in whose hearts the dream and hope of security still lives."

Richard Wright, *Native Son*

By JP Patafio

To understand the reason for the violent clashes at the March 23 with the police more clearly we must understand how the political economy of capitalism initiates violence in our society. The clash between the police and the students on that day was preceded by insipid economic violence that permeates throughout our society. On that day working people demanded that their education not be taken away. Like millions of other New Yorkers threatened by these cuts, the students understand that an injustice once again is taking place. That once again the rich are receiving privileged benefits from the government while working people are subject to laws undermining their future.

Despite record breaking trading at the stock exchange, and a profit rate increase of 43% last year for the richest corporations, the intensity of the attacks upon the working class is increasing. For some people the inverse trend seems to be a contradiction. The logic of bourgeois pundits and politicians is that with increased profits the wealth will trickle down to the plebeian masses causing an increase in their standard of living. However, what Marx had written over 100 years ago still holds true today, as the profits of the capitalist class increase the exploitation and oppression of the working class will increase to the same degree. This is the law of capitalism, and it is from this starting

point that the glaring violence in the streets between the police and working people will be understood for what it is - class struggle.

It is no surprise that the cuts forced upon CUNY are initiated by the same banks forcing people around the globe to work under slave conditions for miserable wages. Through such illustrious humanitarian institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, Third World nations economies are "restructured" so that the big banks can be paid back (or more precisely that the interest rates on their loans be paid back.) Here in the States the same economic policy is enforced upon the working class. In both cases people are placed in tense ridden situations where making ends meet has become increasingly more difficult.

The never vanishing, always swelling "deficit" that the government repeatedly grapples with is caused by the reduced amount of taxes received from the wealthiest people in society coupled with the debt owed to the banks (the loans that financed the construction of the new CSI campus, via the New State Dormitory Authority, is now part of the \$11 billion dollars of debt owed to banks such as Chase Manhattan Bank.) We can be rest assured that the only pressure these people endure is the itch of increasing their profit rate.

The politicians repeatedly resort to the

City's "budget deficit" for justification when implementing austerity measures aimed at the working class. The deficit is not the responsibility of the working class, but solely falls upon the shoulders of the capitalist (finance and multinational corporations). Yet working people are asked to "share in the burden of ending the deficit," while the banks collect millions upon millions from the government, via increased taxes for working people (e.g., tuition). Such hypocrisy makes it clear to people who's interest the state is serving, and this is all the more reason why working people must seize control of the state.

In the last twenty years working people have seen real wages decline and the cost of living rise. Also, government spending on social programs (i.e., health care, education and transit) have decreased coupling the misery and increasing the violence in their lives. Though welfare recipients are the favorite targets of the politicians and media (due to their position in society as permanently unemployed, or *lumpen-proletariat*, they are the most vulnerable; they can not strike from receiving welfare,) the real target for the politicians is the living standard of the working class.

The stress of a single working mother who is working a full-time job will not be alleviated by the cuts to her daughters education, or if her nursing job is eliminated only to be replaced by a lower paying job with inferior benefits and longer hours. The social relations forcing people to bear such violent conditions is what makes people join mass demonstrations to reverse the attacks upon their lives

From Mexico to New York working

people will fight back

In Mexico the peasants in the Chiapas region, better known as the Zapatistas, revolted against NAFTA and other austerity measures taken by their government at the behest of US banks and Wall St. brokers (of peoples lives.) Literally fighting for their lives, these courageous people fought with wooden guns against the US armed Mexican army. The chance for their victory is bleak if left by themselves, for the wooden guns that they carry are no match for a well financed army.

The need for these peasants to revolt was based in the fact that the land they depend upon for their livelihood was being taken away by some rich capitalist. The jobs that they had, the schools for their children and the living conditions of their community are utterly degrading. With the understanding that the miserable conditions in which they are living are not products of uncontrollable natural forces or the decree of some omnipotent god, but the result of man made decisions, they decided to fight back. To fight for basic human needs! Despite the differences in degree and severity between working people of New York and Mexico, the same class antagonisms exist forcing people to fight back.

The violence of these deadly conditions is the prelude to the taking up of arms, something that each and every one of us would do to protect our loved ones and the existence of ourselves. The violence of poverty is not as easily jotted down statis-

The following is a press release by the CUNY Coalition in response to corporate media's coverage of the rally. Students, Faculty and elected officials held a press conference where this was read aloud.

Statement to the Press

Today, March 28, students from the CUNY Coalition against the Cuts joined other CUNY student groups, Public Advocate Mark Green and representatives of several elected officials at a press conference on the steps of City Hall. The press conference was called to respond to Mayor Giuliani and Governor Pataki's statements, and to media coverage of the events that took place in March 23.

The media's coverage of our rally, with a few notable exceptions, seriously misrepresented the event. The media have chosen to insist upon the isolated incidents of violence that took place. Furthermore, the media have exaggerated and belabored the role of the students in them. Finally, in spite of the fact that both the Mayor and the Governor's opinions on these issues have already received detailed treatment in the media, the media have continued to highlight them, while consistently downplaying the demands of the demonstrators. Just as the Mayor attempted to silence us by force, the media attempted to silence us by print.

First and foremost, the students demand an end to the trend of disinvestment from CUNY, which has been intensified since 1989. The yearly rounds of cuts CUNY has been put through since 1989 has meant budget will have been cut close to 40% in 6 years. These cuts undermine CUNY's ability to fulfill its historic role of integrating minorities and recent immigrants into the economic, cultural and political life of the city. They also threaten CUNY's long-standing record of academic excellence, which has produced more top corporate executives and Nobel laureates than any other educational institution in the country. Students wanted to be heard loud and clear: full funding to meet enrollment must be provided. They will not stand by and watch their University turned into a trade school system.

The students' insistence on reinstating free and open admissions in CUNY comes from a deep-seated conviction that the state's responsibility to guarantee equal educational access can only be properly fulfilled through funding of public higher education. Students believe that proposals attempting to solve fiscal problems through the centralization of programs at specific CUNY campuses do not address the devastating implications this will have on students' educational opportunities. They also fail to take into account the positive role that many campuses play in otherwise seriously economically depressed areas. Just as deplorable is the attack on remediation programs, for it is the City and State's own failure to educate at elementary and secondary levels that creates these needs. Why should those hurt by the government's incompetence be punished twice?

Students assert that the budget crisis is largely created by State policies which cut taxes for corporations and the most wealthy. The Governor's tax cut will amount to about a \$20 tax savings for the average New Yorker, while dramatically increasing the cost of higher education and reducing other vital public services. Students argued that these cuts represent a continuation of the State's attempt to renege on its responsibility to provide public goods - education, health care, social services etc. Already New York State ranks 47th in the nation the percentage of state taxes spending on higher education. Students insist that the State is using public spending as a straw man to divert attention

The following letter was sent to the Mayor and Police Commissioner by the CUNY coalition in response the harsh and repressive measures taken by the government against the political protestors. The democratic right to assembly, and free speech against governmental policies is something that should not be taken lightly and must be protected and expanded, not looked upon apathetically and decreased. These two documents were prophetically written on March 20, three days before the mass demonstration in which dozens of students were arrested and brutalized by the police.

We are writing to express our deep concern over the New York City Police Department's unprovoked attack against several Hunter College students on Wednesday March 15, 1995. These students were participating in a peaceful, non-violent demonstration to bring attention to the proposed cuts to higher education. Based upon our conversations with eye-witnesses and our review of news reports and video footage of the event, there can be no doubt that the Police Officers in question attacked the students without cause as they were in the process of leaving the area. Such behavior is unacceptable.

As you are well aware, the CUNY Coalition will be holding a peaceful rally and march on March 23, 1995 at 12:00 P.M., which will convene at City Hall. The march will proceed from City Hall to Lower Manhattan. We expect over 7,000 students, faculty, parents, union members and their leadership and elected officials to participate in this peaceful demonstration. Over 1,000 faculty and administrators will march separately to this demonstration via the Brooklyn Bridge walkway. Like demonstrations organized by the CUNY Coalition in the past, this demonstration will be conducted peacefully.

The CUNY Coalition has made a strong and public commitment to non-violent political expression and has organized a large number of well trained marshals and legal observers to ensure that the March 23 demonstration runs efficiently. Like the Hunter College students, the CUNY Coalition is exercising its right to peacefully make its concerns and positions known.

We urge you, in the strongest terms possible, to make a public commitment to not use violence to suppress the peaceful actions that will occur on March 23. You must send a clear and unequivocal message to your officers that violence cannot be used to curtail this demonstration. It is imperative that the Police Department not repeat the Hunter College incident. Acts of intimidation and violence will only heighten the tension that has already been created by the Police Department's previous acts of unprovoked violence.

Sincerely,
The CUNY Coalition

from the current revenue shortfalls created in large part due to the absence of a progressive tax program. Since close to two thirds of CUNY students work over 30 hours a week, their demand for progressive taxation is made as workers and tax payers. Students are adamant: the City and State must put an end to corporate welfare, and stop renegeing on their responsibilities to guarantee minimal standards of living for New Yorkers.

Contact the CUNY Coalition CSI chapter 718-982-3091; fax 718-982-3098

WHEN TRANSIT IS CUT THE WHOLE CITY BLEEDS

This statement was handed out by the opposition caucus, *New Directions*, of Transport Workers Union Local 100. For more information you can locate them at PO Box, 1346, Bronx, NY 10471 (718) 796-1986.

At the end of 1994, the NYC Transit Authority had a \$160 million surplus. That money was going to be used to keep the fare at \$1.25, to eliminate two-fare zones and to begin instituting discounted fares. Now, that surplus is gone. The Transit Authority is facing a \$3 to \$4 million dollar deficit. Service is scheduled to be cut. Workers will be laid off. The fare is going to increase. And the two-fare zones are staying. All of this is because Clinton, Pataki, and Giuliani are cutting the funds that go to the city's subways and buses.

The MTA is planning to close the Times Square, Dyre Avenue and Franklin Avenue shuttles at night. Most express buses will be eliminated. Stations will be closed. Maintenance will be "deferred". This will result in delays as subway cars, buses and signals break down. Over 1300 workers who run, maintain and clean the subways and buses may be laid-off. These cuts are aimed at the working people who keep this city working.

We're all told that the city and state deficits make these cuts necessary. But, these cuts are not necessary or inevitable. They are the result of choices made by Clinton, Pataki, Giuliani, and the MTA board.

Giuliani has granted over \$300 million in tax breaks to real estate developers. He's offering \$600 million to George Steinbrenner. But he says he can't afford to pay \$113 million so that schoolkids can ride the city's buses and trains to school.

Pataki refuses to pay over \$110 million owed the MTA so that he can pay for part of a tax cut that will push the state's finances into a deeper hole. The MTA board votes to cut nighttime service, but they still arrive at board meetings in chauffeur driven cars.

New York City needs more public transportation, not less. The fare should be reduced, not raised. This will encourage more people to leave their cars at home and to stay out of the uninsured vans that prowl the bus routes. Ridership is up and will keep rising if service is provided.

New York should not allow its governor and mayor to be deadbeats. They must pay what they owe! Then, cuts can be made in areas that do not affect bus or subway service.

Why does the Transit Authority need a marketing department? Cut! Do station managers add anything to the cleanliness of the stations? Cut! The labor relations staff has been growing as the workforce has been shrinking. Cut! Hundreds of millions are being poured into the MetroCard program which now won't even offer discounted fares. Cut!

We're all told that the city and state deficits make these cuts necessary. But, these cuts are not necessary or inevitable. They are the result of choices made by Clinton, Pataki, Giuliani, and the MTA board.

We realize that we are not the only ones being hit by these cuts. But we also know that public transportation, public education, public hospitals, CUNY, public parks, and social services are the victims of the same people making the same choices. They have chosen to cut the services that the poor and workers of New York City rely on while leaving the tax breaks and bond payers untouched.

We won't stand for it, and neither should you! We are transit workers who care about the quality of life in NYC. We oppose service cuts and fare hikes. We are fighting for adequate funding for health, education, housing, jobs and transportation.

Join us in demanding that Giuliani and Pataki pay what they owe!

Join us in demanding quality public transportation!

NO SERVICE CUTS!
NO FARE HIKE!
NO LAY-OFFS!
NO GIVEBACKS!

Victory Hath No Easy Path

By Marco Sainte

The rally on March 23, 1995 was a perfect example of how urgent it is to prepare for what's to come.

The grand demonstration on that day was a huge display of emotion, strength, energy...and power—The power of the cops. An entire army of them were present at City Hall surrounding the area, ready and willing to greet the protesters with force. It seems inevitable that there was going to be a clash.

Now I know that there are those who feel that the cops were there just to do their job (heh, they did their job alright). There are also those who dare to judge the protesters and the event, even though they weren't there. You know the ones: "I knew it was going to be violent." Well, to all those backstabbers, and also those who want to know what really happened, here's an account from one who was present.

To clear up any misconceptions and confusion—No, the rally was not intended to be violent. Of the police's intentions, who knows? Anyway, the rally started out well enough. Our demands for ending the budget cuts were expressed everywhere; our views were being fully expressed. Speakers were telling it how it really was. Chants were chanted, songs were sung and speeches were spoken, none of it soft and weak hearted. It was a truly militant, yet peaceful event.

And of course, everything was cool till the cops came around. And were they around. They totally surrounded us, closing off almost all exits and entrances to the park. The protesters didn't really notice until they tried leave. I, however, was lucky enough to have been in a tree all to myself during a small part of the presentation. While a speaker was on I looked out upon the sea of people and I noticed that the ring of cops around us wasn't as thin as

it had been earlier. The band of enforcers had thickened, offering no escape to the protesters. My anticipation of trouble increased. They had started back when the group from CSI had marched towards the site; many cops had gotten there way before we even got to the rally.

Now, everyone was hyped up and energetic, and one of the speakers came up and announced a march towards Wall St. We didn't have a permit, however we felt we had a right to march. I mean, we all yelled it out. OK, I'll confess, I didn't. I was too busy looking at the cops, who were ever increasing in number. I had a funny feeling that the cops would not make it easy for us, so I moved with caution.

The march did not get off with a good start. The cops had only one little opening for the people to go through, and eventually they blocked off the advancing crowd. An argument ensued, and that was my cue to get out. Eventually, as I was re-entering the park, the multitude finally was able to have a little march, and they started walking and chanting around City Hall. It was kind of beautiful, all the different people of all ethnicities and ages marching hand in hand. I was soon caught by another type of beauty. A Capoeira event (Brazilian dancing) went on in the park, sponsored by Hunter. Just to let you know just how peaceful the rally was.

I was mesmerized by the movements, until my eye spotted several people running. Following them, I was led to the front. There, another argument was being held, but this one was a lot more intense. The students were stating that they wanted to march towards Wall St. More accurately they wanted out. This was evident with the chant, "We want out!" The cops, however, had other ideas. When the shouts, chants and protests got too much for them, they attacked. I mean they at-

tacked! Mace was sprayed and the clubs was all over, injuring the college and high school kids alike. Chaos ruled!

The feeling I had in that moment of initial contact of nightstick and students bodies was indescribable. I heard this thunderous roar, but it was not a roar of anger, or hate. It was of fear. People were running everywhere, but mostly towards the front, where the line of aggression was rapidly advancing. And I was right in front of them. I did the only thing I could do: I turned around and walked away. With this technique I was able to get away unscathed.

I was thinking of how unfair the whole thing was as I was walking away. I mean, we didn't even want to mess with the cops. The speakers were constantly warning the masses to stay away from them, to avoid aggression. I recall one woman stating, "They are looking to put us in jail, or in a graveyard! Do not give them a chance!" Now it didn't matter.

The cops were not telling anyone in the park who was interested what was going on. One cop said there was just a slight disturbance, even though his walkie-talkie was blaring such things as: "officer down...student apprehended...I need assistance...etc.". Another said that the students were throwing bottles. Sure. After the whole thing started, that is.

The event didn't really come together for me until I got out. This was no easy task, for as I said, the cops had blocked the exits. I had to go behind City Hall to leave. I was lucky that many of the cops in the back had left to join the fray, so there was an exit for me to go through. Finally I was free.

I started walking back in the direction of the conflict on the side-walk, and I noticed

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What We Need to fight these budget cuts: A General strike!

By Tom Smith

The slogan of the March 23rd action was to "Shut the City Down." When we argued in the coalition for this slogan, we meant a one-day general strike against the budget cuts, by the working and poor people of New York City. We knew very well that it was impossible for us students to do that alone. CUNY students, by themselves, simply do not have the numbers, the organization, or the economic power, to pull this off. But as a result of March 23rd, we have begun to make this a possibility.

A few members of the coalition tried to restrain us from putting slogan. They said it would turn students off, because it was so impractical. But just the opposite happened. Huge numbers of students were willing to engage with the cops in order to march down to wall street. The media had to cover the event, and Pataki and Giuliani were forced; however idiotically, to respond. Now Al Sharpton and Dannis Rivera, both of whom are well connected to the democratic party, want to hold the same march, and have invited us to participate. We have made the powers-that-be stand up and take notice, even if their aim is either to diss us or coopt us to maintain their own power and prestige.

Note well the reason why we have so far been so successful. We ignored the pessimists, those who told us that we had to be restrained if we wanted to get "our" legislators to listen. In the first place, we knew that our legislators, dependent as they are on the rich, who want to recoup their falling profits by giving us pain, will never listen to us. The Democrats are just as hell-bent as the Republicans on enormous cuts in the budget: they are just a little more willing to soften the blows, here and there. And both parties are determined to make us pay another \$1000 in tuition.

These cuts are murderous, they will kill babies, old people, victims of AIDS and other debilitating diseases. They will force hundreds of thousands of people into unemployment, poverty, demoralization, and crime. How can anyone possibly believe that these maniacs are "reasonable," that they can be "persuaded" through lobbying to change their minds?

In the second place, we knew that our real audience was not "our" legislators. We tapped into the desperation and the discontent of the masses of students, discontent which is now formidable. AS A result, we have shown working people everywhere that they can stand up to these murderous budget cuts.

Now some of these same pessimists are telling us that a general strike is "unrealistic" right now. The "trade unions won't go for it."

We have to ask, Who? Who in the trade unions "won't go for it"? The rank and file, who, like the students, are outraged about these cuts? The general strike won't happen unless we tap into the anger of the masses of working people of this city. But the general strike is the only way that we can inflict the pain we need to inflict upon the rich, and their politicians, to make them back down, or even step down. If the working class makes a general strike, nothing gets produce, nothing moves, and nobody makes any profits.

If enough workers want a general strike, we can do it! All we need is enough organization and education. We encourage everyone to build strike committees in their workplace, locals, and unions. We can shut down this city, and show the rich and their politicians that we mean business!

How to Advance the Fight against the Budget Cuts

By Bart Meyers

Professor of Psychology, Brooklyn College

Our work will be facilitated if we can understand clearly the character and interests of those we hope to mobilize for this fight. This understanding will then have implications for the tasks that must be accomplished. I don't pretend to make the definitive statement on these questions; I do hope to provoke this necessary discussion though.

The college is composed of students, faculty, staff, and administration. For a number of reasons, the students are most central to the struggle. Their numbers are by far the greatest. Their future is critically dependent on education, which means that many will fight hard for its preservation. Most work outside of the university and therefore don't risk their jobs by protest activities. They have a lot of energy by virtue of their youth. On the negative side, students tend not to stay at the colleges for long periods, because of graduation or inability to pay tuition, and are then unavailable. Many have little or no political experience.

Faculty are the next most numerous group. Their ideas are valued by many students, and they have a lot of contact with students. Some of them are politically experienced, including fights for open admissions, against tuition imposition, and other issues directly relevant to today's issues. Many have chosen to teach in public university through political commitment. Through their organizations (e.g., their union, faculty senates, etc.) they can make statements that receive media attention. Well known faculty can also command media and public attention.

They often have information or access to resources because of their longevity at the colleges and their positions within them. On the negative side, they are often made cautious by the concern that their jobs can be jeopardized by campus protests activities. Their longer experience leads some faculty to patronize student or lose patience with them. Many faculty are expert in their fields but ignorant about the relevant political issues. Many have engaging activities (e.g., research, raising children, etc.) that leave them little time for political activity. Many are secure in their jobs and lack concern for others.

The staff have never been adequately mobilized for fights such as the one we are now in. But they could play a critical role because their jobs are on the line. They maintain the lighting and the plumbing, as secretaries run offices (including payroll, transcripts, etc.), and perform a myriad of other vital tasks. They are unionized and reachable. However, their jobs, too, could be jeopardized by campus actions, and they have long felt separate from students and faculty.

The administrations can play a limited role in this fight. Since their institutions are fundamentally threatened, they will do lobbying and related "legitimate" activities. The value of these activities should not be underestimated. At the same time, they serve at the pleasure of the chancellor who, in turn, serves at the pleasure of the people we are fighting. So there is only so much they will do, and, should it come to a question of maintaining "order" or campuses, they will do it.

continued on next page

CSI Faculty Needs to do More in the Fight Against the Cuts

By Sarah Husain

An estimate of 130 faculty and staff are to be laid off here at the College of Staten Island. Summer, evening and weekend classes are likely to be eliminated if the budget cuts go through. Unfortunately here at CSI the faculty are not doing anything, let alone the administration. The budget cut is not only balanced on the back of students but it is also balanced on the backs of the adjuncts: they are being fired. No matter how comfortable the full time and tenured professors are, come next semester courses will be cut and the class room size will definitely increase. These proposed cuts are the hardest cuts in the history of CUNY, and students expect that professors will be organizing, but unfortunately they are not.

About 15 CSI students organized a coalition against the cuts which held meetings every Thursday. Three open letters to the faculty were sent out by this coalition inviting them to participate and to help organize a fight back. The coalition understood the importance of the faculty's participation, and urged them to come to the meetings, as well as to announce in their class rooms the dates and timing of future demonstrations.

These cuts will not hurt the administration, who get paid \$100 thousand a year, in fact more administration openings are being created, and the staff and faculty positions are being cut. What the administration is doing is bringing in more security and police on the campuses to make sure students don't fight back the privatization of their education. This process of privatization and the increase of the bureaucracy only illustrates that the students, who are paying the double tax,

are eventually being ripped off. Instead of fighting back the proposed death penalty that the politicians are imposing on the working class students and adjuncts the faculty is only following the lead of the administration.

Tenured professors who are backed by the Professional Staff Congress (PSC) have more power to do something about the cuts, then the cheap labor adjuncts, but unfortunately they only have students plead to the politicians by encouraging them to write letters. Many students who feel that the letter writing doesn't work are restrained from going to the demonstration, thinking that their professors will mark an absence and that will affect their grades.

The importance of faculty's participation in fighting the cuts is very crucial to the students, especially here at CSI. This is crucial because they have a direct contact with students as well as great influence due to their position in the educational institution. The turnout of CSI students at the demonstration in city has been very poor. On March 23, where about 25 thousand students turned out, only 80 students went from CSI, on February 4 only about 10 showed up. One of the reason for this poor turnout is to be blamed on the faculty. Professors discussing the budget cuts with the students and encouraging them to organize can be a catalyst, instead of 10 students coming without the help of faculty, 100 can show with their participation. Otherwise when professors don't encourage the students to fight against the cuts, let alone tell them that they will be excused to go to the demonstrations it deters students from participating.

STUDENTS UNDER THE AX

As part of the nation-wide war on poor and working people that has intensified following the Republican electoral sweep, Pataki and Giuliani have announced massive cuts in New York state and city budget for higher education. The CUNY state budget is slated for a reduction of 25.7%; TAP grants will be reduced by 10% for full-time undergraduates, and eliminated altogether for graduate and part-time students; the SEEK program for the most disadvantaged students will also be scrapped; course offerings will be greatly reduced; large numbers of faculty and other staff will lose their jobs; and, in a system that once prided itself on free education for working-class youth, yearly tuition will be increased to the tune of \$1,000. The Giuliani administration is also planning deep cuts in the city education budget. These state and city cuts will have a devastating effect on deep cuts in the city education budget. These state and city cuts will have a devastating effect on education in the city, causing many, especially minority students, to drop out of school altogether.

Republican and Democratic politicians, along with the mass media, portray these slash-and-burn policies as a necessary and inevitable response to the region's fiscal plight. In fact, they represent nothing more than a big-time hatchet job performed in the service of New York's bankers, bondholders and big corporations. The austerity measures represent an escalation of the attacks on social services that began in the 1970's, and have been pursued by the Democratic state and city governments as well as the new Republicans administrations. Their purpose is to ensure that government remain "fiscally sound" from the standpoint of finance capital, i.e. that New York will be able to pay a healthy rate

of interest on money lent it by the banks and rich bondholders. At the same time that Pataki and Giuliani preach austerity to the municipal unions, students and welfare mothers, they are introducing a host of "incentives" and tax breaks for businesses, in hopes that they will be attracted to the region by increased opportunities to amass even bigger profits. These cuts represent a huge transfer of wealth from poor and working people to the rich, carried out by their faithful servants in public office.

These policies can be seen as "natural" and "inevitable" only by those who accept the insane logic of the capitalist system, which decrees that the majority of people are entitled to remain alive only so long as the capitalist class can reap huge profits from their labor. But the capitalist exploiters represent only a tiny minority of the population. One way they are able to maintain their grip on power is by setting various social groups against one another: men against women, natives against immigrants, employed workers against unemployed workers and welfare recipients, whites against blacks. They usually attempt to do this by attacking these groups one at a time. The most striking feature of the current Pataki/Giuliani offensive, however, is that they are attacking everyone at once. And it is precisely the wide scope of their attacks that also present a unique opportunity to fight back.

Students cannot fight back alone. This was clearly demonstrated in 1991, when the student strikes and building takeovers mounted against the last CUNY tuition increases went down to defeat. In January, Jose Elique, University Director of Security and Public Safety, wrote to Dr. Elsie Scott, Deputy Commissioner of Training for the NYPD, requesting crowd-con-

trol training for 22 to 30 specially selected campus police prior to the Spring of 1995. The administration expects trouble ...and is ready for it!

However, students don't have to look very far to find allies. Many students on city campuses, as well as their relatives, belong to municipal, hospital and other unions that are also directly threatened by these cuts. And it is precisely these unions that have the power to bring the entire city to a halt. Only by linking up with the organized labor movement, by becoming part of a wider, worker-based struggle, can student stand any chance of stopping the mad slashers of Albany and Gracie Mansion.

But such a united fight-back faces many obstacles. One obstacle is the notion that something can be gained by lobbying legislators in Albany or Washington. This strategy helps perpetuate the illusion that the politicians are mainly responsible to the electorate, when, in fact, their principal job consists in deceiving and manipulating the population in order to further the interests of the capitalist class, to whom they are really responsible. And, despite lesser differences between them, Republican and Democratic politicians ultimately serve the same masters. The last round of CUNY tuition increases were handiwork not of Republicans, but of Mario Cuomo, a stalwart of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The very same politicians who will shake the hands of student and faculty lobbyists today will call out of the police to crush student protests tomorrow.

Another obstacle is the bureaucracy that presides over the unions. These "labor statesmen" -with the inducement of hefty salaries and generous expense accounts- view the capitalist system with as much

religious awe as their many friends in high public office. They are entirely dedicated to working within the logic of their existing social order, and regularly collaborate with politicians and bankers to ram austerity down the throats of the workers they supposedly represent. They shun mass struggle in favor of reliance on Democratic Party politicians. More often than not, they see the possibility of common struggle with students and minorities as a threat to their conformable niche in capitalist society.

To unite workers, students and minorities in common struggle, and to clear their path of misleaders and false strategies, political leadership is needed above all. The Bolshevik tendency seeks to intervene in this struggle-as well as all other major social struggles- to build a genuine revolutionary leadership. We view victory in the fight against cutbacks not as an end in itself, but as part of a struggle for a socialist society, based not on profit but human need. Only in such a society will education be viewed as a necessity of individual development rather than, as it is today, a luxury for the few, or as a preparation for taking one's place as a cog in some capitalist money-making machine.

Demands:

Down with the budget cuts!

For class struggle to defend higher education!

For open admission!

For free tuition and full stipend for all students!

Break with the Democrats and Republicans!

Build a labor party!

This statement was released by CUNY members of the Bolshevik Tendency.

Advance the Fight...

continued from previous page

My conclusions about the tasks we have to achieve are conditioned by the above consideration of the groups on campuses. First, the urgency of student concerns, student political inexperience, and faculty and staff shortcomings suggests that we have important educational/propaganda work to do. We should turn out a series of one-page information sheets that deal with subjects such as the facts of the proposed cuts, the importance of the variety of methods for fighting the cuts, and the tax inequities that starve the public sector for funds that could well and reasonably support necessary agencies such as CUNY. (This last example is particularly important. Establishing the injustice of the budget cuts will mobilize inactive persons and strengthen the resolve of activists.)

Second, we must recognize that success depends on building a large political movement that will endure. A large political movement will initially bring many people to their first demonstration. If we believe that our struggle will not be won in a day, we must ensure that demonstrators decide to return for future actions and activities. To accomplish this, they must understand the reasons for the demonstration and not be led uninformed or un-

prepared into actions which the most militant participants advocate but which will drive away large numbers of demonstrators.

Third, we should focus on uniting all campus forces—students, staff, faculty, and administration—who are willing to work toward the same goal. It takes great effort, political sophistication, and discipline to work with people whose characteristics (e.g., age, status, ethnicity, etc.) differ, but it is important. Different groups may be able to work together on some but not all projects or work on the same projects in different ways. However, categorical dismissals of the contributions of any campus constituency (as opposed to justified criticisms of individuals) might sound attractively militant but, in fact, weakens out common struggle.

Fourth, we should emphasize in our information sheets, public statements, and political practice the importance of forming coalitions with groups outside of the educational sector but also dependent on public funding. It is clear that we have a common interest, and success depends on the people, resources, and political perspectives that broad coalitions can offer. Moreover, if we are serious about commit-

ment to long-term struggle, we have to realize that most students will not remain in academia and that many will in the future work in health care, legal services, housing, and other arenas that are in the same boat as us. The formation of coalitions will facilitate their future political work.

Fifth, the need for working with other forces does not stop with non-educational agencies dependent on public funding. We need to continue working with high school students, parents of current and future CUNY students, SUNY, religious congregations, and others. And yes, despite the fact that our immediate fight is with police and politicians, we have to construct a considered approach to them. Many of the police are CUNY students or graduates. Mayor Giuliani pitches them into battle with us in conflict with their real interests. We should work on that front with a leaflet for the police, letters to the editor, and public statements that argue for our common interest. We should hold no hope to persuade many. Similarly, while it is politicians who threaten to impose these cuts and others who will compromise on an unforgivably low budget, some few politicians will go down the line with us. Again,

rather than categorically denouncing politicians, we need to be discriminating and work with our allies among them.

Finally, we should not be afraid to be both compelling in our political analysis and militant in our demonstrations. Some will tell us that no one listens to words and that only extreme action count. Other will tell us that militant actions will lead people to close their ears to our arguments. In fact, both are necessary. We need to construct arguments for full funding of public needs (including education) that are so evidently just that our actions will be perceived as courageous rather than outrageous.



We must recognize that success depends on building a large political movement that will endure. A large political movement will initially bring many people to their first demonstration. If we believe that our struggle will not be won in a day, we must ensure that demonstrators decide to return for future actions and activities.

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Mexico ...

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A great deal of Mexico's current problems can be justifiably blamed on Salinas de Gortari, the former president of Mexico. His policies disguised the true economic situation from public view and contributed greatly to today's economic crisis. He discontinued the calculation of the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement (a guideline of deficit spending) and stimulated the economy by way of spending outside of the budget at the same time conjuring an image to the world - and to America in particular - of a sound economy reinforced by a sound and strict fiscal structure. To maintain the impact of foreign goods in the recent consumer spending boom, he fell back on Mexico's foreign currency reserves. Natural to his corrupt, deceptive nature, he kept the real state of the Mexican economy hidden from the public eye at home and abroad. He ignored the Institutional Revolutionary Party policy of devaluing the peso for the succeeding president, Zedillo, so he could begin his executive duties "fresh." Above all, he did not make the PRI, the ruling US backed party in Mexico for the last 70 years democratic and receptive to the people. Faced with a sharp challenge by the liberal Cardenas and his Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD), a recent split from the PRI, which has attacked the PRI for massive corruption, President Salinas campaigned on a platform of clean government. However the crisis plaguing Mexico stems from the surrendering of economic policy to the US and its International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) tools. The signing of NAFTA effectively placed all Mexican industry on the gambling table for Wall Street to play with and paved the way for this spectacular collapse. Mexico which previously had at least a semblance of independence is now a direct vassal of the US, with its most vital resources in hock to US banks. This state of affairs has provoked a militant response from the millions of desperately poor peasants particularly in the southern state of Chiapas. The EZLN popularly known as the Zapatistas emerged on the eve of the signing of NAFTA as a peasant based armed force to stop the PRI and US imperialism from deepening their hardship. The growing support for the Zapatistas and the increasing nervousness of Wall Street investors led to a violent crackdown on the orders of amongst others - Chase Manhattan Bank - by the Mexican armed forces against the people of Chiapas. Despite the hundreds of innocents killed because of their supposed connections to the Zapatistas based on the Nazi logic of destroying whole towns as punishment for acts of resistance, resistance to the PRI government and US imperialism has not abated

No Easy Path ...

how many of the bystanders had shocked looks on their faces. The closer I got, the more shocked people I saw. One woman saw me and spoke to me, saying, "Don't walk away! See what they are doing to the students, be a witness!"
 "I was in there, Miss, I've witnessed quite a lot already."
 "You were in there? They didn't beat you?"
 "They're still hitting the students?"
 "Hitting? They're beating them, spraying them with mace! My God, they're only kids!"
 Watching with her I saw students lying on the ground, badly hurt. There were paddy-wagons full of students handcuffed. It was a truly a pitiful scene.

I really don't want to explain how nine others and I were able to escape on our bus. The important thing to discuss was some of the events that took place in the fray. I found out about them afterwards, and they are not pretty stories. Cops on horseback were chasing students. One woman I know had to be carried out because of that. One high school student under the care of my father at his job had his face stomped out by one of "New York's Finest". He has a black eye, missing teeth and numerous bruises. And yet, the media is making it look like we started it.
 Which goes back to my original statement. We have got a long fight ahead of us, and it has gotten harder. Some students at CSI feel that movements such as

rallies will usually be violent, thereby labeling the cause and the people involved unjustly. The media has already labeled the event and us as such. There are many people who are now scared to move because of this. And the cops have already shown what they have in store for us, not to mention the city and state governments.
 It's time for us to realize how serious this really is. The enemy really means to do us in. We are gonna have to be tougher now, and smarter, for the date of our death sentencing is on the horizon. We're going to have to act fast and use our heads. It's time for us to organize, to unite and fight with vigor under one banner, for we are all in this together. But we better hurry, for we don't have much time left....

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MARCH 24: A Case of Yellow Journalism

By Louis Bardel

If you were an organizer of a student rally in New York City, what kind of media coverage could you expect? Well if the cops decide to bust heads, then you can rely on the media to hype up the fact that students and cops violently fought with each other. But, if you have a peaceful march down Broadway, and the rally is given a permit from City Hall, then coverage is scant at best, with only token pictures of the event. In both cases the coverage is consistently biased, choosing to cover the event with narrow-sighted vision, and long-winded quotes from politicians who are obviously the hired lackeys of the rich, and corporate elite.

Consider that both rallies were of equal magnitude, the event on March 23 had around 20,000 protesters, while the rally on April 4 had fewer participants, but had a march on Broadway, down to the South Ferry, and then up to Wall St.. Once reaching Wall St. approximately 8,000 protesters took part in a demonstration that affected commuting all around. Why wasn't the media coverage even remotely close to that of the rally on March 23rd? How often do 8,000 people march down Broadway?

The demonstration was not violent, the organizers of the rally did not give the cops an excuse to enforce their brutality this time by obtaining a legal permit. The march was a clear political statement that could not be detracted from. But in today's mainstream press relevant news is equal to non-existence. Gotham media is a consistently fine example of yellow journalism, repeatedly choosing "news" that is the most sensational and scandalous. In other words, if chaos is not created and the participants can not be slandered it will not make headlines. The media across the United States, across the world for that matter, and especially in the big cities, has turned out to be a tool for the rich man's cause. In the United States the newspapers are the left hand of the right-wing, and rich people whose interests are centered specifically around the well being and stability of the Wall St. Stockmarket. The New York Post, the Daily News, Newsday, and even every pseudo-intellectual's arm ornament, the New York Times are not the common man's newspaper. They are disciples of what Noam

Chomsky calls "manufactured consent."

In every newspaper covering the March 23 rally there were numerous, big, violent pictures of cops clashing with students. There were many pictures of demonstrators who fell prey to the police dept.'s mace spray attacks and billy club beatings (fights that were initiated by the NYPD). The media, on the 24 of March resembled a body counter during a civil war, rather than an objective news reporter. Objective means to cover both sides of an issue evenly, but if someone scans the bi-lines one only sees the opinions of Giuliani and Pataki, the injury count, and all the reasons why students should not have been out during school hours protesting. There was no mention of how organized the rally was, nor how long before the rally the students were preparing for it, and there was absolutely no mention of the rally's demands, demands that any student who was there would support. Pataki blamed school administrators for what happened that day, accusing school officials of using unfair scare tactics, but this also is false. In fact, school administrators are the student's worst enemy, any reporter worth his salt knows that. The rally on the 23rd of march happened because of grass roots student activism, not through some beauracatic lobbying or letter writing techniques. The idea that there is a growing student movement being created in the city is the last thing that would appear in a New York newspaper.

Is it not significant to know that thousands of students want an end to tuition hikes, that thousands of students want to see a more progressive tax structure so that CUNY can be made free again. Isn't it important to know that thousands of students, thousands of poor and working class families want no part of the New York city and state debt. A debt that is not the responsibility of the average citizen, but the result of financial wheeling and dealing by the corporate barons of the city and state; and the repayment of interest on New York City bonds that were bought up by the rich, and big bankers that reside in Manhattan (bonds that only they can afford). Is this boring?

In the New York Post Governor Pataki was given a bold-fashioned print grey box that displayed the text of his criticism on the rally. Mayor Giuliani was given long

quotes of his opinion on the matter, calling the tuition hikes a "few hundred dollars" (Ha, Ha). Then having the audacity to mention that the students who were at the rally should have found work for the day instead of out protesting. FIND THE WORKING CLASS SOME JOBS GIULIANI!! Then the mayor goes on to tell us that the cuts were "not an unreasonable thing to suggest," adding that compared to private college students CUNY students are "still obtaining an education for free." "They're not paying for their education— someone else is paying for it", finished Giuliani. I don't know who Giuliani is talking about but upwards of seventy percent of students that attend CUNY work one-two-three jobs to pay for their education. The loans that students are receiving now will have to be paid back to the banks they received them from, with interest, six months after leaving school. A CUNY education is not for free.

Unlike our Ivy league contemporaries who receive very large sums of free financial aid in the form of grants and scholarships, CUNY and SUNY students must pay much more for their education percentage wise. And even if the city and state students didn't pay more, the majority of students that attend schools like Columbia, Princeton, and Yale could still afford to cover the tuition. Fifty-percent of CUNY student families make under twenty thousand dollars a year and that is because the job market sucks and bosses pay low wages left and right, it is not because they are lazy.

Pataki was quoted as saying he hoped CUNY and SUNY leaders would "forgo the type of behavior that poisons the climate for an honest debate". O.K. Pataki, you start first. Begin by ending the discussion of the Goldstein Report, the biggest sack of malarkey to hit the public arena in some time. For those unfamiliar with the report, simply take a look at your class catalogue and notice that many classes that you need are not anywhere to be seen, to get the degree you want one must travel to another campus farther from home, or wait until the class is available thus prolonging graduation. The Goldstein Report is the talk of downsizing course catalogues, removing whole departments from colleges and "consolidating" them to other campuses. If Pataki thinks honest

debate is discussing how he can cut funds to education through bogus, and one-sided investigative reports, then that is not an honest debate, and he should be ousted immediately for supporting such a lie.

The inside cover of the Post headline reads, "Rudy Rips 'Hooky' Protesters", then the Daily News contributed by saying "Violence Erupts At CUNY Protest". Newsday called the March 23 demonstration "The Children's (Misguided) Budget Crusade". Do these reporters get hired to be slanderous? Is there a class in Harvard that teaches the art of being slanderous to the working class?

The slanted coverage gives the impression that students are simply a misguided, unruly bunch who are taking advantage of the system, which cannot be further from the truth. The rally on March 23 was an intelligent, well thought out, and reasonable response to Draconian budget cuts and an unfair capitalist system. But maybe we should listen to Giuliani's advice, stay home and learn how to spell his name right, G-H-O-U-L-I-A-N-I.

If you are interested in the truth of what really happened that day, one could take a look at the March 29 issue of the Village Voice. The "Voice reporters witnessed a different story:", that is a different story than that of the mainstream press. "Police so out of control that even a captain tackled and choked a reporter", wrote the reporter in his article. It was apparent to all who witnessed the event that the cops were the primary cause of any violence that happened that day. The Village Voice coverage of the 23rd rally also spoke adequately of the movement's purpose. But of course, this is a rare case of honest and open eyed reporting coming from a New York City tabloid newspaper.

There will always be biased news coverage when the owners of the mainstream press belong to a select class of rich and elite. The only answer is to get involved in the movement on your own, to learn about the events first hand, the yellow tabloid press has traditionally, always been on the wrong side of most issues. There is no hope for these newspapers, they are the product of an unequal system. To expect anything better would be to expect social revolution. Point blank, that is it.

MARCH 23

Thousands gather around City Hall
No permit was given
Just a politicians decree, over our student demonstration
The ghoul, the smiling fool, and the nazi
Have descended their hired troops

Unity around a common cause
Laughter, music, chanting, marching
Student peace was all around
Speeches, rally cries, excitement, awake minds
...slowly though

POLICE MOVED IN! BUSTIN' HEADS WHEN THINGS BECAME REAL

"BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY"
The crackers offer no peace
To meet the state head on that day was not our design, it was inevitable
Thugs numbered high, Pataki the ganglord was on the attack, in riot gear and masks

Back cops, students unite, this is class war, build your trenches, put down your books
Workers defend your children, there is strength in numbers

Mace, fist, billy club, kick, punch, punch
Get down cops!
Black paint, push 'em back, be strong
"DON'T LET ANYONE HURT YOU"

Police go to ambulances, protestors visit the paddy wagon

Thousands want to march to Wall St.
Cancel their debt, Tax their greedy coffers
Make CUNY free once again, open admissions for all, classes in abundance
Teachers everywhere, no more cut backs

Can you hear us PATAKI? The school bell sounds for you today

Yo' take back what's our's y'all
No compromise, no surrender, watch your back, permanent revolution
Dreams of peace and security still exist throughout the class that works and produces
The people of the fields, the factories, the warehouse workers,
The slave-wage laborers...

No more homelessness, no more poor, no more political prisoners

Under the system of the beast there is no peace
There is no security or love
Only hungry games of war
THEY ARE THE MASTERS OF WAR! And they must die.

Louis Bardel -4/6/95
"Sweet Reciprocity"