

COLLEGE voice



**For Free
Tuition
and Open
Admissions!**

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STUDENTS ARE NOT PRODUCTS!

The rights of students and citizens both inside and outside of CUNY institutions are currently being either rolled back or severely challenged. The lives of the poor and working class is undergoing a dramatic transformation which has placed CUNY students directly on the firing line. On a local level, the administrations of both Giuliani and Pataki have served to deliver notice that access to education, in conjunction with access to an existence marked by a basic level of humanity, is certainly not a given. In order to properly enforce the new order, political appointees the Board of Trustees have taken the offensive in cracking down on student rights and imposing their own brand of brutal institutional discipline on the heads of the student body. Despite an outwardly serene environment, students at the College of Staten Island have felt the bitter sting of these attacks. Far from being insulated we have maintained our historic role as a testing ground for strategies of student dis-empowerment.

Local Politics Pave the Way

Disregarding the large international and national picture momentarily, Governor Pataki, Mayor Giuliani and the Democratic Party have served to severely damage the poor and working class of New York City. A major thrust of this effort has come in the restrictions which have been placed on access to higher education. This program has been carried through the utilization of a multiplicity of measures.

The most obvious measure is the vaunted tuition hike. For almost 130 years, since the inception of City College in 1846, CUNY had existed as a tuition free university system which allowed the poor and working class of New York City the opportunity to receive access to higher education. In 1976, directly following the advent of the Open Admissions policies that opened the doors of CUNY to a large number of Black and Latino youth, tuition was imposed. These tuition hikes have

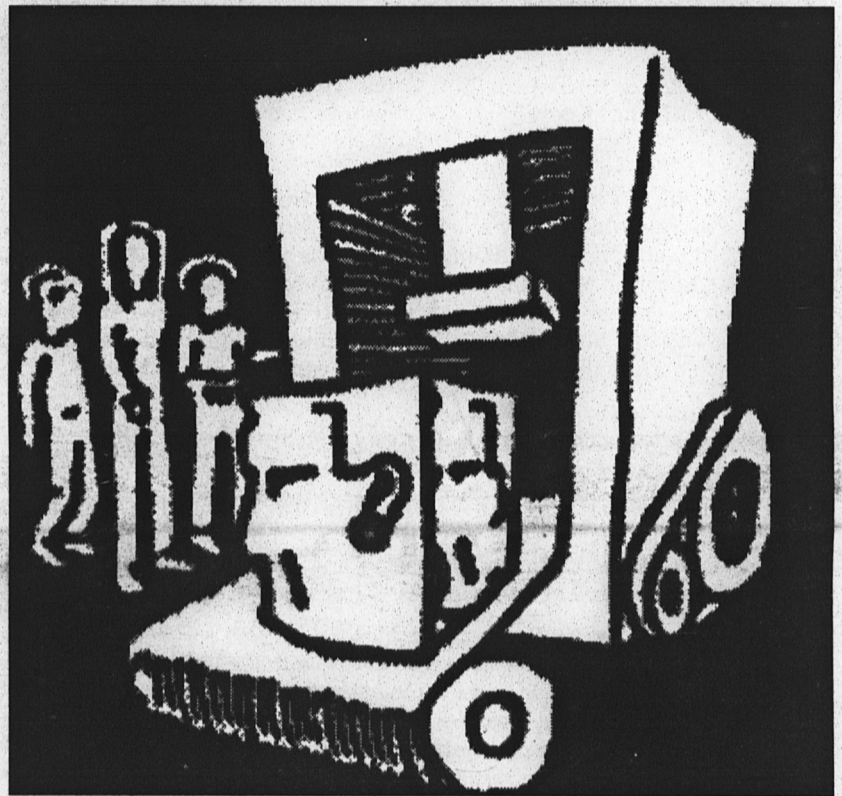
exploded in the 90's, pushing the percentage of the university's budget borne by students up nearly 150% since 1990. In 1988-89, 80% of the University's Operating Budget came from the State and City, today that figure stands at only 57%. As a result of this, CUNY students have increasingly been funneled into the financial trap of student loans. According to a study conducted by NYPIRG "the average student debt is now over \$14,000 at graduation." Tuition increases and financial aid cutbacks have also precipitated an alarming rise in the accumulation of credit card debt among students. According to a recent survey 60% of students hold at least one credit card and 20% carry four or more. During an interview conducted by CNN, John Jay President Dr. Roger Witherspoon stated that, "of the 10,800 students, every semester 10, 15, 20, 30 or even more drop out of school as a result of credit card abuse."

In addition to the tremendous financial burden that has been placed on the backs of CUNY students, as a whole the poorest in the country, cuts in the operating budget have worked to radically transform the mission of the university. The vocationalization and adjunctification of CUNY are dangerous long term trends which must be directly addressed. Cuts in the operating budget have been directly translated into cuts in Humanities Departments throughout CUNY. The mission of CUNY has been re-routed from one involving the cultivation of critically minded working class youth into pre-packaged corporate assembly parts. "Marketability" has achieved primacy over intelligence. The process of Adjunctification has created an entirely new breed of professor within CUNY. Adjuncts are the intellectual equivalent to indentured servants, scurrying from campus to campus to teach classes unable to conduct office hours and barely able to make even the most modest attempt at developing a mentoring relationship with students. In addition to this, the increasing use of adjuncts has placed the student population that needs the greatest

amount of attention and work outside of the classroom with the instructors that can provide the least. CSI offers the most glaring example of this with adjuncts delivering 88% of instructions to remedial students, further lowering the educational standards of CUNY. In some departments the school has even mailed letters to adjuncts practically begging them to sign up to teach remedial classes.

CUNY Board Centralizes Oppression

In order to properly carry out the new project of downsizing, conservative political forces have packed the CUNY Board of Trustees with ideologically motivated members. Board chair Anne Paolluci and Giuliani appointee Herman Badillo have been at the forefront of this effort which has translated into both major and minor incursions on the rights of CUNY students. After bullying W. Ann Reynolds out of the Chancellors post and igniting a rabid media assault on CUNY faculty and students the BOT has embarked on a muscle flexing program. During the process of setting up the search committee for the acting Chancellor, Board chair Paolluci conveniently disregarded the opinions of both faculty and students. Despite the



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25 Intelligent Students to Improve Image & Raise Standards of 12,000 CSI students

INTERVIEW



Honors College Advisory Committee serves at the pleasure of CSI President. Members include: Martel Zeldin, Calvin Holder, Joan Hartman, Robert Hulton-Baker, Ruth Stark and President Marlene Springer.

College Voice interviews Prof. Calvin Holder— professor of African-American Studies in the History Dept. about his role in the Honors College.

College Voice (CV): Who initiated the idea for the Honors College (HC) and why?

Prof. Calvin Holder (CH): The idea of the Honors College goes back a number of years indeed to the previous Administration. Under the previous Administration it only went so far, however, under the present Administration headed by Dr. Springer the idea was picked up and the senior administrators effectively mobilized different constituencies within the college and got a committee going within a relatively short period of time—I would say within an academic year—which established the HC in its present form.

CV: Where is the funding for the Honors College coming from?

CH: It comes to my knowledge from the college budget.

CV: So it comes from a budget that is suppose to be going towards all of the students at CSI?

CH: From what I know—and I maybe wrong— some of the money comes from the budget of the College. It is my belief that at some point in the future the HC will also be sustained by the funds that come from the contributions from the Alumni.

CV: How do you view the Honors College?

CH: To be honest with you, my involvement with the HC concerned (primarily) the formulation of its curriculum and the establishment of criteria for the admission of the students. Initially I had reservations about the HC which I expressed, I remember, at one meeting of the College committee involved in putting together the HC— this is a group drawn from a diverse sectors within the college primarily faculty— and subsequently before the Honors College committee on which I served. My reservations were that HC could establish a two track system and therefore establish within the institution a rather select group of students. I also had some concerns about the resources that would be used to create a college within a large college and at the meeting I did express that I had these reservations. But I came to the conclusion that, for reasons which I will articulate in this interview, HC should be established. Some of the reasons are quite personal. In my life, I have been a beneficiary of what one would call a selective educational process. I have been a beneficiary in another country, having gone to an academically and socially elite institution and also in the US having gone an academically elite institution and to some extent my children are beneficiary of a similar kind of institution. If I had found that should be good for me in concert good for my children then I thought I couldn't deny the same for someone else. I also had to square that with my politics as someone who was a product of the radical and significant social changes of the 1960's. I have had questions about the selectivity system of tracking, but I have been a beneficiary of that system of tracking and I reached the conclusion that I should not and could deny

"I concede that there are legitimate arguments to be made with respect to the establishment of this Honors College in that such a college is going to establish a sort of a two tier system...but, ultimately I came to the conclusion that given what we have I can live with the HC."

—Prof. Holder

someone else of what I had benefited from. I think there is also another reason which I should express here that this institution is trying very hard to change the general perception that the people who are not directly involved with the College of Staten Island often have of it is not one that is justified. I assert to you that this is an institution with a well trained faculty and in fact some very good students and I can attest to that from my teachings. If you can have within the Institution the mechanism by which those students under a given set of circumstances are allowed or enabled to pursue work at a higher level in context of an Honors College, I wish upon where I did not see that as sufficiently problematic that I would wind up opposing it. I would say this about the HC, however, I hope that at some point in the future that the process of Admissions is opened up to a degree that enables people who may not have come in, who may not have met the criteria for the initial entry, to be admitted if they have achieved a level of academic success. I think that would broaden the representation within the HC, rather than limit it to exclusively a group of students coming as freshmen's who meet these criteria that we presently have established.

CV: Of the 25 students admitted this year to the Honors College, what is the racial make-up of those students?

CH: I do not recall exactly the figure but I do know that people of color are represented within this group. There are 2 Blacks, a number of Asian students and I believe 1 or 2 students whose ancestry is Middle Eastern. I think the Committee that was involved in choosing the students was extremely sensitive to the composition of the student body and in no form or fashion compromising the standards for admissions. Having said that I must acknowledge the fact that majority of the students admitted are what you would call White students

CV: Being a Professor of African-American studies in CUNY, a public University whose initial mission of Open Admissions was to provide education to the working class women and minorities of NYC. Can you justify partaking in a program within this Public institution which can be viewed as having the equivalent admission policies as Private Colleges who have a history of excluding people of color?

CH: I justify it in the way I did initially when I said I have been a beneficiary of that kind of policy or program as an undergraduate at City College there was not an Honors College but one could take honor courses if one met the criteria. As I said if that was available for me and it served my life in a positive way and if my children have gone to Junior High schools whose entry has been based on meeting certain type of standards, and if that is what is happening in my personal life than it would be problematic for me to say than at this institution you should not have this. Providing that in having it you are using the resources of this Institutions to make sure that there is certain kind of representation among those students that you have people of color and women and so forth.

CV: You certainly have had that privilege of receiving an education from the academically elite schools but majority of students in CUNY haven't had that opportunity, in fact about 50% of students earn below \$25,000 a year. Not only that but come from the backward high school system How can you impose certain standards such as the SAT? In fact there is a national discourse taking place where it is argued that the SAT's are biased.

CH: Let me as a historical background say that there have been in the Senior colleges of CUNY honors programs going back a considerable period of time so that the

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Hostos Students Denied Degrees! Democrats to the Rescue?

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

Mendez vs. Reynolds, the historic court case that has pitted the students of Hostos Community College against Chancellor Ann Reynolds and the CUNY Board of Trustees has captivated the media. For the Spanish speaking media it has been a wonderful chance to capture some young, energetic Spanish speaking youth on film as they struggle to defend their right to an education. For the English speaking media this struggle has represented another opportunity to blast CUNY students as incompetent and paint our university as a black hole for tax money. The characterization of the students at Hostos as incompetent fits the overall agenda that the Democratic liberals initiated and the Conservative right has consummated.

The weapon that is being used in this round of CUNY dismantlement is the pen.

In 1995 for instance, the weapon that was used was force. Police power was used to crush the burgeoning student movement on several occasions and then the media stepped in to finish the job off. With the student movement at a virtual standstill in comparison to 1995, all that is necessary to squash the student cause is the media. What the media is currently in the process of doing is manufacturing a feeling of contempt among the citizens of New York for CUNY and its overall mission. Public opinion can then be manipulated by politicians such as Gov. Pataki as justification for future tuition increases and budget cuts. With every negative article it becomes easier to slash the collective throats of each CUNY campus and deny thousands of students the opportunity to get an education. As a result of the constant bombardment by the media, groups like the Board of Trustees will no longer be enacting dra-

The two phenomenons, the awakening of student resistance and the re-creation of the Democratic Party cannot exist together.

conian cuts but merely responding to public opinion. This public opinion is one that has been cultivated and coddled by the media and will be set in motion by the conservatives.

Just so we don't place too much blame on one group, we must take a very critical look at the antics of the Democratic party. The Democrats are reveling in the social quagmire that the Conservatives have created because it is a wonderful opportunity for them to re-create themselves. The shift from center right to radical right by the Conservatives allows the Democratic Party to portray itself as the savior of all working class people. A vote for the

Democrats seems to be the only way to stem the tide of the Conservative movement. The reality of the situation points to the fact that the Dems are merely undergoing their cyclical facelift as the Conservatives systematically dismantle the public sector. The newly politicized students of Hostos College offer us a different vision of what the future will look like.

Over the summer the student movement at Hostos Community College was invigorated as the new Board of Trustees implemented the CUNY Written Assessment test as an exit requirement a mere two days prior to graduation. The BOT was banking on the fact that the student movement was dead and Hostos students would quietly accept the latest version of academic punishment. The Board was actually looking to use the issue of the CWAT to remove the Chancellor, using the Hostos students as their battering ram. Instead of passive acceptance, the BOT received a violent reaction from the student body which included protests, marches and walkouts ultimately culminating in a lawsuit led by long time CUNY student advocate Ron McGuire. In order to combat the student response the Board, led by head reactionary Herman Badillo, enlisted the support of the local media. This action resulted in a flurry of articles depicting CUNY students as a whole as under educated, grade inflated participants in a "second chance high school". The attack went so far as to depict CUNY students in the roles of Beavis and Butthead, all this courtesy of the traditional CUNY bashers residing at the Daily News.

Instead of realizing defeat, pulling out of the lawsuit and awarding the students of Hostos their hard earned diploma's, the Board pressed on and ultimately maneuvered themselves into a corner. Judge Kenneth Thompson ruled in favor of a preliminary injunction filed by the students to have their degrees validated, citing the actions taken by the BOT to be "capricious and arbitrary." Compounding idiocy with arrogance the BOT has not only appealed the decision but has recently extended their decision to use the CWAT as an exit requirement to all senior college students attempting to receive their Associate degrees. What the Board has really done is expose itself to criticism while simultaneously opening the door for both the Democrats and a revitalized student movement.

The two phenomenons, the awakening of student resistance and the re-creation of the Democratic Party cannot exist

CUNY: FAST TRACK TO PRIVATIZATION

MYTH AND

The Real Story About English-Language Instruction at Hostos Community College

REALITY

The events of the spring of 1997 revolving around the issue of English Language instruction at Hostos Community College —and other CUNY campuses — precipitated an avalanche of accusations, claims, charges and counter-charges, including a much publicized court case initiated by Hostos students themselves. Instead of the careful and collegial discussion that circumstances required, these complex issues and developments were reported on in a round-by-round fashion, as if the crisis were a prize fight. As one CUNY trustee aptly put it, the issue "...has become great grist for some of the media mills." The following is intended to set the record straight with regard to some of the more flagrant inaccuracies:

Myth: Hostos Community College was the only City University college to discard the City University Writing Assessment Test (CWAT) as a graduation requirement.

Reality: Five of the six CUNY community colleges did not require the CWAT as a graduation requirement, and for some time had been using a variety of criteria (referred to as "multiple measures of assessment") to determine whether a graduating student was proficient in English. Hostos has always encouraged all students planning to transfer to a senior college or to continue their schooling to take the CWAT before graduation.

Myth: "Multiple measures of assessment" are just another way of watering down standards at Hostos and other CUNY community colleges.

Reality: For some time now, CUNY educators on virtually all campuses have

been wrestling with the problem of how to improve the assessment of their students' English-language skills.

It was clear to assessment experts in CUNY and throughout the country that the CWAT did not adequately measure student ability to write in college and work environments. They agreed that the CWAT, originally designed as a placement or "diagnostic test," was only a measure of students' initial writing ability, not an assessment of students' writing progress, which is best measured by several criteria: homework, class participation and other writing assignments, as well as a final writing test. The test also relied on the essay format and did not assess the full range of writing skills that students need to be successful in college and future work situations.

Since 1996, The City University administration, through the office of the Vice

Chancellor for Academic Affairs, has been an active participant in discussions regarding writing assessment policy.

Myth: Hostos and other CUNY colleges have resorted to multiple measures of assessment as a way of coping with the poor English-language skills of the current generation of students who have been allowed to enter college under CUNY's open admissions policy.

Reality: Multiple measures of assessment are being discussed, considered and implemented at college and universities across the country, which realize that no single test can accurately measure student proficiency. A test like the CWAT cannot truly measure how well the student uses the English language in varied writing situations. Assessing writing proficiency is not solely an Hostos issue, nor is it a CUNY issue; it is a national issue which has commanded the attention of thoughtful educators at schools, colleges and universities everywhere.

Myth: Hostos Community College discarded the CUNY Writing Assessment Test for its own "watered-down" version, the Hostos Writing Assessment Test (HWAT).

Reality: Renowned linguistics experts who have compared the CWAT with the HWAT generally agree that the HWAT is an equivalent but more accessible test. In fact, the Hostos English Department (not the Hostos administration, as has been reported by many media outlets) developed the HWAT because faculty members considered the CWAT to be an excessively restrictive measure of student ability.

Myth: Hostos faculty and administrators "caved in" to student demands to "water down" graduation requirements.

Reality: Hostos faculty and administrators have been struggling for years to perfect English language instruction and the means of measuring success. In fact,

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B.O.T Ousts Reynolds!

Racist Purge of CUNY Intensifies!

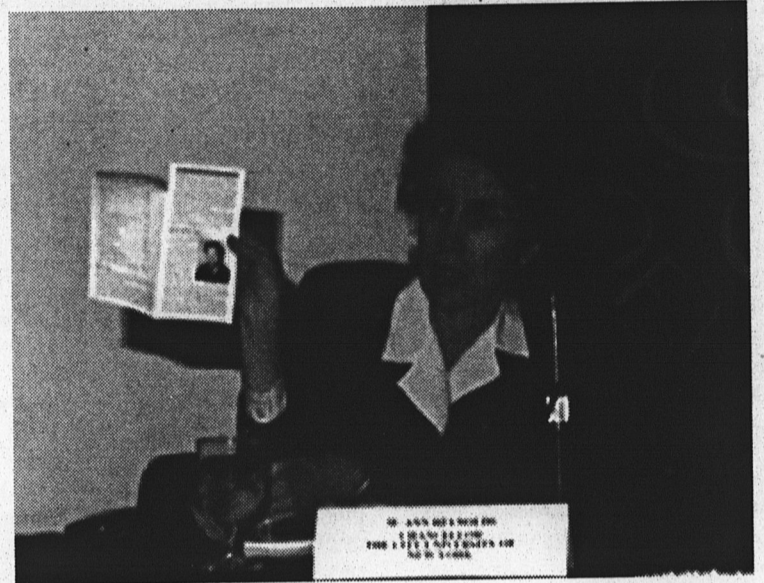
BY UBER MENSCH

The new Giuliani/Pataki CUNY Board of Trustees, led by Wall Street financier Ron Marino and bought and paid for "educator" Anne Paolucci have moved with reckless abandon to destroy accessible education for thousands of non-white, poor youth. Appointed last year by the right wing Governor and Mayor, the new trustees voted themselves a \$1 million budget, took over a floor of the E. 80th Street Central Administration building and moved to oust CUNY chancellor Anne Reynolds who resigned in mid-July. Reynolds was guilty, in the eyes of the Board, of not moving quickly enough to destroy the historic mission of CUNY to serve as a lone bastion of public higher education for non-privileged youth.

Reynolds was appointed by then Governor Cuomo to replace Chancellor Murphy, a social democrat who actually believed in the "open admissions" policy of CUNY although it had already begun

"zero-tolerance" policy of Giuliani's NYPD towards Black youth, was to attack first and ask questions later. Naturally such a neo-fascist approach was bound to lead to major contradictions with CUNY students and bring to sharper relief the different elements of a ideological vision that was not explicitly spelt out by the trustees themselves. The first major contradiction appeared at the beginning of this past summer with the Board of Trustees attempt to prevent the largely Latino graduating class of '97 from Hostos College in the Bronx from graduating.

Borrowing a page from the racist right-wing nativist movements like the KKK and the right flank of the Republican and Democrat parties, the Board argued that the Hostos students would not be allowed to graduate unless they prove proficiency in English by taking an English exam that they were officially heretofore exempt from. Some 77% of Hostos students speak Spanish as their first language and many are recent immigrants. The Daily News led the charge of



Ex-CUNY Chancellor Ann Reynolds seen at CSI graphically displaying the hatchet job she has carried out against CUNY students in conjunction with Governor George Pataki.

We must demand that we students who form the body of the university be allowed to vote on who represents us at the highest levels of the university!

to be undermined under his leadership. Reynolds was brought in by Cuomo from the California state university system, where she presided over an attack on the educational access of students there, specifically to conduct a hatchet job on CUNY. True to her credentials, Reynolds presided over the largest tuition increase in CUNY history from \$1200 per year to \$3200 per year. Her other "accomplishments" included the creation of a centralized CUNY police force - the S.A.F.E. team - and the harassment and expulsion of dozens of students who protested her policies and the strengthening of "job-training" i.e. vocational education at the expense of Liberal Arts education and faculty. Apparently this was not vicious enough for the new trustees who launched an attack on her from their very inception charging her with incompetence and ironically, high-handedness. Reynolds, being primarily a self-serving careerist who herself looked upon CUNY students with contempt, did nothing to counter-attack the policies or charges of the new trustees opting instead to publicly kiss their ass while surreptitiously hunting for a new post. Of course she did not want to tarnish her image as a committed front person to those who seek to destroy public higher education in this country, and thereby upset her career opportunities.

The new trustees lack a clear model or alternative to an "open admissions CUNY", their motivation, similar to the

the capitalist press denouncing as basically stupid all students of Spanish speaking heritage, insinuating that they, and by extension other non-native speakers, were responsible for making CUNY a "second chance high school". All non-native speakers of English will be familiar with this racist theme of equating a supposed lack of proficiency in American-english with a lacking in intellect. Indeed, one of the two topic options for the written exam is "whether America is still a land of opportunity" a clearly ideological question, reminiscent of the dark days of McCarthy's "are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party".

The students at Hostos were fortunate enough to gain the legal expertise of attorney Ronald B. McGuire, an alumnus of City College, a veteran of the open admissions struggles of the late 60's and a fighter to this day for the rights of CUNY students. McGuire filed a motion for an injunction against the Board's action which was granted by the Supreme Court. The courts who, along with the other arms of the capitalist state, are proven enemies of CUNY students were no doubt forced into this position by the amazing sloppiness of the Boards actions. The Board had taken this action against the Hostos students without any thorough investigation of the language requirement policy throughout CUNY. They were stupefied to learn that Borough of Manhattan Community College and La Guardia Community College also allow for an

exemption from the english exam and that the official Hostos policy itself allowed for such an exemption. They hurriedly shifted the blame for their knee-jerk racist move to Reynolds who at this point stepped up her quest for employment elsewhere and made little public comment. The students at Hostos and throughout CUNY are by no means assured of a victorious resolution to this attack in the courts.

The racists of the CUNY Board however are echoing the sentiments of their masters in Albany, City Hall and Wall Street. "The Mayor and Governor, citing a lack of preparation of students, have denounced the City University for the need for expensive remedial programs and the length of time it takes students to graduate" reported the NYTimes of June 5th. The Daily News head white supremacist Pete Hamill editorialized revealingly, "sadly, a CUNY degree has become *virtually worthless in the eyes of business*" and waxed indignant about ending the so-called "pervasive culture of entitlement and remediation" in CUNY.

This is the same language being used by the capitalist financiers on Wall Street to push a racist, anti-poor agenda that seeks to soak the poor, to grant themselves ever dizzying heights of profit. They cut assistance to the poorest and most vulnerable segments of society at large, bust unions, slash wages, terrorize Blacks and immigrants to fuel their crazed thirst for profit. Adolph Hitler extended this policy to the physical liquidation of the homeless, disabled and other so-called undesirables who thrive in a "pervasive culture of entitlement" which the "master race" supposedly paid for. Indeed, we students at CUNY received a taste of this neo-fascist medicine when Herr Giuliani unleashed his cops on students at a rally on March 23 1995 injuring and jailing scores of students. The brute declared afterward that "they (the students) should get a job instead of protesting".

This is unquestionably the most difficult period for CUNY as a "open admissions" institution of higher learning. The new Board of Trustees and the political establishment under the cover of "raising standards" are carrying out a brutal racist, anti-poor purge of CUNY. New students dealing with the CUNY administration for the first time will get an unfortunate lesson not in dignity, learning and opportunity but cynicism, neglect and contempt. The end result of such policies can be seen in the vicious attacks that are taking place on the streets of our city, the proliferation of slave-labor for immigrants, the shooting to death, beating and torturing of youth of color and the official cover-ups and sly perpetuation and intensification of these same policies.

However all is not gloom and doom, we workers, we poor people, we people of color are the great majority. The radical brutality that is inflicted on us will result in a radical and massive change, at first slow but inexorable. The victorious strike of the UPS workers who struck in their words for "all working and poor people" against a mighty multi-billion dollar corporation and won their demands shows the power of basic solidarity and class struggle strategy. CUNY students must defeat the attempts of the new Board to destroy public education for the masses of Black and poor youth.

We must demand that we students who form the body of the university be allowed to vote on who represents us at the highest levels of the university. The policy of having trustees appointed by whichever capitalist politician is in power does nothing to advance the interests of CUNY. We must demand the resignation of the current Board of Trustees and its replacement by a elected board of students, faculty and campus workers. Down with the Board of Trustees!!! For An Elected Board of Students, Faculty and Staff!!! Free Tuition and Open Admissions for All Who Want An Education!!!

REYNOLDS GETS FAILING GRADE FROM BOT

BY DEVON BLINTH

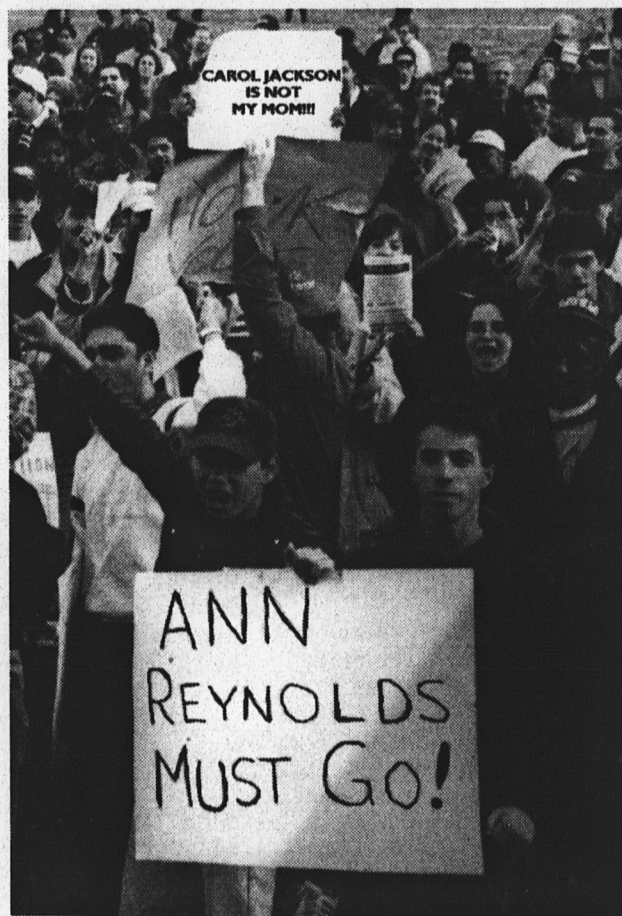
Chancellor Ann Reynolds ended her eight-year reign at the helm of CUNY in September and will now head the 16,000 student University of Alabama at Birmingham. Her last months in CUNY were marked with a rapidly deteriorating relationship with the Board of Trustees exacerbated by the Hostos Writing Assessment brouhaha in June (see Hostos article in this issue). Giuliani appointees Dr. Anne Paolucci, BOT Chair and Herman Badillo Vice Chair began to publicly devalue CUNY students and their degrees by humiliating the Chancellor and faculty for allegedly fostering "low standards" and tolerating grade inflation in CUNY. Editorial boards at the local papers chimed in rolling out editorial after editorial excoriating CUNY students as woefully unprepared and faculty as "entrenched." Paolucci not too subtly suggested that Reynolds resign. One Daily News editorial cartoon went so far as to portray CUNY professors as pot smoking hippie has beens.

REYNOLDS ROCKY ROAD

The hallmark of Reynolds tenure at CUNY was her attempt to implement the Goldstein Report during the latter part of the Fall 1992 semester. The report called for a massive downsizing of the University through the consolidation or elimination of academic programs. This was received with upheaval from students and faculty. Students protested outside of CUNY Central at East 80th Street and several campuses were taken over. Faculty chaffed at her autocratic style of leadership, CSI and other colleges passed "no confidence" resolutions against the Chancellor as a result of her attempt to push through curricular changes without the input of faculty. She is widely believed to be behind the ouster of former CSI President Dr. Edmund Volpe because of his criticism of the Goldstein Report. Her relationship with the faculty deteriorated to the point that the faculty union and the University Faculty Senate filed suit against her for attempting to renege faculty and other personnel in violation of BOT bylaws in 1995.

DEMOCRACY AT ITS FINEST

During a September BOT meeting Dr. Paolucci announced that she would appoint five BOT members to a search committee for the interim chancellor. When Michael Crimmins, a liberal leaning Trustee, attempted to democratize the process and allow a student and faculty representative to be named to the committee, Paolucci ruled him out of order and curtly ended the discussion. Speaking of a prospective chancellor, former Vice Chair Edith Everett said she, "didn't have a clue" as to who the new chancellor would be. "There is a new tone on the Board, I really have nothing to say." Though Paolucci stated that an interim chancellor was to be named before the end of September as this paper goes to press a masochist has not yet been named to fill the post. ■



CUNY: FAST TRACK TO PRIVATIZATION

The Real Story About Hostos

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they have been at the forefront nationally in these efforts. They have been courageous enough to try a number of approaches or combination of approaches, from the CWAT to the HWAT to multiple measures of assessment and language enhancement of content courses. In other words, the adoption of multiple measures of assessment was in no way a precipitous decision; it was the natural outcome of at least four years of study and deliberation.

Hostos faculty and administrators have assumed prominent leadership roles in the fields of language acquisition and compensatory (so called "remedial") education. Their achievements are considerable. As an accrediting team from the Middle States Association of Colleges and Universities put it, "(Hostos faculty, administration, students and staff) deserve a strong commendation because every day they work together to meet monumental challenges, challenges which result from their own mission and goals. These mission and goals are so complex, risky and unsettling that most other institutions elegantly shy away from them under the excuse of selectivity, excellence, stability and other similar attributes. Hostos does not turn its back on these issues nor on the population it attempts to serve." (Middle States Visiting Team evaluation, 1990)

Myth: The Hostos administration, acting on its own and without the knowledge of the CUNY central administration, established its own standards for graduation.

Reality: As trustee Edith B. Everett pointed out at the June meeting of the Board of Trustees, CUNY colleges have the authority, within certain parameters, to establish their own criteria for advancement and graduation. Hostos acted well within its authority as outlined in the CUNY Bylaws when it decided to require the HWAT for graduation and then when it adopted its multiple measures requirement. Furthermore, Hostos faculty and administrators worked closely with Central Office administrators over a period of years, when policy regarding assessment and graduation requirements was developed. This collaboration is extensively documented in the correspondence and minutes of meetings between the participants.

Myth: As certain media outlets would have it, the majority of the members of the Hostos Class of 1997 "failed" the writing assessment test.

Reality: A total of 315 potential graduates passed the writing test. There are only 52 remaining students who have completed all their requirements except for the CWAT. More importantly, almost all potential graduates passed at least one

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college-level English composition course, which is comparable to composition courses at colleges everywhere.

Myth: Under the Hostos model of bilingual education, students take most of their classes in Spanish.

Reality: The goal of the bilingual program at Hostos is to prepare students—effectively and expeditiously—to live and work in an English-speaking world. Hostos' bilingual education model requires that the proportion of classes in English increase and those in Spanish decrease as the students move through the four levels of instruction in English as a second language. In Spring 1997, only 15 percent of content courses were offered in Spanish.

Myth: Like other units in the City University system, Hostos inflates its grades.

Reality: A fall 1996 grade analysis showed that just over half of the students earned grades of "B" or "A." This statistic is not indicative of grade inflation.

Myth: The graduation rate at Hostos is abysmally low.

Reality: There is a misconception that community college programs are completed in two years. National data show that the number of traditional, straight-out-of-high-school, unemployed, single, full-time community college students

who could complete the degree in two years has declined.

The traditional community college student has been replaced by an older, commuting, married (frequently with children), part-time, self-supporting student who sometimes has to interrupt his or her studies. The National Center on Education Statistics reports that students take between 35 and 56 months (depending on full-time/part-time status) to complete the degree. The CUNY Office of Institutional Research and Analysis found that, for 1995-96 graduates, the CUNY average time for completion of the community college degree was 4.45 years. The average time for completion of the degree at Hostos was reported as 4.34 years.

Myth: Hostos students went to court to avoid taking the CUNY (CWAT) writing assessment test.

Reality: Hostos students went to court to stop the imposition of the CWAT because they claimed that it was unfair to require this additional test after final exams had taken place and just four days before graduation. Those students never questioned the CUNY Board's authority to set academic policy and establish graduation requirements.

Prepared by: The Executive Committee of the Hostos College-Wide Senate, The Hostos HEO Organization and the Hostos Community College Information Task Force. ■

CHANGING PERSPECTIVES: A HISTORY OF THE C.S.I STUDENT UNION

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

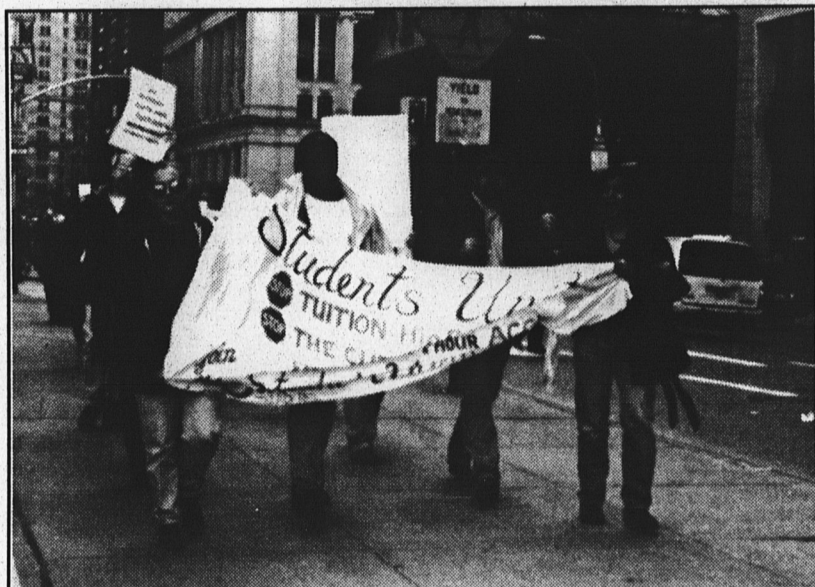
Throughout the Spring 1997 semester the traditions and customs that had prevailed for years at the College of Staten Island were crushed. Crushed because they stood in the way of the most powerful movement this campus has seen in twenty years. The Student Government election campaign run by the CSI Student Union moved issues of student empowerment and student control of the mechanisms of determination on this campus from the back rooms of the administration offices to the blinding headlights of freedom and democracy. Despite the best and most desperate attempts of the conservative administration and their fledgling reactionary ex-student government, the Student Union proved that a grassroots movement based on the interests of the people can and will prevail. The future is ahead of us but the only way we can effectively proceed is with a profound understanding of the past.

The Student Union emerged during the Fall 1996 semester as a result of the connection that was made between some long time activists at CSI and some newly activated students. I was among that group of newly activated students that began to take a critical view of how issues were handled on campus. Immediately following the formation of the Student Union (SU), the Student Government under the leadership of the then president Joe Canale, attempted to close down the radical political journal *The College Voice* citing non compliance to rules which demanded that each publication hand in monthly minutes. The actual student government meeting in which the shut down was attempted took place in the middle of the second meeting of the SU. The SU meeting was halted immediately when SU member, Colleen McGraham phoned over with the information about the impending shutdown attempt. As the SU membership, then totaling approximately 12 members, rushed into the SG meeting, there was an overwhelming feeling of urgency and solidarity. What had basically been a discussion group immediately turned into one of action. Union members spoke out passionately in defense of both the newspaper and, in some cases, about the rights guaranteed to us by the First Amendment. Veteran leaders such as Manjula Wijerama and Sarah Husain provided passionate radical voices which would not be squelched despite the "legitimacy" of the Student Government. The move to shut down the Voice was subsequently stopped and the question of whether or not an organization such as the Student Union was needed was

answered definitively. In retrospect this meeting was clearly the beginning of the end for the old Student Government and truly marked the birth of the SU.

Later in November, two letters were drafted by the SU. One was sent to Student Government and one to President Marlene Springer, outlining the difficulties that the students of CSI were faced with on a daily basis. The letter to the Student Government was presented to its membership by the Union at an open mike meeting and was met with scorn and hostility. The SU was painted as merely being another re-creation of the same old College Voice group that was small and ineffective and could essentially be red-baited away. President Springer flatly refused to grant the Union an audience with Her Highness. Her time was much too important to be wasted on such frivolous matters as student rights. Instead, the issue was to be dealt with by Vice President, Carol Jackson. During the meeting with the Union members, Jackson did her best to bob and weave around issues. No firm commitments were made and she used every trick in the book to disqualify our demands. The issue of day-care for all students was a particular favorite of both Canale and Jackson. They consistently attempted to downplay the issue and claim that it was not a great concern of students. When they were informed that members of the Union had attended the Child Care Lottery (that occurs every semester) and had spoken to mothers and fathers who were faced with an end of their academic careers if they lost this lottery spot, their bureaucratic arrogance was tempered. As the Fall semester closed, it was clear that the official channels had been contacted and had summarily rejected any notion of enacting progressive changes that would transform the conditions that students at CSI are asked to work under.

During the semester break, plans were formulated in order to spread our message of equality and unity to all students at the college. The Spring semester was jump-started during a meeting on campus in late January in which 15 students participated. The fact that 15 students had taken time away from their vacations to come to school for the sole reason of attending a Union meeting, showed that campus politics had been taken to an entirely new level. Although January gave the Union membership a chance to formulate its plans for the coming semester it also allowed the Administration and the ex-Student Government an opportunity to develop a counter attack. The first part of this plan came in February as the Union held an educational forum geared



CSI Student Union marches up Broadway to join students in a CUNY wide Rally against the budget cuts-March 27th, 1997

towards raising the awareness of the student body about the tuition hike that had been proposed by Governor George Pataki for the following semester. Union members such as Robert Lauro, Naton Wells, Manjula Wijerama, Sarah Husain and Lou Bruschi delivered presentations on a variety of subjects including the Academic Certification Exam (ACE), how the proposed tuition hike related to New York City's economy and the role that students should play in resisting the hikes. The threat of a \$400 tuition hike along with a massive reduction in financial aid were issues that, after considerable debate, the Union membership felt had to be dealt with sharply. Over 30 students attended the event including representatives from Hunter College and it provided the student body with their first mass exposure to the Student Union. The downside of the event was the then SG president Joe Canale decided to use the proceedings for one of his famous episodes of political grandstanding. Abusing the privileges afforded to him by the Union policy of democratic functioning, Canale claimed that do to his work the ACE test had been canceled and that therefore our presentation on the ACE test was meaningless. Following this outburst, Canale attempted to further disrupt the meeting by talking during student questions and attempting to set himself up as the only authority that could answer the students questions. After the event Canale berated one of the Union members that had made a presentation and intimidated that person into ending his association with the SU. Despite eventually being squelched, Canale and his SG cronies confused students and distorted facts to such a degree that many of them walked away from the educational perplexed as to what the antagonism was between the SG and the Union, instead of being informed about Pataki's proposed tuition hike. The

event was not a total failure however, it provided some essential long term lessons. For Canale it soothed his ego and added to his feeling that the Union was not a real threat and that his re-election was a guarantee. For the Union it demonstrated the way in which Canale would break any rule to accomplish his mission regardless of principles. In addition to this, members who were not truly committed to the mission of the group were flushed out because they departed as a result of the first sign of opposition. Those that remained were committed and kept the experience of the educational fresh in their minds.

Along with the offensive launched by members of the student body, the administration had developed containment plans in order to control the actions of this rouge group of students. This containment was a direct result of the status of the Student Union. The SU existed as an independent, student run organization that did not prescribe to the conventional organizational codes of the administration. There was no president of the Student Union, each member had the right to vote and the right to speak on any issue. The Union was not chartered as a club on campus because doing so would have forced us to comply with the standards that are set down by the SG in conjunction with the administratively controlled Office of Student Life. Throughout the semester attempts were made to paint several persons as the leader of the Union and despite each attempt by the Administration this concept was rejected. The witch hunt sponsored by the Administration was unrelenting. Any administrator spotted in conversation with the Union was contacted by Upper Administration and was asked to provide information. Professors that had been sympathetic to the Union's cause were

Continued on next page

THE COMPROMISING STRATEGY OF ABSOLUTE TRUTH

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

Absolutism is a concept that allows its victims to develop finalized and fixed positions regarding all matters. Symptoms of absolutism include an unbending fixation on objects and emotions regardless of whether or not these fixations are based in fact or fantasy. An almost dream world state grips the victim which leads to the construction of an entirely alternative version of reality. Information and symbols that provide even the slightest amount of resistance are torn asunder or

person or entities ideas regarding what is reality and what is delusion become primary. In order to disqualify the opinions or observations of others, reality is broken down to its most base, simplest terms. All concepts are subsequently judged only in their absolute form and only in relation to the object of fixation. In this scenario only paired extremes are used, concepts such as good and bad, hot and cold and truth and lies. There is no space for middle ground you are either absolutely one or absolutely the other. If

your opinion diverges from that of the victim you are either simply a liar or have some kind of subservient relationship with the object of fixation. As a result of this simplistic, dogmatic analysis the victim will develop a set

of beliefs that they profess to be the absolute truth. Every question of every kind can then be either answered by the holder of absolute truth or dismissed as meaningless because it does not relate to fixed ideas. For people that are indirectly involved in the fixed relationship between the victim and the object, the environment becomes one dominated by confusion and pressure. People begin

asking themselves; How can this person believe in what he/she is saying so vehemently and be wrong? A clever victim quickly learns to read people and pick the area where he/she can drive the biggest wedge possible between that person and the object. If person A dislikes peanut butter, then the victim of Absolutism will tell person A that the fixed object is an avid promoter of peanut butter. If person B dislikes green vegetables, then the victim will tell the person that the fixed object is the cousin of the Jolly Green Giant. Reality and truth matter not because they both exist only in the relationship between the victim and the object. During the final analysis, the ends justify any means because the victim is armed with what they perceive to be the absolute truth and the object represents absolute evil.

The strategies of this victim of absolutism are many times marked by both opportunism and sharp bureaucratization. Opportunism is defined as "the policy or practice, as in politics or business, of adopting actions, decisions etc., to expediency regardless of the sacrifice of principle." What this translates to is coalitions with individuals or groups regardless of their beliefs or past history. Bizarre transformations take place as the victim radically reshapes his/her value systems to better portray her relationship vis-à-vis the fixed object. Opportunism brings formally opposite groups together and emotions such as paranoia and fear bind them. Former enemies are opportunistic in that they see the victim as being their ticket to a return to political power despite their rotten principles. The

victim is opportunistic in that he/she are more than willing to cash in their principles along with any semblance of integrity and ethics. Once again the end justifies any means when one is dealing with absolute evil.

Bureaucratization then becomes an integral part of the entire package as the victim searches out tools to carry out his/her destruction of the ultimate evil. Devoid of any principles as a result of opportunism, lacking ideas as a result of limited theoretical training and the fixed relationship to the object, laws or rules become equally as fixed as this persons ideas. Ideas become entirely subservient to by-laws, creativity is equated with deviancy and principled political beliefs become a secret "agenda." Getting a piece of paper from one office to another becomes the primary goal of the bureaucrat regardless of what is written on the paper. Beneath the crushing weight of the immense bureaucratic structure lie the ideas that drive change, ideas that can fundamentally transform existing conditions.

What strategies can be used in the future to combat absolute truth? The key weapon that people can arm themselves with is objectivity. Objectivity can manifest itself in many different ways, the essential function of objectivity is to receive both sides of the story and make educated decisions. Resisting double talk and the tendency to gossip will allow the organization to function properly and carry out their purposes. The battle for rationalism will not be won easily but it will be won. Personality politics are not rooted in sound theoretical foundations and merely serve to aggrandize and promote individual accomplishments and glories. Solid principled politics emphasize the contributions of the group over those of individuals and always locate themselves within the realm of the common good. A college education is meant to create intelligent critically minded citizens and an experience with people spouting absolute truth can greatly sharpen the critical faculties of every student. ■

RESISTING DOUBLE TALK AND THE TENDENCY TO GOSSIP WILL ALLOW THE ORGANIZATION TO FUNCTION PROPERLY AND CARRY OUT THEIR PURPOSES. THE BATTLE FOR RATIONALISM WILL NOT BE WON EASILY BUT IT WILL BE WON.

associated with the object of fixation. Practically, there are two main tendencies that develop when absolutism is combined with public service. The first is the construction of a dogma of absolute truth and the second is move toward total bureaucratization.

Absolute truth is the most dangerous tendency that any individual can construct. This essentially means that one

A HISTORY OF THE C.S.I STUDENT UNION

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suddenly pulled into the offices of the Administration and their department heads for questioning regarding their association with this student group. In addition to this, Campus Center director Mike Silva forbid the posting of any signs in the name of the Student Union because it was not considered to be a "recognized" student group. Silva claimed that he was "just doing what he was told". The bureaucratic attack sponsored by the Administration galvanized the Union and placed the group in a position where we had to run for Student Government, anything less would be an abandonment of the student body.

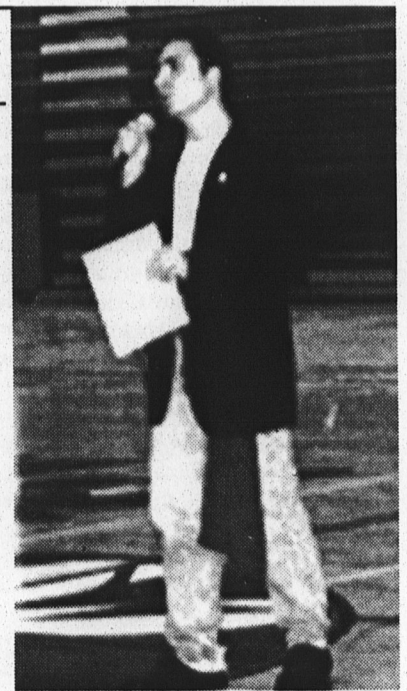
The decision to run for Student Government was far from an easy one, the proposal to do so was met with resistance from some members of the Union especially those that had been around the college for a few years. During that time they had seen many attempts made by individual or small groups of students to get on SG and change the way it does business. What these students faced in most cases was the frustration of a concept called bureaucratization. This is the transformation from an elected student leader into a student bureaucrat. As a result of this transformation students lose the will to resist authority and eventually become

Canale croons his last tune for the CSI Administration. ➔

just another person pushing papers around the second floor of the campus center. After a thorough discussion regarding this issue it was decided that the best course to follow would be to run candidates for SG while being wary of the signs of bureaucratization in addition to checking any signs of elitist attitudes that developed among the membership. The Union membership then began the work of developing a slate along with working on campaign literature that would be handed out to students.

Between the time of the Union's decision to run and the actual election period there were events that provided the group with both great solidarity and clarity. On March 20th the Student Union organized

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"Be Realistic, Think and Demand the Impossible"

BY GEORGE ROZOS

Physical as well as psychic distance from my post at CSI gives me an opportunity to return to my favorite subject, the meaning and institutionalization of liberal arts. There now seems to be an added dimension to this deservedly enduring issue because the dismal failure of our administration and faculty leadership at CSI on this fundamental issue is being highlighted by the convulsions recently generated by debates within CUNY about educational philosophy and policy.

I have always considered the role of liberal arts education to be the measuring rod by which not only the mission of a university as whole, but also its day-to-day educational policies ought to be gauged. In other words, those in position of leadership ought to be not merely trained in the liberal arts, but also committed to the spirit and values of liberal arts. Otherwise, the university devolves into a slothful bureaucracy. Its values become those of the market place, and the familiar self-selection process clones administrators and faculty endowed with all those all-too-common academic vices of mere efficiency orientation, self-serving careerism, and intellectual atrophy. In what follows I shall first place liberal arts in a historical context in order to determine what is living and what is dead in their historical conception. Then I shall take up their modern meaning and try to show that the core values of liberal arts are not only alive, but are also preeminently functional in a modern social setting.

Placed in their original historical setting of a society with rigid stratification (say, the classical or Renaissance city-state), liberal arts emerged as an education for leadership: the education of well-rounded individuals who are capable of detachment from the lower classes. Such detachment was a prerequisite for leadership on socio-economic as well as more narrowly intellectual grounds: First, the beneficiaries of liberal education were persons of leisure, or "gentlemen," who were "liberal" with their resources and had no need to involve themselves in the "vulgar" arts of production. These "gentlemen" were, therefore, not in pursuit of training for making a living, but rather an education (still better, socialization) in order to put their lives together as a whole. Personal freedom and growth through a rounded education, rather than bondage through division-of-labor-dependent production was the key to membership in the ruling class. Second, the more narrowly intellectual approach to socialization for leadership was through the study and emula-

tion of cultural and historical forms that had attained the status of ideals for their culture. In these socially functional roles liberal education of pre-modern times resembles that of less rigidly stratified European societies of nineteenth century Europe, where liberal education originated in its present form.

In this historical light, it may seem unrealistic to expect that a public university guided by liberal arts ideals may survive, much less act as a spiritual guide for youth, and a critic of society at large. I am talking about our mass cultural society, which is supplied with an abundance of "lollipop" by a high technology, ruled by capitalist ownership, and directed by a media-orchestrated democracy. Marxists will probably be as scandalized as liberal professors, technocrats, and CSI administrators by my proposition that liberal edu-

The University is not a Factory!



cation can serve as a spiritual guide of a modern university operating in such a social setting. I can visualize both my liberal and radical friends throwing up their hands in despair and asking: How can such a historically located ("conservative") ideal of an upper class education be expected to guide a public university dedicated to the education of the children of working class. Yet, my contention stands that such an apparently utopian expectation ought not only to be entertained, but also investigated and cultivated in an institution of higher learning. Utopian thinking is the exploration of "possibilities" by contrast to official social "realities" that cultures construct for the sake of their perpetuation but must, sooner or later, relinquish under scrutiny and pressure of new social circumstances. Without utopian thinking the "realities" of the status quo become fixed truths and the possibility of genuine criticism is permanently removed from the agenda of the university and, in turn, from that of the society at large.

-[Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 1960's]

The important historical difference that separates the social function of modern from pre-modern education and accounts for the "leap" in rationality and the apparent perversity of the doctrine of mass education in the liberal arts, is the modern discovery of consciousness.

The "official" definitions and articulation of social reality are the subject matter of division of labor and training by experts in professional and vocational studies within the university. By contrast, the suspension and scrutiny of officially defined social reality belong to liberal arts qua species of utopian thinking - literally,

raised that my conception of the meaning and institutionalization of liberal arts entails the notion of a university as a training ground for radicals. Though it is true that liberal arts qua utopian thinking (i.e., the thinking and demanding the "impossible" of my title) is the intellectual core of radicalism, liberal arts involves much more than that. This much-more-than-radical dimension of liberal arts is self-consciousness, which I tried to capture in my title by adding "think the impossible" to the radical SDS motto of "demand(ing) the impossible." Not everyone is, or indeed should be, a radical. A certain degree of stability and continuity is necessary for the creative potential of a society to be realized before tensions and the need for change become apparent. Consciousness-raising was prescribed by the radicals of the 1960's as a prerequisite for meaningful action. But it is also valuable as an exercise in the heightening of self-awareness for those who remain satisfied with their station in life but are, nevertheless, interested in a better understanding of their place in society. Important philosophies of consciousness, Eastern as well Western, attest to this. The fascination of cultural radicals with such philosophies is no accident. Properly conceived teaching (i.e., involving appropriate method as well as content) of liberal arts is, therefore, a necessity for both radical and acquiescent groups. We, therefore, owe it to our students (whether radicals, liberals, or conservatives) and to ourselves (as privileged academics, tenured and well paid so that we can "think the impossible"), to give liberal arts its due.

First some remarks about the use of liberal arts qua consciousness-raising by the radical constituency. Radical students and teachers of the 1960's taught us that one has to think "unrealistically" if s/he is to be able to effect genuine change. In order to be effective one has to be able to question fundamental logical and ontological (e.g., the logically established "rational" and the scientifically established "real") forms of the established culture, and not merely its products or manifestations.

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At this point an objection might be

Apology

...on corrupting the minds of the young.

BY FULL OF GAS

Irony of all ironies, a man who has continuously fought against the fragmentation of knowledge and the loss of its unity, against the teachings of Socrates and his cronies, finds himself in the ancient philosopher's position. Rozos is standing trial for two main misdeeds first, his corrupting the minds of the young; and second, his lack of belief in the gods of CSI. And to our great surprise Rozos argues just like his countryman, he engages in dialectic; and this time, it is of the most Platonic kind.

In his usual style, Rozos set out to defend his position, knowing that it is his style that angers many a juror. Far from begging for forgiveness, Rozos reiterates his now well-known ideas. And interestingly enough, just like Socrates, he starts by explaining that he is no teacher, not in the accepted definition of the term. He is

himself. He dialogues with university students, shares his questions, undermines his own answers, creates in students who like him a sense of thirst for knowledge, the only and ultimate goal.

What in Rozos style angers many a juror? Fortright speech and tendency to put into intellectual categories disagreements he may have with his colleagues knowing that not all of them can understand him. One might wonder about the reasons behind Rozos' as well as his detractors' attitude. Like Socrates, Rozos is a war hero. He fought against the Nazis, and was almost executed for his anti-fascist acts. After making of America his home, he has lived by the laws and customs of our great country. He has fought many battles he thought worthy, especially in the sixties. He often speaks of that period in his classes, and many of

his ideas are congruent with the counter-cultural movement. In other words, Rozos is a full American citizen. His understanding of the ideals of America is of the radical kind, democracy being dearest to his heart. What kind of democracy? A democracy that is grounded in the cultural fabric of the nation, a democracy that in fact does not exist yet, since our mass-culture operates in a monotheistic fashion—so-to-speak—by creating and recreating Holly Cows—market, science, bureaucracy, etc.—in a form similar to religious dogma of the Judeo-Christian type. In this sense, he lacks belief in the Gods of CSI which are nothing but the avatars of the pantheon of Great American Gods. Ask Rozos about something relating vaguely to the subject and you'll get his learned and frank response—be it the American involvement in Vietnam, Grenada, Nicaragua, Somalia, Bosnia, or about the World Bank, the IMF, and the various U.N. organization. Ask him about Mother Theresa, or the Goose Mamma, and he'll put the pieces into a whole.

On corrupting the minds of the young, Rozos finds himself in good company. Many professors espouse this practice. Students go to college to acquire not Knowledge, but to begin a journey into the wide range of human experiences. The university serves as a place where elders who have gone through their own journey share their experience with the young. The young learn to discriminate between common knowledge and scholarly sanctioned one. They learn about the dangers associated with each and how these forms of knowledge play out in history. These professors who dare complicate their students views rather than simplify them are often accused of corrupting the minds of the young. It is perhaps true that students who come into contact with certain unsettled questions will have difficulty fitting them into clear-cut, pre-thought, systems of knowledge like the ones taught by those professor who don't think of corrupting anybody or anything. The English department is notorious in its insistence on corrupting the minds of the young. The sociology department—or what remains of it—cannot but transmit information that will serve the future civil servant, social worker, or bureaucrat. Should we even mention the philosophy department, which doesn't even exist as such. Dead knowledge rivals with practical precepts. Corruption there is, but in the other direction students with an interest in philosophy proper—metaphysics—get discouraged or sidetracked towards the applied and scientific.

The question is: isn't all education a corruption of the minds since it starts with the idea that a certain knowledge of reality is there, and then proceeds in the most authoritarian way to inculcate it to the lower life-forms called students? I have asked this question to all members of the sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, creative and performing arts, philosophy, cinema, political science, and economics departments. Guess who tried to convince me that their form of knowledge

although only partial and fragmented offered a great understanding of society, culture, history, etc.?

Now we understand that when Rozos pronounces himself publicly—because this is the issue—about subjects which are not treated by any course at the college, he is called names.

This apology started with the idea to explain why Rozos is looked at dis-favorably. At this point, we have only determined why he and his ideas disturb established customs and kinships. Students who go through a number of courses taught by Rozos and people like him at CSI, cannot but gain a certain slant on life that makes them think about things with greater care.

What are we to do—I mean the young who are faced with the systematic eradication of faculty like Rozos? Note that it is much easier to speak of Rozos and his attitude because of the man's long standing struggle against the petty bureaucratic mind that pays his salary. I think of many names, but according to the Law only one sacrificial lamb by school is required. Is it in concordance with the Spirit of the Law that Rozos wears woolen sweaters? Thank G-d for the Voice! At least one can vent against the powers that be at this college. I mean the President, the Vice-Presidents, Deans, and Vice-Deans, Department Chairs and Committee Chairs. Because thanks to the education that you guys—geese—have implemented, very few students will read this article up to this point. This summer, I have conducted a thorough research into the publications of the honorable members of CSI, what the Goose Momma was proud to fanfare about. I was shocked by the level of sophistry prevalent among the honorable and virtuous. Have you read her stuff about India? I'll shoot my Indian self twice before I recommend it to anyone else.

My friends at the Voice insist that I am straying. Not true. All of these issues are related. How can an apology of a man stand without inquiring into the nature of his detractors?

Now, let me say that I didn't ask Rozos for his permission before writing this small piece. I am sure he will feel uneasy and I ask for his understanding. After reading his article I thought 'who can understand Rozos?', then, I thought 'How are the administrators going to kill him?' So, I thought of Socrates and the hemlock. That's why the apology. I also thought of an article about a fictitious meeting of the administrators who would debate the different ways of getting rid of the man, but that was already done. So...

What does this mean for the new fresh men and women who are just getting started at CSI. Probably very little. If only some of them read the end of this article, I ask them to come to the Voice and participate in the life of CSI from the unhappy side. ■

JOIN THE COLLEGE VOICE

CONGRATULATIONS SOCIAL WORKERS!!! NOW YOU DON'T HAVE TO QUESTION WHY, JUST LEARN & APPLY!!!



Minutes of the College Council are as follows:

"6. Department of Psychology/Sociology/Anthropology Proposal to de-list Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree program in Sociology, program code 02883, HEGIS 2208, effective September 1997.

Approved by the department: March 20, 1997

Justification: In 1985, the previous separate degrees in Sociology and in Anthropology were merged into a combined Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Sociology/Anthropology. The BA in Anthropology was de-listed at that time. The BA in Sociology was kept on the book with the intention of using it as a basis for a separate degree in Social Work. Now that the B.A.S.W. has been implemented, there is no further need for this degree option.

Approved by the Council: 13 Yes/0 No/0 Abstained."

FURTHER COVERAGE, & INFO. IN NEXT ISSUE OF THE COLLEGE VOICE!!!

CUNY: FAST TRACK TO PRIVATIZATION

Reflections on the Meeting with Marlene

During the first meeting of the year with CSI President Marlene Springer, the Student Union was able to set many useful precedents for future engagements with the president. President Marlene Springer had attempted to initiate the process of isolating the 19 members of the Student Government and instill a feeling of elitism among them. A perfect example of this strategy was delivered by vice-president Carol Jackson when she attempted to place only SG members at the table and have the rest

revealed some internal divisions. The question that immediately came to my mind during the proceedings was: Who was chairing the meeting? If it was Springer, then why? Springer acting as the skillful bureaucrat that she so obviously is, immediately took command of the meeting and installed herself as chairperson. At Student Union meetings any member can become the chair and a call is made at the beginning of meetings for candidates. If Springer wanted to chair this meeting then she should have had

Carol Jackson nominate her for that role. Unfortunately, we seemed to accept Springer as the ultimate power source at the meeting and through de-facto consent accepted her role as chair.

The area of Administrative weakness lies in the relationship that exists between Jackson and Springer. One look into Jackson's eyes during one of Springer's scolding sessions reveals that she may not be in full support of Springer's vision. Despite this, Jackson will be left with no choice but to follow the commands that Springer lays down for her. This situation clearly reveals the internal dynamics of the job title — Administrator. Carol Jackson may be the finest person in the world on a personal level but she must tow the line, a line set by Springer, the Chancellor and the Board of Trustees. Jackson and every other administrator have institutional responsibilities that will prevent them from taking actions that they may consider to be positive or pro-student. In addition to this, the administrative structure prevents even subtly defiant young administrators from making any changes. These people are left with the choice of either accepting the hierarchy or leaving the university.

One of the major themes that ran throughout the discussion was the enforcement of the administrative chain

of command. Springer and Jackson joined forces to describe the logic that is involved in climbing the chain of command when dealing with issues or complaints. After the meeting, Jackson continued to enforce this point by describing how productive it would be if we send her a list of issues that we want to discuss with the president before hand. If we follow this advice we are catering to one of the great weakness' of bureaucracies. They are inherently slow moving creatures and, unlike the Student Union, cannot deal with problems quickly and effectively. The enforcement of the chain of command works to slow down issues and allows the upper administrators "briefing" time as the lower administrators enact stall tactics. A perfect example of this was delivered during the elections. Following the SERC decision to void the elections and close the polls, several members of the Student Union were approached by Marla Brinson and told that all appeals would go through her office and not President Springer's. Realizing that this was a chain of command tactic, the Student Union decided to by pass Brinson and go directly to Springer. This tactic was executed perfectly and it forced the Administration into making a tactical error by agreeing to pay for the second election. In the future it is essential that we keep this lesson in mind. When we are dealing with large issues we should not be bound by the "logical" chain of command option that Jackson and Springer endorse.

The most important idea that we should take from this meeting was that Springer has thrown down the gauntlet. The first two points of the Student Union's 12-Point Program are Student Control of Student Space and Student Control of Student Funds. These ideas go hand in hand with turning over adminis-

tratively controlled decision making into the hands of students, which directly challenges the prevailing power relations. Springer directly addressed these claims by stating that "although you may represent 12,000 students, THIS IS MY SCHOOL!" From this statement we see that Springer feels that her opinion is the dominant one on our campus. Springer was not elected by the students of the College of Staten Island as their representative. As a matter of fact, a search committee was formed which included students to find a new president. This committee DID NOT recommend that Springer be hired. The search committee candidate was rejected and Marlene Springer was selected for the job once she received the blessings of CUNY Central. Is this democratic functioning? Now Springer, an administrator that was imposed on the CSI Student Body by CUNY Central, has the nerve to tell 25

...To the administration an "open" meeting means that some select "student leaders" are allowed access to them...

of the students act as non-participants in the meeting. This maneuver was quickly checked by the Student Union by presenting ourselves as a united front. Every member of the Student Union, and for that matter the entire student body, should be able to participate in meetings with the president. If the meetings involve specific areas of negotiation, then we will democratically appoint a committee to represent the group. Barring this, we should work diligently to re-define the concept of an "open" meeting. To the administration an "open" meeting means that some select "student leaders" are allowed access to them. To the Student Union, an open meeting means that any student should be given access to the meetings if they feel the need to air grievances or question the administration. In the next meeting we have with Springer these two definitions will be scrutinized harshly.

When we look at how the meeting was run we are likely to find some areas in which our group acted out of weakness and other areas where the administration

...To the Student Union, an open meeting means that any student should be given access to the meetings...

student activists that they are operating on her campus not defending the interests of their campus! Instead we are lectured about the integrity of our college. As such, the Student Union should move forward with negotiations for Club Space and 24-hour access, but with a very wary eye. In the eyes of this autocratic administrator concepts such as freedom and democracy become very blurry. Our strength does not lie in exercising cunning legal or negotiating tactics. Our power is generated directly from the 12,000 students on campus who demand a better university both for themselves and their children. We cannot lose sight of our both our power source and our goals! Otherwise all is lost! ■

...STUDENTS DENIED DEGREES!

...continued from page 3

together. Historically the student movement has been a feeding ground for bright new opportunistic Democratic stars. The students at Hostos are well aware of this tendency, having experienced it on several occasions in the past. Just as the movement get off the floor a powerful Bronx Democratic leader will step in and scoop up its leaders promising them "practical" solutions to their problems. Thankfully, the current leadership at Hostos has learned these lessons well and has shown itself willing to resist not only the BOT but the tempting wiles of the Democratic party. Sadly, the ten-

dency to only work on electoral strategies such as voter registration has begun to fester once again at a CUNY wide level. The supposed student leadership in the University Student Senate has traditionally looked to Voter Registration as the answer to all problems. This has led to a generally antagonistic relationship between the USS and the student movement, one labeled as the Farm Team for the Democratic Party and the other as a group of idealistic, undisciplined troublemakers. Due to the malicious and expedient manner in which the BOT is looking to mount an assault on Open Admissions they have opened the door to solving this

contradiction. Indeed, the USS and various elements of the student movement participated in a successful rally at the BOT on September 29th. Following the lead provided by the boisterous students of Hostos the protesters scared the dickens out of Herman Badillo as he sauntered down the block prior to the meeting. Calling for the immediate resignation of Badillo, students demonstrated the spark that could ignite CUNY in an effort to save Open Admissions from destruction at the hands of the twin parties of oppression.

One of the main components of the construction of a stable, lasting student move-

ment will be the manner in which it locates itself in relation not only to the BOT but also to the Democratic machine which undergoing its overhaul. If students are going to be sucked into the electoral system and off of the barricades then we are merely marking time and playing out our prerequisite roles before Open Admissions is destroyed. However, if we can effectively build a multi-racial united front organized on each campus, with the willingness to make the sacrifices and take the actions which are necessary to win, we have a fantastic chance to not only beat back the end of Open Admissions but radically reshape CUNY. Following the lead of the courageous Hostos students we must garner the ability to speak the truth to power and not shy away from our responsibility to take direct, effective measures to defend our-

"...WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE UNIVERSITY IS REFLECTIVE OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORKPLACE AND IT SAYS SOMETHING ABOUT THE NATURE OF CAPITALISM AT THE END OF 20TH CENTURY."

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basis for what we call presently an Honors College has been there. I concede that there are legitimate arguments to be made with respect to the establishment this Honors College in that such a college is going to establish a sort of a two tier system or is going to select out or select in students. But one of the reasons why I have committed myself to the creation of an HC because I think there is an effort to have it representative of students and I think as time goes by that there be some mechanism that permit students who did not come in because they didn't meet criteria for initial entry. But that is not the case right now, but for me that was not sufficient to not participate. Whether I participated or not there was going to be an Honors College because there is considerable sentiment within the faculty and clearly there was consensus within the Administration. My participation in the committee was to have some voice in how the that Honors College was structured and have some role in the selection process of students of Color.

I can not say to you that the argument that you [Interviewer] have made is not an argument that has some measure of validity to it. It is an argument that has been made by a number of people in a number of different circumstances.

CV: *Since the SAT's are a requirement for entrance, does the SAT measure intelligence, achievement and potential accurately?*

CH: There are serious questions about exactly what SAT do measure. I think a lot of the time the scores of the SAT's speak the kind education the student got, the social background that students come from. But there are people who have argued that it is suggestive of what a student is capable of doing in College. But it must be recognized, and I am not trying to cover all basis here, that success in College isn't based exclusively on what SAT scores one gets it is based on how committed one is to studying, how focused and disciplined and a number of other factors. But having said that it is standard practice in Universities and Colleges across this country to use the SAT scores as a basis for Admissions. It is standard practice particularly in Colleges where Honors Colleges are established, or these criteria to be used so I am not surprised that the College of Staten Island established the same basis.

Let me also say this, I personally have all kinds of questions about what they call intelligence and SAT may measure one form of intelligence but I think there are multiple forms of intelligence.

CV: *However it is the predominant form of measurement for entrance!*

CH: During my service on the Committee it was one of the important criteria used for the admission to the college. There was a based line score established.

CV: *What is the "base line" score?*

CH: I don't recall but it is clearly under 1200 as the base line. But that is not the only requirement. High School transcript are extremely important, letters of recommendation, personal statement and interviews are important. But there has to be what one would call, or what is called, objective standards for measuring, determining whether students should be admitted to the program or not. Those objective standards, main ones, are the SAT's and GPA's.

CV: *We are all aware of the debate that the SAT's as a "objective" standard for measurement of intelligence is culturally biased.*

CH: To a significant degree it does.

CV: *In terms of reinforcing an elite academic body within a college, it is being argued that it will better the "image" of CSI as a whole, but what we are mostly concerned about is not the image but the reality. Do you feel that this elite college is going to raise the standards of CSI as a whole, while at the same time SEEK is being destroyed and very little funding going into remedial courses?*

CH: Let me separate these points here. If you did not have an Honors College, the problems that SEEK presently face, unmerited and unwarranted as they are would still be there. The issue of remediation or the issues concerning remediation would still be there if you did not have an Honors College because clearly the people who are in charge of running the City University of New York are moving in a direction where they are going to reduce remediation and if they can get away with it they will seek to undermine if not eliminate SEEK.

CV: *You say the problems will still be there, but we are talking about a certain amount of funding CSI gets and how do you justify the taking away of funds to have this Honors College from that limited funding? The taking away of full-time professors to teach in these newly "elite" at CSI? No one here would have problems with raising the academic standards of the college as a whole when the reality is that we need more funding for remedial classes so the academic standards can be raised.*

CH: But I can only go back to what I said a moment ago, that intent of the Board of Trustees of the City University is to reduce the remediation component of CUNY. Unless there is a movement within the City that can bring to bear pressure on University to stop that their policy will continue.

CV: *So you see the establishment of the Honors College as a separate issue?*

CH: I am not saying that there is not necessarily a connection between, but as far as I know I don't think that the people who took the initiative to create the Honors College were doing so because there was an effort to reduce remediation.

CV: *Is it true that they would pay you more to teach the Honors College than to teach SEEK or remedial classes?*

CH: I have been asked to teach the Honors College and I don't anticipate that I am going to get more money.

CV: *In a time where CUNY is under attack by the State, City and CUNY's Central Administration via tuition increases, budget cuts and the elimination of full-time faculty, don't think that it is ironic that such a college is being created? Do you see the Honors College as a contradiction to the overall mission of this public University?*

CH: I don't see a contradiction within a public university. I know I am being interviewed but allow me ask a question. Do you think that it is possible to have remediation and opportunities for students who were not sufficiently prepared for college and also an Honors College within the same institution? Or you should not have the latter?

CV: *Yes that is what I would think, instead of focusing on an Honors College amidst the problems that CUNY faces. I think it would be better and realistic to focus on the reality of the situation. CUNY should be hiring professors instead of firing, focusing on reducing the amount of students in all classes, which enable students and faculty to have a closer working relationship and having a wider amount of classes to choose from.*

There is a need to raise educational standards in CUNY as a whole in its current situation where it is being barraged by attempts to vocationalize and trivialize the kind of education that we are receiving, but how do you feel about segregating the few at the cost of the many? Do you think that this is the correct way to raise standards?

CH: You have got to provide the remediation for those who need it and you have got to provide the resources. Lastly if you can provide an intellectually richer environment for those students who meet certain kind of criteria, I don't see any problems there. For the record I am in favor of remediation, smaller classes, and I am teaching 40 or more students in each of my classes.

CV: *That is precisely the point, when you are teaching three courses and each course consists of over 40 students, don't you think the standard of teaching declines?*

CH: I think that the degree to which you can effect teaching classes so large can be compromised.

CV: *Since 1995 CUNY has seen the largest elimination of its full time professorship, otherwise known as the adjunctification of CUNY through retrenchment, how do you feel about the further re-movement of our full-time faculty to teach the "Honors College"?*

CH: From what I know the professor that will be teaching the Honors College will not be teaching all three of their courses in that program. They may teach one course in the program and teach the other two regular classes.

Let me also say clearly as a professor I have serious concerns about what is happening to the two-tier system within the University. But what is happening in the University is reflective of what is happening in the workplace and it says something about the nature of capitalism at the end of 20th century. You have in the Corporate world two levels of workers, one level paid well and the other level exploited to a significant degree. In the University system you are having the same thing. It is to the detriment of the professoriat and also to the detriment of students.

CV: *In one of your classes you had mentioned that one of the reason that you taught in CUNY was because of its demography, its commitment to teaching working class and minorities. Your involvement with the Honors College comes as a shock to many of us who have been your students.*

CH: Yes I did come to the College of Staten Island because I than had a commitment, and still do, to teaching working class students. I am someone who is affiliated with the Honors College, however, if the opportunity was presented to me I would not teach all of my courses in the Honors program. I would still want to teach most of my courses in classes where the students are chosen from the general student body.

I also feel that a student of a working class background should be exposed to that kind of intellectual background which is challenging and demanding and what one would call elitist. I don't see any contradiction between being working class and being put in the kind of academic milieu that students are regularly exposed to at the so-called elite schools of this country. The question that often arises is how do you effectively do this, can you do it by having classes as we presently do where students of various levels of preparation are admitted or do you establish a select process, by which you have a relatively small group of students who meet a certain academic criteria? How do you do it? Sometimes the way I have tried to do it, if the student is that interested, is to do an Independent course and so doing it I expose the student to a literature which I know reasonably well is not common in the class room.

I am not saying to you that one should not have reservations about the Honors College, and that I didn't but ultimately I came to a certain conclusion that given what we've got I can live with an Honors College and I can participate. ■

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and ran a student rally against the proposed tuition hikes in the campus center in which over 150 students attended. The rally was run entirely by students and featured the passionate voices of those people that were on Gov. Pataki's firing line - the students. The one non-student guest that made an impact with the crowd was Mayoral candidate Rev. Al Sharpton who spoke out against the attack on the students of CUNY. In addition to the speeches, several student poets read some of their original pieces for the crowd. The ability to organize and run the

...A HISTORY OF THE

Schnetzer. Along with this blockage Schnetzer had repeatedly refused to allow the Voice to purchase scotch tape and other supplies claiming that they were being used as propaganda tools for the Student Union. Despite towing the administrative line, the Voice expected further problems with the elections edition. The paper was, however, printed

The April 30th opening of the election process was a political thunderbolt for the campus. At 8:50 am I was finishing the job of hanging a banner in support of the SU in the Campus Center when I was approached by the then president of the SG Joe Canale. Throughout the year I had tortured Canale in the press through a series of tactics which used both historical research and psychological treachery. On my vacation to Miami in January, I spent time (between sightseeing) reading all the SG minutes from the past year. After vomiting, I began the task of analyzing what Canale was doing to the student body and also what he was doing to his resume via his position in SG. This analysis turned into an article in the College Voice and also allowed me to become knowledgeable about the in's and outs of SG. The psychological torture took place when I realized how big Canale's ego was and how insecure he was about being questioned. Throughout every article I wrote about SG and Canale, I referred to him as "president" with a lower case p. What may seem trivial to most of us was infuriating to Canale according to my

twisters" out only to increase the funding of the College Voice. As I walked forward and laughed Canale spotted me and began yelling to get the attention of Administrator Mike Silva, the chair of the Student Election Review Committee (SERC), in an attempt to get me immediately disqualified from the election for tearing down campaign literature. The same person that had been sincere and somber minutes earlier was now hopping up down like a frog, screaming for my immediate disqualification from the elections. After Silva balked at Joe's request, Joe began yelling at me telling me that I was just another selfish member of the College Voice. I then asked Joe in an extremely loud voice why he was a racist and what he had against the Kwanzaa celebration that had taken place on campus, that he (SG) had refused to fund. This shouting match welcomed in the Student Government elections of 1997 and served as an alarm for students passing by - that there would be radical changes on campus.

To express our positions fully and to help inform the student body about our mission in a clear and coherent manner, the Student Union had developed a pamphlet entitled "12-Point Program for Change!". Listed inside of this pamphlet were the 26 Union members running for office along with the 12 points that unified this group. Our list of demands called for the following:

- 1) Student Control of Student Funds
- 2) Student Control of Student Space
- 3) 24 Hour Access to the Library, Campus Center and Computer Rooms
- 4) Daycare for all Students
- 5) Parking For All Students
- 6) Rebuild Student Clubs
- 7) Stop the Financial Assault on the Student Body
- 8) Rebuild Student/Faculty Relations
- 9) Student Control of Student Education/Curriculum
- 10) Security - Stop Funding Security
- 11) End Corporate Control of the Bookstore
- 12) Fight the W.E.P. Program

These points were decided upon democratically at a campaign strategy meeting of the Union that involved over 30 students. It was unilaterally decided that the tone of our campaign would be a positive one and that the mudslinging and name calling would be left to the opposition. The points of unity reflected the hard work that had been done by the group since its inception and focused on the major complaints of the student body. The program and the Union were radical challenges to the administration of CSI because it placed the blame squarely on their shoulders and did not look to act as apologists. The SU pamphlet boldly called for "office keys (to) be immediately returned to students and taken from administration", "the education of students not security officers" and stated that "control over the bookstore should be immediately returned to the student body". The most important statement and the most dangerous one in the eyes of the

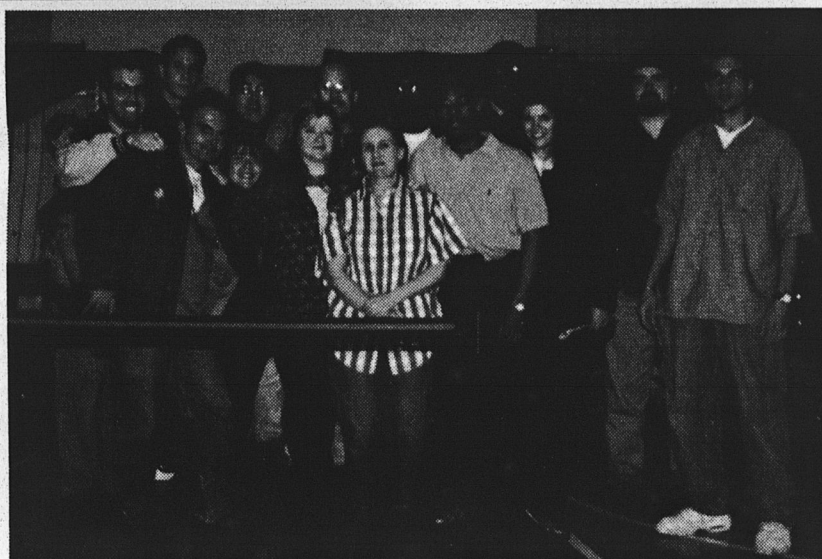
"The most important statement and the most dangerous one in the eyes of the administration was, "the Student Union advocates and is carrying out a program of militant mass action that all students at CSI should partake in". This connected the Union to the struggle carried out throughout CUNY."

event effectively was a major sign of maturity on the part of the Student Union. The event provided us with a much needed confidence boost after the problems at the educational earlier in the semester. A week after the CSI rally, the Student Union took part a CUNY wide rally at City Hall against the tuition hikes. Throughout the semester, Union representatives had taken part in organizing this event with other CUNY campuses. For the older members of the group the organizational process seemed like a yearly ritual in which they wrestle with the ghosts of 1995 but for younger members it was a valuable first experience in dealing with politics on a CUNY wide basis. Participation in the March 27th rally, despite the fact that we had been denied the use of buses to attend, was a major point of solidarity, a point at which talk was transformed into action. Union members that had previously thought of themselves as strictly CSI students came to recognize the fact that they had a major role to play in the struggle that was being carried out on a University wide basis. Following the events at City Hall, Union membership headed up to CCNY to join the CCNY Coalition Against the Cuts to round out a full day of activities that introduced a new breed of CSI students to the CUNY struggle.

The campaign for Student Government started as it would end; in a cloud of controversy and heated emotions. The struggle began in the offices of the College Voice as the membership of the paper began to prepare the special elections edition of the newspaper. On April 9th the Voice had handed in its famous monthly minutes in which it stated that "all members of the Voice running for SG will not vote on the editorial board endorsement". The prior two editions of the Voice had been blocked from printing by then Publications Commissioner Juergen

and was scheduled for delivery to the campus on Monday April 28th two days prior to the start of the election. On the 28th however, the editors of the Voice were informed by Schnetzer that the paper had been impounded at the printer and would not be delivered to campus. After contacting long time CUNY Student Attorney Ronald McGuire and informing both the Student Government and the Administration that a lawsuit would be pending, an emergency meeting of the SG upheld Schnetzer's decision to impound the paper. Fearing a lawsuit, the Administration stepped in and overruled the SG decision. Displaying the sheer panic of an Administration caught unprepared, administrators Marla Brinson and Mike Silva drove to the printer, Ex-Pedi Express in Manhattan, picked up the paper and delivered it to school. As the administration slogged through the Meat Market district to retrieve the illegally impounded papers, the College Voice and the Student Union celebrated their first round victory.

inside sources in SG. Anyway, as I was finishing hanging our banner, Canale approached me. He offered his hand and to me and in his most sincere voice told me "I hope this is a clean campaign and I hope the best man wins". Despite the overtly sexist nature of this comment, there were many members of the Student Union ticket that were women, I accepted Canale's offer and shook his hand. I did not trust nor did I feel bad for him, but for the first time since I became involved in campus activities I thought that maybe Joe was not such a bad guy after all. Less than 15 minutes later, a mere 5 minutes into the election a supporter of the Student Union handed me an 11x17 piece of paper and told me that I should read this. As I walked to the History building, to begin campaigning, I read a memo penned by Canale on Student Government letterhead entitled "TRUTH". In this memo, which was posted on the door of every department building, Canale attempted to paint the Student Union as a bunch of "truth



CSI Student Union After Winning the SG Elections last year..

C.S.I STUDENT UNION

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administration was contained in this sentence, "the Student Union advocates and is carrying out a program of militant mass action that all students at CSI should partake in". This sentence connected the Union to the struggle that was, is and should be carried out throughout CUNY.

As the four day election went forward it was marked by several heated clashes between the Union and the newly formed opposition slate that called itself Students for Students (SS). These interactions led to a slew of complaints that were filed by the SS slate against Union members with both

Following the Woods charge against Colleen McGraham, which has subsequently been dropped by the administration, the NYPD was called on campus. Police cruisers followed Union candidates around campus as they handed out leaflets. The one complaint that Woods filed which proved successful was one filed on April 30th with the SERC in which he called for the immediate disqualification of all candidates "found to be in the aforementioned issue of the College Voice by any means such as Platform Statement or otherwise". That

"...AS A RESULT OF THE PRESIDENTS DECISION THE ELECTIONS WERE SHUT DOWN.. ANY SEMBLANCE OF DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE HAD BEEN SQUASHED AT CSI..."

the SERC committee and campus security. During the first few days of the election the Canale led slate had been swamped by a swarming and aggressive team of Union candidates campaigning throughout the campus. In addition to the simple handing out of campaign literature Union members participated in a program of class interventions during which they entered classes before they started and sparked conversations about campus politics while informing students about the elections that were going on. An amazingly large amount of students had no idea that SG elections were going on and were shocked to see fellow students actually discussing campus politics. As the confidence of the Union candidates grew they began to enter classes as they were in session and in most cases they were well received by professors who looked as though they were having some kind of acid flashback to the 60's. Faced with a highly organized, deeply committed group the SS turned to the Confusion tactics and disqualification strategies. They printed 'copy-cat' literature designed to look like the pamphlets being handed out by SU candidates. Charges that were levied against SU members ranged from the ridiculous to the absurd:

- SS candidate and Elections Commissioner Andre Woods filed a charge of sexual intimidation against Voice editor Manjula Wijerama.

- SS candidate Juergen Schnetzer filed an assault charge with security against Union candidate Kevin Spillane for "assaulting his briefcase".

- Andre Woods filed charges against Union candidate Colleen McGraham for physically and verbally intimidating him. He filed charges with security and NYPD.

- Andre Woods filed charges against me for verbally intimidating him. After he filed this charge SG sources informed me that he was banned from using SG stationary because of the amount of charges and memos he had penned.

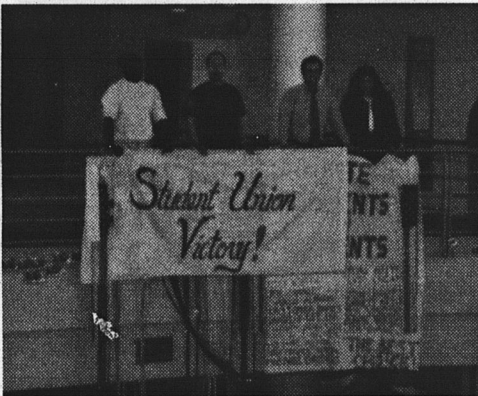
same day during the SERC meeting (the committee was made up of administrator Mike Silva, staff member Winsome Alston and student Sibi Geevarghese) ruled that the College Voice had improperly used the student activity fee. The following day the SERC committee re-convened and after heated debate by students on both sides of the argument the committee moved to an executive session and kicked all students out of the room. Throughout the argument Union members expressed the opinion that the SERC decision was both unfair and anti-democratic. Silva chaired the committee and therefore could not vote so that left Winsome a staff member and Sibi a student to make a decision regarding the future of 12,000 students at CSI. Sibi was not only a student however, she was currently employed by Silva as a "CUNY cap" in the campus center. Silva not only chaired the committee he was also the boss of the lone student on the committee! After 40 minutes the SERC reconvened and read the following fateful decision in which they stated that they would: "postpone the election and consider the ballots cast null and void as it is this committee's decision that the electoral process has been compromised beyond its ability to be fair to all candidates".

Despite the furious impassioned protests of the Union members Silva ruled the meeting adjourned and the SS students gleefully celebrated the cancellation of the elections.

Immediately following the SERC decision to consider the ballots cast as being null and void, the administration moved in on the ballot boxes and locked them down. As the administration slapped the locks onto the voting machines they also slapped the locks down on the Union's right to appeal the decision. The Union had 48 hours to exercise their legal right to appeal the decision of the SERC committee to the president of the college, Marlene Springer. By locking down the

boxes the administration attempted to destroy this right. The lockdown occurred during the Club Fair, a time of heavy student traffic in the Campus Center. In addition to this, Union members were engaged in a meeting with 30 students who after the meeting attempted to exercise their right to vote but were denied. Stripped of their right to appeal and faced with a large group of students that had been denied their right to vote, the Union moved into an impromptu meeting in order to determine the correct plan of action. During the meeting it was decided that the Union would occupy the hallway in front of Springer's office and refuse to leave until the ballot boxes were reopened. As Union members marched from the Campus Center to the Administration their numbers grew - courtesy of students enraged at the fact that the polls had been closed.

Upon entering the Administration building, students were filled with both anger and a strong sense of conviction. After occupying the area in front of Springer's office, students along with



"Despite the clear demands by the student body for change by the strength of their votes, democracy was trashed in the name of political maneuvering.... while Jackson was attempting to broker a deal with Canale to create a "level playing field"..."

their lawyer Ron McGuire, entered the front section of the executive suite and told the secretary that they wanted to see Springer immediately. After leaving the front office the students were greeted by a CUNY officer who then blocked the door to prevent students from entering the office. Following this head of security Gene Martinez informed the Union that Carol Jackson would be doing the negotiating for Springer. Once again Springer denied the students of CSI the grand privilege of her presence regardless of the importance of the issue at hand. Sensing that Springer had become particularly

sensitive about having a large group of students outside her office, the Union resisted the temptation to march down to Jackson's office one flight below. Instead, we elected a five person negotiating team to deal with Jackson while the rest of the students kept the point of pressure occupied. The student reps were accompanied by a member of the Banner along with radio station-Union member Rob Lauro. During the meeting with Jackson she attempted to give the same pacifying rhetoric that the Union had faced in previous meetings. The Union did not back down in the face of this and continued to demand to see Springer and get the polls re-opened. As a result of the direct action taken by the students, polls were reopened after a three hour delay. The spontaneous direct action taken by the Union had forced the Administration to take the actions that were fair and democratic. If the Union had done nothing or engaged the "proper" channels hundreds of students would be disenfranchised. Instead, by taking the battle from the backroom to the front of Springer's office, by making public demands instead of private requests, the principles of equity and justice were preserved for all students at CSI. A valuable lesson was learned this day and hopefully one that can be effectively transmitted to the entire student body.

The decision to have the elections continued on Friday and Saturday pending our appeal to Springer produced an atmosphere of great angst among the Union membership. We continued to aggressively carry out our campaign strategy of class interventions and face to face discussions with students. However, our opposition either in recognition of our large lead in the polls or as a demonstration of the faith they place in the administration barely campaigned. This situation led to an overwhelming fear that the administration on behalf of the SS slate would tamper with the ballot

boxes. Students joked that voting for the administration was taking place in Springer's office Sunday night but it was humor that was mixed with doubt. A sympathetic professor even went so far as to offer us the cot that he keeps in his office so that we could keep an eye on the boxes throughout the weekend. As the college closed on Saturday six weary members sat on the steps of the library to watch the polls being shut down. Following the shut down the security guard who was charged with guarding the boxes walked out of the library and

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...THINK AND DEMAND

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Dialectical philosophy fully vindicates this radical intuition about the importance of consciousness-raising and the resultant cultural dimension of the concept of class. The philosophical detail of this dialectical challenge against the dialectical - and by extension radical - credentials of Marxist fundamentalism, needs more space than allowed here. However, the present issue of liberal arts can be used to illustrate this challenge by the dialectic against orthodox Marxism. For example, my claim

cal needs a "gentleman's" detachment from the various underclasses, which are tied to the umbilical cord of the lollipop-producing capitalist system. But more important, s/he needs a clarity of vision vis-a-vis the fatal conception of a causality, which Marx, oblivious to the lessons of his teacher - the master dialectician Hegel - borrowed uncritically from the toolbox of bourgeois scientific rationality.

In the world of the now defunct applied Marxism, economic determinism

vative role in the education of ruling classes of the past for leadership over the lower ranks of their societies. History moves along a "crooked" (or irrational) path, only when reckoned by the "official" standards of rationality. But if we are willing to dare into some consciousness-raising by way of liberal arts and question Marxist, as well as liberal, preconceptions about rationality, this "perversity" is shown to be apparent and due to our ignorance of the dialectical nature

of liberal arts as consciousness-raising provides the ground for hope that what has hitherto been unself-conscious socialization for leadership of the few through liberal education, can now become self-conscious education of all for citizenship.

This dialectical transformation of elitist into mass education, through the injection of self-consciousness, can be illustrated through Hegel's formulation of the course of history as the story of the realization of freedom qua self-realization in three

Beginning with the merger of Richmond College and CCSI into the present CSI two decades ago, faculty leaders and administration have been unable to muster the nerve and/or the intellectual integrity to resist the progressive dilution, persecution, and outright execution of liberal arts.

about the radical implications of liberal arts, in spite of its conservative class-rootedness, loses its unrealistic appearance the moment the well-known Marxist causal link between class and (false) consciousness is discarded and the relation between class stratification and liberal education is viewed in a dialectical light. Following our diagnosis about the power of consciousness-raising to disclose culturally infected "fundamental logical and ontological forms," the operation of scientific causality in the social world comes automatically under scrutiny for being infected by bourgeois ideology. Both the scientific conception of causality (which provides the Marxist link between class and consciousness) and the broader Marxists conceptions of historical (and the so-called dialectical) materialism, which allegedly fuel historical process, fall under the same rubric of bourgeois-scientific rationality.

The more immediate (for our purposes) outcome of the dialectical scrutiny of Marxist interpretation of liberal arts education, is that socialization (of which education is a cultural offshoot) is inextricably linked with social stratification, but not in a causal-deterministic way. Belonging to a class is as much a matter of socialization as it is a matter of commanding economic resources as a member of a class. For class to be socially functional and for its concept to be intellectually tractable, class membership has to be defined in cultural (inclusive of economic) rather than mere economic terms. In this sense, the education (paralleled by a thorough socialization) provided by aristocracies to its "gentlemen" in the past, was highly functional for the societies involved. Today's aspiring radical can learn more from the services that liberal education performed for these "gentlemen," than from the Marxist theories about the revolutionary potential of a working class that was deduced by way of economic determinism. Our radi-

(operating through a flawed conception of class) was given primacy over consciousness and the integrity of culture. This was coupled with a confident expectation (based on an equally flawed concept of causality), that socialist consciousness would fall into place as soon as the socialist restructuring of economic and social institutions takes effect. The disastrous consequences for applied Marxism of a faulty conception of causality, added onto an equally defective conception of class, are too well known to be recounted. The flurry of revisionist Marxist studies on the cultural dimension of class came too late - mostly as a consequence of the failure of applied Marxist - to be of any benefit to Marxist revolutionary practice.

Let us indulge momentarily in utopian thinking by allowing liberal arts to guide the radical imagination of our aspiring revolutionary. We may begin by granting the diagnoses of sociology of knowledge and Marxism that liberal arts qua utopian thinking transcending classes and economic interests, are mere ideals (i.e., species of "false consciousness") which conceal and perpetuate oppressive class systems. Still, the presumed truth of their diagnosis about the ideological nature of liberal education does not invalidate one iota the potential value of its ideals in promoting radical change. The basic ingredients of Marx's profile of the communist ideal of humanity were lifted bodily from the aristocratic ideal of man of classical Greece. Utopian thinking is a species of false consciousness, which has been shown time and again capable of unveiling deeply ingrained false claims about current (official) reality. More important, the dialectical interplay between bits of false consciousness (ideals) and social reality is in fact what fuels the movement of history.

Perverse as it may sound, the radical function of liberal arts qua consciousness-raising stems precisely from their conser-



President Marlene Springer and Vice-President Carol Jackson enjoy a laugh at the GYM.

of historical process. In other words, it is only by a "crooked" path that we are led from the familiar position of a class-bound liberal arts education that is functional for the elite, to the unfamiliar "perverse" in the eyes of the educational establishment - thinking, wherein they are also fit for the masses. This brings us to the non-radical half of the title - "Be realistic, Think the Impossible" - and the examination of the function of liberal arts for the majority - the acquiescing segment of our student population. But in order to get a better handle on this we need another short digression into history.

The important historical difference that separates the social function of modern from pre-modern education and accounts for the "leap" in rationality and the apparent perversity of the doctrine of mass education in the liberal arts, is the modern discovery of consciousness. It has been ushered in on a grand scale by the Protestant Revolution, articulated philosophically by German idealism, and branched into various intellectual and artistic movements and practices in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Existentialism, phenomenology, psychoanalysis, avant-garde movements in the arts, the rediscovery of Eastern wisdom, and the counter-cultural movements of the 1960's, are some of the manifestations of this discovery of consciousness. The revolution of consciousness still has a long way to go before it can penetrate popular consciousness. But our treatment

stages: (1) Despotism, where freedom is possible for one, i.e., the absolute despot. (2) Aristocracy, beginning with the Greek city-state where freedom is reserved for the few. (3) Modernity, when freedom becomes a possibility for everyone, thanks to the Protestant Revolution's discovery of religious consciousness for all. Hegel in no way grants the realization of freedom for all, much less mass democracy, but only the possibility for actualization of freedom for all as a result of the Protestant discovery of consciousness, i.e., self-consciousness. In other words, self-consciousness is a precondition for the realization of freedom and ultimately of genuine democracy. In the language of the counter-culture of the 1960's, we should "know where our heads are at" before we try to reform the world. This is a valuable lesson, with a venerable religious and philosophical credentials, whose disregard proved fatal to aspiring reformers of humanity as well as radical educational innovators

The importance of consciousness-raising for the realization of secular freedom for all and the centrality of liberal arts for its implementation can be highlighted by a parallelism between Luther's times and ours. In Martin Luther's doctrines of equality before God, and that of Christian freedom from death (of the soul through sin), papal bureaucracy and its ecclesiastical hierarchy (standing as intermediaries between God and common humanity) are the embodiments of death through sin.

THE IMPOSSIBLE

...continued from previous page

Lutheran inwardness (i.e., self-consciousness about the subject's own capacity for salvation through his own means) undercuts the power of these intermediaries and liberates Christian souls from the bonds of death. The modern counterparts of Christian freedom from death are not far to seek if one substitutes secular for papal bureaucracy, economic sins of capitalism for spiritual sins of the Catholic hierarchy, and human degradation in the hands of modern media mind-management (including education) for spiritual death in the clutches of religious mind-control. Finally, Luther's Christian free-

the values of the marketplace by submissively implementing policies of their masters at 80th St., whose social location and motivations are often antithetical to the values of liberal education. Beginning with the merger of Richmond College and CCSI into the present CSI two decades ago, faculty leaders and administration have been unable to muster the nerve and/or the intellectual integrity to resist the progressive dilution, persecution, and outright execution of liberal arts. My indictment is even more damning against those select Richmond "originals," who

arts values in order to save the college from extinction is a variation of the broader question of having to compromise with evil in order to prevent a greater evil. This is a problem that is both morally too unsettling and intellectually complex to take up here. Suffice it to add that there are less radical and no less effective means of registering one's opposition to orders from above.

For example, what happened to the honorable way of resigning from one's administrative post and safely falling back into teaching after having given due publicity to one's reasons for doing so? Or, why not wait until the college is secure from extinction and then resume the invigorating liberal arts through planning, hiring, etc.? In my 27 years at CSI and Richmond I don't recall any such steps taken by these liberal arts luminaries. Instead, the administrators held on tenaciously to their positions and the senior faculty to their important committee work. A nauseous atmosphere had been generated, wherein an already demoralized and insecure faculty was further paralyzed by rumors about impending cuts and retrenchments in personnel. This was an ideal climate for administration to become more entrenched and thus more capable to implement their masters' wishes and turn a potentially first-class liberal arts college into a glorified trade school.

While trying to stem the tide of erosion of liberal arts, I had written a series of internal papers arguing vigorously against a hideous anti-liberal arts measure initiated by our three top administrators - all ex-Richmond liberal arts "luminaries" - with the collaboration of a highly demoralized faculty in the social sciences. Their plan (eventually implemented) was to merge sociology and social work under the same department and program. Having had distributed the papers to all those concerned, including the "top three," in the college community, I was trying to get some feedback from one of them who kept responding to me, without any further comment, that my papers were "bad." I kept insisting on

getting some elaboration as to why they were bad. Finally s/he said (in the presence of another colleague of mine) that, being an administrator, it was inappropriate to comment on the merits of my papers. This incident portrays faithfully the operation of a bureaucratic mind, which has allowed the values of academic and intellectual integrity to be supplanted by those of bureaucracy at the service of society-at-large. First, s/he failed to distinguish between authentic education, which is about prioritizing and justifying values and a bureaucratic "neutrality" about values in the interest of efficiency. Second, s/he missed the difference (mentioned earlier) between "official" and "unofficial" reality (and rationality), which liberal education is meant to disclose by way of consciousness-raising. According to officially defined reality bureaucracy is about neutrality and the efficient servicing of democratically aggregated individual values. However, as pointed out above, liberal arts - "unofficial" or behind the surface - conducted examination of bureaucracy concludes that it serves only the interests of itself and those at the seat of power. Third, s/he knowingly damaged my legitimate interests when he/she characterized (in an official capacity) my papers as "bad," without following through (under the cover of administrative neutrality) and justifying intellectually this characterization. By taking cover behind bureaucratic "neutrality," and avoiding taking sides on the vital issue of liberal arts, our administrator had defaulted at both the levels of academic and intellectual integrity.

This seemingly innocuous little story is rich in implications about the vagaries of wearing "two hats" - as an administrator and as intellectual trained in liberal arts. But, most important, it is indicative of the degeneration of academic life once the values of academic and intellectual integrity are being substituted by bureaucratic "neutrality" between values in the name of efficiency. And just in case this process of substitution is reminiscent of an important definitional feature of fascism, this is not an accident. ■

THEY [CSI ADMINISTRATION] HAVE OPTED FOR THE VALUES OF THE MARKETPLACE BY SUBMISSIVELY IMPLEMENTING POLICIES OF THEIR MASTERS AT 80TH ST.,

dom (salvation) through inwardness corresponds to our hope for freedom (secular salvation) through heightened self-consciousness about our function in modern society. In short, what was heralded by the Protestant Revolution as a promise of universal freedom from sin and death, and echoed by Hegel in philosophical terms as a possibility for universal political freedom, is now reaffirmed as a promise of liberation from modern techno-economic exploitation and electronic engineering of consent.

In closing these thoughts from afar I would like to return to my opening remarks about the responsibilities of our faculty leaders and administration of this institution regarding liberal education. I have advisedly used the expression "spiritual guidance" with reference to the function of liberal arts in a modern university, in order to underscore the quasi-religious feature of a fixed point of reference around which tactics and strategies may be allowed to vary. Today liberal arts serve as a steady beacon in a sea of change where powerful economic groups, in conjunction with electronic technology, construct reality and fabricate opinion to suit their interests. Liberal education serves as a mirror wherein we can see ourselves in our present situation, as reflected in the light of our past. Paradoxically, these so-called conservative doctrines of the past serve also as our beacons for steering clear of the quagmire of the present. In the absence of a rigid class system and its "gentlemen," universities are the only remaining repositories of these conservative doctrines. Liberal arts faculties are the sole human agents left with both privileges and the responsibility to keep them alive.

Senior faculty and administration at CSI have defaulted on this - their most important academic responsibility. Instead of remaining steady in their commitment to the liberal arts values they were swayed by the shifting winds of a society living off the renewal of its own useless fabrications. They have opted for

rose from faculty ranks to administration over the years and who held (and are still holding) a disproportionately large number of high administrative positions. Its founders intended Richmond College some thirty years ago as a liberal arts college par excellence grounded on the same liberal arts values on which I have founded my preceding argument. These luminaries, who formed the core of leadership of CSI were originally recruited by Richmond not only because of their training in the liberal arts, but also because of their professed special commitment to these values. It has, therefore, been a particularly painful experience for me (also a Richmond "original") to observe them over the years contributing, tacitly or explicitly, to the demise of liberal arts at CSI.

I can anticipate some of the responses of the Richmond "originals" to my indictment: First, they had to compromise on the issue of liberal arts in order to save the college from total extinction. Second, they had changed their views about the value of liberal arts as a result of the excesses of the 1960's. In regard to the last point, I am the last to contend that one should not be allowed to change one's mind about old commitments. On the contrary, the courage to change one's views and say so in public is a first-rate intellectual and academic virtue. Similarly, self-consciousness, by way of self-examination and an honest account of one's own intellectual biography, is a species of intellectual integrity that is worthy of practicing in class, especially in the liberal arts. Whether deemed success or failure, those enriching Richmond "experiments" with the radical forms of liberal arts, like those I have been discussing, deserve a comprehensive account by those converted "originals" in the name of intellectual integrity. Nor am I arguing, in regard to the first point, that one should commit hara-kiri in public in order to protest against the trampling of one's principles. The possible counter-argument that they had to betray liberal



TOGETHER WE
CAN SMASH
RACISM
AND
POLICE
BRUTALITY!!



TO BEAT

to hate
to rape
to turn your cheek away from an oppressive system
to expose the dying
starving
weak
working class vigilante
is that what it is to wear blue?
to lie
to cheat
to take false identities
colored with racist qualities
and swear upon lost beliefs
is that what means to wear blue?
to play god
to corrupt
to ruin lives
to be ignorant to compassion and justice
and to say that's your job
is that how it is when you wear blue?

by cephus

GUNS,

badges,
billy clubs,
the law.
men in blue

walking like little gods
beating,
killing,
hanging
elucidating the genocide.
hand in hand with the state
murdering
expressing
implementing
the so called morale.
building prisons, walls of destitution
confinement
for the betterment of nobility
shattering life by creating death
in the best of their ability.
degeneration,
poverty or prosperity?
no it's a systematic murder of society,
...a systematic murder of working class reality!

by sH



POETRY IN ACTION.....

Life's What I'm Thinking About

Don't look at my color and judge me
Inspiration and knowledge I bring to those that know me

I may stand here before you
Looking simple and spaced out
But life and all it's shortcomings
Is what I'm thinking about

I am thinking about the drugs and guns in our community
The life of our people soon to be

DEAD

Because we are being oppressed by the man
That plants the bad seed among our people
In order to lead us to destruction

We accept this without question
Supporting St. Ides
That eventually take lives
But never ask why
Timberland

I won't be his fan
Never liked our people
Until he saw how much money
We could put in his hand

I may stand here before you
Looking simple and spaced out
But life and all it's shortcomings
Is what I'm thinking about

Like the over abundance in our community of liquor
That makes our people sicker
More available than food on most people's table

LABEL

That is what they put on us
Hoping to diminish our pride, hopes and dreams

Of succeeding in our lifetime

Prejudice and dislike for our people you'll find
While mad money and support from our people incline
To industries whose products and clothes
Were not meant for our black behinds

I may stand here before you
Looking simple and spaced out
But life and all it's shortcomings
Is what I'm thinking about

I'm thinking about those that are quick to point their
finger

And do nothing to help
Adding to our disparity
And gaining much wealth

Trying to divide these people of mind
While they sit there blind to the truth
And believing in their lies

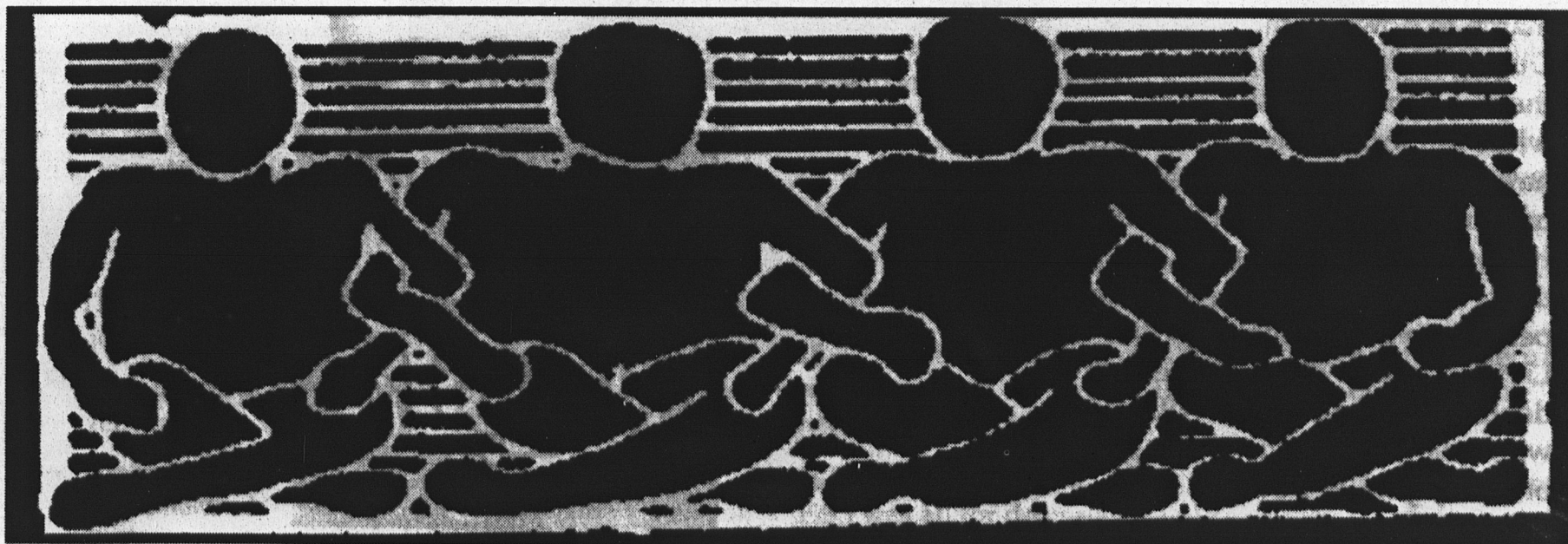
FLIES

Our their mouths and affects our lives
Not caring how much we're hurting inside
Cause see, their inciting conflict
So our people will die
But the wool shall not be pulled
Over these big brown eyes

Although I may stand here
Looking simple and spaced out
Life and all it's shortcomings
Is what I'm thinking about

By Shenika Aspinall

(THIS POEM IS DEDICATED TO HIGH SOCIETY)



...C.S.I STUDENT UNION

...continued from page 13

we greeted him with some friendly banter about the protecting the ballots. After assuring the group several times that nobody would even get close to the boxes the security guard hopped into his truck and drove away leaving the students on a less than confident note.

In order to maintain firm disciplined action and to ensure that speakers were talking on behalf of the entire group, the Union was engaging in non-stop meetings. After every SERC meeting there was a meeting of 20 or 30 Union members, sometimes to inform other members about decisions that had been made and other times to develop effective strategies. On Friday May 2nd there was a late afternoon meeting in which a weekly recap was given and a plan of action was developed. The discussion revolved around action because of the possibility that so much hard work would be destroyed simply because the administration did not want to have so called "radicals" occupying the

student control that had only been whispered about in the past.

This bold move planned by the Union was pre-empted by the administration who, either acting on inside information from a voice from within the Union, or by pure luck of circumstance, called for a SERC meeting at the exact time that the action was planned. At this meeting, on May 5th, the SERC decided that in order to increase the "fairness" of the elections they would be extended four days beyond its original schedule. This decision was short lived as President Springer released her memo regarding the elections appeal the following day. In it she stated that the College Voice issue that endorsed the Student Union amounted to "a thinly veiled student activity fee piece of campaign literature for the Student Union slate". As a result of the presidents decision the elections were shut down and re-scheduled for an eight day period. Any semblance of democratic procedure

to create a "level playing field". In this memo, dated May 1, 1997, Canale, sensing imminent defeat at the hands of the Union, rejects the unstated offer that Jackson had made. According to the memo Canale stated that, "while your offer is truly a generous one, I'm sorry that I can not accept it, to do so would be to accept half a Band-Aid for a lacerated artery, a help but one that will hardly prevent me from bleeding to death". The memo was Carbon Copied to Ellen Kreiger, Marla Brinson and Mike Silva. This memo begs the question of why these people were making decisions about the election outside of the official SERC committee meetings? This memo re-enforces the notion that students, all students, are certainly not given due process. The decisions made on campus are relayed through an intricate series of administrators with an occasional conservative student that is down with the administrative program allowed access to

been spent in the library and in class was wasted running and then re-running the election. Former Dean's List students were reduced to begging professors for extensions on papers or sweating their way through exams thoroughly unprepared. Are these the rewards for wanting to provide service for your fellow students?

The second election produced a predictable result, the Union once again was victorious by an overwhelming margin. This election did however provide some of the most ridiculous campaign literature and the most ridiculous confrontation between the two groups. The SS slate immediately came out with a flyer which attempted to portray Union members "radical frauds" and decrying the fact that the Union had hired a lawyer to defend themselves. SS students marched around the campus with signs plastered with the memo that Springer had authored, re-enacting a Medieval March of Fools. In response to this the Union issued a fact based statement to inform students that we were not fraudulent radicals we were the real thing and that our lawyer was working pro-bono. Later in the midst of the electioneering ex-SG member Chris Alvarez demonstrated that they would stoop to any level no matter how prejudicial or inane. Alvarez approached a Union member and screamed out "don't vote for him he's a Communist!" The Union member responded by asking Alvarez "what does it mean to be a Communist?" Alvarez, demonstrating the great depth of knowledge he brought to his job as Academic and Curricular Affairs Commissioner stated, "I don't know, but I know it's bad".

Now that the elections are over the Student Union finds itself inside of Student Government instead of outside of it. The Student Government, living up to its description as a bureaucratic body which sucks in student activists and spits them out, has aggravated some malignant tendencies in the Union. Some members that had seen through the fantastic charade that the Administration provides are now jumping to embrace these same administrators. Elements of opportunism and careerism have quickly leaped into the consciousness of members. These tendencies have been aggravated by the coddling of administrators and the tendency by one member towards red baiting. Just as Chris Alvarez was unable to develop an articulate analysis of communism so to will these members be unable to do the kind of mass based outreach which will be necessary to advance the building of a mass student movement. This is still the main task at hand for the Union. A mass student movement will not be built in the offices of administrators and the activists on the Student Union should fully understand this. This movement will be built through constant outreach with the student body centered around a set of demands and principles which will lead to a truly student centered university. The battle will be in the streets not the boardrooms! ■



"A mass student movement will not be built in the offices of administrators and the activists on the Student Union should fully understand this...the battle will be in the streets not the boardrooms!"

Student Government. During this week students that had previously been passive became radicalized and called for immediate action to be taken against the administration and most especially against President Springer. The Union membership then devised a plan in which a large group of students, 25-30, would enter the administration building and occupy the Presidents office space until the decision regarding the elections was released. Union members had undergone a dramatic change, transformed from being members of a discussion group that went through "official channels" to a group operating with a full understanding that those channels were built to discriminate against them. Backed by popular support from the student body, the Student Union was prepared to enforce principles of stu-

dent control that had only been whispered about in the past. This idea was further illuminated as the votes from the original election were counted on May 7th. In total 698 students had cast their votes an overwhelming majority of which were cast in favor of the Student Union. 68% of all votes cast by students were cast for the Union, ex-SG president Joe Canale was defeated by a vote of 336 to 169. Despite the clear demands by the student body for change by the strength of their votes, democracy was trashed in the name of political maneuvering. For many students this action invoked feelings of both shock and outrage but for others the action came through as expected.

According to a memo sent to Carol Jackson from Joe Canale, Jackson was attempting to broker a deal with Canale

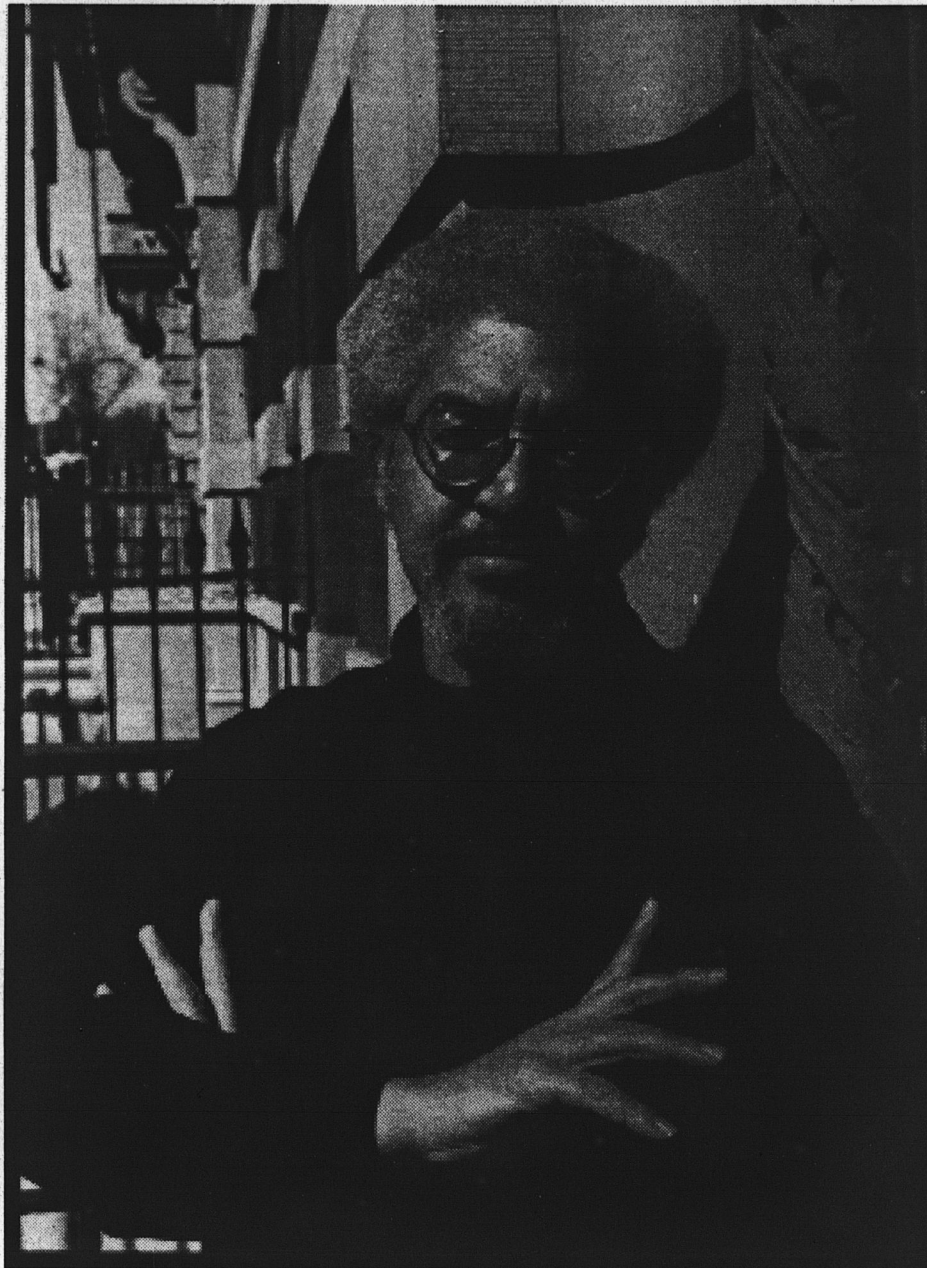
information.

The new administratively imposed election was run over the course of 8 days and inflicted brutal academic punishment on the members of the Union. From beginning to end the candidates spent almost a solid month campaigning for positions they had already won. Some students spent numerous sleepless days and nights while others were simply unable to keep up with the pace and received incompletes in their classes.

The Administration, who will happily smile at you and tell you how dedicated they are to helping students academically, created and then enacted an intellectual minefield for students to operate through. In total the Student Union accumulated 20 incompletes as a result of the election, a ridiculous amount time that could have

DR. MANNING MARABLE

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EDITORIALS

THE COLLEGE VOICE WHO WE ARE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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COLLEGE
voice 

EDITORIAL / Letters

...STUDENTS ARE NOT PRODUCTS!

...continued from the front page

presence of a faculty member, Professor Sandi Cooper and a student, then University Student Senate Chair Ifeachor Potts, the search committee was made up entirely of 5 carefully selected Trustees. When Potts and Cooper protested they were rebutted by the chair who claimed that she was extending democracy by not simply making the decision herself. Although this event may seem trivial on the surface, it clearly demonstrates the manner in which the BOT is looking to squelch any student voice in the decision making process of CUNY.

The larger issues for students regarding the Board lie in the manner in which the Board is constituted. BOT members are generally not educators, they are purely political appointees who work in the interest of the private sector to privatize the public sector, in this case CUNY. The Governor and the Mayor have the power to select whoever they deem worthy. Democratic functioning is repressed in favor of politically motivated control over the country's largest working class University system. While the BOT publicly squawks about the standards of its students they take no actions to improve the standards of their own membership. A perfect example of this comes in the form of the latest Pataki appointee to the Board, Kenneth Cook. When questioned by the media following his appointment Cook received a failing grade. Faced with the question of how many students there are in the CUNY system Cook was dumbfounded. Lowering the bar further, the media asked him how many campuses existed in the CUNY system and he still could not provide an answer. What the newest Trustee was quite sure of was the main pre-requisite for the job, he knew that, "the budget needed to be trimmed." Clearly Cook and many other members of the Board are in desperate need of some form of standardized testing to address their plunging standards.

The Confusing Reality of CSI

At CSI students often struggle to come to the realization about the fate of the University system as a whole. Aesthetically pleasing, with its rolling Neo-Georgian campus, there is a dark side of CSI that is hidden and suppressed. Increasingly students rights are being sucked into this dark hole many times without drawing the ire of the majority of students. Academically CSI is undergoing a massive reshuffling which as outlined earlier involves the de-emphasis of liberal arts for more marketable programs such as computer science and business. According to the magazine of the Office of Student Life, the Gazetteer, "Personal and group leadership skills and qualities are prized in any career or job, from AT&T to McDonalds counter work." Apparently the administration has a clear vision for the future of CSI students, true to the education that is being delivered,

this vision is a pragmatic one dominated by the "art of the possible." Students that follow the Office of Student Life's advice and pursue a career at AT&T will find that quite difficult considering that this corporation has been at the forefront of corporate downsizing. In 1996 alone, AT&T eliminated 40,000 jobs and from 1984 to the present they have reduced their work force by 110,000. As a result of this, formerly high paying unionized jobs have been replaced with low wage, low benefit part time jobs in sales and marketing. This is where the "art of the possible" comes into play. While CSI students may have a difficult time finding a career at AT&T, McDonalds is certainly hiring! As the Gazetteer states "McDonalds counter work" will test out all the leadership qualities you have developed in college and provides a fantastic outlet for critically minded students. With expectations like these it is quite easy to understand why the Sociology and Anthropology degrees were merged in '84, funding has been re-routed from 12,000 students into a program that serves 25 "enlightened" students, i.e. the Honors College, and why Library books at CSI are predominately relics from the 60's and 70's.

In response to these low expectations, some students at CSI have looked towards the BOT to find leadership. The BOT has been at the forefront of raising the issue of standards, claiming that CUNY graduates are ill-trained as a result of declining standards. At CSI, this criticism has since been translated into a focus on student Grade Point Averages (GPA). Over the summer there were two attempts to impose a GPA requirement for service at the college. The first successful attempt took place in the CSI Association and was led by ex-SG president Joe Canale who made the proposal to institute a 2.25 GPA requirement for student service on the Association. The body was making an uneducated decision

by voting without knowing exactly how many students would be dis-enfranchised. The body, composed of a majority of faculty and administration, voted in favor of the restriction. Subsequent research found that the measure had systematically eliminated almost 3,192 students at CSI who have a GPA below 2.25 from representing their college. These

vatism which has concealed itself under the guise of fiscal accountability and the raising of standards has manifested itself here. In reality these attacks are focused on the poor and working class student population of CUNY, a majority of which are people of color. All hope is not lost however! The only true power that CUNY students have is derived from our diversity, our intelli-

CSI STUDENTS MUST LINK WITH STUDENTS FROM THROUGHOUT CUNY TO ORGANIZE AND FIGHT THE ATTACKS ON PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION!!!

same students that are now restricted from membership, are still forced to pay into the Student Activity Fee which funds the Association. In addition to this decision, the Office of Student Life in conjunction with Club Commissioner John Pae attempted to impose a 2.0 GPA requirement for all officers of CSI clubs. Thankfully, this motion was struck down after a heated debate at a Student Government meeting in which the majority of Student Senators spoke out against the restriction which would have prevented 1,860 CSI students from becoming officers in Clubs. While this action was curtailed, the student body of CSI can be confident that further incursions on the rights of students will continue in the future. It is essential to understand that the focus of these restrictions are students; there has been no move to place restrictions or requirements on administrators or faculty.

Currently CUNY students are trapped within the dynamic of educational crack-downs at a State, City, CUNY and CSI level. The wave of right wing conser-

gence and most importantly our numbers. With proper organization, CUNY can become an influential component in a larger fightback movement. In order to light the fuse the CUNY movement must create links between the public sector which faces similar assaults on wages, immigrant rights, welfare and healthcare as CUNY students face in their day to day life. Held in self imposed isolation the working class and poor throughout the city will continue to suffer as various strategies of downsizing and wage repression are employed. CSI students find themselves placed in a particularly confusing situation. Geographically detached from the rest of the university system, the great majority of the student body has historically chosen to ignore the problems that face both CUNY as a whole in addition those which are CSI specific. If this trend continues this institution will certainly not be accessible to our children. We the students of the College of Staten Island, must be active participants in the struggle for the future of all working people. We must battle to keep the doors of public higher education open. If not us, who? If not now, when? ■

Dear College Voice, Be for warned administration is trying to take control of CSI publications. The Banner like your publication was once student controlled this is no longer true. This past Summer with the staff not present to protest, a decision was made by the administration. As a result of this decision, we lost our open minded faculty advisor, Prof. Jemie, who was replaced by a pawn of the administration, Prof. Jessica Siegel. Prof. Siegel was never asked for by the members of the Banner she was simply placed into the position with out warning. The Banner was never given the opportunity to review her resume or to interview her; we were never asked if we were dissatisfied

with Prof. Jemie, he was simply taken away from us. Prof. Jemie was a fair man who always waited for us to bring questions to him, he never hovered over us as we worked like Prof. Siegel does. If there was a controversial article or photo the Banner considered printing, he never attempted to censor us he merely offered advice as to whether it should be printed. Prof. Siegel, on the other hand, outright tried to prevent two articles by Joe Canale from being printed. When our current Editor-In-Chief Eric Minton and Lay Out Editor Meredith Fogelman made a stand against her, she tried to buy them out. Prof. Siegel offered them three credits in Communications for Independent Study with the Banner.

This is something publications as a whole have tried to do, but never accomplished over the years. Yet, in a matter of days she was able to set things up. Obviously, she has administrations support in trying to control the content of the Banner. This attempt at control has worked with our Editor-In-Chief who now runs to her for approval of every little thing. Our Layout Editor has continued to put up a fight, but I fear it may be to late. Now that administration has its stoolie in place they will never let go. I implore you not to let this happen again, do not give into the administration. Allow at least one CSI News Paper to remain under student control.

By Anonymous

Die Princess Di

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

Guided by my television set, instructed by Peter Jennings in his best pseudo-British accent, I am made to feel as though there has been a great loss in my life. The death of Princess Diana is presented as one of the most tragically gripping events in history. Coverage of the accident by the American media attempts to reinforce a societal bonding process between the American working class and the royal family of Britain. This project of false identification has played an integral part in the continued existence of the ruling class in America. In reality, only a small portion

sang in Gaelic, the true language of my people. The disgraceful fact of the matter was that I was unable to understand this person, unable to sing along in what should be my native language. Why? Because it was stripped from my ancestors at gun point by the British, stripped so that the English could fully dominate Ireland. It was stripped so that people like Princess Diana could exist as persons of privilege, as poor Irish children spend their days without their pride, their culture or a means of survival. Who cried as millions of people either perished or were forced to leave their homes as a result of

distasteful piece of propaganda that has been splashed across the headlines, Diana is immortalized for her work with charities particularly those that deal with finding a cure for the AIDS virus. What the media leaves out is the fact that courtesy of her position as a member of the royal family Diana does not have to work! That really frees up a lot of time to basically do whatever you please. All of us, the "commoners" if you will, should take some time out and think about all the hours you could dedicate to charities if you did not have to go to work or school. You too could become the benevolent philanthropist that Diana was, it's quite easy to give away money when you do not even have to work for it. What Diana and the rest of the royal family truly represent are economic parasites who live off of the excess wealth created by those British workers that spend their days breaking their backs. She was the remnant of a system of privilege that has been outdated for almost two centuries yet continues to live on through its firm entrenchment in the British consciousness. This event will be used by the British to solidify the continued existence of the royal family and it is being used by the Americans to promote even more sinister notions.

Monarchical rule is truly an outdated system, however its replacement has become equally outdated. Bourgeois rule has recreated the monarchical parasite into a less obtrusive entity, one that cannot be so easily defined as a target. The American ruling elite have constantly looked upon the British royal family with a fantastic amount of pride and respect. The shared economic status between the two groups has allowed them to interact and the American ruling elite has acquired some valuable tips to ensure long lasting survival. The royals have what the American elite longs for, a bloodline connected to a history. The Brits can trace their ancestry back decade after decade while the Americans are still in the process of manufacturing their history, remodeling it into something that can better suit their needs. Diana's death is a tragedy to the British royals and the American elite in that she had a remarkable ability to temper the class hatred that exists between the lower and upper classes. She was able to deliver what they call



the "common touch" even though she was selling the "commoners" an old bill of goods.

The fact that the accident took place in France is even more appropo. If Diana had been in France in the late 18th century she would not have had to wait for an accident to meet her death. Class based hatred was prevalent and the citizens, especially the citizens of Paris, armed with the knowledge of the oppression that the royals had inflicted on them, would have been more than helpful in escorting Diana to the scaffold. To the American people, I extol you not to mourn the death of this person but instead look back in history and examine the pain and oppression that people of her ilk have inflicted on us, the so called "commoners." You need not look very far to acquire this knowledge, just ask anyone from India, Africa, China, Ireland...etc.. that is in touch with their history and I'm sure they will be happy to set you straight. Let Peter Jennings rant and rave about what a tragedy this is, that's what he is paid to do, but do not fall victim to this sinister strategy of class reconciliation. What the world has lost in another parasite living off the collective backs of the working class not the angelic visionary the media would have you believe Diana was. ■

"...I GREET HER DEATH NOT AS A SORROWFUL OR TRAGIC EVENT BUT WITH AN OVERWHELMING FEELING OF DISDAIN AND CONTEMPT...LIKE THE MILLIONS OF OTHER COLONIZED PEOPLES IN THE WORLD, MY ANCESTORS WERE TERRORIZED IN THE NAME OF THE BRITISH CROWN."

of the American population can identify with the British royals. Only the privileged few can actually understand what it is like to live their lives in the manner that the "princess of privilege" has. Like the overwhelming majority of Americans, I share no commonalty with this person, we have diametrically opposed class and social standings. As a result of this, I greet her death not as a sorrowful or tragic event but with an overwhelming feeling of disdain and contempt.

Like the millions of other colonized peoples in the world, my ancestors were terrorized in the name of the British crown. The same royals that the American media calls on us to mourn over, carried out a programme of cultural and economic genocide on the peoples of Ireland. Besides the actual deaths that result from these policies, our language and our customs, most importantly our self respect was stripped in order to feed this imperial monster known as the United Kingdom. The other night I attended a concert at which the singer

the supposed "potato famine"? Did the royal family spend time worrying about a generation of Irish children who grew up without food or hope as they continued to export food by armed guard out of Ireland? Now I am asked to feel sorrow for the great loss of the British people. I do feel sorrow for the British people but not for this reason. The British royal family continues to be a parasite which lustily feeds off the backs of the British working class. I feel sorrow that they continue to allow such a backward system of royal privilege to exist while subsequently continuing to allow their government to carry out the armed occupation of Northern Ireland. Humanists may cry out for the sanctity of human life but I do not mourn for the loss of this life, I mourn for the loss of the millions of lives in the past and in the future which will not be the subject of a "Special News Report".

American news reports focus on what a troubled life Diana has led, how difficult it has been for her to be constantly hounded by the press. This is perhaps the most

...RIGHT SWINGS LEFT

...continued from page 30

if Mr. Leddy would still be writing about the "rights of the defendant" or would he instead be railing about crazed, criminal, Haitian immigrants despoiling "our" country. Would the person that was attacked be left waiting for over an hour before being taken for medical attention?

The entire episode smacks of racism, as do most cases of police brutality in this city. It is not something that the present mayor started, however he does need to

accept his role in keeping "Giuliani (racism) time" alive and well in this city. Until we accept and acknowledge that the virus of racism lies at the base of our country's history and is still, albeit undercover, intertwined throughout our society, we are condemned to keep repeating these episodes of hate.

We are not responsible for the past, nor can we be held accountable for it. We can never, whether we are white or not,

change the past. But, until we acknowledge that racism is still with us in so very many ways, we, as a society will never make those changes. Our grandchildren will be writing these types of articles unless we make a determined effort to bring the rotten festering cancer that is racism into the light of day.

Our society could be using its resources, both material and intellectual, to allow all of us to use our energies in

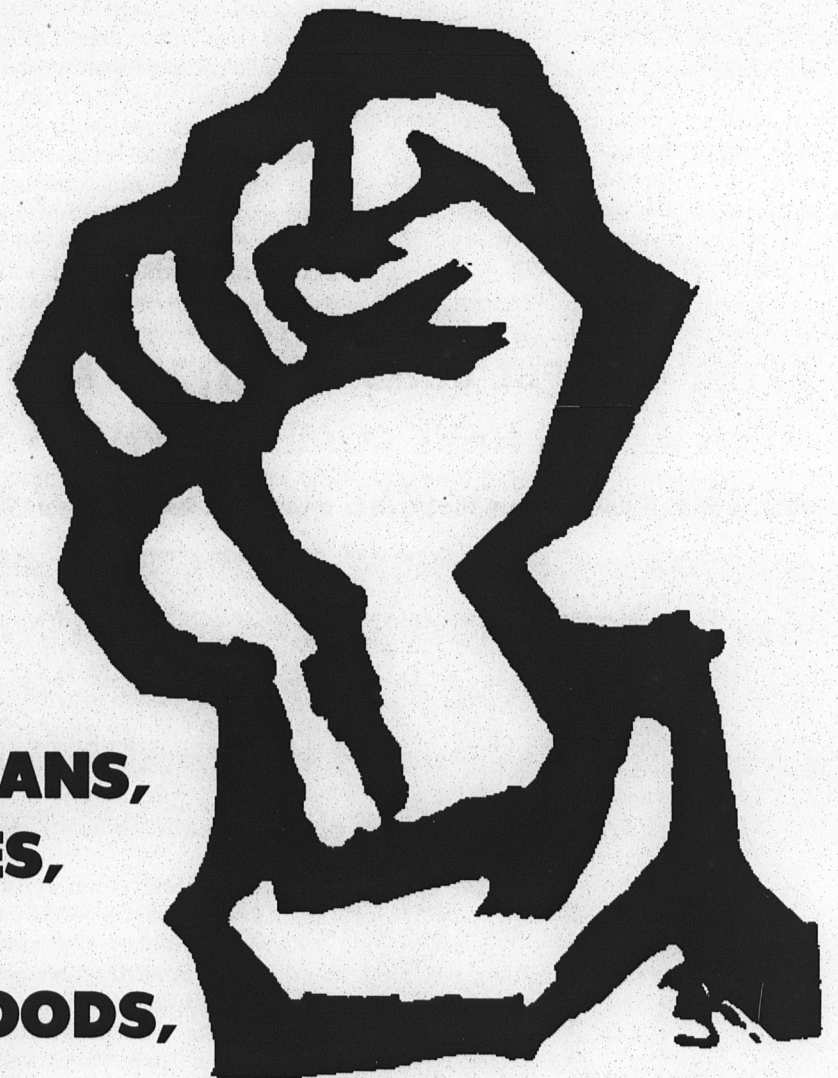
making each life as productive as possible. Think of all the energy that could be put into solving our problems if we didn't spend so much time fighting one another over the scraps left after the ruling rich take the lions share. All of us are not in that privileged class should not allow ourselves to be fooled, we are in the same boat whether we are in the back or the front of it. This is a fact despite the ruling class' thus fare successful attempts to have us at one another's throats over what are after all, petty differences.

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Debate:

DISSENTING**Death Becomes Us!
Americas Cult of Violence****BY JEREMIAH DARKHOLME**

Finding myself with some free time as I sat reclining in my study, I could not help but shudder as I remembered some of the current and not so current events that cast a shadow over my temporary recess from college. Nefarious acts such as the killing of a high school teacher by one of his former students for his ATM card, the killing of Betty Shabazz by her grandson, and even the arrest of the would be bombers in Brooklyn earlier this week. These and other heinous acts perpetrated against us all forced me to reexamine the old arguments about the death penalty.

After careful consideration and much

ado, I have come to what I see as the only logical and correct conclusion: that these murderers, and would be murderers, deserve to be punished to the fullest extent of the law - which is capital punishment. The death penalty. By stating my views, and carefully thought out preposition, I suspect that I am stirring up a Hornets Nest and so expect to be attacked by my liberal, anti-death penalty peers, colleagues and faculty. I am ready and willing to show how I came to my conclusions. On numerous occasions I have passively listened to, and sometimes participated in, discussions with my colleagues at The College Voice and the PRESENT Student Government and will take the time to rebut their lines of reasoning of

AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION AND MUCH ADO, I HAVE COME TO WHAT I SEE AS THE ONLY LOGICAL AND CORRECT CONCLUSION: THAT THESE MURDERERS, AND WOULD BE MURDERERS, DESERVE TO BE PUNISHED TO THE FULLEST EXTENT OF THE LAW - WHICH IS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.



which they have tried to infect me.

As a black person in AmeriKKKa, I should be wholeheartedly against the death penalty since it is not applied with equal vigor to whites that commit murder as blacks that commit the same crime. There are those who state that capital punishment is unfair to people of other races, classes, or mental abilities. I say that these aspects are not an issue. Murder has no colour, class, or IQ. A murderer is a murderer. When a loved one is killed, I doubt anyone could take comfort in the fact that the perpetrator had a low IQ, was black instead of white, or poor instead of rich. Ernest van den Haag wrote, "If and when discrimination occurs it should be corrected. Not however, by letting the guilty blacks escape the death penalty because guilty whites do, but by making sure that the guilty white offenders suffer it as the guilty blacks do."

A 1991 Rand Corporation study by Stephen Klein found that white murderers received the death penalty slightly more often (32%)

than non-white murderers (27%). While the study found murderers of white victims received the death penalty more often (32%) than murderers of non-white victims (23%), when controlled for variables such as severity and number of crimes committed, there is no disparity between those sentenced to death for killing white or black victims.

In a recent crime bill the Racial Justice Act was proposed. The act, had it been implemented, would have established a penalty-by-quota system. As a precondition for applying the death penalty, it would have required that all races be proportionally represented in the execution chamber. This practice would have allowed judgment to be made, not on the facts of a particular case, but on the facts of a defendant's race.

As a Sociology major and Tutor I have been able to analyze the statistics that show the death penalty is given to black defendants more than white defendants. There are many variables which could account for this, including the poverty factor. A study done in the state of California, a couple of years ago, showed that most inmates on death row were impoverished. 62% were unskilled, service or domestic workers, while on the other hand only 3% were professional or technical workers. In actuality, 60% were unemployed when they committed their crimes. It was also proven, by another study done in North Carolina, that the majority of convicts on death row were represented by appointed counsel, and that most of these same public defenders had less than five years experience. This variable alone could account for the fact that more blacks get the death penalty than whites since more blacks live in poverty than whites and therefore are unable to hire good counsel, unlike their white counterparts.

LIFE WITHOUT PAROLE is better than giving someone the death penalty. The bleeding heart liberals and my left wing comrades would allow almost any sentence to stand as long as blood is not shed within their limited frame of vision. These bleeding heart liberals and some colleagues of mine, spout off about the sanctity of life. Yet, without even troubling themselves to view the other perspective of life sanctity, that of the quality of life. They ignore, or are blissfully ignorant of, the suffering of being in a jail for any period of time. The drills, the loss of identity through clothing, the putrid stench, the bland food, the gang rapes and forced promiscuity, the unending monotony, the humiliation, and finally, the torture of knowing that your life is wasting away with no hope of change except for death. The agony of a life sentence is more cruel

or inhumane than a quick death by execution.

Our society should allow any prisoner who is suffering a life sentence, and who is too dangerous to be released, and who has been proven to be of sound mind and body, to have the privilege of choosing between living out his sentence or being executed. I am sure lots of life sentence convicts would love to have, and take advantage of, this option: euthanasia.

Finally on this issue of quality of life, if one dares to view our society from a sociological point of view, which is to debunk the taken for granted view of society, one will see the double standard which our society operates on. Similar to Janus, the Greek god who had a face for looking in two directions at the same time, sociology has the ability to dialectically view our society from different perspectives and levels at the same time. Society sees nothing wrong with arming the police so as to be able to, if necessary, kill a potential threat in thinking that their lives are in danger, or allowing a man to kill another in self defense if he thinks his life is in clear and present danger.

The respect for human life that anti-death penalty opponents cherish when it comes to self defense is inconsistent in the fact that the anti and abolitionist death penalty advocates oppose allowing the state the power to defend us and remove threats to our well being.

THE RISK OF WRONGFUL EXECUTION OF INNOCENTS

This is one of the most common comments that I have heard from those who oppose the death penalty. This argument is one which I utterly enjoy refuting. In our imperfect world, every being has to take and endure a certain amount of risk. Recent statistics have shown that there is a humongous disparity between the amount of innocent people wrongfully executed, and the amount of innocent lives taken by convicted murderers. Yet the anti-death penalty advocates forcefully try to convince us that because a small percentage of criminals sentenced to death and executed might be innocent, that we should annihilate the death penalty. A small comparison at this point should suffice. 45,000 people a year die in automobiles (which we use for our own convenience) due to accidents and an unspecified number die in surgery. Yet these activities are justified because the benefits outweigh the statistical certainty of the unintentional killing of innocents. The abolitionists do not argue for the abolishing of surgery or automobiles. One US Senate report stated in defense of the death penalty and the execution of innocents, "All that can be expected of...[human authorities] is that they take every reasonable precaution against the danger. ... if errors are... made, this is the necessary price that must be paid within a society which is made up of human beings.

Syndicated columnist Charley Reese stated, "I favor a fair trial, one quick

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October 1997

OPINIONS!

Sweet Reciprocity? Crime and Punishment

BY DEVON BLINTH

Egalitarian movements of all stripes have always had a hard time figuring out what to do about crime, and community organizations in particular have found it difficult to mount progressive campaigns on the issue. Ironically, there is a general liberal consensus about prisons, police departments, the death penalty, the Border Patrol, the "war on drugs" and other aspects of the vast American criminal justice apparatus, in a nutshell: more prisons, stricter sentencing, more police and more punitive law enforcement. Official violence in the form of law enforcement brutality and harsh treatment in prison is fundamentally at odds with a just society. The war on drugs and the death penalty are vicious,

cost? A more powerful police force, more young men and women in prison, more social resources wasted on warehousing the poor and disenfranchised, more lives blasted and shattered by an out-of-control law enforcement/industrial complex. Meanwhile, root causes such as unemployment, poverty, and hopelessness, which go hand in glove with substance abuse, are left unaddressed. As the quality of life in low-income communities goes all to hell. The obvious correlation between poverty and crime are all but ignored. On the other hand, people who live in high-crime neighborhoods, or across the street from a gang hang-out or next door to a crack house are legitimately concerned for their immediate personal

from the belief that the death penalty is legitimate under the ancient theory of "just deserts." The Just Deserts theory of crime control suggests that murderers should be executed for retributive reasons; "Murderers should suffer, and life imprisonment is insufficient suffering as retribution for taking a life." On the other hand, much of the public and political support for capital punishment rests on its alleged value as a general deterrent: we need the death penalty to encourage potential murderers to avoid engaging in criminal homicide. Politicians and prosecutors are often quick to use some version of the deterrence rationale in their howls for more and quicker executions when they see such appeals as a promising way to attract votes; examples are not difficult to find. Rep. Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House, believes that mass executions of "27 or 30 or 35 people at a time" will reduce the importation of illegal drugs into America. With his characteristic flair for non sequiturs Governor

cases since 1970. Florida and Texas, in particular, released several long term death row inmates in the late 1980's after their convictions were overturned. A United Nations study published in 1980 found that "despite much more advanced research efforts to determine the deterrent value of the death penalty, no conclusive evidence has been found on its efficacy." The same view was expressed by the US Senate Judiciary Committee in 1983. Researchers have noted an increase in murders in the months following an execution. Florida's homicide rates in 1976, 1977, and 1978 were the lowest on record in the state. Florida resumed executions in 1979 after nearly 15 years without executions. The state's murder rates in 1980, 1981, and 1982 were the highest in recent history, increasing 28% in 1980. Georgia, which resumed executions in 1983, experienced a 20% increase in the homicide rate in 1984, a year in which the national homicide rate fell by 5%. In New York a study of the homicide rates from

AT LEAST 23 WRONGLY CONVICTED PEOPLE HAVE BEEN EXECUTED IN THE USA SINCE 1900 AND AT LEAST 349 PEOPLE WRONGLY CONVICTED OF CRIMES PUNISHABLE BY DEATH SINCE 1900.

racist, ineffective, reactionary and so on. But when the rubber hits the road, the reality is that the vast majority of community responds to the issues of drugs, crime and violence by demanding an expansion of police, longer and more punitive sentencing for drug users and law breakers and strict controls on youth (such as curfews and anti-loitering ordinances). One of the most significant trends in community organizing these days is toward anti-drug and youth violence work, usually in close collaboration with the police department. In some cities, Neighborhood Watch-style groups have become virtually civilian arms of the police department, while established community organizing networks like ACORN and National People's Action have gotten heavily involved in "taking back the community" by chasing away drug dealers, informing on suspected criminals and pushing for a greater police presence.

MISGUIDED EFFORTS

Progressive magazines uncritically report on successful campaigns to reclaim a neighborhood park from a youth gang, or close down a crack house, as if these were victories in the fight for social justice. This approach is deeply misguided. Temporary victories for a safer park or street might be won, but this does not eliminate the problem, it only moves it to the next park or city street. And at what

safety. They might be interested in a long-term progressive social movement to deal with these problems at their roots, but they are often a lot more interested in first feeling safe enough to walk out the front door at night. And while in principle many regular folks might believe that rehabilitation is better than retribution as social policy, it is also true that some individuals are incorrigibly violent and dangerous and deserve long prison sentences.

DEALING WITH THE CONTRADICTION

Just what do the calls for increased law enforcement and harsher prison sentences mean for society and the ideals of justice, equality and freedom? It might be a natural human reaction to want revenge and retribution for acts of crime and violence, but revenge is terrible social policy; harsh penalties produce harsh individuals, the majority of whom will someday be released. Terminal imprisonment, as called for by the "three strikes and you're out" legislation sweeping the country, is even worse. It is unbelievably expensive, and handcuffs society into a single course of action — more prisons, longer sentences, and increased use of the death penalty. The American public has long been favorably disposed toward capital punishment for convicted murderers, and that support continues to grow. Part of the support for capital punishment stems

THE OBVIOUS CORRELATION BETWEEN POVERTY AND CRIME ARE ALL BUT IGNORED, AS THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES GOES ALL TO HELL.

George Pataki said, "This (the 1995 Death Penalty Bill) is going to save lives." Former Governor William Weld of Massachusetts, who was attempting to get his state to return the death penalty to its law books, bolstered his belief in the deterrent value of the death penalty with statistical data he got from his "gut." He once stated "beyond a certain point, I think you have got to make a choice and go with your gut. My gut (tells me that) capital punishment is a deterrent" Ken Nunneley, an Alabama assistant attorney general in charge of the state's capital litigation division, obtains his data from the same source. "My gut tells me it has a deterrent effect, let me put it that way." My gut usually indicates my level of hunger, but that's just me.

THE DEATH PENALTY - SOME FACTS TO CONSIDER

At least 23 wrongly convicted people have been executed in the USA since 1900 and at least 349 people wrongly convicted of crimes punishable by death since 1900. In a study published in the Stanford Law Review (1987), 42 cases were documented of wrongful convictions in capital

1907 to 1963 found that there had been on average two additional homicides in the month after an execution. Recent crime statistics confirm that the average homicide rate in the 13 states without the death penalty is lower than the average homicide rate in the 37 states where executions are legal. Since the abolition of the death penalty in Canada in 1976, the murder rate fell from 3.09 per 100,000 in 1975 to 2.74 in 1983.

PUBLIC OPINION AND EDUCATION

A 1986 poll conducted for Amnesty International indicated that 68% of Americans favored a return to the death penalty the same survey also indicated that 80% of Americans had not read anything on the issue.

It is time now to "experiment" in crime control by attacking those social factors that provide direct links to crime, poverty, and the lack of jobs. In a pathological economic system in which a given corporation's stock prices increases when it announces mass firings of workers the system itself must come under question. Crime and repression have deep roots in the capitalist system which cannot be eliminated until society itself is transformed. ■

Prisoner Of War Freed From US Prison

Victim of COINTELPRO Defies the Odds

BY JP PATAFIO

On July 11th in Brooklyn, at Boys and Girls High School, the Black community celebrated the release of Geronimo Ji Jaga, the former Black Panther who was imprisoned under COINTELPRO in 1972. The mood of the crowd was that of welcoming back a hero held by enemy forces for 27 years. Before them was a prisoner of war whose will was not broken despite the vicious and systematic repression he faced each and every day in US prisons.

A broad spectrum of people from throughout the black community came to the event nearly filling the school auditorium to capacity.

GERONIMO'S RELEASE FROM JAIL IS BUT A TINY STEP FORWARD IN A PERIOD MARKED BY ATTACKS AGAINST AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, BURNING OF BLACK CHURCHES AND THE RISE OF WHITE SUPREMACIST AND NEO-NAZI ORGANIZATIONS.

Elders and youth, poets and political activists, friends, comrades and community leaders paid tribute to this freedom fighter citing the importance he and the Black Panther Party had in the struggle for justice, equality and Black self-determination in US history.



The aftermath of Philadelphia police led bombing of the MOVE community, sanctioned by Mayor Wilson Goode in the mid 80's.

What distinguished Geronimo's return was his good naturedness, compassion and willingness to fight for the same issues he was incarcerated for over 27 years ago. His positive attitude and principled stance connected him with the audience. In an age of opportunism and rejection of the struggle, his character is a model for younger revolutionaries.

Hoover's Covert War Against the Black Panther Party

To properly understand Geronimo Ji Jaga's case one needs to have knowledge of the Counter Intelligence Program

(COINTELPRO) instituted under the guidance of J. Edgar Hoover, closet-fascist, former head of the FBI. The program's purpose was to "neutralize" left-wing individuals and groups who posed a threat to the smooth functioning of the capitalist machine.

What makes COINTELPRO sinister, utterly anti-democratic and reactionary is the extra-legal use of force and violence via the state apparatus to eliminate "internal threats." What most Americans would consider only possible in Third-world dictatorships or fascist countries, i.e., political assassinations, frame-ups, infiltration, psychological warfare, paramilitary activities, the destruction and closing of alternative sources of news/press, happened in this country.

Violating the US Constitution was no problem for the FBI and supporting state agencies. When it came to the Black movement this reactionary program moved in full force. As the struggles

against Jim Crow in the South and the segregationist policies in the North moved forward Hoover's FBI kicked into high gear. The racist core of the entire US sociopolitical system was revealed in the attack upon the Black movement.

Although Black figures from Martin Luther King Jr., to Marcus Garvey were targets of COINTELPRO, it was the Black Panther Party (BPP) that received the most severe attack. Due to its radical politics, Marxist/Black nationalist program, and popularity among Black people in the US, the BPP was an organization capable of recruiting radicalizing youth while their support expanded across the nation. Set in the context of the mass radical movements of the sixties against the Vietnam War, women's liberation, anti-racist struggles and a growing distrust of the US government the BPP could have helped organize the vanguard of the revolutionary movement against US capitalism.

Understanding the danger that the Black struggle posed, the ruling class sought to crush what could have been the gravitating force of the revolutionary movement. The struggle against racism is inextricably intertwined with that of the class struggle. When the BPP demanded self-determination it was just not the vote they were requesting. Economic demands parleyed with political ones thus exposing the capitalist class as the source of oppression. Obviously the ten point program of the BPP would trickle over into white working and poor people's lives, exposing the true source of economic exploitation and oppression. The racist card used by the US capitalist class would be turned against them and instead of having a society divided along race lines they would face a united working class and poor people's movement headed by a radical Black leadership. For the US white male oligarchy there was a war at home, and the US state apparatus focused its energy on the BPP, and by extension the super-oppressed Black population.

Geronimo's Case; Microcosm of "Neutralizing"

Convicted in 1972 for a crime he did not commit Geronimo Ji Jaga spent more than half his life locked down. All the pieces to his story are textbook COINTELPRO; false evidence, FBI informant/witness, tampering and suppressing evidence, missing files, collusion between the FBI, local police and the acting judge. Geronimo remained in prison due to his political convictions.

It was on June 10th of this year that an aberration of US justice took place. Judge

Everett Dickey overruled the original decision and set Geronimo free on \$25,000 bail. The judge's ruling was based upon the known fact that the prosecutor's key witness was a paid provocateur and informant of the FBI and local police. Dickey stated that "the evidence which was withheld about (police informant) Julius Butler and his activities could have put the whole case in a different light, and the failure to timely disclose it undermines confidence in the verdict." Why it took over two decades to come to this conclusion is a crime itself.

Julius Butler infiltrated the BPP years prior to Geronimo's case. Like hundreds of other informants he was a provocateur planting dissension in the party and waiting for orders to lie, steal, and murder in the name of "national security." Committing perjury he testified to hearing Geronimo confess to the murder and claimed to have witnessed him changing the barrel of the gun. The latter statement was key, tailored to cover the unexplainable reason as to why the gun supposedly used could not match the ballistics at the crime scene, unless the barrel was changed.

Left to their own conscience the DA, judge and law enforcement community would have let the truth about Butler remain hidden from the public, but their plans were foiled when files released under the Freedom of Information Act to Geronimo's defense team (which also was infiltrated) revealed not only Butler's true identity but another key fact that would have blown the whole frame-up to pieces.

From the outset Geronimo stated his innocence testifying he attended a meeting in Oakland California 400 miles away from the crime scene in Santa Monica. The FBI at the time of the murder was surveying the BPP meeting in Oakland, keeping tapes and records of those who attended. When the defense team asked the FBI for the files they were told the files suddenly "disappeared." The story was later contradicted when two private investigators testified to reading the "missing files" where Geronimo was mentioned as one of the attendees.

Unlike some of his fellow comrades, such as Fred Hampton who was executed by the Chicago police in his bedroom, or George Jackson who died at the hands of prison guards while supposedly "attempting to escape," Geronimo's future lay in the oppressive Pelican prison. And there is where he would have remained until his death if it were not for the perseverance of a law team headed by Johnnie Cochran, the pressure of the

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October 1997

Race and the Death Penalty

BY KATHI MCHUGH

COLLEGE SHOULD BE A PLACE TO LEARN ABOUT LIFE SITUATIONS, NOT JUST A PLACE WHERE YOU GAIN KNOWLEDGE FROM BOOKS IN ORDER TO PASS AN EXAM.

In November of 1996 I became acquainted with members of the newly formed CSI Student Union. Editors and writers for the College Voice were founders of the Union. Through them, I became aware of 'political' prisoner Mumia Abu-Mumia. With them, I attended a rally in Philadelphia (April 27, 1997) for his release and retrial. I have found a group of students dedicated to the welfare and EQUALITY of all people. My summer Philosophy 130 class gave me the opportunity to learn more about Mumia's plight.

My first commentary for class stated I was for the death penalty. Due to the publicity surrounding the Oklahoma City bombing case, the innocent lives lost, and especially the children's demise, I thought Timothy McVeigh deserved to die. No one deserves to die. Being confined to prison (especially in death row cases) is surely a death without the funeral, burial or cremation. Mumia Abu-Jamal does not deserve to die.

In his book, *Live from Death Row*, Mumia recounts his experiences in the racist environment of the Huntington County Prison, Pennsylvania's death row. Since the prisoners are on death row, they are denied basic human rights. "[Isolation,]... solitary confinement, around-the-clock lock-in, no-contact visits, no prison jobs, no educational programs by which to grow, psychiatric 'treatment' facilities designed only to drug you into a coma; [add to this] ... hostile, overtly racist prison guards and staff; ... the falling away of family ties ..." Although the prisoners have no contact with their visitors, they are subjected to a humiliating strip-search before and after the visitation. This is not how you treat fellow human beings. Prison is a place to keep inmates away from society. They are taken away from their homes, their families and friends, their jobs - for our safety. Now that society is safe from these criminals, who is making sure that the 'criminals' are safe from the inhumane treatment of prison guards and officials? If this element of society is to return to our midst, how better to keep them from returning to the crimes of the street than to educate or give them proper vocational training?

Mumia, and others, claim to have been

police officers needed to invent crimes to put them behind bars. In Mumia's case there is a witness willing to testify that police tried, unsuccessfully, to coerce her into testifying that she saw Mumia kill police officer Daniel Faulkner. Her testimony was not heard at the original trial. She testified, at his latest hearing June 26th, that another 'eye-witness' was coerced, by police, into testifying against Mumia. Four eyewitnesses to the shooting say that the gunman ran into an alley (Mumia was slumped over on the sidewalk, having been shot himself), they were not allowed to testify at his hearing.

All Mumia is asking for is his constitutional right to a fair trial. If the evidence against him was manufactured by the police, he has spent the last 15 years of his life awaiting a death sentence for a crime he did not commit. In the case of Mumia, and countless others, who have been wrongly accused and incarcerated, we need to do

away with the death penalty to prevent innocent people from being killed.

An elder (to Mumia) in the BPP has just been released, on bail, pending a new trial based on "prosecutorial misconduct in withholding material evidence from the defense." His name is Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt. He was imprisoned for 25 years for

enabling him to go to law school (he is now an attorney). Prosecutors deliberately failed to disclose that their main witness, a sometime rival of Geronimo's for power within the Panther organization, had been recruited to infiltrate and spy on the BPP.

Geronimo pleaded innocent at his trial, insisting that he was 400 miles away, in Northern California, when the woman was killed. In his numerous appeals, Geronimo continued to proclaim his innocence. He contended that the police, particularly FBI agents, had framed him in an effort to infiltrate and destroy the BPP and other similar groups that were pushing for

black empowerment in the 1960's. Upon hearing of his release, this past June 10th, Geronimo told the judge, "Thank you from the bottom of my heart for your fairness and courageous ruling."

On Friday, July 11th I had the opportunity to hear Geronimo Ji Jaga speak at Boys and Girls High School in Brooklyn. There were many speakers there on his behalf. Most

notably, an elderly woman, Yuri Kochiyama. She has been a long time supporter of the BPP and spoke on behalf of the Malcolm X Commemoration Committee. It was a chilling experience to hear Geronimo. He insisted that he was not a speaker, but was eloquent nevertheless. The system may have beat him down,

released its national update, which revealed that 40 percent of American's death row population is black. This, out of a population that is a mere 11 percent of the national populace." From the Garry Mitchell article *Debate Flares Over Racial Fairness in Death Penalty* printed on June 5, 1997 in the Staten Island Advance: "The death penalty in the state of Alabama is overwhelmingly used in case involving white victims, and disproportionately [used] in white victim cases with minority defendants." Since the Supreme Court reinstated capital punishment in 1976, five Caucasian-Americans have been executed for killing African-Americans. Overall, About 380 people have been executed in the United States since 1976.

When Mumia's book was published, in 1995, he wrote: "... of the ten states with the highest murder rate, eight lead the country in executions that supposedly deter; ... of the ten states with the lowest murder rate, only one (Utah) has executed anyone since 1976." My previous argument, being for the death penalty, because it serves as a deterrent to capital crimes, doesn't hold.

In conclusion, we (Americans) need to do away with the death penalty. This is the only way to insure that innocent people are not killed at the hand of 'justice'. Life imprisonment is close enough to death, as far as friends and family members are concerned. We, unfortunately, need to police the prisons, to make certain that the humans incarcerated are being treated as humans. Maybe an agency separate from the prison can monitor the jails, hear the inmates complaints, and act on them. Prison guards that are found guilty of infractions against basic human dignity, should be severely punished and relieved of their duties. More minority representation is need in law enforcement, and more so at higher positions, such as Judges. Cases, like Geronimo's and Mumia's need to be retried. With what seems to be a rush

POLITICAL PRISONER



MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

MUMIA, AND OTHERS, CLAIM TO HAVE BEEN FRAMED BY THE POLICE FOR THEIR CRIMES . . . I BELIEVE HIS CLAIM TO BE TRUE.

framed by the police for their crimes and subsequent incarceration due to their involvement in the Black Panther Party (BPP). After reading this book, countless articles and internet updates, I believe his claim to be true. In Mumia's case, his appeals have been brought before the same 'hanging' Judge Sabo. At the very least, why can't another IMPARTIAL judge view the evidence and hear his appeal? It seems to me that there was a period in time when war was raged against (former) Black Panthers. Their numbers must have been getting too strong, their movement too powerful, that

the alleged murder of a Los Angeles teacher. At Geronimo's 1972 murder trial, the state's star witness, Julius Butler, swore under oath that he had never been a police informant. The LA district attorney said nothing, knowing that this statement was a lie. In reality, Butler was a former Black Panther, testifying against one of his own. This helped convince the jury that Butler was telling the truth and that Geronimo was guilty. Butler was a long-time FBI, LAPD, and LA DA informant. He was a convicted felon who received police favors such as permission to carry a gun. Charges against him were dropped

but he survived the ordeal. He spoke of other 'political prisoners' including Mumia, and the efforts and continuing struggle to bring them to freedom. He, and others, spoke of the injustice of the system in their treatment of African Americans. Geronimo (in quoting another freedom fighter) stated, "In a place that imprisons unjustly, the only place for a just person is in prison."

Mumia writes, "In Pennsylvania, where African-Americans constitute 9 percent of the population, over 60 percent of its death row inhabitants are black." "In October 1991 the Bureau of Justice Statistics

to bring people on death row to 'justice' (death), these cases need to be looked into carefully and without bias. I'd like to see the lawsuits brought against the states and the federal government for the improper conduct used in the name of 'justice'.

I was wrong in wanting to enforce the act of capital punishment. I am glad that I took the time to do the research, and became aware of Mumia's and other prisoners' cases. College should be a place to learn about life situations, not just a place you gain knowledge from books in order to pass an exam. ■

...Death Becomes Us!

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appeal and prompt execution. I don't think murderers ought to live much beyond 12 months from the day their victim is buried ... As for not being able to correct a mistake, so what? Virtually all accidental deaths are deaths by mistake. Why impose a standard of perfection only on the criminal justice system? There are no perfect human institutions. Our system is, more than any other, designed to protect the rights of the defendant. The chance of a truly innocent person being executed is exceedingly slim. But if it happens, it happens just as things happen to people every day."

Abolitionists rarely, if ever, pay any attention to the hundreds of innocent human beings that are brutally slaughtered daily by automobiles, aeroplanes, fire, and electricity, let alone violent crime, and why should they? It's not like those innocents serve any political agenda. The only time they assign worth to human lives is when they serve some means to an end like the possible victims of wrongful executions. So don't be fooled by the guise of morality they tend to don.

Our tendency to treat enormous human death tolls as though they were less tragic than smaller ones match former Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin's unique, and accurate, insight on human nature when he stated, "One death is a tragedy, but a million deaths are statistics." Also, whenever we have to go to war, it happens that all the gunshots we fire that are meant for the enemy may hit and kill many of our own soldiers and allies. It has been known to occur, but that unpleasant factor doesn't prevent us from going to war.

If it did, we would probably still be English colonies huddled on the Eastern coast of the North American continent under the rule of a British king, with most of the African-American population enslaved, or pure Aryan citizens of the Third Reich.

Capital punishment has never been proven to act as a deterrent to crime or those who commit it. In 1985, an economist by the name of Stephen K. Layson, at the University of North Carolina, showed that every execution deters, at least, on average 18 murders. His study also showed that by raising the death sentences by 1% would prevent 105 murders. On occasion, circumstances have led to meaningful statistical evaluations of the death penalties deterrent effect. In Utah, for example, there have been five executions since the Supreme Court allowed executions to resume in 1976. Gary Gilmore faced a firing squad at the Utah State Prison on January 17, 1977. There had been 55 murders in that state during 1976. During 1977, in the wake of the Gilmore execution, there were 44 murders, a 20 percent decrease.

A decade later, on August 28, 1987, Pierre Dale Shelby, who in 1974 forced five people to drink liquid drain cleaner, kicked a ball-point pen into the ear of one, then killed three, was executed. The count for January through August was 38 murders, a monthly average of 4.75. In the aftermath of the Shelby execution, there were 16 murders through the months of September to December, a monthly average of 4.0.

Arthur Gary Bishop, who sodomized and killed a number of young boys, was

executed on June 10, 1988. For all of 1988, there were 47 murders. During January-June, there were 26. For July - December, the tally was 21, a 19 percent difference.

In the wake of those three Utah executions, there have been notable decreases in both the number and the rate of murders within the state. My Left Wing comrades and the anti-death penalty advocates choose to ignore these statistics.

During the temporary suspension on capital punishment from 1972-1976, researchers gathered murder statistics across the country. Researcher Karl Spence of Texas A & M University came up with these statistics. In 1960, there were 56 executions in the USA and 9,140 murders. By 1964, when there were only 15 executions, the number of murders had risen to 9,250. In 1969, there were no executions and 14,590 murders, and in 1975, after six more years without executions, 20,510 murders occurred. So the number of murders grew as the number of executions shrank. Spence said, "While some [death penalty] abolitionists try to face down the results of their disastrous experiment and still argue to the contrary, the ... [data] concludes that a substantial deterrent effect has been observed." "In six months, more Americans are murdered than have killed by execution in this entire century." "Until we begin to fight crime in earnest [by using the death penalty], every person who dies at a criminal's hands is a victim of our inaction."

More recently, there have been 56 executions in the USA in 1995, more in one year since executions resumed in 1976, and there has been a 12 percent drop in the murder rate nationwide.

In Texas, the highest murder rate in Houston (Harris County) occurred in 1981 with 701 murders. Since Texas reinstated the death penalty in 1982, Harris County has executed more murderers than any other city or state in the union and has seen the greatest reduction in murder from 701 in 1982, down to 261 in 1996 - a 63% reduction, representing a 270% differential!

Also, in the 1920's and 30's, death penalty advocates were known to refer to England as a means of proving capital punishments deterrent effect. Back then, at least 120 murderers were executed every year in the US and sometimes the number reached 200. Even then, England used the death penalty far more consistently than we did and their overall murder rate was smaller than any one of our major cities at the time. Now, since England abolished capital punishment about thirty years ago, the murder rate has subsequently doubled there and 75 English citizens have been murdered by released killers!

The Honorable B. Rey Shafer, Justice of the Supreme Court of California, has said, "That the ever present potentiality in California of the death penalty, for murder in the commission of armed robbery, each year saves the lives of scores, if not hundreds of victims of such crimes, I cannot think, reasonably be doubted by any judge who has had substantial experience at the trial court level with the handling of such persons. I know that during my own trial court experience ... included some four to five years (1930-1934) in a department of the superior court exclusively engaged in handling felony cases, I repeatedly heard from the lips of robbers ... substantially the same story, 'I used a toy gun [or a simulated gun or a gun in which the firing pin or hammer had been extracted or damaged] because I didn't want my neck stretched.'" The penalty, at the time referred to, was hanging.

Even closer to home our former Mayor, Edward Koch of New York City, said, "Had the death penalty been a real possibility in the minds of ... murderers, they might well have stayed their hand. They might have shown moral awareness before their victims died." "Consider the tragic death of Rosa Velez, who happened to be home when a man named Luis Vera burglarized her apartment in Brooklyn. 'Yeah, I shot her,' Vera admitted. '... and I knew I wouldn't go the chair.'"

The statistics shown above and statements are ignored by those colleagues of mine and the anti-death penalty advocates. They choose to bury their heads in the sand and try to wish them away. Well, they can wish as much as they want but reality is unchangeable.

Some might ask me, "What if it were YOU who were to be wrongfully executed for a crime you didn't commit?" (This is where I'm supposed to be seized by paranoid terror.) To answer that question, I would have to consider which is more important to me, my personal safety, or the common good. Common decency and ethics demand that I place the common good far above my personal safety. Therefore, I am morally obligated to take that risk. To do otherwise would be selfish of me, not to mention cowardly. ■

...Victim of COINTELPRO Defies the Odds

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masses and the good fortune of coming across a judge who reviewed the evidence objectively. Upon hearing the verdict the LA District Attorney appealed the decision and has threatened to retry Geronimo.

With such audacious acts it becomes frightfully clear that "justice" is but merely a catchword signifying separate realities. For the corporate elite "justice" is the maintenance of power and privilege. For people of color, immigrants, working people and those who defy capitalism's "law and order" the justice system is but a means to delay, disrupt and destroy the movement towards true justice.

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

Through an analysis of his case the racist and class based core of the US justice system is revealed. A system based on the rule of an oligarchy whose most reactionary features are displayed against the Black community. Indeed, Geronimo Ji Jaga was victimized precisely because he was a member of the Black Panther

Party, one of the most effective revolutionary organizations to challenge the American way.

The period of Geronimo's incarceration was marked by a deep radicalization of an entire generation of youth, and a acute mistrust by the masses of the "democratic" institutions and principles that guide society. Nixon was essentially impeached and the imperialist American army was defeated at the hands of Ho Chi Mien's Vietcong. Today, though that mistrust has broadened, the national political climate is marked by the ascendancy of the far-right. Unlike the sixties which was marked by national revolutions against imperialism, today's world is defined by the collapse of the Soviet Union, multitude of fratricidal wars scaring the earth's surface, and the onslaught of neo-liberal economic policies pillaging the world's human and natural resources.

In short, Geronimo's release from jail is but a tiny step forward in a period marked by attacks against affirmative action, burning of Black churches and the rise of white supremacist and neo-nazi

organizations. Most certainly, much can be learned from this revolutionary, but surely it will take a rejuvenation of radicalizing youth and militant working class politics to effectively achieve what the BPP had only begun to examine.

Clearly one lesson to be learned is that the class war at home will abide by no rules except that of winning. The US capitalist class and its state apparatus will step upon its sacred constitution, violate its own justice system, and use extra-legal and violent means to maintain its poisonous hold over society.

Geronimo is an example of the ability to overcome these mighty obstacles, not to fear the state and of how ultimately the state fears more than anything else those who refuse to bow down to its oppression. When Geronimo stepped out of prison he retained what they tried to destroy over two decades ago, his will to continue to fight against injustices and inequalities still plaguing society. Perhaps this is the reason why the powers that be find him so dangerous, and want to keep him in jail. Rebellion is contagious. ■

POLITICAL PRISONERS

One of the most prevalent tendencies of Late American Capitalism has been the use of the criminal justice system as a tool to squelch any signs of political or social dissent. After dealing with the burgeoning Communist movement of the 30's and 40's by creating and then destroying the "Big Red Menace", the political and judicial machinations of Capitalism moved on to the nationalist liberation movements of the 60's and 70's. The Black and Native American liberation struggles as represented by groups such as the Black Panther Party for Self Defense and the American Indian Movement (AIM) became the targets of the federal government sponsored elimination project entitled COINTELPRO. For some freedom fighters like Fred Hampton and Anne Mae Aquash COINTELPRO meant death as they were systematically eliminated through the efforts of this CIA-FBI initiative. The movements themselves were left to pick up the pieces as their leaders were targeted and either eliminated or jailed. Government sponsored infiltrators and provocateurs then inspired a sense of fear and paranoia within the movements which produced a crippling effect. What frightened the government and shocked the capitalist system the most was the fact that historically

oppressed minorities had spurred these revolutionary movements within economically degenerated communities. Not only were these movements revolutionary in their programmatic goals they were revolutionary in their actions as they featured freedom fighters with class analysis and a revolutionary vision that was expressed through armed struggle. Although Hampton and Aquash are no longer with us the time has come to liberate those that remain behind the wall for daring to challenge capitalist hegemony and the inequities it breeds. In order to accomplish this we present a list of freedom fighters along with addresses to correspond with them and show support for their commitment to freedom. In addition to this the project, Jericho 98 has been set up to raise national awareness about the existence of political prisoners, a fact that has long been denied by the federal government despite the role they have played in the imprisonment of these revolutionaries. A march will take place in Washington on March 28th in support of political prisoners. Look for more information in coming issues of the College Voice and contact the Voice at (718) 982-3091 for further information.

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RIGHT SWINGS LEFT, OR A HORSE OF A DIFFERENT COLOR

BY ROB LAURO

There have been many articles, opinions and commentaries stemming from the brutal attack on Mr. Abner Louima by the New York Police Department Officers (NYPD) of the 70 Precinct in Brooklyn.

One of the most ironic and enlightening in my view was the article I read in the Staten Island Advance. The August 24th edition of that paper contained a column by Daniel Leddy, a well known person on Staten Island.

His column was centered around his "fear" that the defendants, principally police officer Justin Volpe of Eltingville, S.I., who were arrested and accused of the attack on Mr. Louima wouldn't have their rights as defendants protected. Finding this in a conservative paper written by a person who is usually very quick to bring up "the rights of the victim" made me

wonder what motivation is behind this seeming change of philosophy.

Whenever I look at a situation that doesn't quite "ring true" I look at the person's usual view and examine what's different about this situation and what persons have in common. In this case the columnist and the defendant are white while the accuser isn't. This is most notable because some 75-80% of our jails are filled with persons of a color other than white. The defendant and the columnist are also both Staten Island residents, while the accuser resides in Brooklyn. Many people not born or raised on this Island may tend to minimize this fact, or place it in the context of coincidence, I would not. I was born here 48 years ago and I have spent a long period of my life here. I am aware of the special relationship that native Islanders have not only towards the Island, but

towards each other. This is especially true in that Staten Island's South Shore, where Justin Volpe lives, is 98% white.

The defendant is a police officer while the columnist is a lawyer, the accuser, on the other hand is neither of these. Regardless of whether the present City administration likes it or not, at this moment "Giuliani time" is represented by NYPD officer Volpe and the other officers accused in the 70th precinct. The paper, the writer, the officer and the mayor all share their identification with the status quo which constructed as a result of Rudolph Giuliani's election. A large amount of press coverage has been focused on not only casting doubt regarding the extent of Mr. Louima's injuries and the manner in which they were incurred, but on raising doubt about Mr. Louima himself. I've read articles in which Mr. Louima is referred to not by name or even as Officer Volpe's accuser, but simply as "a Haitian Immigrant." While it may be correct to many in white society, the description contains buzzwords designed to specifically put certain images the public's minds all of which are negative. What does it matter if Mr. Louima was born in another country? Is the law different for persons who are born here? We all know that the first thing that Americans are taught about law is that we are all supposed to be equal under it.

If those students reading this have their doubts as to any of this then consider another scenario for a moment and think

of how the press would cover it. The scene: A bar in an Irish/Italian neighborhood on Staten Island with a few patrons partying. The time: Friday 2 a.m. An argument starts, the patrons begin flexing their "beer muscles" and help is called. Meanwhile four rather tough looking African-Americans walk in looking for directions back to Brooklyn. Words are exchanged and the African-Americans, after knocking out two patrons and the bartender, take the next patron by the neck, beat him, make him pull his pants off and then take a pool cue and sodomize him with the cue, finishing by shoving it in his mouth. The police arrive as the four are leaving the bar. The bartender, observing what took place from outside by looking through the window, tell the police that, "four niggers beat up his friends and stuck a pool cue up his ass." The three officers are white. It turns out that one of the patrons is related to one of the officers.

What do you think happens when the four African-American men walk out of the bar? Are they: A) placed into police custody without incident to be arraigned in court. B) handcuffed, then beaten, first by the man who was sodomized then by the officers as they take the four to the station house in separate vehicles. C) Shot as they exit the bar with a story provided by the police that one, or more, of the men seemed to have what looked like a weapon.

Had this scenario taken place I wonder
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...Racist Terror on Staten Island

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Staten Island Rapid Transit the walls were covered with racist graffiti, swastikas, white power and Klan slogans, skin-head nation and drawings of hooded Klansmen, racial slurs and death threats. The station that I saw was covered with it and luckily I was able to document it. It turned out that at least two other stations were hit but authorities whited over the graffiti before people could respond. This was unusual, as in other cases huge swastikas and other racist graffiti have remained up for months without comment or action. But the powers-that-be on the Island are embarrassed by the current wave of hate crime activity and want to cover it up.

In May, a white fire fighter was beaten on his lawn by self proclaimed skin-heads who had been banging on a neighbor's door who was a fellow skin operating a tattoo parlor where the boneheads were getting white power tattoos. When the fire fighter asked them to hold the noise down, they started beating him, saying don't mess with the skins, taking photo's of the beating themselves. They were arrested, but the district attorney did a song and dance, saying it wasn't a hate crime because the victim was white. They were portrayed as "kids who should be given a break."

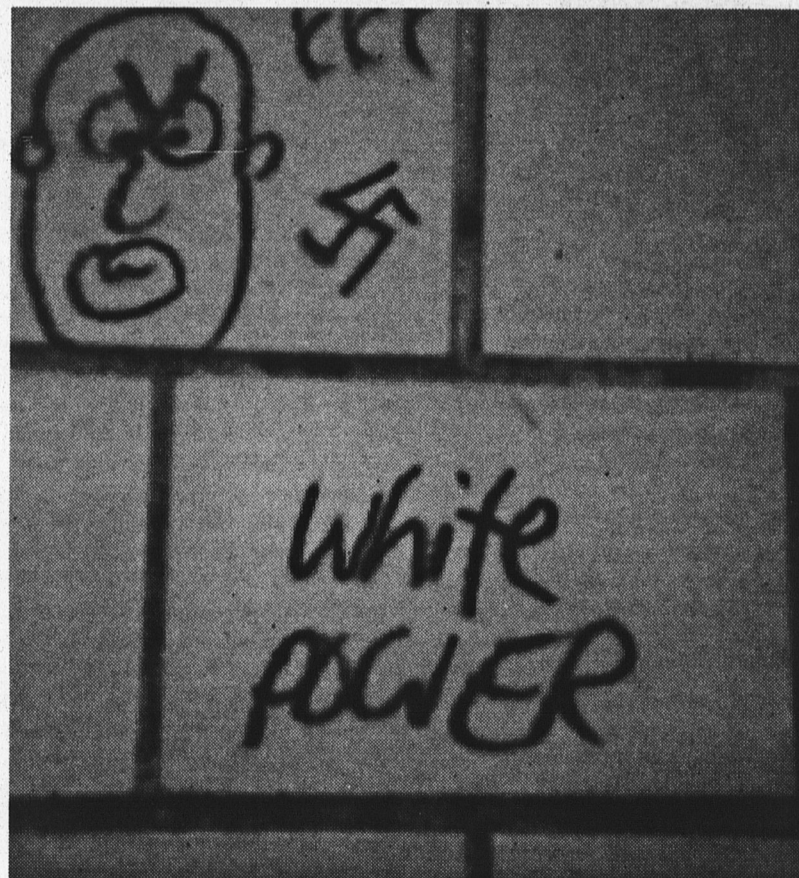
PART: Do you believe there is an organized force behind all this violence?

GARY: Unquestionably. The National Alliance is active on Staten Island. That's the group who's leader, William Pierce, wrote the book "Turner Diaries" which was the basis for the Oklahoma City bombing. Two years ago, after a demonstration we held against organized racists was disrupted by the National Alliance, we discovered a burnt out car on which these racists had painted, "Timothy McVeigh is a hero." They had made death threats against us for organizing the rally, but when they were resolutely rebuffed, and several of them were arrested for later attacking neighborhood residents after the police had protected them and separated them from the anti-Klan demonstrators.

What is going on in Staten Island, given the attacks on cemeteries and a church and synagogue is comparable to the church-burning in the South. A bomb threat was phoned in to the second largest Mosque in the Northeast, whose population is mostly Albanian. A Jewish family had its car torched and a note was left saying, "Death to the Jews." The local paper reported on that incident in its Easter Sunday edition, and some Staten Island residents wrote in to complain that the newspaper was dishonoring Easter.

PART: What are you doing about this situation?

GARY: Personally, I have been to services at the church that was hit, and at the synagogue that was hit, as an act of solidarity. I've been reporting these cases to the media and we have received some significant coverage, particularly from the Village Voice and the local Pacifica station. I was on the air with a number of people from the Sandy Ground Church and historical society. We are trying to develop an organized community response, including a fund-raiser for the Church and a Not-In-Our-Town program.



White supremacist graffiti found at Bay Terrace train station only days after the racist attack on the Sandy Ground cemetery.

Racist Cop Cries Foul: ...organize Reactionaries to the Rescue Against Racism

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

Despite being convicted of aggravated harassment in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, Eltingville resident ex-police officer John Pirozzi continues a crusade to have this charge overturned. During this round of his battle, Pirozzi has enlisted some new recruits including Borough President Guy Molinari and the newspaper of record on Staten Island, the Staten Island Advance. On September 5th the Advance ran an article entitled "Island Cop Still Battling Bias Charge" which was chockfull of supportive quotes by Molinari just in time for election day. By providing Pirozzi with an entirely uncritical platform to stand on the Advance has clearly displayed the relationship they have consistently cultivated with both the New York Police Department and the Republican Party.

The criminal act that Pirozzi feels he was so unjustly convicted of revolves around an attack perpetrated by him against Nicole Marciano on June 18, 1992. According to reports in the Advance which had been taken for Court records, Pirozzi and his partner Joseph Rontondi pulled over a vehicle with two people inside, namely Marciano and Brian Benjamin-Benn. According to the Appellate Court decision the officers had no "apparent" reason to pull behind the car which was parked in a private driveway. Following this an altercation ensued in which Pirozzi abused Benjamin-Benn and then physically and verbally assaulted Marciano when she protested the treatment of Benjamin-Benn. During the beating Pirozzi (6 feet tall 200 pounds) struck Marciano (5 feet five inches, 110 pounds) with an open hand and then according to the Appellate Court told her, "that's what happened when you assault a police officer you black bitch." As a result of these actions the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court after a thorough investigation of the facts, decided to set aside an earlier decision made by Judge Thaddeus Owens which had absolved Pirozzi of guilt. Pirozzi's appeal to the state Court of Appeals was recently rejected and he continues to hold the status of ex-cop as a result of the conviction.

Regarding the situation Pirozzi is faced with his attorney states that, "My client is like someone in strange kind of haunted house with many doors. This one has been slammed in his face, but all he needs is one door to get out." What Pirozzi really needed was an opportunistic politician to give him a plug and a reactionary newspaper to give him a platform. He received both as Molinari described the incident as a "gross miscarriage of justice" and described Pirozzi as an "outstanding police officer who served eight years in the Crown Heights community." As the article continues more and

more quotes are presented from various bias sources including attorney Stuart London who also just so happens to represent Thomas Bruder, one of the cops charged in the sexual assault of Abner Louima. London provided the following pearl of wisdom when he stated that "when people begin to throw in racial issues it inflames the decisions of everybody." Following the printing of this totally biased one sided argument the Advance received and printed a response by Kings County District Attorney



Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari consults his advisors before supporting the convicted racist cop John Pirozzi.

Charles Hynes in which he criticizes the position that Molinari has taken describing it as "reckless and irresponsible." Hynes then describes the manner in which the blows Pirozzi inflicted on Marciano "sent her to the ground unconscious, her nose and a tooth broken, her jaw fractured." Despite the printing of this rebuttal by Hynes, the Advance was successful in the job of beginning to manipulate public opinion and open "one door to get out."

Molinari has taken this position for obvious reasons. With the elections almost upon us, his reactionary right wing constituency has been severely damaged as a result of the harsh criticism that the Abner Louima assault has produced. The Pirozzi case afforded Molinari a golden opportunity to reinforce his position in favor of the police regardless of how racist or socially dangerous this institution has become. As a result of taking this position, Molinari has served to further expose the hypocrisy that exists from top to bottom in the New York Police Department. Molinari currently serves on the mayoral task force that was formed in order to investigate the assault on Abner Louima. The advance reported that Molinari wanted this commission to hear the Pirozzi case. This request is a perfect

illustration of the way in which the supposed task force on police brutality is merely a smokescreen developed by Giuliani to soothe the anger that has festered and could possibly explode in working class neighborhoods throughout New York.

The Advance printing this article is really an expose of the institutional liabilities and political allegiances that prevail on Staten Island. When the monarchical leader of Staten Island desires a forum to express his opinions the newspaper is drawn by institutional relationship which is based on mutually corrupt needs. The paper needs the political backing of those in power to soothe its influential readership and maintain their standing as a respectable paper. Increasingly respectability seems to be derived from the use of "official" sources, i.e. sources with a title tied to the end of their name, and the representation of the interests of rich white Staten Islanders. Quotes from someone like Nicole Marciano are devalued and made unnecessary due to her standing as a person of color, in the eyes of respected media sources she has no "legitimacy."

Crossing the Molinari family on Staten Island is tantamount to political suicide. The Advance has and must maintain its integrity by aligning themselves either behind or next to Molinari.

As citizens of Staten Island and as members of the human race we must work constantly to tear down the hypocritical smokescreens that the predominating political powers on this Island and in this city have constructed. Giuliani's task force is nothing more than a distraction to subdue and submerge the anger that is growing in this city. The citizens of New York must immediately demand a totally independent Police review Board detached from the NYPD, which is fully funded and run by the citizens of New York not the prevailing political interests. This board should not be a political bargaining tool which can be used to gain amnesty for cops convicted of racist attacks such as John Pirozzi, it should be used to jail him. This story is just one of thousands, many of which end up with the victim not just being injured but being executed. Staten Island has become a focal point of this struggle and if we as citizens allow these atrocities to go on without raising our voices and taking action we are just as guilty as Molinari, Pirozzi or Volpe. ■

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rage at these violent acts and raising awareness about the increasing number of police brutality incidents.

A group of CSI students, representing the CSI Student Union, took part in the late August rally in which tens of thousands of citizens marched from Brooklyn Grand Army Plaza to City Hall. Those students that attended the meeting stressed the need to develop a multi-racial coalition to address issues of race both on campus and within the Staten Island and New York City communities respectively. The need to build an effective anti-racist organization on campus has become even more vital as a result of the departure of the Pluralism and Diversity Coordinator Aya Fubara who was committed to investigating and dealing with issues of race within both the college community and the curriculum. In addition to the student response the administration of CSI needs to demonstrate that they too have a commitment to battling racism.

The plans that came out of the meeting were quite an accomplishment. Students developed a plan to coordinate an event to raise awareness about police brutality in conjunction with the National Day of Outrage that is planned on October 22nd. Plans are in the works to invite the group Mothers Against Police Brutality which is headed by the mother of Anthony Baez the 29 year old Bronx native who was killed by the police in December 1994, to address the issue of the upsurge of police violence from a first hand perspective. A committee was also formed to develop a skit revolving around the issue of race in order to bring the issue to the forefront using a different means of communicating. CSI Students Against Racism is also working on developing a forum which will address the police brutality issue and may include Roan Daniels from the Center for Constitutional Rights. Standing together the CSI student body can have a profound effect on the entire Island. We can either continue to avoid the issue as more and more victims pile up or we can make a stand. A firm stand that will tell racist cops and skin heads alike that we will not stand by idly while they terrorize our brothers and sisters and create a society dominated by fear. Join CSI Students Against Racism and we can begin to build a better future together. ■

**JOIN CSI
STUDENTS
AGAINST
RACISM**

**COME TO THE STUDENT
GOVERNMENT ROOM, 1C-207**

COLLEGE voice



NO
PEACE
FOR
RACISTS!

STUDENTS ORGANIZE AGAINST RACISM

BY WILLIAM WHARTON

Fed up with the constant attacks by Police Officers on minorities and outraged by the sharp rise in hate crimes on Staten Island, the students of CSI have decided to take a stand. Wednesday October 1st marked the first part of that stand as the newest organization on campus, CSI Students Against Racism held their initial meeting. Despite the fact that the meeting was held the day before a 4-day weekend over 15 students attended further demonstrating the urgent need to address issues of race and bias sharply. Along with the students, faculty member Catherine Lavender and community leader Gary Phaneuf stopped in to lend their support and show solidarity to this important cause.

Few people can deny the fact that police brutality and racially motivated bias attacks have become a frighteningly recurrent problem on Staten Island. 1994 was a pivotal point in both the increase in violence by the police force and the level of community response to these attacks. This year marked the murder of 22 year old Earnest Sayon at the hands of a New York Police Department officer working

out of the notorious 120th precinct in St. George. Sayon was choked to death while handcuffed and this set off a wave of protest by community members. CSI students, working out of the College Voice, played an important role in the effort to mobilize the community for the protest effort.

Eventually the outrage was quieted thanks to the manipulative efforts of Borough President Guy Molinari and his hand picked African American representatives including the newest member of the CUNY Board of Trustees Alfred Curtis Jr. As the level of community awareness subsided, the NYPD was allowed to fall back into its usual mode of racial authoritarianism, setting the stage for our latest round of racially motivated attacks.



One of the focal points of Wednesday's meeting was to bring students up to date with the many offenses that have occurred over the past few months on Staten Island. A few months back, a Staten Island firefighter was attacked and beaten by Nazi skin heads after he com-

plained about the noise they were making outside of his house. Following this new assaults included the racist attacks on the Sandy Ground Historical site, the Baron Hirsch Jewish Cemetery and the bomb threat that was phoned in against an Islamic Mosque. Sandy Ground and Baron

Hirsch were particularly sinister in that both attacks were carried out by skin head groups looking to not only destroy graves but also destroy the history that lies behind the graves. Graves were knocked over and inscribed with swastikas and other white supremacist

signs causing thousands of dollars of damage. (see the interview below for further information)

In addition to these on-Island incidents, Staten Island resident cop Justin Volpe perpetrated the sexual assault on Haitian victim Abner Louima earlier this month. After climbing through the initial cover-up and discovering cracks in the "blue wall of silence", the truth concerning this case finally came out. After arresting Louima outside of a nightclub, Volpe and his cohorts inflicted a beating on the victim which included shoving a toilet plunger up his rectum. The beating culminated with Volpe shoving the plunger down Louima's mouth knocking out his front teeth while reportedly telling him, "this isn't Dinkins time, it's Giuliani time." Thanks to the heroic efforts of Magalie Laurent, the nurse that treated Louima for his injuries the true story emerged. Following the release of the story, the Haitian community along with the poor and working class throughout the city organized and carried out a series of rallies aimed at expressing their out-

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Resisting Racist Terror on Staten Island

The following is an interview with Gary Phaneuf, taken from the anti-racist newspaper "Turning The Tide". Gary Phaneuf has played an integral role in exposing and fighting hate crimes of all types on Staten Island for the past 5 years.

PART: Can you describe the most recent hate crimes on Staten Island?

GARY: Actually there has been an epidemic of hate crime on Staten Island since the spring and through the summer. This climaxed in an attack on an African American cemetery, a designated historic site dating back before the Civil War. Twenty six-tombstones were desecrated. The cemetery at the African Methodist Zion Church, maintained by the Sandy

Ground Historical Society, is part of the site of one of the oldest communities of free Blacks in the United States, dating back to 1832. The community was established by Black oyster-men, who fished those waters, owned their own boats and eventually settled in the area building their own homes. Some descendants of the original community still live in the area. Others who no longer live on Staten Island, continue to attend services at the church or to keep up the cemetery through participating in the Historical Society. It's a travesty that this living community, its ancestors, and its rich history could have been attacked in this way.

PART: You mentioned an epidemic of hate

crime. What are some of the other incidents?

GARY: Just a week earlier, a Black woman waiting at a bus stop heading to work, minding her own business, was accosted by two white men who pulled up in a car. One man said, "Lady, do you know what a skin head is?" He pointed to his waist-band, where he indicated or implied that he had a gun. He then pointed his finger to his head and motioned as if to pull a trigger. Then they drove off.

PART: Have there been any arrests made?

GARY: Yes, authorities have picked up suspects in both cases, after first discounting both incidents. There was a large meeting at the church at which the Borough President Guy Molinari attempted to dominate, but anti-Klan activists did speak from the floor. Because of the level of community outrage, the establishment in Staten Island are trying to do damage

control and drag in suspects.

PART: What other hate crime activity has been happening on Staten Island?

GARY: It turns out that the same week: as the Historic Black Cemetery was hit, the Baron Hirsch Jewish Cemetery was also vandalized. Actually it also hit three times in three weeks during the summer at the beginning of the summer, but it was hushed up by the media. The local paper finally printed coverage of the anti-Jewish vandalism and acknowledged that the Hirsch cemetery was hit a total of seven times over the summer. Basically, they took the attitude that it's hit all the time, so it's not news.

A synagogue, Congregation B'nai Israel, had been desecrated the week before; I walked to the train station nearby after taking photos of the desecration, and at the Bay Terrace station of the

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