

THE COLLEGE

VOICE

VOL. XV • ISSUE NO.6 • March 1995

**THE ROLE
OF THE ARTIST**

- p. 28

*Plus a book review
on Gramsci*

- p. 27

Students and Workers:

Unite and Fight Against the Cuts!



Shut the City Down!

March 23, City Hall twelve noon

Build a Labor Party to Fight the Budget Cuts p 8-13

CSI students set the stage for March 23 rally

Over 70 students protest at Borough Hall

By JP Patafio

Following the que of organized labor and community groups over 75 CSI students rallied in front of Borough Hall Wednesday February 23 to protest the impending budget cuts. The students took the struggle to the street with the intent on making the point clear that they will not stand idly by while their education is taken away from them. Though Borough President Molinari did not bother to show up and address the students concerns the rally was in high spirits and the students were ready to fight for their education. As one student protestor said, "The best way to effect change is to take the struggle to the streets, to the public and out of the hallways filled with lobbyist."

Borough Hall was selected due to its political significance and location near the St. George ferry where thousands of city workers pass through each day. The Borough President gave winning support to both Governor Pataki and Mayor Guiliani who have made deep cuts in CUNY's budget. Between the mayor' and governor's proposed budget, CUNY stands to lose over \$200 million dollars in funding come next year on top of a \$500 tuition increase for full time students per semester. These cuts reflect the inverse directions of public need and public funding: enrollment increases while governmental funding is decreasing. If these cuts are passed it will lock-out thousands of students and fire over 130 faculty and staff in CSI alone. [see article on CSI and the Budget Crisis.]

Objective conditions Force Students To Organize and Fight

When Governor Pataki's budget proposal was released earlier in the month students were forced into motion. Shortly after its release the Revolutionary Socialist Group, Students for a Brighter Tomorrow, and the College Voice organized a meeting on Thursday, February 9. At that meeting over a dozen students showed up and voted on holding a rally at Borough Hall. At the meeting students vented their anger at the proposed cuts which would end their ability to receive a quality higher

education. Composed of mostly women, the students organized a coalition, today called CSI Coalition to Fight Against the Budget Cuts. In the course of the two weeks the students met once more where some Student Government members and the Spanish Club joined the coalition to build for the rally. At that second meeting these demands were voted upon, No Tuition Increases, No Budget Cuts, Funding to Meet the Needs of Enrollment, Save SEEK/Opportunity Programs, No Cuts To Financial Aid, Tax the Rich To Make CUNY Free. The coalition continued to leaflet the campus about the upcoming rally.

On the day of the rally the core organizers began to canvas the campus motivating students, faculty and staff to join them. Unfortunately, many students did not show up, and the faculty was no where to be found. Besides the general apathy one finds in the cafeteria, where students sit around playing cards all day, many students were concerned about missing class. One student noted that the faculty should encourage students to attend these rallies even if it means missing a class, and that they would receive an excused absence. Though the coalition activist asked them to ponder the missing of a single class with the possibility of not going to school at all come next semester. Many students were still worried about what their teacher would say. Student activist believe student apathy is the result of an absence of any sort of fight back over the past two years and the rise of conservatism throughout the country without any mass working class alternatives. Despite the apathy of the younger students, just getting out of high school and reared on MTV, most other students responded with anger about the potential devastation of CUNY and would be willing to fight back in the future.

Before leaving the campus to the demonstration sight, students marched throughout the campus handing out leaflets, chanting slogans and stopping in front of buildings to gather more students. It was noticed that two plain clothed police



officers were on campus following the demonstrators around. Coupled with the police was CUNY security, which at one point stopped the demonstrators, threatening them that if they used the bullhorn on the grounds they could be arrested. Gene Martinez, Head of CSI Security, told the protestors that rules and laws were established and must be obeyed. One activist replied "these same rules and laws are locking students out of an education."

What was dramatically missing from the rally, though not uncommon, was the presence of any faculty. Besides two SEEK faculty, Eugene Dudley and ..., no other faculty was present. This type of apathy on the faculties part is consistent with past attacks upon CUNY where the faculty union was no where to be found. Strangely enough faculty is complacent in the face of these cuts that effect their working conditions, both materially, economically and emotionally. Over half the faulty is cheap

labor, with minimal benefits, aptly called adjuncts. Except this time around it is not only the adjuncts that are facing layoffs, but also full-time faculty may find themselves out of a job come next semester. Tenured professors will be forced to retire early. Students held up signs calling for unity with faculty and staff in order to defeat these proposed budget cuts.

When the rally commenced in front of Borough Hall students spoke about the need to organize with those other sectors of the working class that are being effected by these cuts, such as high school students, transit workers and health care/hospital workers. The mood of the rally was militant and with the understanding that this was only the first step towards building a CUNY wide mass demonstration on March 23 in front of City Hall at twelve noon.

BUDGET CUTS HURT STUDENTS

BY Craig R. Whitney

The reductions in the New York State Executive Gudget spell out difficulty and problems for the great majority of CUNY students. State aid to students will be cut 25.7% and the tuition will increase across the board 38.8%. In his budget for 1995-1996, Gov. Pataki slashed \$116.6 million, cut the \$46 million lump sum program, eliminated SEEK and CD and cut an additional \$15.1 million. Facing reduced programs and services by Pataki's budget cuts is bad enough, but CUNY students must pay increased costs in tuition in order to offset the some of the effects of the budget cuts. Overall students may pay \$100 million.

All full-time equated students, in the plan, must pay an additional \$1,000. Graduate and non-state residents have to pay an extra \$13.7 million. Whichever is lower, the maximum TAP award is reduced to \$3,575 from \$4,050 or 90% of tuition expenses. The maximum TAP award for single independent students is reduced to \$2,450 or 90% of tuition whichever is lower. If CUNY tuition is increased to \$3,450-the \$1,000 / FTE plan- than the maximum TAP award would be \$2,450. In his draconian budget the following will be eliminated: STAP, APTS, graduate TAP, TAP for inmates, Liberty scholarships. The state executive budget will cut \$9.3 million in supplemental aid, cut all categorical aid of \$5 million (but will not slash child care), retain the base aid formula of \$1,800 / FTE and increase \$3.7 million for enrollment growth.

\$9.7 million in hard dollars are to be appropriated to support health and safety projects, ADA compliance, and the improvement of child care facilities. \$42.7 million is to be appropriated to address building condition surveys, ADA compliance, and the support of research and technology initiatives. The John Jay Phase 2 and the Sophie Davis building renovation projects. \$2 million is to be funded to maintain health and safety, facility renovations and to support research and technology initiatives. \$14 million will be used to aquire a presently leased facility at La Guardia Community College.

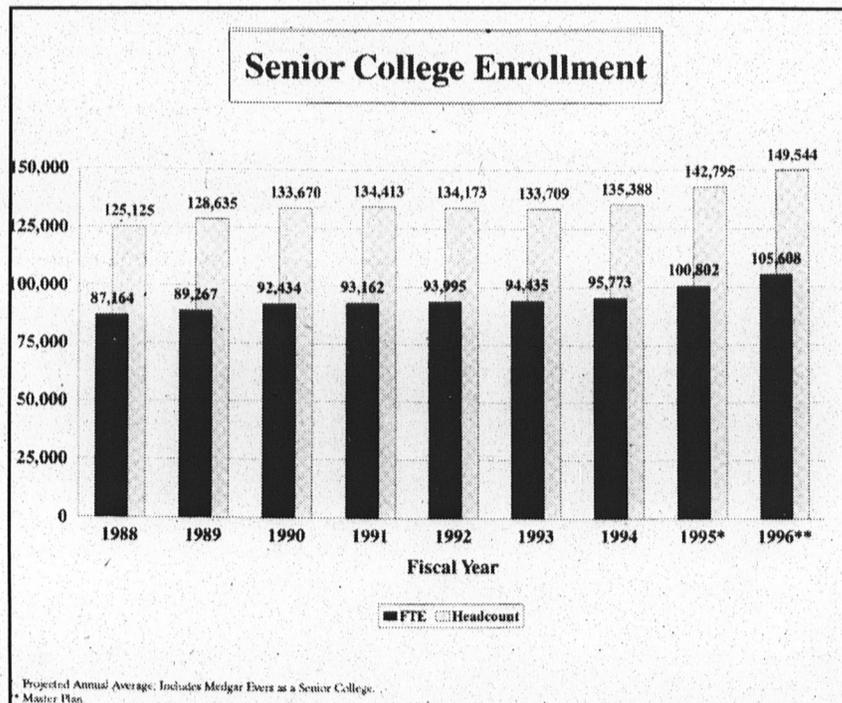
The programs and job programs on CUNY campuses are deeply affected as well. In the senior colleges 928 tenured faculty in 5,568 sections and 1,500 adjunct faculty are to be laid off along with 736 in the support staff. There also will be cuts in library materials, supplies, and equipment. In the community colleges, 286 tenured faculty in 2,574 sections and 600 adjunct faculty in 1,800 sections are to be dismissed. The 215-strong support staff will be cut as well as the 450 part-time staff.

On the federal level, President Clinton's proposed education budget in 1996 adds to student's troubles in their hopes of getting a higher education. Pell Grants are to be decreased to \$2,620 / year by \$280. The CWS, SEOG, the Perkins Loan Program, are maintained at current levels. The Direct Loan program will include all institutions by 1997-1998. The SPRE will be increased to \$25 million but the SSIG will be decreased to \$31.4 million from \$63.3

million. There are other proposals as well in the administration's budget plan. Skill grants are for students not enrolled in associate's or greater programs in college. They are treated equally to Pell grants and students receive the same amount of money depending on their financial situation as they would get in Pell grants. The withdrawal of IRA funds without penalty for post-secondary attendance is part of the budget plan for 1996. \$5,000 in taxable

income will be deducted for post-secondary attendance. It would gradually work its way to \$10,000 in 1999.

Students have a chance on March 23 to fight back against the Republicans' and Democrats budget cuts. At City Hall, on 12 PM Thursday, CUNY students can express discontentment with reductions in college funding and tuition hikes for our greater good.



Governor's Budget Proposal: Bad News for Students

Thousands of students locked-out, faculty and staff fired if cuts go through

By Devon Blinth

Following through on his promise to reduce the size of government, Governor George Pataki has unveiled a slough of budget cuts which includes deep spending cuts for the City University and State University systems. Citing the need for smaller government Mr. Pataki remarked, "The budget must be balanced... of course we all will feel the impact." The proposed cuts to the University could result in the following:

- \$1,000 tuition increase
- The elimination of SEEK
- The elimination of Liberty Scholarships
- The elimination of almost 25% of full time faculty
- The elimination of graduate TAP
- The elimination of STAP
- Large reductions to TAP
- A reduction of 25% of adjunct budgets
- Drastic reductions in expenditures for library books
- Massive reductions in course sections
- Increased class sizes

Speaking in favor of the cuts, Mayor Giuliani stated that the tuition increases would be good for students because they "... instill our students with a sense of civic responsibility." However, not everyone agrees. "I'm working two jobs and I go to school full time," said Jonathan Gonzalez of Hunter College, "I get some financial aid but when I pay off my bills I barely have enough left to pay rent. I'm trying to play by the rules, but they [politicians] are making it so damn tough to succeed nowadays."

Testifying before a New York State Assembly committee, City University Chancellor, W. Ann Reynolds said, "If [a] student was scheduled to graduate, that student may have to defer graduation a semester or more" due to lack of course offerings. At a recent rally protesting the budget cuts Maria Colella mother of a nine year old son and a CSI student said, "I might not be able to finish if the Pataki budget goes through, I want to be a computer programmer so I can get off public assistance and take care of myself and my son."

In order to fulfill his election mandate to close the state budget deficit Governor Pataki has ordered many departments to belt tighten, however some argue that many institutions have downsized to the point of compromising the quality of services. According to some analysts, CUNY already operates at extraordinary levels of efficiency. Says CSI President, Dr. Marlene Springer, "CUNY is the leanest institution I have ever seen."

CUNY is essentially a working class institution. More than one-half of the University's undergraduate students report

family incomes of less than \$22,000. Approximately 66 percent of all full-time students receive financial aid from state or federal sources. According to a recent survey of students, two-thirds of all undergraduates are employed either part- or full-time (68 percent at the senior colleges and 61 percent at the community colleges in the Fall 1989).

CUNY: A Historical Perspective

The City University of New York is comprised of ten senior colleges, six community colleges, one technical college, a graduate school, a law school, a medical school and an affiliated medical school.

CUNY traces its origins back to 1847 when a municipal public referendum explicitly authorized by the State Legislature to determine if the people of New York City were willing to underwrite the cost of a tuition-free institution of higher education for their children. The Free Academy, created as a consequence of that overwhelmingly affirmative vote, later became The City College of New York. In

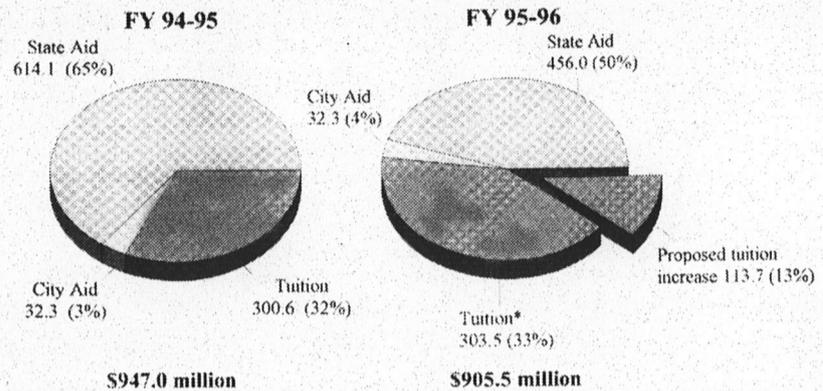
1870, Hunter College was founded to educate women and became the first free Normal school in the United States. The State Legislature established a municipal-college system in 1926 with the creation of a 21-member New York City Board of Higher Education. As the demand for higher education grew, other colleges were established within the City's system: Brooklyn College in 1930, Queens College in 1937, New York City Community College in 1947, Staten Island Community College in 1955, Bronx Community College in 1957 and Queensborough Community College in 1958. In 1961, the Legislature designated the municipal system as The City University of New York.

Rapid expansion and restructuring followed. The Graduate School was founded in 1961, to provide a structure for graduate programs that could draw on the faculties of the colleges. Ten other colleges were chartered during the next decade: Borough of Manhattan Community College (1963), Kingsborough Community College (1963), John Jay College of Criminal Justice (1964), Richmond College (1965), York College (1966), Medgar Evers College (1968), Eugenio Maria de Hostos Community College (1968), and Fiorello H. LaGuardia Community College (1968) Bernard M. Baruch College, which had been the School of Business and Public Administration within The City College, became a separate senior college in 1968. Herbert H. Lehman College, which had been a branch of Hunter College in the Bronx, became an autonomous senior college the same year. Mount Sinai School of Medicine was affiliated in 1967. In 1970, the City University adopted an open admissions policy that guarantees any New York City high school graduate admission to a college of the University.

In 1975-76, the University experienced repeated budget cuts. As a result, in the fall of 1976, the Board of Higher Education ended the 129-year history of free tuition for undergraduate New York City residents. Since then, tuition has increased regularly to the aggravation of students. In 1976 Richmond College and Staten Island Community College became a federated institution, the present day College of Staten Island. In 1979 The City University Governance and Financing Act was signed into law, establishing increased state financial support and a legislative mandate for the University's educational mission. As a result of legislation adopted in 1980, the College of Staten Island was designated as a senior college and New York Community College was redesignated New York City Technical College. Nearly 213,000 students currently are registered at the City University. Nearly 40 percent of the undergraduate students attend part-time. In addition, 150,000 students enroll in adult and continuing education programs each year. Forty-five percent of the University's undergraduate students are 25 years of age or older. Almost all, 92 percent, are residents of New York City. According to a recent survey of students, two-thirds of all undergraduates are employed either part- or full-time (68 percent at the senior colleges and 61 percent at the community colleges in the Fall 1989).

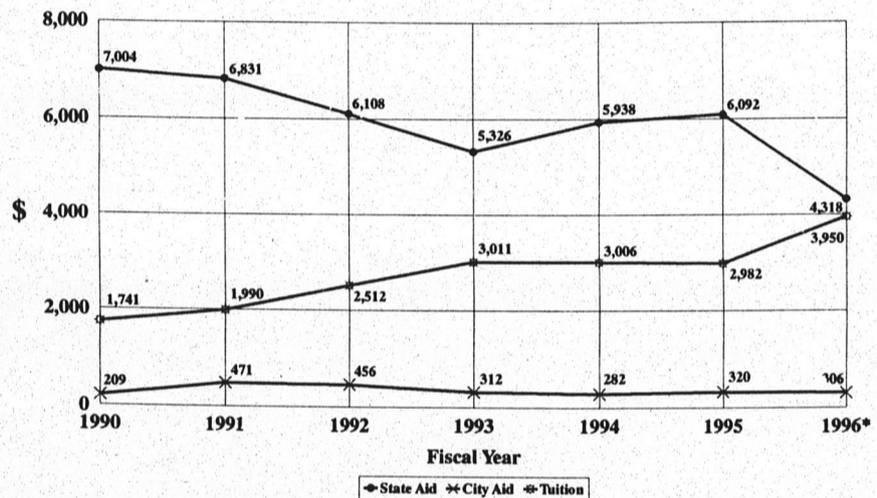
The national average for senior college tuition rates is \$2,479. If the budget proposal goes through, CUNY tuition will be above the national average at \$2,629. One CSI student who declined to be named remarked, "At this point the idea that CUNY has open admissions is garbage; if most poor students cannot afford to attend classes then what's the point of touting open admissions?" Commenting on the situation, SG senator Windy Webb stated, "... this is going to be the elimination of a middle class."

State Executive Budget Funding of the Senior College Operating Budget



* Total 95-96 tuition equals \$417.2 million, or 46% of budget

Senior College Funding per FTE



* State Executive Budget; Master Plan Enrollment Projections. All other years reflect Adopted budget.

Student Protestors at State Capital

9,000 students rally in Albany

by Chris S. Anderson

Twenty three students from CSI joined 9,500 fellow statewide CUNY/SUNY students at the Capitol Building in Albany yesterday to vent their anger against proposed CUNY/SUNY budget cuts. Even though the turnout for CSI was relatively small compared to the population of CSI, the students had big hearts and loud voices, and they made themselves heard. The protestors brought signs, made banners and displayed them prominently on the East steps of the Capitol Building. It made for a dramatic background for the speeches that ensued.

Among the noted speakers was State Assemblyman Ed Sullivan, who gave an emotionally charged speech proclaiming his support for the thousands that had gathered that day. Sullivan metaphorically stressed the importance of the vote. "You are not coming here with a tin cup, you are coming here with a club, and that club is your vote."

While the protestors were entertaining the press and local residents on the street, there was a contingent of lobbyists delivering postcards to the legislature that were signed by thousands of CUNY and SUNY students who were against the proposed cuts.

The lobbyists were organized by NYPIRG (New York Public Interest Research Group). They were inexperienced yet effective in communicating their concerns regarding cuts coupled with an increase in tuition. They proclaimed their disdain for the over one thousand dollar raise for tuition and the elimination of programs such as SEEK and TAP for graduate and part-time students. Sheila Ayudtud, a lobbyist for NYPIRG said, "Only the aid came and listened to our concerns. He told us that if we want anything to happen, we need to pressure the Senate and the Governor."

Michelle Gibbons, Project Coordinator of NYPIRG at CSI stressed that the fight has just begun. "We are planning another rally on April 1st, or a candlelight vigil depending on the outlook at the time." The protestors and lobbyists were tired and cold at the end of the day, but their spirit was invigorated by their actions of free speech and expression. Democracy in action!

Governor's Budget to Eliminate SEEK

Program to fight discrimination to be defunded; thousands effected

By JP Patafio

The Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge (SEEK), along with other Educational Opportunity Programs, is threatened with extinction if Governor Pataki and the state assembly have their way. The Governor's budget will eliminate \$51 million in funding to this Educational Opportunity Program. His justification for this move is that the program is "not worth the investment." Though documentation provides contrary information, the governor is only concerned with bottom line economics; if it does not turn a profit for business it is not worth the funding.

Despite these hardships SEEK has proven to be a successful program. The retention rate for students who enter have improved since 1983, and the figures for 1991 reveal that the program helps students stay in school and graduate. Equal Opportunity Programs, such as SEEK, graduate approximately 4300 yearly. Advocates of SEEK, such as the administration and some faculty, put forward the data that CUNY students are more likely to be employed, hence they would contribute more to the revenue of the state and city through taxes. Professors Ricardo Otheguy and Sheldon Weinbaum write, "Even at the present graduation rate, which

has been highly criticized in the press, the yearly differential contribution of these tax payers is projected to grow nearly \$300 million by the year 2010. Not bad for a yearly \$51 million investment." These students in the past would go on to be employed in career jobs, however, with the restructuring of the labor force into part-time/ piecemeal work a less educated workforce is required. The governor justifies his budget proposal with the mindset of the bankers and bond traders whom he caters to. The people who work in SEEK believe that the program is successful in a way that can not be measured by the profit margin.

Currently, there are over 11,000 students in the SEEK program CUNY wide, and 495 in the College of Staten Island (CSI). These students enter college with lower grades on assessment test for reading, writing and math. With programs such as SEEK these students are able to enter college and go on to graduate on a level equal to non-SEEK students. An informational leaflet distributed at the SEEK office notes that, "The mean graduation rates of entering SEEK cohorts exceed those of non-SEEK entering cohorts in three of six year. The overall conclusion: SEEK students are over-

coming initial academic shortcomings to out perform, or at least perform on par with, their non-SEEK peers." With these achievements the counselors, workers and management in the SEEK department are angry about the governor's proposal.

The program, designed to counteract discriminatory policies against poor and working class people (specifically blacks and Latinos,) was instituted on the heels of the student revolts around open admissions at the end of the 1960's. In one way SEEK represents the last vestiges of the open admission policy since it allows students with lower academic standards to enter the college community. Eugene Dudley, a SEEK counsellor at CSI since 1970, stated that SEEK is a "political program" and believes that its elimination has more to do with politics than financing. He said, "I don't understand the justification for the cuts. I think more so than it being a financial crisis, its more or less a political statement."

One SEEK worker remarked

Programs such as this attest to the fact that when any person is given the opportunity, with the proper resources and support network academic learning is not beyond their scope. One SEEK counselor

believes that the cuts "would be devastating." She believes that the people making decision are clueless to consequences of their decisions. "Somebody who is making decisions does not know what is going on in reality." She went on to say, "The most disgusting part about this whole thing is that they are eliminating an entire social class of people from getting an education."

Despite the widespread understanding of the budget cuts faculty is slow to respond. At a rally at Borough Hall against the cuts only two SEEK staffers showed up. Eugene of SEEK expressed dismay at the lackadaisical response by the faculty and students. He said programs like SEEK, which expand the opportunity to an education, where fought for and that people today forgot how to fight and expect things given to them. He was one of only two faculty out to support the student rally in front of Borough Hall on February 23. He encourages students and faculty to get out there and fight. Jokingly he said, "To the victors go the spoils." But the truth of his remark was what made him and the reporters smile. He encouraged that students, staff and faculty organize and fight back.

Cuts to 1199 Make Life Medieval

by Lou Bardel

March 1- A rally was held by Hospital and Health Care Workers Union 1199. Twenty-thousand members displayed their strength and a mass of worker's power. This demonstration was supported by the CUNY student coalition against the impending budget cuts. More than 100,000 New Yorkers stand to lose their jobs as a result of these cuts. Close to two million people who use Medicaid live in the city and their care stands to be effected negatively across the board.

SUNY and CUNY funding will be cut more than 40 million dollars. For CUNY students this means a tuition hike of \$1,000 per year, elimination of the SEEK program, a 10% reduction in financial aid, elimination of thousands of classes, and the firing of hundreds of teachers. On the other side of the crises, for health care workers, budget cuts means that those who are being helped by Medicaid, or have a job taking care of Medicaid patients, will lose thousands of jobs and many sick and elderly people will not be cared for. Medicaid is slated to be cut 1.2 billion dollars. For Pataki voters hoping that he would bring law and order as well as lowered taxes, he is instead creating more disorder and building jails for all the people who "fall out of line".

Health Care is the biggest growth industry in New York and generates about 18% of the gross national product. It is the state's single biggest employer. Thirty thousand home-care workers are struggling women, many Blacks and Latinos only a few paychecks away from poverty. The demographics of this working population are a clue as to why our politicians are cutting the health care system so hard. This leaves the nursing graduates of CSI in a very tough position when out in the job market.

More demonstrations will be held in the coming weeks to force the Governor to take notice. If the militancy is anywhere near the level of the Worker-Student Coalition then the Governor and the State and City of New York have a long tumultuous road ahead of them. The atmosphere was electric as demonstrators marched from 32nd and 6th down to Bellevue hospital. Strong anti-Pataki sentiment was shown in slogans of "Tax the Rich, Not the Working Class", and "They say cut back, we say

fight back." "The current tax structure halts the percentage rate of taxes at 23%, which means a man making \$200,000 a year is taxed the same as a man making \$200,000,000 a year. This is one of the lowest tax rates in years and makes one remember fondly the days back in the 1950's when the highest rate was close to 50% and the post-W.W. II US economy was booming. It makes one wonder what these politicians mean when they say they are going to lower taxes. For who? Could it be his rich friends who donate large sums of cash to his campaign? Has George Pataki forgotten about the people who put him into office? A \$1,000 tuition increase does not sound like much of a tax break to a lot of CUNY students." Those interested should join disgruntled, disheartened, and disenfranchised citizens on March 23 at City Hall when protesters will march down to Wall Street to "educate" the people who are really the cause of our so-called economic crisis; the people feeling the least amount of pressure from the current "budget hack" targeted at the everyday citizen.

Talk has been heard of building a third political party, a new labor party. Some believe that this is too narrow. "Not only should labor advocates be included but also environmentalists, women's rights and civil rights advocates, farmers, small businessmen (shopkeepers, people employing less than 50 people), the poor, homeless, consumer advocates, conservation groups, cooperatives, non-profit organizations, Blacks, Latinos, Asians, the middle class (\$35,000-\$125,000), as well as labor. All are being oppressed by the political elite who have constructed a severe maldistribution of wealth. These groups should all come together to oppose the Republicans and all their wealthy friends (\$200,000 and over who receive many tax breaks) who are less than 1% of the population." a Social-Democrat was quoted saying. Labor Union heads like Dennis Rivera are notorious for being what is called "labor liutenants of capital". Certain union bureaucrats offer a honest critique of economic conditions, but their tactics are said to be tame. Massive lobbying pushes as opposed to building a third labor party. This has been one of the reasons for a steady decline of union power over the past thirty years.



Over 20,000 healthcare workers demonstrated against the budget cuts.

Students Say GOP Contract Will "Devastate" Public Higher Education

By Devon Blinth and Andrew Bove

Students rights advocates this week declared that the Republican Contract With America will "devastate" American public higher education. Currently, students are not charged interest on federal loans while they are in school. A Republican proposal contained in the Contract would eliminate the interest-free period in order to save \$9.6-billion. According to the American Association of State Colleges and Universities the proposal, if passed, would cause an average of 20% increase in student indebtedness, and a 30% increase in the cost of graduate and professional degrees due to longer-term interest payments.

Other proposed cuts include nearly \$3 billion in campus based aid programs, such as Perkins Loans and Federal Work Study programs, according to Ivan Frischburg, director of the higher education program for the U.S. Public Interest Research Group (U.S.PIRG).

"These cuts to student aid will devastate our educational system," he continued. "There won't be any third wave of technology, advances of democracy or participation in the global economy without an educated population." State and local governments are reflecting the national trend and restructuring in the name of "leaner and meaner" as well. Governor George Pataki has released his budget February 1 and it contains very deep cuts for both CUNY and SUNY (State University of New York). Says Dr. Marlene Springer CSI President, "I cannot believe the state can build a beautiful multi-million dollar campus and allow it to [decline]." Jenny Ritter, President of the National College Democrats, said "If we had a red alert, we'd be about there." One CSI engineering student speaking on condition of anonymity said, "They're killing us with these cuts. Students, faculty and staff must work together to push them back." However, George Fondmren, executive director of the National College Republicans, defended many of the proposed cuts. "Everyone is going through this belt tightening phase," he said. "College students will do their part as well." Ritter sharply disagreed with the proposal. "A cut in education is a cut in the future and is not something we can afford."

CUNY Administration- For or Against Students

Administrations strategy only leads to failure

By Sarah Husain and JP Patafio

On Friday, March 3, 9:30 a.m. a private forum. CUNY Chancellor Ann Reynolds, and other high level administrators from East 80th street discussed the devastating effects of the Governor's proposed budget and came to push their program for fighting the cuts; lobbying and voter registration. There were approximately 50 people present, the majority administrators and security. Less than 20 students were present.

New Analysis

The students at the private gathering were official student leaders. These "student leaders" are members of Student Government and other clubs which the administration deems "official." One of these student leaders is Anthony Giordano, Chair of University Student Senate (USS) who is not directly voted to position by the student body but appointed by the different student governments throughout CUNY. The low turnout was due to the way in which the forum was organized.

The lack of students turn out, however, shouldn't be surprising because, one, invitation letters were only sent to "elected" student leaders. There was no public notice of the event. Secondly, the forum was held 9:30 Friday morning when the school is least populated. The sincerity of administration to inform the public about the severity of these cuts is questionable with such poor organizing. What was even more embarrassing for the administration was the poor turnout by the "student leaders." Most of these "student leaders" did not show up and President Springer and Vice-president Jackson were seen out side, at 9:30, asking students who were eating breakfast to come to the forum.

Administration knows the details

Chancellor Reynolds, among other high-level administrators, went into great detail about the plight of CUNY. With visual graphics and hard facts they exposed the paltry funding of CUNY. The fact that enrollment is increasing and funding per full time student is decreasing, and that New York state ranks low compared to other states when it comes to funding public higher education.

After going over the flight of funding by the state to CUNY the Chancellor discussed irony of the politicians proposals. "In reality," she said, "when you have the Governor saying I'm going to cut taxes by 25% and you simply shift that back to the families and students who attend CUNY, all you are doing is shifting the taxes to another sector. You are not saving taxes." The question here is not about "shifting" taxes or even "saving" them, it's about who the politicians are not taxing and who they are taxing. In the face of the city's and the state's "budget crisis", the governor's proposal has "tax incentives/cuts" for the wealthiest New Yorkers, big banks and bond traders while increasing the taxes upon the working class and lower middle class. Tuition for a "public" university is little more than a veiled tax upon the people who use it.

The Chancellor, who is employed by both the politicians and big businesses (she sits as a board member for MayTag Corp.,) makes over \$200 thousand a year. Like other high level CUNY administrators, her job comes with plenty of perks, and her job is also determined by the same politicians and CEO that she works for. Her methods of "fighting" the budget cuts are those of professional lobbyist who have the money and time to engage in such hallway antics. Unlike other professional lobbyist, who have multimillion dollar corporations behind them CUNY has the student body, the faculty and staff. The logic behind the administrators' strategy is that the politicians are threatened by large voting blocks. They attempt to

threaten state assemblymen with the myth that CUNY students are a monolithic 200,000 voting block. This is why they push letter writing campaigns and lobby days with so-called student representatives, such as NYPIRG and United Student Senate (an student body made up of student government members throughout CUNY.) Politicos know very well that CUNY does not vote as a body.

In fact like most Americans, CUNY students have little faith in the government to protect what they have or to produce what they need. This is one reason for the popular demand of decreasing the government. What the administration is clear upon is not to encourage mass actions in the street or civil disobedience. The argue it will only enforce the politicians prejudices that CUNY students "are animals." Accepting the mindset of the politicians they repress any student organizing which seeks to unite with other sectors of the working class under attack.

In the end administration is cynical and accepts that cuts are inevitable. At the forum there was no discussion of alternatives to the Governor's budget, only that students should write their politicians that CUNY should not be cut. In fact it is public knowledge that administration has devised a plan for when the cuts go through. It is not true that alternatives do not exist, but it is true that central CUNY administration is unwilling to fight for them and will prevent other from doing so.

Role of official student leaders

The administration must use "official student leaders" as cannon fodder for their political strategy because the administration itself is a conduit of the politicians legislative decrees. In the end it is the administration that enforces the policies of the governor and state assembly.

Student organizations like Student Government, USS and NYPIRG work closely with the Chancellor to make sure that students do little more than lobby. Director of State Relations, Eileen Goldmann stressed lobbying to the few official student representatives in the audience, "I want to outline what it is we need you [students] to do to make our jobs effective. One of the things I want to point out is that as students I would hope that all of you are registered to vote.... We need letter writing campaign. When you go to see a member they are going to do this to you, they are going to point you to another member. Assembly person A will say we support you go to your senator, and so on. This is right you have to see both, but you need something out of this. If the budget cuts go through, go back and say I thought you supported us." Is it any wonder why budget cuts go through? This is what the students will be saying on their way to the welfare line instead to the politicians that "support" them. Such a strategy only leads down the road to defeat.

During the meeting a student from the CUNY Coalition Against the Budget Cuts asked the administration to support the independent student action for March 23, by providing buses. The Chancellor denied the request. Student government Club Commissioner, Mary Kaufman sided with the Chancellor and stated that "students should pay \$1.25 to go to demonstrations" and administrations, nor student government should not provide buses because it is a waste of money. One can not deny that plenty of wasteful spending exist between the two groups, but is it a "waste of money" to provide assistance for students who willing to fight to save their education. Student government provided money for the rally in Albany, organized by NYPIRG, in which "student leaders" lobbied their politicians. Why is it a waste to provide buses for a student demonstration in the city? Is it because it is not playing by the rules or under the leadership of the administration?

Some "student leaders" are designated by a body which is not elected itself by the student body, i.e., the board of trustees. Student leaders emerge out of struggles not out of hallways or boardrooms. The "student leaders" administration props up are different from those leaders who rise out of independent mass student action. It is important to question why the administration pushes these "leaders" and why some of these leaders opportunistically accept the position. One thing that the struggles of the sixties has taught us is that "leaders" today are politicians tomorrow. As for student activist who do not accept the rules as natural law the administration has other plans.

For the students who are organizing to fight these cuts through independent mass action the Chancellor has Central Security Director, Jose A. Elique, forming a special squad to deal with student activist. The administration has made it clear that they will suspend, expel or arrest students who break the vague Henderson Behavior rules. This is how Reynolds is fighting the budget cuts, by putting cops on campus to make sure students can not organize independently.

In the end the Chancellor plays by the rules even when they are threatening to lock out over 10,000 students from receiving higher education. For her, as well administration at large, they will continue to have their jobs, their high salaries, and perks. The reason they can afford to play by the "rules" and preach passivity is because it pays for their existence. For students, faculty and staff, however, the "rules" are chains that hold them down, and passive resistance equals subjugation, the loss of an education, a job an opportu-

nity. As one Coalition activist said at the meeting, "If administration is going to fight the cuts let them follow the lead of students."

You Have the Right to Remain Silent

Administration's slogan is "Money for cops not education".

The letter printed below was sent by Jose A. Elique, University Director of Security and Public Safety, to Deputy Commissioner of Training New York City Police Department, Elsie Scott to ask for police

With the advent of the worst budget cuts in CUNY history the administration in January 1995 was in the process developing a S.A.F.E [see document below] squad out of the CUNY 'peace officers.' Despite the humanistic terms used to describe these police outfits, they are nothing less than vehicles of repression. Central administrations intent is to crush any student "civil disobedience," such as fighting against the budget cuts. This action is targeted at student's civil rights to fight against unfair policies enacted by the government. It is our constitutional right to revolt. Our freedom of speech and right to organize mass rallies in the public is undermined by such actions.

This request to the NYPD in special training was planned well in advance. Why did not administration have mass teach-ins about the upcoming cuts instead? With actions such as these prudence is demanded by students when it comes to trusting who's side administration is really on.

The City University of New York



Office of The University Director of Security and Public Safety
355 W. 57th Street, N.Y. N.Y. 10019 (16th Floor)
 Phone: (212) 541-4407 Fax: (212) 541-0412

January 5, 1995

Jose A. Elique
Director

Martin J. Roddini
Deputy Director

Dr. Elsie Scott
Deputy Commissioner of Training
New York City Police Department
Police Academy
235 East 20th St. Room 627
New York, NY 10003

Dear Commissioner Scott,

At the direction of the Chancellor of The City University of New York, my Office is in the process of establishing a dedicated public safety team of peace officers that would be deployed to CUNY's 19 colleges under the following circumstances:

1. Major emergencies at the colleges.
2. Large demonstrations or protests.
3. Civil unrest, takeovers of college property or incidents of potential disruption to classes or administrative college functions.
4. Large college social functions (parties etc.)
5. Performances or speakers wherein college officials determine there is or may be a public safety concern.
6. Any condition wherein the College President, Chancellor or their designees determine there is a threat to public safety or public order.

This Special Assistance for Events (S.A.F.E.) Team will consist of 22-30 CUNY Public Safety Sergeants rigorously screened to determine their suitability for service in this unique contingent. In order to ensure that these officers are properly trained, I write to request your assistance and authorization in providing NYPD training to members of the CUNY S.A.F.E. units. If possible I ask that these officers receive training in the handling of civil disobedience incidents including refresher training in arrests, D.A.T. issuance, vouchering of evidence procedures and crowd control training. It would also be most beneficial if this training could be conducted prior to the Spring of 1995, since the University anticipates that there may be demonstrations at the campuses during that period.

Your consideration of this request is appreciated. If you have any questions or stipulations regarding this matter please do not hesitate to call me at (212) 541-0407.

Sincerely,



Jose A. Elique
Univ. Dir. of Sec. & Public Safety

c: Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds
Deputy Chancellor Laurence F. Mucciollo

NYPD94-951scot-ty

LESSONS OF THE CUBY STUDENT REVOLT OF 1991

by Barry Lituchy,

This article was first published in "The Bulletin in Defence of Marxism" in July of 1991. We are reprinting it here as a means of sharpening the strategy and tactics of combating the assault upon the students of CUNY today.

New York City: A Metropolis of Misery in the New World Order

Prior to World War II Trotsky correctly predicted that there was one alternative to socialist revolution — barbarism. Today barbarism goes by the highly respectable name of the "New World Order." In a period of worldwide capitalist decline the "New World Order" is the American ruling class' last, best hope for maintaining the power and the wealth of the ruling rich. Essentially, this "New World Order" is really a vicious political movement of a massive onslaught on the living standards and basic social services of working people both here and around the world. Earlier this year [1991] the U.S. ruling class launched a genocidal attack on the peoples of Iraq in this effort to revitalize world capitalism, not caring how much blood was spilled in the process. Currently, the international focus of this nicely named barbarism is on the free-trade agreements with Latin America and Canada, which are already placing more downward pressure on the living standards of Canadian and U.S. workers. But watch out! American capitalism is also constructing its "New World Order" in a neighborhood near you. Check your local street corner for symptoms of devastation and despair.

The "New World Order" has swept into New York City like a tornado, uprooting many of the basic social service and institution known to the working people of this

city for several generations. Only this is no natural disaster: it's the logical end result of a capitalist system falling apart — literally. This spring the city's Department of Transportation announced that three quarters of the city's bridges are structurally unsound and that tolls will be needed by the end of the year to pay for repairs, making commuting between the five boroughs next to impossible, assuming you make it at all.

Of course, the real intention of the banks, Wall Street traders and capitalists who hold the deeds to the city and state in the forms of bonds — and who own the politicians of the two capitalist parties as well — is not to fix what's wrong with New York, but to cash in on the wreckage of whatever social gains belonging to working people they can steal. After all, what else can good capitalists do after they've already sucked the Third World and deformed worker states dry with usurious loans, and supervised the pillaging of this country's industrial and commercial base with vast decapitalizations, junk-bond takeovers and savings and loan rip-offs? For starters, the New York banks' number one politician and likely presidential candidate, Mario Cuomo, ordered the state legislature to slash the state budget by some \$6 billion. Another billion is to be extorted out of working people through new taxes and fees for "luxuries" like driving a car or heating your home. Cuomo, whose greatest accomplishment in twelve years as governor has been to build the most prisons in state history, threw a fit when the state legislature passed a budget that would spend \$937 million dollars more than he wants on things like education and

Medicaid while cutting Cuomo's beloved "Police State." Cuomo vetoed it. Meanwhile, in New York City, Dinkins is calling for a budget reduction of some \$3 billion with another \$500 million in new tax rip-offs.

These budgets mean the firing of 30,000 city workers on top of another 16,000 state workers. When combined with the elimination of job training programs and the after effects on local economies, these budgets will undoubtedly set off an additional round of lay-offs. The "New World Order" in New York City also means the cutting of health and human services by millions of dollars. State funding for child care for example, will be cut by at least ten percent. Cuomo and Dinkins argue that outpatient clinics, city run pharmacies, school nurses and dental clinics have got to go, and that fire departments, senior centers, hospitals and Medicaid benefits for dental, optical and psychiatric care are expendable. Meanwhile, New York has become the T.B. capital of America, with measles and other pre-industrial diseases on the rise. Homelessness, too, is breaking all-time records this year with over 100,000 people on the streets. Libraries, museums, parks, zoos, public swimming pools and beaches will also be closed in this summer of "the New World Order." Even one out of every four street lamps will be turned off at night.

But amidst all this disorder public spending will go up for 50,000 new cops to help enforce this class war against workers and minorities. The cops are also needed to defend the rich from the rising tide of hopelessness and desperation which is pushing random violence to ever higher

levels and increasing the numbers of racist attacks, attacks on women, and senseless killings of children and infants. As for the truly destitute, they were given a taste of this growing police-state army in early June when cops closed Tompkins Square Park in Manhattan— long a haven for the homeless— and erected a six foot fence around it.

Dinkins and Cuomo only wish that every day could be a June 10 when thousands of goons were bussed into the city to cheer the obscene "Imperialism Day" parade, so that labor, student and anti-war protesters could always be harrassed by out-of-town drunken thugs.

The "New World Order" is turning New York City into a Metropolis of Misery. And it is the Democratic Party and its most liberal politicians, Mario Cuomo and David Dinkens, — for years passed off as "the friends of labor" by Social-Democratic reformers — who are leading this attack on working people.

Behind the CUNY Crisis

At least one segment of the city's working class decided this spring that they were not going to give back everything that belongs to them without a fight. April 1991 will be remembered as the month in which the working class youth of New York City rose up by the thousands to fight back the attacks of the ruling class on the living standards and basic social services of the city's population. Unfortunately, it will also be remembered as the month in which this courageous fight was stabbed in the back by a cowardly and insensitive

continues on page 16

THE DISMANTLING OF C.U.N.Y. AND THE PILLAGING OF NEW YORK CITY BY THE RICH

by Barry Lituchy

A review of Robert Fitch's *The Assassination of New York*. (Verso, 1993).

On March 1st at a Brooklyn College rally, several speakers, including Brooklyn College President Vernon Lattin, referred to the proposed Pataki-Guilliani budget cuts of CUNY as "insane." Indeed, when one considers the political agenda of the ruling elites of this country, there does seem to be a very fine line between the rationality of their policies, and the irrationality of the human pain and injustice those policies produce. It raises an old question about the rationality of modern capitalism that goes back to the early days of the industrial revolution: is capitalism a rational economic system?

While there may have been many miscalculations involved in their implementation, there is no doubt that two world wars, fascism, environmental destruction, racial oppression, imperialism, the C.I.A., and the undermining of personal freedoms and privacy by the FBI, all were necessary at one point or another for the preservation of the capitalist system in the twentieth century. All of these were "rational" decisions made by "our leaders" that, while we may rightly refer to them as barbarism, nevertheless expressed a certain necessary logic for the system that produced them. Thus, while we may agree with those who shout that the Pataki budget proposal for cutting \$162 million dollars out of the CUNY budget is "insane," we should not make the mistake of blaming this criminal action on a bout of temporary insanity, or on incompetent policy makers.

Of course, Pataki's plan is insane in terms of our interests. But from the standpoint of the ruling rich in this country, the dismantling of CUNY is a perfectly sane,

rational and even necessary policy. And as we mobilize thousands of students and workers to join us in our efforts to reverse this brutal assault on the CUNY and SUNY system, we do our cause well to set some time aside at some point to study the historical, political and economic origins of this ongoing campaign by the ruling class to undermine the social programs and living standards of working people in this country. The destruction of CUNY and SUNY needs to be understood as part of a larger ongoing effort by governments in the post-Cold War era to do away with all social programs and institutions that do not directly profit the banks and the richest elements of the capitalist class.

One of the first books we should put on our reading list for this purpose is Robert Fitch's *The Assassination of New York* (Verso, 1993). While Fitch's book has many serious limitations for those of us who would prefer a systematic approach to understanding the connections between the destruction of CUNY and contemporary capitalism, his book does offer a brilliant contribution in regard to one particular historical aspect of the current fiscal "crisis" of New York City and State. Fitch's book focuses on how New York's fiscal policies and political system have been dominated by this city's financial, insurance and real estate capitalist elites for the past century, and how, in the process, they have pillaged the city's resources and driven the local economy into ruin. Fitch shows us that the history of city government in the twentieth century can be told as the story of how these financial, insurance and real estate moguls (whom he calls the "FIRE" elites) have used the city and state government parasitically to

exploit the people and resources of New York for enormous profits.

One way in which Fitch's book is important reading for those of us involved in working out an overall strategy for fighting Pataki's budget cuts, is that it shows how the two party system serves the financial and real estate interests in the city, and how they work together to plunder the social services, economy and living standards of working class New Yorkers. The decapitalization and deindustrialization of the city's social services and economy, as well as its increasing impoverishment are, according to Fitch, the consequences of the government's turning over of New York's entire economy to the city's financial and real estate bosses.

Fitch details how the pillaging of New York by these financial and real estate interests has created a multi-dimensional urban pathology, extreme even by U.S. standards. Since 1989 the city has lost over 400,000 manufacturing jobs and the labor participation rate in New York has become the lowest of any of the top 286 cities in the country. Even young white people here are in the labor force at a rate lower than super-exploited black youth are nationally. Industrial wages also are now lower in New York than in any major U.S. city while the cost of living is the highest. Not surprisingly, one out of every four New Yorkers is now dependent on some form of welfare. Affordable housing is not being built — despite the claims of the Koch and Dinkins administrations — while 60 million square feet of office space (the size of 26 Empire State buildings) lies vacant. The city government borrows on Wall Street, offers tax abatements to the same financial and real estate speculators

who buy its bonds, and then cuts city services because of the resulting budget deficit. Meanwhile, Wall Street bond traders like billionaire George Soros, who earned \$850 million in 1993, pay virtually no taxes to the city. David Dinkins balanced the city budget deficit by laying off 12,000 city workers and slashing every city agency except the police (who are needed to enforce this New World Order on the city's population). But the lay-offs, like the deficit itself, is artificially created by a government that is obliged to subsidize the building projects of the city's financial and real estate elites.

Another contribution of the book is its serious attitude toward political organizing against this assault on living conditions and social services. Fitch correctly emphasizes the complete absence of any real democracy in New York City's and State's political system. Indeed, Fitch rightly compares it to a Stalinist dictatorship. Power is over centralized in the city in the Mayor's office, and an extraordinary number of highly important fiscal and economic political positions such as economic planning boards and development authorities are all appointed and have no binding authorities. The legislature and virtually every other city and state elected body have no real proportional representation. The media is a vast propaganda machine owned by corporate giants. And politicians of both parties are owned by their main contributors — most of them of the FIRE elite. Fitch is clear about the essentially identical functions of the two capitalist parties. At a forum in

continues on page 14

166 INDUSTRIAL LOOP E. (Off Arthur Kill Rd. Near Bloomingdale Road)
967-2000 NJM NOT JUST MUSIC
 Open Mon.-Fri. 9-6PM
 Sat. 9:30-3PM,
 Thurs. til 8

QUALITY SERVICE & SATISFACTION OR YOUR MONEY BACK

Staten Island's Only Authorized

CELLULARONE®

Agent

CELLULARONE® SERVICE WITH 30 MINUTES ANYTIME FOR ONLY

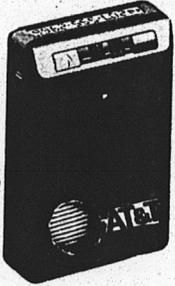
\$24.99
every month

FOR YOUR ENTIRE FIRST YEAR. Now you can get CELLULARONE service for less than \$1.00 per day. That's because for a limited time, when you sign up for a year on our \$39.99 a month plan which includes 30 minutes of air time, we'll give you a year's worth of \$15.00 coupons to apply against your monthly bill. Each month you use one of them, our \$39.99 plan costs \$24.99.

- You get up to \$1000 in discounts on everything from CDs to dining.
- No Activation fee
- Largest local calling area in the Tri State Region
- No long distance charges from Princeton to Montauk to West Point
- No added roaming charges from Boston to D.C. and no daily roaming surcharges anywhere in North America.

PHONES FROM \$1.00

OFFER EXPIRES 3-31-95



STATEN ISLAND'S ONLY AUTHORIZED AGENT



For Beepers

Sherwood
Audio Components

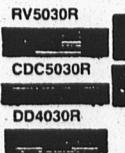
HOME THEATRE SYSTEMS

- AUDIO/VIDEO RECEIVER**
WITH DOLBY PRO LOGIC SURROUND
• 75 Watt Per Channel
• 5 Audio-4 Video Inputs
- FRONT LOADING 5 DISC CAROUSEL**
- DUAL AUTO-REVERSE CASSETTE DECK**
• Twin Auto Reverse Full Logic Cassette Transports
• Super HI-B Tape Heads
• Record/Play Functions On Both Decks
• Dolby B/C HX Pro Noise Reduction
- 6 PIECE SPEAKER SYSTEM**



\$999

- AUDIO/VIDEO RECEIVER**
• 65 Watts Per Channel
• 5 Audio -3 Video Inputs
- FRONT LOADING 5 DISC CAROUSEL**
- DUAL AUTO-REVERSE CASSETTE DECK**
• Twin Auto Reverse Full Logic Cassette Transports
• Super HI-B Tape Heads
• Dolby B/C HX Pro Noise Reduction
- 6 PIECE SPEAKER SYSTEM**



\$869

CUSTOM HOME THEATRE INSTALLATION AND SET UP AVAILABLE

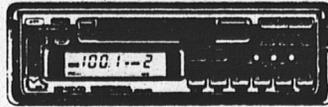
Not Responsible For Typographical Errors.

Photos may vary from merchandise.

NJM

KENWOOD

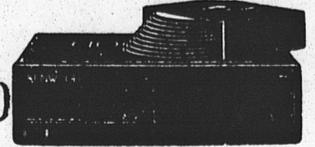
10 DISC COMPACT CHANGER WITH AM/FM CASSETTE CONTROLLER



Model KRC480
HI POWER • DETACHABLE FACE

★ **COMBO SPECIAL** ★

\$549.00
Installed



Model C602

NJM

KENWOOD

AM/FM CASSETTE



Model KRC280

- Auto reverse
- Detachable Face
- Hi Power

\$199.00
installed

NJM

ALPINE

AM/FM CASSETTE PLAYER w/CD SHUTTLE CONTROLS



Model 7513

- Detachable Face
- High Power
- Auto Reverse

\$239.00
installed

NJM

WINTER SPECIAL

REMOTE ALARM WITH REMOTE START

Warm up your car in the comfort of your home on cold winter mornings

\$325.00
installed

- Light Flash
- Starter Kill
- Shock Sensor
- Power Door Locks
- Lifetime Warranty
- Covers, Doors, Hood & Trunk
- Qualifies for Insurance Discount

NJM



IGNIFORD SABRE
REMOTE CAR ALARM

\$2000 Guarantee Protection Plan



- Starter Kill • Power Door Locks
- Shock Sensor
- Lifetime Warranty
- Quality for Insurance Discount
- Covers All Points of Entry

\$299.00
installed

NJM

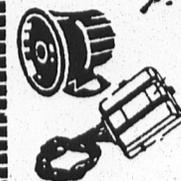


HORNET
Auto Security Systems

\$199.00
installed

- Light Flash
- Starter Kill
- Shock Sensor
- Power Door Locks
- Lifetime Warranty
- Qualifies for Insurance Discount
- Covers All Points of Entry

NJM



VIPER's 300
REMOTE CAR ALARM

\$2000 Guarantee Protection Plan

- Light Flash • Starter Kill
- Qualifies for Insurance Discount
- Shock Sensor • Lifetime Warranty
- Power Door Locks

\$249.00
installed

Labor Party Advocates; Chief Bureaucrat speaks

The following is the text of a speech given by Tony Mazzochi former Treasurer-Secretary of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers international Union (OCAW) to a gathering of New York Labor Party Advocates supporters on February 10th. Mazzochi and OCAW initiated the effort to create an independent labor based party.

There is working class consciousness - except it's not in the labor leadership

Our goal is to organize people who advocate a Labor Party. The thinking is that this party should be a non-electoral movement party. It would frame issues from a working class perspective. It would try to change the terms of the political debate in this country which has been captured basically by the corporate sector. The entire debate that takes place is from a corporate perspective. We thought that the first task was to change that around.

We didn't know that this effort was feasible. It was actually predicated on a poll I ran in my own union when I was Secretary - Treasurer, I believe in late 1989. Our members indicated in the poll that 55% felt that the Democrats and Republicans represented corporate interests rather than their interests, another 55% felt that it was time for working people to have their own party and that poll was instructive for us because it was conducted amongst what would be considered to be conservative workers - oil, chemical and nuclear workers are amongst the highest paid industrial workers in the country. We are the ones who made all the H-bombs since the Manhattan Project and we represent the workers of large weapons, oil and chemical facilities. Its not the environment where you think this type of consciousness would develop but obviously they did have a lot of concerns and they expressed them in the poll.

Mazzochi Discovers That Workers Need A Party

So we set out to test whether other union members felt the same way. We convinced 70 other unions, running from locals to regions, to conduct the poll. We asked them to use the poll that we had worked out or commission their own. Some did commission their own. They thought our questions were loaded and they wanted to find out from their members what they thought using a different construct. Well, the result has been whether you are a white collar or a blue collar worker, whether you work for the government or the private sector your answers were basically the same - 55% opting for a new party, a working class party, 55% sick of the Republicans and Democrats. What is probably more interesting is we that we coded our poll. We had it coded for race and gender. The age questions were up-front, people were not reluctant to answer those questions and geography of course was easy to determine. What we found was consistent for all these polls. Whether you are a man or a woman you answered the same way, regardless of race you answered the same way. The only difference we found was in age categories - 18-25 age group was more alienated and disaffected, as you got up to 55-65 it begins to flatten out. But basically all the respondents had the same answers as in the poll we ran. So we felt that the poll we ran was pretty accurate, so we set out on this odyssey to see whether creating a new party, a party that would speak to different issues, based on trade unions could reframe the debate. The strategy had to be to go where resources existed and skills existed and that strategy has paid off.

Economism and the misery of the masses

The most successful labor party building has been where trade unions are at. When we go to where trade unions organize meetings, there are people of color..it

is representative of the community. Only where trade unions are the central focal point do you find it representative of the community as a whole. Workplaces are the most integrated places in America, its when people leave the workplace when that integrative quality breaks down. That has been our experience.

Trade union centrality, that does not mean we are not trying to organize people across the board. We are, but we are limited in what we can do. Our resources are not that great. The amount of people who can do the organizing aren't many. There are not many of us who can be sprung loose to do it.

This effort has been mainly financed by the trade unions, mainly the one I'm out of (OCAW), which made a commitment to this after a convention debate. I'm solely responsible under our constitution to my own union. When I travel, I have to travel off a union budget. The president of my union has to authorize it and its subject to the approval of a executive board. We are the only union left in the United States with a rank and file executive board which possess all power. Officers don't have a vote, so that's the structure and I travel based on the fact that I work for a union. Now my union has a commitment to build this party. Resources - money is in the union treasury. We have to shake that money lose, because we are not going to build anything without resources. Its impossible. We have to hire organizers, we have to hire administrative staff. Its incredible we have been able to do what we have done with the meager resources available. But by using unions as a major focal point in every community, we have been able to achieve a certain degree of success.

California AFL-CIO backs LPA

In the last 2 1/2 years, really, this effort has escalated. We have areas of the country such as California which has over 35 million people, the largest labor movement in the country and where now practically every central labor body in this major area has endorsed LPA. The state Fed president John Henning is an active supporter and endorser. The week after next I will go to San Diego to meet with the central AFL-CIO labor body. Based on the locals that have already endorsed us, that body will probably endorse it. The Los Angeles central labor body will be the last one left in the state that hasn't endorsed it. I have a meeting up there in a few days after the San Diego meeting. So California has been very responsive to LPA and that's important, the largest state, the largest trade union movement around. The build-ings trades has been key, every Carpenters local has formally endorsed LPA. There is a state meeting this weekend of the carpenters where state wide endorsement is being considered.

LPA: Arbitrary and Undemocratic

So we have been concentrating on labor groups, moving across the country, we have reached the point where we've been able to for the first time structure LPA. Initially we have no formal structure, we have no way of electing people, etc. Only recently as a result of an arbitrarily picked out Steering Committee with about 150 people who were pulled together across the country, people who would be representative of the country by race by geography, by gender to see if we can come up with a Executive Committee. We had a first meeting in St. Louis a few weeks ago which 55 people attended. Out of those 55 we set up what we called a Conveners Committee, that would consult with each other via telephone on a regular basis and serve as the structural format for decision making. Each international union who has formally endorsed LPA will be entitled to 1 person in addition to the 10. We have 3 international unions who have formally

endorsed LPA with probably more coming on board. So tentatively that's the structure we have.

Founding Convention for a Labor Party in Spring 1996 ?

We are aiming for a Convention probably in the Spring of 1996, if we can pull the resources that are necessary to put a convention on that will have a meaningful impact on the political structure of this nation. I'm convinced, otherwise I wouldn't be doing this. I was much more comfortable as a national officer. It's no fun stepping down from a comfortable bureaucratic position to one where you are constantly moving all across the country attempting to organize and those of us who are doing it are doing it because we see a real possibility for a Party to be born in 1996. For the first time at least in my life time where this possibility existed. Its the first time within 70 years that a effort to build a Labor Party from within the labor movement has taken place. There has never been an effort from within organized labor, it has normally come from outside and those efforts have been unsuccessful. This one has the possibility of success. We don't for a minute underplay the formidable obstacles in our way to building this party. They are there, we have to be realistic in confronting them. We aren't approaching this situation with false hopes. We are doing it the way we would approach an organizing campaign for a union, planning a major strike, a major struggle with a major corporation. Most of us have real life experience, we've all visited defeat and failure. We also know when there is a possibility of success, so I'm optimistic that we have a chance to do something

that hasn't been done in anybody's life time in this room, that is to build a new party, a Labor Party that clearly identifies itself around working class issues and is not a mumbo jumbo of various ideas and groups. This will be a working class party, for those who think we need a different kind of party, we certainly welcome their efforts, everyone ought to be doing what they think they should be doing to build alternatives to the current mess.

We need to build a major effort in NYC. This is one of the major areas where I think we have not been as successful as we should be given the history of this area. Looking at the turnout tonight and at what has been done over the last few months I'm encouraged it can be done here. If it can happen in a small town in Texas, it can happen in a major urban area like this. Its funny, people think the South is difficult but we never have a problem pulling people together in the South. They immediately understand what we are trying to do. People are really under siege and they understand that.

Forced to Defend the Unions

The other side of the coin is if we don't do what we are doing the right will capture the people that we have to organize. They are moving in that direction, its getting very ugly. I don't have to tell you, you can listen to the radio, people are acting out of frustration. There are some very divisive elements afoot. Its a very dangerous time but its also a very opportune time to do something. Whenever I'm feeling a bit pessimistic, I examine the options and realize that there aren't any. We are doing what we have to do under the circumstances.

The way not to build a labor party

By Manjula Wijerama

Mazzochi delivered this speech to a gathering of about 100 LPA supporters at the UAW District 65 hall in downtown Manhattan. The gathering did not have the particular trade union make-up that is characteristic of LPA locals in other areas of the country. Many in the audience did belong to trade unions but there was not the predominance of one union. Also there were in attendance unorganized workers, students and community activists. This diverse character of the crowd combined with the fact that many of those in attendance were socialists gave to a militant activist spirit in the discussion which challenged Mazzochi's conception of building a labor party.

A recurrent theme of the discussion was the desire on the part of the NY LPA activists for LPA to begin to define what LPA stands for in action, mainly by taking a stance against the budget cuts in NYC. The following response by Mazzochi outlined his and the LPA leadership position on this:

"We are going to have to collectively decide what we stand for, that comes at a convention. You may have a group in the city that decides that they have a particular position, that may not be shared by groups around the country. So we are off of issues. We will build this party once we develop a program and issues. But we have to get to the point (ed.) where we have a party and develop what we stand for.

You may develop a set of issues here that people in California may find that its totally unacceptable to them and that will be the seeds of our destruction. There is an assumption that we all agree on everything and I can tell you that that assumption is wrong. We have some basic disagreements on how to confront the crisis. All we can agree on is that we have to build an apparatus to confront it. We want to have a forum on how to approach it (ed.) and promulgate a program - that's a convention (ed.).

All we are doing now is recruiting to this idea and its difficult. Its much more difficult than me and 3 others getting in a closet and coming out with a program and organizing around a program but these efforts have failed."

The leadership of LPA finds itself in a contradiction. How can working people get "to the point where we have a party" if the "idea" that will draw them to it is just a slogan. The working masses, as Mazzochi attest to, are ready to build an alternative to the two capitalist parties, however, as the Perot phenomenon reveals, there must be a program to draw them. Unlike, the millionaire Perot who has nothing but additional misery to offer working and oppressed people, a labor party is a step in the right direction; a direction that puts forward a program that takes control over the productive forces that are now in the hands of a tiny oligarchy of owners. Public works that are embarked on to build homes and roads and schools and parks that benefit the struggle of the working class. It will, however, be achieved through a party that is involved in the day to day struggle of the toiling masses, something that the labor bureaucrats are unwilling to do.

F E A T U R E

For A Fighting Labor Party!

By Manjula Wijerama

The development of Labor Party Advocates and its rapid growth is a tremendous step forward for working people in America. It is the most significant step towards the working class being able to speak in its own name and interests. This is an urgent task especially given the increasing viciousness of corporate America's attack on working people. Decades of hard won basic gains by working and poor people from Social Security to Affirmative Action are being sacrificed at the altar of corporate greed by the high priests of capitalism in the Republican and Democratic parties. Alongside the economic attacks there is a concerted attempt to roll back basic civil liberties from the right to appeal culminating in vastly expanding state executions.

The type of response that is needed to counter this offensive by the rich is massive and militant.

The type of response that is needed to counter this offensive by the rich is massive and militant. Working and poor people will be and are already getting out into the streets to respond to these outrageous attacks. It is these struggles against cuts in public higher education, welfare, jobs, etc that are the social laboratories in which people will discover the strategies and tactics - the politics - that will either lead to victory or defeat. Any effort at creating a party of the working class that abstains from these struggles is doomed to fail or become a bureaucratic pressure group on capitalism. We do not underscore the importance of having trade unions with their financial and organizational resources at the core of building a party that can realistically organize and defend the interests of all workers from the unorganized to the unemployed. Despite Mazzochi being decisively different from his senior counterparts like AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland who is deeply in the pockets of the corporations and the Democratic Party, he remains a trade union bureaucrat. The trade union bureaucracy has made a name for itself as the servile lickspittle of the bosses, turning trade unions into depoliticized dues collecting machines. Workers must take this opportunity for the creation of an independent labor party opened by Mazzochi and this junior layer of bureaucrats and take control of it. This means democratizing the structure of LPA so that rank and file members can determine the leadership and thus direction of the organization. This means LPA must intervene in and provide leadership for the struggles of immigrant workers against racist legislation, students against cuts in education, blacks and minorities against attacks on affirmative action, etc. Only then will it truly be a living expression of the struggles of every sector of the working class. Only such a movement will unify all working people under a egalitarian political program that can counter the divisiveness of capitalism. Build a fighting Labor Party - A party that will champion the interests of all working and oppressed people.

Build a fighting Labor Party - A party that will champion the interests of all working and oppressed people.

"Reverse management's' one sided class-war against workers"

By Jed Dodd

Jed Dodd is a union leader in the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE). Representing over 200,000 workers throughout the country his contribution to why there needs to be a Labor Party in this country helps to clarify the role of the Democrats, "friends of labor," as a party of the bosses. The need for a party based upon the working class is a fundamental step towards resolving the economic and social "crisis" facing the American working class.

Brothers and sisters, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE) is one of 11 craft unions that collectively represent approximately 200,000 railroad workers in the United States and Canada. Our particular union represents the men and women who build and maintain the nation's railroad tracks, buildings, and bridges, and overhead catenary systems. We perform tough, hard, dangerous work. We work night and day, in the pouring rain, snowstorms, and blizzards, to ensure that the freight vital to our country moves across the railroad and that the passengers reach their destinations on time. Conditions for our production workers resemble those conditions often attributed to migrant workers who live far from home in camp cars, which are sheds on flat cars that provide sleeping and living accommodations.

Since 1986, 56 of our members nationally have been slaughtered on management's altar of production, with 43 of these individuals being struck and killed by moving trains for which the dead employee was provided with no advance warning that the train was coming. Since 1989 there have been 2,400 accidents which involved men and machinery being hit by trains or track equipment.

Management often complains that our work rules are unproductive, and the media repeats their lies about featherbedding. One of these tough, unproductive rules is the rule that requires management to provide 5 days advance notice before abolishing our positions. While they take their golden parachutes to economic paradise, we wait for our 40-hour notice. And 40 percent of our bargaining units work only 7 months of each year. We earn our money through our sweat and our blood.

Direct Elections by the Rank and File

I am the chairman of the Pennsylvania Federation, which represents those workers who are employed by Conrail, Amtrak, parts of the CSX System, and several smaller railroads in the Northeast. Our name does not come from the state of Pennsylvania but rather from the former Pennsylvania Railroad, and our jurisdiction covers the 14 states in the Northeast and Midwest that once composed the Pennsylvania Railroad. Our union is over 100 years old and has always been considered an extremely conservative and traditional business union.

I was elected to leadership position in the Northeast as a leader of a rank-and-file reform caucus that successfully struggled to bring my members the right to directly elect union officials who represent them. We structurally reformed our Federation in the Northeast to provide for direct rank and file control of the leadership of our union. In order for me to retain my position I must respond to the membership and not to the institutional and political needs of our International. For a long time our International Union [officers] fought me and our Direct Election Committee tooth and nail. They opposed and still oppose direct elections, but over the years we have been able to bring some sanity and progress to our union.

At our last International Convention in July 1994, my International Union became the third union in the country to endorse Labor Party Advocates. After intense de-

bate a majority of delegates expressed their disgust with the two-party system - with the Democratic Party in particular - and voted to have our union join Labor Party Advocates.

Grand Wizard Gingrich...

Despite this success, however, I am really depressed today, speaking here in front of you. [Said ironically.] The world has come apart. No one can fix it. You all know the source of my depression - our shared grief. The Republican Party has taken over control of both houses of Congress. The Democrats, "labor's great friends," are in disarray. President Clinton is on the ropes. The new order is now in power. A one-sided class war has been declared, and the shrill voice of capital is demanding that we surrender our dignity, run for the hills, get jobs at McDonalds, and decertify our unions. I understand that the Republicans have instituted a new dress code when Congress convenes. Congressmen and women will now be required to wear sheets when they debate the finer points of the new order. It will make Grand Wizard Gingrich very happy.

...And What the Democrats Already Did

Seriously, do you realize what this new Republican-dominated Congress might do? They might pass NAFTA! They might try to eliminate the Railroad Retirement System that provides railroad workers with benefits greater than social security at an extra cost to our members and our employees and no extra cost to our members and our employees and no extra cost to the government. They might not pass the striker replacement bill. They might intervene in a railroad strike and order us back to work under horrible conditions - at a real wage loss - despite massive productivity increases on the part of our members and despite the fact that we could win the strike and secure our fair share of the value we produce.

They might pass GATT. They might attempt to eliminate what is left of the legally mandated labor protections we presently enjoy in the event of mergers or linesales. They might eliminate AMTRAK. And so on - and so on. Why, they might not even provide United States citizens with a health care plan.

I realize I am painting a horrible picture. But the picture I am painting is a Democratic Party picture. All of the atrocities I have just described have all occurred during Congressional sessions in which both houses were controlled by Democrats. Most of them occurred while we have a Democrat as president of the United States.

There are still things left for the Republicans to go after - and they will. But one of the reasons I am up here today, one of the reasons I am a died-in-the-wool supporter of Labor Party Advocates, is that I have seen what our "friends," the deregulating, free market, restructuring, strike-breaking, privatization-happy Democrats, are willing to do to our membership. And what they are willing to do - what they have done - is not very different from what the Republicans have done and will do. It is the difference between dying from a heart attack or dying slowly from cancer. Or to put it more fundamentally, it is the difference between shit and diarrhea.

The Twin Parties of the Rich

Both parties represent wealth in this country. The only time we have increased our portion of the value that we produce is when we fight them in the streets. And the only time we are going to get anything valuable from congress is when a majority of the members in both houses support an agenda which benefits the working people and the poor of the United States - an agenda that will be adopted by Labor Party Advocates and followed by millions and millions of hard-working United States

citizens.

Not an Ideological Issue

Please do not misunderstand me. The idea of a third party or Labor Party is not an ideological question for me or the members of my union, but simply an empirical question. My job is to represent the membership and lead them through collective action to improve our working lives and increase our share of the value we produce. It is not to run around spouting out ideological pipe dreams. If the Democrats provided a framework in which the union could grow and advance the material conditions and rights of our membership, we would be stalwart defenders of the Democratic Party. I would apply this standard equally to the Republican Party.

Neither Party Meets Objective Standards

We need some objective criteria by which to measure the relative impact of the two parties as they affect the political process that affects us. This criteria should include: matters that directly impact upon my membership in particular and directly impact upon the poor and working people in general; expansion of rights to organize and level the playing field between labor and capital so that the material conditions for labor can advance; reducing the chance of war and eliminating racism and sexism and the effects that these cancers have on the ability of the working class to unite and advance economically. When these standards are applied to both of the major parties they fail to varying degrees but in every respect.

The Record under Carter

Under Jimmy Carter we learned what happens when we have a Democratic President and a Democratic House and Senate. Labor law reform that was designed to level the playing field between labor and capital was defeated in Jimmy Carter's administration. Real wages continued to decline under Jimmy Carter's administration. The foundation for the deregulation of the railroad industry was laid under Jimmy Carter's administration. This legislation was supported through the Senate by the great Democrat and "friend of labor" Ted Kennedy. In 1979 under a regulated rail environment there were 600,000 rail workers in the United States. Now there are less than 200,000. That means 400,000 decent, hard-working Americans lost their jobs in deregulation schemes sponsored by the Democrats and initiated when the Democrats had control of both the White House and Congress.

And under Reagan/Bush

When Reagan came along, we learned what happens when the Republicans control the White House and the Senate. We witnessed the brutalization of PATCO. We saw tax relief that restructured the wealth of the country to ensure that the rich receive larger percentages of the country's value at the expense of working people and the poor. We saw a massive military build-up and a massive assault on civil rights and liberties. When our union struck in 1991 and was locked out in 1992 it took a proactive Democratic Congress to cooperate with President Bush to order us back to work and crush our collective bargaining struggle.

Democrats' Collusion with Republicans

Thousands more of our members' working lives were destroyed because of the Democratic collusion with the Republican administration. What changed when the Democrats won control of the House and the Senate and the White House under Bill Clinton? When push comes to shove, we have seen time and time again a majority of both the Democratic and Republican

continues on next page

Reverse the class war ...

continues from previous page

parties unite to destroy the fundamental rights of the American working class and to participate in the material disintegration of our living standards to benefit the few and the powerful.

In my union we have people in Washington, D.C., who function as lobbyists for my members. Most of them are good people - committed to uplifting the living conditions of my membership. But unfortunately they get so caught up in the process that they lose sight of the big picture. There was a time in history when U.S. workers had the right to organize and fight under the law. There was a time in U.S. History when railroad workers could strike and would not be immediately ordered back to work. There was a time in U.S. history when our members knew they had secure jobs that paid union wages and when the U.S. government encouraged union membership. Those days are gone despite the fact that both houses of Congress were controlled by the Democrats almost continuously since 1948.

No Longer Fighting for the whole Loaf

We have allowed our benefits and our rights to erode to such a degree that we don't even remember what we had and that when we had it, it wasn't enough. But our lobbyists keep telling us to back the Democrats blindly - because we still have more to lose. We used to fight for the whole loaf of bread. As a result of compromise we then started fighting to keep half a loaf - with the support of our "friends" the Democrats. Then half a loaf became too much and we were told to give up more or face losing it all. Finally the Democrats guaranteed us that we will have the opportunity to ask for a piece of bread but warn us that if we don't give up all of

bread we have left, we will lose the right to ask for a piece of bread - and the Republicans will take the last of our bread with no right to request it back.

The voices of collaboration and continuous compromise in our unions do not realize the simple fact that we lost the ability to properly feed our members 20 years ago. The days of compromise must be over before no one is left to even ask for a piece of bread and we all die of starvation.

Perot Not an Alternative for Workers

Other options, like that offered by Ross Perot, are forming to challenge the dominance of the two parties, and our members will support them if we do not organize legitimate alternatives. Ross Perot, a billionaire who earned his profits fighting unions at EDS and exploiting the value produced by his own employees, garnered 19 million votes in the last presidential election. This is despite the fact that his program, when you could figure out what it was, opposed the objective interests of the American worker. We do not need a third representative of the wealthy to provide the alternative to the tow parties of wealth.

Today we are in a struggle for our very survival as a labor movement. Only 12 percent of the workers in private industry are organized. Time after time we see our legislative initiatives foiled regardless of which party is in power. Organized management is systematically attempting to relocate to Third World countries where super-exploited workers earn one-tenth of what our workers earn. Then the Democrats and Republicans inform us that we are in a deadly global competition with the exploited Third World workers and we must reduce our living standards in order to compete with them. But it doesn't matter how much we

give up, because we simply cannot compete with workers earning one-tenth of what we earn and whose unionization drives face violent government oppression.

Time to Fight Back

Brothers and Sisters, the time has come to fight back. The time has come to end business as usual. We have watched the Democrats and Republicans steal from us for too long and then tax us to bail out the corrupt Savings and Loans. I am sick of watching the Republicans make suggestions such as eliminating Amtrak and Labor Protections and Railroad Retirement while they control the White House - and be unsuccessful in achieving legislation to do this because Democrats control the Congress - only to see the Democrats attempt to adopt the same proposals when they control both houses of Congress and the White House. I am sick of having no organized political voice representing the millions of working people in this country.

In 1991 all of rail labor struck because rail management refused to provide us with a reasonable share of the massive productivity increases we produced and the immense profits they enjoyed as a result of those productivity increases. Despite the fact that both houses of Congress were under Democratic Party control, they ordered us back to work in 16 hours and imposed a real wage decrease and onerous working conditions on our members. One year later one rail union struck one carrier and railroad management locked out every railroad worker in the United States. Our Democratic Party "friends," led by Ted Kennedy in the Senate and John Dingle and speaker Foley in the House then ordered us back to work, despite the fact that we were locked out, and passed legislation mandating binding arbitration. Despite the fact that we could have won a local

strike, Congress, under the complete control of the Democrats, ordered us back to work and destroyed the working lives of thousands of railroad workers.

Resolution to Defy Congress

At our last Convention we passed a resolution directing our International President to defy the law if Congress orders us back to work and maintain the strike. I know that the Democratic Party will view such action as a violation of law and move to have us thrown in jail for defying Congress.

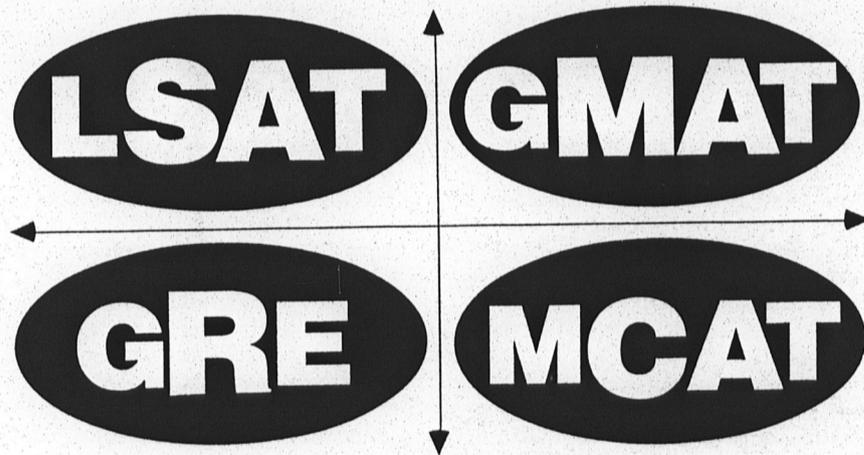
I ask you, Brothers and Sisters, would Labor Party Advocates move to throw us in Jail for defying a law which forbade us to strike, despite the fact that our employers could afford to pay more and provide better working conditions? If a majority of politicians in Congress were dependent on Labor Party Advocates in order to win elections, would Congress even move to order us back to work? I think not.

Brothers and Sisters, in addition to massive street action, we need a political organization that clearly supports the majority of people in the United States. We need, we must have Labor Party Advocates. And we must build it into the strongest possible political organization as rapidly as possible.

Without a response such as labor Party Advocates, we cannot reverse management's one-sided class war in this country which is designed to eliminate the union wage, union benefits, decent safe working conditions, and our civil and economic rights. Without a response such as Labor Party Advocates, we cannot fulfill the responsibilities we take on when we accept the honor of holding union office.

Thank you, Brothers and Sisters. I look forward to seeing you and working with you to build Labor Party Advocates as an alternative political movement for American working people.

take **Kaplan** and get a
higher score...



or your **money back!***

More students study with Kaplan every year
than any other test prep company.
Call us today to find out why.

Classes are starting soon

1-800-KAP-TEST
KAPLAN
GUARANTEED

* IF YOU USE OUR FULL PROGRAM. RESTRICTIONS APPLY.

*Students and workers
unite and fight!*
**Stop the budget
Cuts!**
March 23

STUDY IN IRELAND FALL 1995

St. Patrick's College
Maynooth, Ireland

- Liberal Arts Program
- 30 Student Maximum
- 2.9 G.P.A. Required

University of Limerick
Limerick, Ireland

- Business Program Option
- International Student Village
- 2.9 G.P.A. Required

SPONSORING COLLEGES

St. Bonaventure University-Three Rivers College

For more information, contact:

Ms. Margaret Prunty
College of Staten Island/CUNY
North Administration Bldg. 2A, Room 206
2800 Victory Boulevard
Staten Island, NY 10314
(718) 982-2097

Other CCIS Programs: Italy, England, Scotland, Sweden, Germany, Portugal, Greece, Israel, Spain, France, Mexico, Ecuador, Colombia, China, Switzerland, Japan.

The College Consortium
for International Studies



The Subliminal Policies of the U. N.

By Craig R. Whitney

In the years since its formation in 1945, the United Nation Organization was viewed as promoting peace and order throughout the world by many. After the Second World War, the UN. oversaw "free elections" in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, it sent peace-keeping forces to unstable regions like the Middle East and acted as mediator of disputes between nations. The actions on the surface appear to be motivated by humanitarianism and goodwill. The UN. intervention in the uprooted nation of Somalia supposedly was done so its masses of destitute people could be fed. There are always imperialistic designs behind everything and anything the UN. does. In every instance of meddling in civil war and national strife, other forms of "assistance" to unfortunate nations, and mediations, the interests of those nations on the Security Council—the US., the former Soviet Union, France, the UK., and China—are being catered to.

The political, economic, military, and ideological struggle between the two superpowers from 1945 to 1991 provides a good example of those imperialistic motives. In 1945, Japan, in its defeat in the Pacific War (the Eastern theater of World War 2), lost Korea as an imperial possession. True to its nature, the UN. acted as a tool of the great world powers and partitioned the small Asian nation into two parts. As it is known, the northern part was dominated by the Soviet Union and the area to the south was made into an American sphere of influence.

Vietnam, also, at the onset, was affected by the UN. in the same manner. Forty-two years ago, in 1953, Ho Chi Minh led the Viet Cong in a victory over French forces at the fortress of Dienbienphu. Vietnam's colonial master, beset by the moral and financial strain of the conflict, and low-spirited after the fall of a seemingly impregnable fortress, was all too ready to make peace with the rebels. In the aftermath of the Viet Cong's nationalistic, anti-imperialistic, and Communist struggle, Vietnam, like her counterpart after Japan's defeat, was halved. The former French possession was made into parts, North and South, for the benefit of the two superpowers. Though the UN. did not advocate American involvement in Southeast Asia, the division of Vietnam nevertheless paved the way for the twenty-year war waged by the US. against North Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Viet Cong in the south. America was motivated by economic interests (rubber) rather than any principle of patriotism or the supposed need to combat Communism in the world. As in the Korean War, the UN. overlooked imperialistic motives by both the US. and the USSR.

At the war's end, in 1973, Vietnam's economy and landscape were ravaged unbelievably so, and the scars, ugly as they are, still show in modern day, as if the conflict had indeed only a short time also. But a worse fate would befall Cambodia, Vietnam's neighbor to the east. During the war, in 1970, Cambodia was bombed mercilessly by American fighter jets, along with North Vietnam, in the US's efforts to destroy Vietnamese insurgents taking refuge and to discourage the further harboring of Viet Cong fighters. The Khmer Rouge in Cambodia grew in strength in their opposition to American imperialism. They were able to seize power in 1975 but were toppled by an invading Vietnamese army in 1978, which set up a native puppet government loyal to Vietnam and headed by Hun Sen. In 1989, after Vietnamese troops were withdrawn, Khmer Rouge was strong enough to consolidate and maintain power in that country. It was not to the interests of the UN. In 1990, United Nations Transitional Assistance Authority was formed under the veneer of a concern

to improve Cambodia and to end political repression. The elections in 1993, which the committee overseer, tyrants and oppressive rulers—Hun Sen, Prince Sihanouk and his son, along with many members of the Hun Sen government and the Khmer Rouge—were part of Cambodia's new government.

The use of the UN. as a tool for the superpowers spans elsewhere in the world. In Latin America, coup de' etats were supported by the US. in opposition to leftist governments that threatened American economic interests so gravely. In America's "backyard", the UN. left the US. to own devices. Thus the region was informally recognized as an American sphere of influence (although Brazil and Argentina were spared by the US's extraterritorial

tentacles). With the exception of Cuba, the Soviet Union, did not dare to venture into America's unofficial domain.

In Africa, involvement by the UN. was greater, and the power struggle between the world's most powerful nation's was more apparent than in the Western Hemisphere. Here, USA. and USSR > A > R. supported, financed, and armed groups local and accommodating in the superpower's respective interests, and engineered their seizures of power. After the groups were victorious in taking control of the countries that they were in, they were furnished with vast amounts of military aid. In short, sub-Saharan Africa was treated like a chess board where the opposing group, and the nations they ruled, fought to suit the interests of both nations.

The tragedy of Somalia best illustrates the UN. power game. As a colony, Somalia was under control by Italy, Britain, and France by a method of divide-and-rule. With no unity as a source of strength Somalia never gained independence by its own efforts. After independence in 1953, in the decades that followed and into the present, Somalia has always ranked among the poorest nations of the world. IN 1990, the per capita income was a scant \$120, a figure that demonstrates Somalian abject poverty and the underdeveloped state of the economy.

In 1969, America supported the coup led by the strongman, Barre, into power. The US. backed his regime and have his country vast amounts of military aid. The mo-

continues on page 15



We can't tell you what direction to take, but we can sure help you get there.



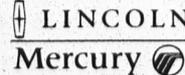
Whichever direction you decide to take, we can help you get there in style, with a brand new Ford or Mercury.

If you're a graduating senior, or a graduate student, you can get \$400 Cash Back or a Special A.P.R.**

\$400 Cash Back or a Special A.P.R.*

when you buy or lease a new 1994, 1995 or 1996 Ford or Mercury car, minivan or light truck. So graduate to a great deal.

See your Ford or Lincoln-Mercury dealer or call 1-800-321-1536 for details.



*Special Annual Percentage Rate alternative not available on leases, Customer Option Plan or Red Carpet Option Plan. **To be eligible, you must graduate with a bachelor's degree, or be enrolled in graduate school, between 1/1/93 and 9/30/95. You must purchase or lease your new vehicle between 10/1/94 and 9/30/95. Some vehicle eligibility restrictions apply.

A

R

T

S

Reclaiming What is Ours

A PROPOSAL FOR A FAIR & PROGRESSIVE NEW YORK CITY TAX POLICY

How did we get into this mess?

New York's problems seem to defy solutions. Every major city has experienced serious economic downturns during the past two decades but only New York has been in continuous crisis for that entire period.

What's wrong? Are we so unique that the recovery enjoyed by other cities isn't possible here? Are we doomed to relentless, spiraling degeneration?

No one doubts that our city's problems are deep and serious, as politicians are fond of pointing out once they get elected. But we believe they can be solved if our officials have the political courage and the commitment to make the tough decisions.

During his campaign, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani told us that he wanted to make tough decisions. By a slim margin, citizens elected him. Now many who voted for him realize what he meant: his decisions are tough on us but very comforting to rich people.

In fact, Mayor Giuliani's policies offer no relief for most New Yorkers and aren't intended to. His understanding of the economy is that if you take care of the rich, their good fortune will "trickle down" to working and poor people. So the Mayor's budget proposal, based on discredited Reaganomics, is designed to help rich people get richer.

There are proposals for subsidizing rich people's businesses, for lowering rich companies' tax rates and to help hotel owners make more money. But there is nothing for working people except one proposal: the elimination of the jobs of 15,000 City workers.

The Mayor's plan, if implemented, could be disastrous and we want to start the explanation of our program by explaining our opposition to his program.

RUDY'S LIES

The mayor bases his plan on a series of outrageous premises. He then repeats them over and over, and people begin to believe these "big lies." But they are still lies, and they characterize the bankruptcy of his policy.

LIE #1 We are in trouble because our municipal workforce is 17 percent of the City's workforce- the largest of any major city - and that makes for an imbalance in the economy.

If this were true, there would be over 400,000 municipal workers. In fact, as the Mayor's own budget proposal claims, there are only about 230,000 workers on the City payroll. That's about 8 percent of the City's entire working population: lower than many cities, including Philadelphia, a city the Mayor claims to admire so greatly.

The trick here is that the Mayor has lumped together all government workers, including state and federal employees in New York. But state and federal employees aren't paid by the city.

In addition, this supposed "imbalance" in the economy is pure nonsense. No study has ever supported such a claim and no economic theory supports it. Mayor Giuliani made it up.

LIE #2 A huge government payroll is a drain on the City.

This is absurd, but it is important because it highlights the Mayor's theory of government.

Government is not a business; it's a public trust. It should be run, not to be profitable, but to meet the social needs of citizens. Of course, responsible government is always cost-effective, productive, and never casual with the public's money. But the Mayor continues to view every expendi-

ture in purely monetary terms, as if no public benefit came from it.

The government's effectiveness should be evaluated not only by how much it spends but what it does and how important that is.

Job cuts mean service cuts, and that is very, very serious business for a city. Ask yourself a question. Will living in this city be better with 2,000 fewer caseworkers, hundreds fewer repair people, thousands fewer maintenance workers? Does New York need fewer services?

Obviously, the answer is no.

The Mayor counters this logic by claiming that City employment is a drain on the economy. In fact, it helps sustain the economy.

The department of Commerce uses a formula called the "income multiplier" to describe the impact of government employment. Every salary dollar moves through the economy as it is spent, creating profits and jobs which then create more money for the economy.

Conservatively applying that formula to New York, every dollar paid to a City worker generates \$2.40 of revenue for the City economy within a year. This is even more critical in low income neighborhoods where the majority of City workers live and where small businesses depend on those dollars for their very survival.

Gainful employment is never a drain on the economy, and the Mayor knows that.

LIE #3 We have added 60,000 City jobs since 1980 for no good reason.

But there is a good reason, and that is exactly our point about cut-backs. We fired over 100,000 workers in the 1970s. Those firings resulted in service cuts which then resulted in increases in crime, drugs, and other social problems. To deal with those problems, the City was forced to hire over 20,000 more police and jail personnel in the 1980s.

In addition, the Federal Government mandates that the City provide a long list of services, and the quality of those services is monitored. If the services fall short, the City loses Federal funds.

New York was faced with a huge loss of revenue and had to replace some of those workers. It should be noted, however, that State and Federal Governments pay 75 percent of the salaries of the social service workers hired. So when the mayor cuts those jobs, he is losing all that money.

LIE #4 The high cost of our overhead has raised taxes and chased away businesses.

Industrial business left New York City by the tens of thousands during the 1970s, and the City has lost over a million industrial jobs since the 1960s. But that is the result of City government policy, not taxes.

The City government during the Koch years subsidized and supported the "FIRE" industries: Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate.

City Hall began by taking out exorbitant and often unnecessary mortgages, insurance policies, and bank loans during the 1970s. FIRE revenue increased dramatically; the City went bankrupt.

Then Mayor Koch offered a series of very aggressive subsidies to commercial office builders. Virtually anyone constructing an office building in the 1980s could get a 20 year property tax abatement, worth millions of dollars a year. As a result, the only serious construction in the 1970s and 1980s was office and luxury building construction, creating a tremendous surplus of condo and office buildings.

At the same time, the City did absolutely nothing to protect industrial buildings. There was almost no zoning, certainly no tax or loan assistance for rehabilitation of those buildings, and no encouragement of new industrial construction. The rail-

roads and port ceased to function as effective transportation systems.

As a result, industrial buildings were allowed to degenerate, and many were converted by landlords to more lucrative "loft living space" when the lease was up. Leases expired, rents went sky-high, factory owners closed or left, jobs were lost. It's New York's greatest economic tragedy, but it has nothing to do with taxes.

LIE #5 New businesses don't come to New York because of high taxes.

No business makes relocation decisions because of taxes. Surveys show that when businesses make those decisions, taxes rank very low as a consideration after such issues as quality of life, housing availability, space availability, and transportation access.

Would you want to move a business into New York if had options? Why Not? Taxes or crime, filth, congestion, cost of living, insecurity, tension, poor services, poor schools, and crippled hospitals?

New York's problem in attracting new business isn't that it taxes are too high but that it doesn't provide quality services or a competitive quality of life. And lowering business taxes will only make that worse.

LIE #6 To support the current City Government we must continue raising taxes, and the people are already over-taxed.

Yes, most of the people are over-taxed, but the Mayor isn't proposing cuts in the most of the people's taxes. Nor are we proposing hikes in most people's taxes.

We are thinking about the people in the City who are paying much tax. Mayor Giuliani wants to cut their taxes; we want them to pay their fair share. That's where our proposal begins.

WE HAVE AN ALTERNATIVE

There are a lot of rich people living and doing business in New York. They make huge amounts of money, profit from the City's role as an international business and trade center, use the City's services to operate more effectively, benefit from our vast and powerful communications network, and they house their businesses in the buildings few other areas would allow them to build.

Everything about New York - its culture and arts, the diversity and size of its population, its position as a central hub of world travel - makes their businesses more successful. They benefit from this City more than the rest of us: workers, small businesspeople, families, communities.

But they don't pay the taxes the rest of us pay.

We think they should and if they did, New York City would collect \$5 billion more a year. That is our tax proposal.

1. The rich should pay their fair share through a progressive income tax.

Today, 57,000 families living in Manhattan earn more than half the income of the entire borough. They earn more than the Bronx and almost all of Brooklyn and Queens combined. But they don't pay much tax.

After federal deductions, the effective tax rate of a person making more than one million dollars a year is about 8 percent. The rate for a person making \$29,700 is 13.8 percent.

New York tenants, whose median income is \$20,000 a year, pay six times the property tax rate of homeowners whose median income is \$39,056.

Effective Tax Rate for New York After Federal Deductions (Source: Citizens for Tax Justice) Yearly Income Effective Tax Rate

\$14,2000	14.1%
\$29,7000	13.8
\$44,200	13.1
\$61,400	11.4
\$96,600	11.0
\$240,600	10.0
\$1,448,000	8.6

New York City used to have a progressive income tax. The more you made, the higher your tax rate. Mayor Koch scrapped that in 1984. We want to install it.

Currently, everyone pays a real City income tax rate of 3.6 percent. Our proposal is that people pay according to the following rates:

Proposed Income Tax Rate	
Up to \$100,000	No Change
\$100,000 to \$499,999	5.5%
\$500,000 to \$999,999	6.5%
Over \$1 million	7.5%
(New York City would collect \$500 million a year.)	

2. Erase the inequities between rich homeowners and low income tenants and between owners of different types of homes.

Real estate tax is the City's largest source of income. But the tax rates for property owners are a study in outrageous inequity. For instance, a home-owner pays \$1,170 a year on a \$150,000 home while the owner of a coop with the same market value pays \$2,535.

A landlord who owns a \$150,000 building pays the most: \$6,780 a year. But there's a catch. That landlord passes the tax payment along to the tenants. In fact, studies indicate that the average tenants in New York pays between 8 and 12 percent of his or her yearly income in real estate taxes... without owning property! A tenant making \$20,000 a year would pay between \$1,600 and \$2,400 each year in real estate taxes.

And while property owners' tax payments are 40 percent deductible against income tax, renters can't deduct a penny.

What does this mean in practice? **New York tenants, whose median income is \$20,000 a year, pay six times the property tax rate of home-owners whose median income is \$39,056. That's unfair. Our proposal is to:**

> Tax condo, coop, and home owners at the same rate based on their family income.

> Rebate to tenants three month's worth of real estate taxes each year.

> Exempt homeowners who earn less than \$25,000 a year - about a third of the City's homeowners - from this increase.

<New York City would collect \$400 million more a year.>

3. Phase out the sales tax on necessities and start taxing business services.

Wall Street, banks, insurance companies, advertising agencies, public relations firms, accounting firms, and many consulting firms have two things in common: they are the most successful businesses in New York, and they don't pay sales tax.

Instead, the sales tax is paid by businesses which sell clothing, food, diapers and all the other products we need and using the "FIRE" and "Hot Air" (public relations, advertising and consulting) services don't.

Some say that imposing a sales tax would chase these industries away. We

A R T S

have answered that already but a couple of additional points might be worth making.

First, the cost of a move would represent at least a decade of sales tax payments. Second, since business to business services depend on proximity to clients, these businesses would lose billions by leaving this city.

We think the City should phase out its part of the sales tax on necessities (about 4 percent of the 8.25 percent we pay). We also think it should impose a sales tax of four percent on the FIRE and "Hot Air" industries.

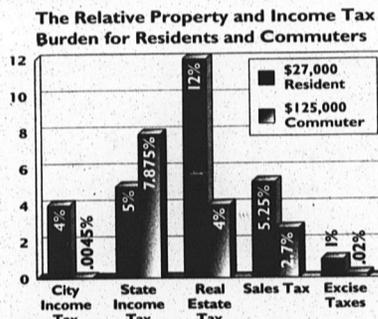
Our proposal:
 > Immediately reduce the sales tax by 1 percent on all items.
 > Tax business and legal services at the present City sales tax level.

The City would collect \$500 million more a year.

4. Tax commuter and resident income equally.

We keep talking about the rich of New York but where exactly do rich and high-earners live? Many live outside the City and are among the most tax-protected people in New York.

Residents of the City making \$27,000 a year pay much higher taxes than commuters making \$125,000 a year, as the graph shows. The most glaring inequity is in the City's income tax. That City resident pays \$1,080 in City income tax now; if his or her tax rate were that of the commuter, he/she would pay \$1.20.



We would:
 > Establish a regional income tax with surrounding counties.
 > Equalize the tax rate of commuters and residents.
 > Share the increased income with the county of residence, fifty/fifty.

<The City would make \$1.045 billion more a year.>

5. Tax elite non-profits.

What exactly is a non-profit? It is simply a business which spends all the money it makes.

New York City is one of the capitals of the non-profit world. From hospitals, to research institutes, to universities to foundations... we have them all.

They raise a lot of money; their total 1991 yearly budget was \$32 billion, more than the City's. They use an extraordinary range of City services, benefit from the cultural and informational infrastructure and they rely on each other - next to the investment community, it is hard to think of another set of institutions that rely so heavily on "networking."

Many of them use this money for work which is invaluable to us all; many are in the business of helping people. But many of them are also in business. They carry large staffs and they pay their top management enormous salaries. The head of Mt. Sinai hospital, for instance, made \$528,000 a year plus perks in 1992. The head of Montefiore made \$571,000 and had \$200,000 worth of insurance, an auto allowance and \$60,000 for housing.

Finally, the value of the property owned by non-profit institutions is simply mind-boggling. The graphic below shows how much tax-exempt property these institutions own.

Institutional	\$8.24
Religious	2.55
Medical Care	2.6
Charitable	.5
Special Interests	.23
Educational Facilities	1.5
Cultural Institutions	.44
Cemeteries	.32

These institutions pay no property tax, no income tax, no commercial rent tax, and no sales tax on any service they render.

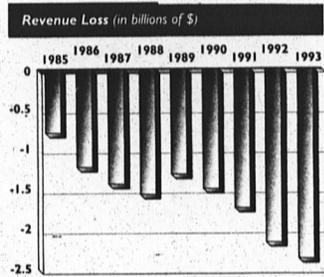
It's time to change all that. We propose to:
 > Exempt all institutions which pay out at least five percent of their capital in charitable bequests, or which keep staff and overhead costs down to 10 cents per dollar they give away.

> Exempt any institution whose chief executive makes less than the Mayor.
 > Put the rest on the City tax rolls.

<The City would collect \$ 300 million more a year.>

6. Reimpose the Stock Transfer Tax.

In 1980, the State repealed the City's Stock Transfer Tax, which had levied a tax charge based on price each time someone sold stock. As a result of the repeal, the City immediately lost a lot of money.



Wall Street claims reimposing the tax would chase investment firms away. Based on the stock traders' huge profits, it's easy to see why they would make that threat. But it's empty.

Who is going to move Wall Street? Why didn't it move before 1980 when stock transfers were taxed? Who is going to stop trading to make money because they have to pay tax on sales? Have millionaires stopped making millions because they have to pay income tax?

This is a business transaction which yields profit and should be taxed. The reimposition of this tax isn't going to scare Wall Street from the place it has called home for a century.

If we restored this tax we would immediately close the current budget gap.

We propose to:
 > Restore the Stock Transfer Tax immediately.

<The City would make \$2.3 billion more a year.>

7. Renegotiate luxury residential and commercial tax abatements.

The City has awarded many rich landlords long-term abatements on taxes. We already have too much office space in New York, partly as a result of these abatements. They don't encourage building because when the market is good for new buildings, developers build them, abatement or not. When the market is not good, developers don't build.

While these abatements can't legally be stopped, the Mayor can renegotiate them. After all, he keeps renegotiating City labor contracts. We think he could easily cut abatement levels by 25 percent with aggressive negotiations.

There is one abatement which really demands renegotiation - the deal with the Canada-based Reichman Brothers for the

World Financial Center. In 1981, when the Brothers were the world's richest developers, the City agreed to promote construction of the Center with tax abatements. About 4.5 million square feet were completed. The Brothers agreed to donate \$60 million to a fund for low income housing in exchange for those abatements.

When this entire deal is finished, the abatements will have cost the City \$127.8 million in taxes.

We would:
 > End (ICIP) the Industrial and Commercial Incentives abatement program.
 > Renegotiate current abatements with landlords who hold them.
 > Renegotiate the World Financial Center deal.

<The City would make \$54.25 million more a year.>

8. Tax real estate profits.

Many of us sell a house and use the money to buy a new one. But some people sell property just to make huge amounts of profit.

If you make huge profits selling real estate, you should pay a profit tax on it. Period. We would start with a half million in profits. Here is our table:

\$500,000	10%
\$1 million - \$5 million	15%
\$6 million - \$10 million	20%
\$11 million - \$20 million	25%
\$21 million - \$50 million	30%
\$51 million - \$99 million	40%
\$100 million and over	50%

<The City would make at least \$10 million more a year.>

9. Privatize the World Trade Center.

The Mayor talks about "privatization," and we oppose most of his plans. But here is one privatization project we would support - one he's not proposing.

Why not start with this tax black hole? If the Port Authority sold the World Trade Center to private concerns, the City could put the Towers on the tax roll where it belongs and isn't now. And we can't think of anything that would be lost as a result of such an action. After all, it's just a pair of office buildings.

> We would ask the Governor to urge the Port Authority to sell the World Trade Center.
 ore a year.>

10. End FIRE tax expenditures.

There is a laundry list of ways the financial community avoids paying taxes. For instance, because of the "International Banking Facility Deduction," foreign banks don't pay City bank tax, a loss of \$62 million a year.

Stockbrokers who specialize in stock options and trade for their own accounts don't pay unincorporated business tax, even though that is exactly what they are. **And rich property holders who set up a real estate investment trust to sell their property, as the Rockefeller family did, pay no general corporation tax on the trust.**

> We would eliminate these rich people's tax loopholes.
<The City would make \$150 million more a year.>

HERE'S OUR POINT

We are aware that there are many other possible tax reforms. We are also aware that rectifying the tax structure in New York isn't going to erase all our problems.

Our point is that we can balance the budget without hurting working and poor people. We can raise billions and close any budget gap. We can lower working people's taxes and increase services. We can clear up the short-term financial difficulties and give the City some resources to begin working on the long-term problems.

Our point is that Mayor Giuliani is wrong. We don't have to balance budgets by beating up on those who make this City work. All we have to do is get a fair share from those for whom the City seems to be working.

The money is there. We need the guts to go get it.

1. Progressive Income Tax	\$500
2. Just Property Tax	400
3. Business Services Tax	500
4. Commuter Tax	1,045
5. Elite Non-profits Tax	350
6. Stock Transfer Tax	2,300
7. Construction Abatements Measures	55
8. Real Estate Profits Tax	10
9. Privatize World Trade Center	100
10. End FIRE Exemptions	150
Total; Revenue	\$4,910

Actual and Projected Gross Revenue Losses to New York City Because of Reductions It Has Made in Taxes 1985-1994 (in millions of dollars)

	Stock Transfer ^b	Business Income ^c	Personal Income	Commercial Rent	Utility	Sales	Total
Actual							
1993	\$2,368.7	\$39.7	\$95.3	\$37.2	\$126.0	\$86.0	\$2,752.9
1992	2,167.2	37.0	87.2	38.5	117.0	80.0	2,526.9
1991	1,742.4	37.9	87.6	39.6	83.0	63.0	2,053.5
1990	1,535.8	37.6	91.2	38.0	3.0	10.0	1,715.6
1989	1,325.7	34.0	87.8	24.7	3.0	6.0	1,481.2
1988	1,573.5	34.0	143.0	17.2	3.0	33.0	1,803.7
1987	1,442.9	-	43.0	10.0	3.0	0.5	1,499.4
1986	1,232.8	-	21.0	6.6	2.0	-	1,262.4
1985	893.3	-	-	4.0	-	-	897.3
Actual Loss	\$14,282.3	\$228.2	\$456.1	\$215.8	\$340.0	\$278.5	\$15,992.9
Projected 1994	2,092.8	42.9	98.2	37.9	133.0	91.0	2,495.8
Total Projected & Actual Loss	\$16,375	\$271.1	\$554.3	\$253.7	\$473.0	\$369.5	\$18,488.7

Notes:
 a. Not including real property reductions. These amounts are not net of subsequent tax increases.
 b. Assumed projected losses average of last 3 fiscal years.
 c. Corporate, financial and unincorporated business income taxes.

Source: Based on data of the Comptroller of the City of New York, the New York City Office of Management and Budget and the Municipal Assistance Corporation.

Come to a public forum in which one of the authors of this program will discuss the present fiscal crisis and what can be done to resolve it.
March 20
Green Dolphin Lounge
7 pm

Dismantling of New York ...

continues from page 6

Brooklyn last year, Fitch characterized the Democratic Party as being "coterminous with the Mafia." Clearly, the city (like the country as a whole) is crying out for an independent third party that could represent the interests of working people in their fight-back against budget cuts.

Fitch doesn't begin and end with analysis; he also puts forth some concrete proposals: a campaign for the creation of one million jobs, heavy taxation on the rich, the construction of 50,000 units of low income housing per year, organizing the unorganized, including welfare recipients. He calls for ending the billions in tax abatements given to real estate speculators and reimposing the stock exchange tax (either one would end the CUNY budget crisis overnight). He proposes a business service tax, a tax on foreign banks, and most importantly he calls for taxing the elite non-profit corporations in the city. Fitch tears off the mask of benign social altruism behind which so many of these "non-profit" or "non-governmental" organizations and foundations articulate the interests of the ruling class, control and subvert government policy and academia, block progressive policies and work closely with US foreign policy and the CIA to impose the "New World Order" around the world (e.g.: the sinister Soros Foundation). Meanwhile, as these non-profit foundations pay no taxes, they have an annual aggregate budget of \$32 billion (larger than New York City's), own 6% of the city's taxable property and pay their directors an average salary in excess of \$175,000 per year. According to Pataki they should pay no taxes, but CUNY students should pay

an extra \$1000 a year tuition. Uh,huh.

Fitch's book reveals the rotten truth behind the much discussed budget crisis that Pataki, like Cuomo before him, insists must be balanced on the backs of working people: it is nothing less than a deliberate fraud, an extortionary scheme designed for taxing the poor to give to the rich. Essentially, the city and state budgets of New York are an extraordinary scam devised by the financial elite of this city to sustain a system of socialism for the rich. As Fitch shows, the budget crisis was not caused by spending on social programs, like education, welfare or Medicaid, but rather by the city's subordination to financial and real estate interests for whom city officials arranged generous, long term mortgages by borrowing short term, high interest loans on Wall Street. As incredible as this may seem, it is nevertheless the real reason for the so-called budget crisis. Each year the city must pay banks and bond holders approximately \$2.6 billion in interest alone! This shows what capitalist government in New York City is all about — theft. Every penny in tuition increases goes directly to service those big fat interest payments paid to the banks. Every penny in tax revenues taken out of city and state aid to CUNY and SUNY goes directly into the hands of the coupon clippers and bond traders on Wall Street.

It has been argued (even by Fitch himself) that "Cancel the Debt" is not the best demand for saving CUNY. This is true in one sense because canceling the debt would not necessarily save our educational institutions from attack by the ruling elites who want to destroy them more for politi-

cal reasons than budgetary ones (after all, they serve working people, not the rich). Nevertheless, the demand is still appropriate. This is because it draws attention to the fact that the whole rationale for slashing the CUNY and SUNY budgets is based on the very real financial power that Wall Street and its friends have over the city's and state's finances, and the fact that CUNY and SUNY are being scapegoated for a debt crisis that was made on Wall Street and should be returned there! We need to be clear that the current debt arrangement between the city and the banking and Wall Street establishment is incompatible with the well being of CUNY, public education, and just about every other social program that benefits the people and not the capitalists.

One weakness to Fitch's approach that needs mention is his failure to place the story of New York's budget crisis into a larger context that relates the decisions made by New York's ruling rich to other objective economic factors external to the city's economy, such as the decline of the global capitalist economy since the early 1970's and its growing dependency on certain types of financial exchanges. The current debt crisis of governments like New York City's, cannot be explained fully outside of the larger forces shaping global capitalist trends. Beginning with the overproduction crisis and the downward trend in the rate of profit in the 1970's, industrial economies entered into a long and ever deepening period of economic stagnation which led to deindustrialization, the shift of finance capital away from economic development to financial speculation in

bonds and currency markets, and, of course, the spiraling downward pressure on wages, which has been intensified by a number of other international economic and political factors including the dismantling of the planned economies in the former Communist countries. Indeed, New York City's problems — both its decapitalization and the wholesale plunder of its resources — are really part of a global problem: the decline of the world capitalist system. Fitch's weakness is not that he fails to recognize these connections, but rather that he adamantly and perversely denies that there is such a connection. The way Fitch likes to put it is that "the loss of economic diversity" as a result of a "FIRE monoculture" is the principal cause of New York's economic problems. This is an overly one-sided definition of tendencies that have occurred elsewhere and even in other historical periods (e.g.: one could draw parallels with the industrial decline of Britain as it grew dependent on empire and the exporting of capital).

On the other hand, Fitch's achievement is important and worthy of our careful study. His work refocuses attention on class imperatives and the importance of understanding specific ruling class decisions and interests in shaping the institutions we live under. As one speaker put it after hearing Fitch speak at a forum in Brooklyn, "According to what you just said...capitalism isn't broken; it's working just the way it's supposed to work." And that is the point: the system isn't irrational, just unacceptable.

ORGANIZE TO FIGHT THE CUTS

What are the reasons for the "budget crisis"? Though we often here the Mayor and Governor justify their austerity measures against the poor and working people of New York, our guest speaker will prove that the current debt was caused by the "power elite," i.e., finance and real estate capital, in conjunction with the g

Join the Voice in a public forum where we discuss the root causes of the "fiscal crisis" (that has been plaguing New York City for over twenty years.

PUBLIC FORUM

Guest speakers

Bob Fitch, author of "The Assassination of New York"
Larry Hanley, President of Amalgamated Transit Union
Roy Rollin, Revolutionary Socialist Group

**College of Staten Island
Monday, March 20 at
7pm in the Green Dolphin
Lounge (Campus Center.)**

Printing With Laser and Ink Jet

by Thomas Montalto

oesn't know the difference between a floppy or a hard drive? Does 386, 486 or the Pentium mean absolutely nothing to you? Or perhaps you still think that Windows are what you look out to see if it's raining? Well if you fit this description and are one of those people who want to learn and simply just don't understand how a computer can get a virus, than this and many other articles soon to come are just for you. If not, you can still read this and probably learn something new anyway.

Well, if you've ever used a computer to type a report then of course you have had to use a printer to print it out. But do you know what type of printer you used? Perhaps it was an ink jet, laser printer or maybe even the almost obsolete dot matrix. So now you're thinking, "OK, but what do they do and what is the difference?" Well, by the time you get to the end of this article hopefully I will have answered all of your questions, and most likely now you'll have new ones.

You're done typing your report and hit the print option on whichever word processor you may happen to be using. Within a few minutes your hands now possess the report which you must hand in the next day. But how did the work from your hard drive jump on to the paper? Well, if you are using an ink jet, the printer will first receive the report in its memory and then use electricity to vaporize the ink from the ink cartridge and spray it onto the paper where, after a few minutes, it will dry. The laser printer, though, instead of using electricity, has a laser beam that will exhibit an image onto an organic photoconducting cartridge (OPC) belt which will now pick up the toner. The toner then will pass on to a drum which will be transferred, and now have an image which you will not have to worry

about smearing.

The main advantage of an ink jet printer is the cost. You can find a good quality black and white ink jet for around \$250 which would give you 360 Dots Per Inch (DPI). A laser printer of the same quality printing would most likely cost you double the amount. Another advantage of the ink jet is that it practically makes no noise as it prints. The main advantage of a laser printer would most likely be the speed with which it prints. Other qualities are that it can print sharp on plain paper, with an ink jet you may need special paper for higher quality.

The disadvantages of ink jets are less severe than those of the laser printer. Besides printing slower, if you get a drop of water on your paper it could wind up smearing the whole page, and as stated previously, higher quality printing can cause you to pay more for paper. The main disadvantages of laser printers all have to do with cost. First, if they are left on all the time they will definitely run up your electricity bill. Second, to replace the toner it's going to cost you up to double of what it could cost you to replace an ink jet cartridge for approximately the same amount of printed pages.

The ink jet printer is still relatively new in the computer industry and is much more popular to a home PC user. Most likely this is due to its price range being more suitable for the home user. Now you can even get a high quality color ink jet with 760 DPI for right around \$500 where as a laser printer of the same quality will cost you almost \$5000. If you're in any kind of business that makes all kinds of presentations then no doubtedly you'll want the laser printer drops in price, I'm sure the ink jet will continue to be the majority of the printers used in the home.

The Absurdity of the Peruvian - Ecuadorian War

By Nathalie Gómez and Edwin Luciano

The renewed border dispute between Ecuador and Peru which began on January 28, has entered into its second ceasefire initiated by Peru after 18 days of a non-declared war on February 17. Over one hundred and fifty soldiers from both sides have been killed in the bitter fighting in the Amazonian jungle which is rich in oil, gold and uranium, in the Condor mountain range that separates part of Ecuador and Peru. The conflict is, according to both sides, over a stretch of Amazonian jungle which Ecuador and Peru have been disputing over since before the two nations were even independent. The history of the conflict is as old as Spanish imperialism in the Americas and U.S. intervention in the region as the Spanish influence waned.

A Brief History of the conflict:

- 1802: The Spanish cede the territory now in dispute from the Real Audiencia de Quito in New Granada (present day Ecuador) to the Viceroyalty of Peru.

- 1822: New Granada becomes independent from Spain under the name of "La Gran Colombia". Two years later Peru, with the help of La Gran Colombia, also becomes independent.

- 1829: Peru signs the disputed land to back to La Gran Colombia.

- 1830: La Gran Colombia breaks up into Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela.

- 1832: Peru and Ecuador sign a treaty in which Peru guarantees Ecuadorian rights to the land it ceded to La Gran Colombia in 1829. However, the exact border is never drawn or agreed upon.

- 1887: Peru and Ecuador disagree over the border, Peru claims it has a larger presence in the area. The matter is sent to the King of Spain for arbitration. Ecuador, fearing that Spain would favor Peru, postpones the negotiations until 1907. Eventually the question of arbitration is dropped altogether.

- 1904: Brazil seizes part of Ecuador. 1916: Colombia slices a larger portion yet (which is lost to Peru years later).

- 1938-1941: Border conflict between Ecuador and Peru degenerates into war after American arbitration (in 1924) fails to find a peaceful resolution. The subsequent peace treaty gives about one third of Ecuador's to Peru. Once again, however, maps fail to draw an accurate border.

- 1942-1995: There have been several minor skirmishes and to major conflicts (the last one in 1982) over the strip of land that is now being disputed.

This border dispute, which is now costing Ecuador an estimated 10 million dollars a day to support, has been used by the governments of both countries to rally popular support in times of political instability. The 1938 conflict, for example, came about at a time when the government of Ecuador was under pressure from its people because of the failing economic measures that country was taking. Peru was under a similar political climate at the time. Wars often serve the macabre unifier of people under the banner of nationalism under a common cause and distracts the people from the corruption and inefficiency of its government. —Just think of what the Gulf War did for George Bush!

In the case of Peru, President Alberto Fujimori, has increased his popularity to the point that there is a high possibility that he might be reelected in the next election, which has been prolonged due to the war, despite his unpopularity in the polls just a few months ago. On the other hand, Sixto Duran Ballen (Ecuador's president) could not be reelected, however, in the last few days, members of the Ecuadorian parliament has named Sixto Duran Ballen as a national hero who has "suc-

cessfully" defended Ecuadorian territory.

However, it is the poor people of both countries who are suffering the consequences of this undeclared war that seems to worsen each day. The economy in Ecuador will deteriorate because of the war. Moreover, the Peruvian government has claimed that the economy has remain stable. In the case of Ecuador, the government has increase the labor hours per week, that Ecuadorians work (48 to 50 hours) earning the same minimum wage of 80,000 sucres a month (US\$ 34.78). Sixto Duran Ballen has also asked the Ecuadorians to work two days without pay in order to support the war.

The Organization of American States (OAS) has tried to negotiate cease-fires from both sides. Both countries still accuse each other from violating the peace agreement and Ecuador has denounce that its enemy is using armament that is prohibited by international law. The OEA has reacted by fining both countries as a penalty and they will begin to meet in Brazil in order to solve the dispute.

Subliminal policies ...

continues from page 11

tive behind the gesture of support was: America wanted to check the influence of Communist Ethiopia in Africa and a militarily powerful counterweight like Somalia was paramount to this American strategy. Somalia played into American hands as a pawn against the "cancer" of Soviet Communism in the seventies and the 'eighties.

In 1991, with the collapse and fall of the Soviet Union, America's satellite failed to be of any further use. As a result, aid in armaments and support for Barre was conveniently stopped by the former patron. With no aid and support, the dictator's government was overthrown by the Manifesto Group, comprising of the Somali National Movement, the United Somali Congress (headed by Gen. Aided), and the Somali Patriotic movements (for the creation of an independent Ogaden, a region in Somalia). Barre himself fled out of his country racked by turmoil and destructive civil war.

To keep Somalia destabilized, neither of the Manifesto Groups were permitted by the UN. to take control of the now-stateless country. The fighting was now focused between SNM and USC. under the guise of helping to feed Somalis and a lofty plan of "nation-building" (nothing more than a benign form of imperialism) Pres. Bush and then Pres. Clinton, with approval of the UN., sent US Marines in Somalia. The results were disastrous; their presence eventually bolstered native animosity and unintentionally aided the anti-occupation resistance. The troops in Somalia also made it more difficult for relief workers to perform their corporal words of mercy. Operation Restore Hope Proved to Contradictory in name and only resulted in more bloodshed, chaos, and worsened the famine.

The UN. interfered in past affairs, does so now, and will continue to be a tool of the powerful nations in the future. The only way to end more meddling is to discontinue all support to the UN. It was created to bolster the post-World War 2 order, and order that exists no longer now that the last vestiges of that past period, the Cold War is over. IT should be disbanded immediately.

A Rozos is a Rozos, is a Rozos...

by Yiu Pak Leung

The College Voice (CV) interviews George Rozos (GR) about his recently published *Dialectic of Action*.

CV: Before we start, I would like to congratulate you for your intellectual accomplishment, and also for the aesthetic quality of the book.

GR: Thank you very much, it wasn't an easy task; and it is a rewarding feeling to see that the book is no longer just an idea in my mind. I would like to thank, since you mention the aesthetics, the team of artists whose creativity and good taste are to be praised.

CV: Could you tell us something about your social background, education, and interests, and how they may bear on your book, *Dialectic of Action*?

GR: I was born in Greece into a middle class family. My mother was a teacher and my father a high-ranking civil servant. I was the beneficiary of a very good elementary and classical high school education because in those days civil servants enjoyed a high social status in my country.

An important factor in shaping my thought and character was that my formative years as a teenager were spent in danger, suffering, and constant confrontation with death during the German occupation of Greece during World War II.

CV: Can you be more specific about how all of this connects with your work on the dialectic?

GR: By contrast to present days, the youth then was not, and could not be, touched by the "lollipop" of consumerism. Our concerns were about social ideals and collective action. Hegel's dialectic, with which my book deals, is also about how ideas translate into action or, more important to me, into radical action, if there is resistance on the part of the established social order.

I must add that, like many youths from all social strata, I belonged to the Communist Resistance Movement, for which I was arrested, court-martialed, and imprisoned in a hostage camp. The dialectic is also a philosophy of conflict: the "power of the negative," as Hegel calls it. For him, like for the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, opposition and conflict keep the wheels of the world moving, the mind alive, and ensure that social groups and nations stay healthy and fit for any eventuality. War and the prison camp were for us, as they were considered by Hegel, a learning experience and a school for action. We learned from the enemy and thrived at the experience of a deeper meaning of freedom. As all conventional rules of behavior were suspended, the ultimate responsibility fell back on us to generate a New Order to counter the one that Hitler was trying to impose on us. This reminds me of J.P. Sartre's similar autobiographical remark that he had never felt more free than during the German occupation.

CV: Could you tell us of some later influences on your work and outlook in general?

GR: The countercultural explosion of the 1960's had a similarly decisive influence on my worldview, my understanding of the past, my lifestyle and my educational theories and teaching methods. After all, the youth of the 1960's, like my contemporaries in Greece, questioned fundamental issues and were unafraid of taking the consequences brought about by acting upon them.

CV: What were doing during the 1960's?

GR: Fortunately, I was associated with one of the best art schools in this country. This put me in the privileged position of being in daily contact with a group of very creative individuals among students and faculty. I learned more about the funda-

mentals in the relationship between theory and practice that I was to write about later. Also, I had a great deal of fun. This was something I missed during my years as a undergraduate and graduate student in the classrooms of the "big guns" at Columbia the decade before. Teaching liberal arts to students of art and architecture, who were not majoring in liberal arts, revolutionized my thinking about liberal arts and the way to teach them. These lessons are still with me.

The key to many of the questions that baffle us as teachers today, about recruitment, motivation, retention, etc., can be found if we consider that these top "liberal artists" were selected from high schools from all over the world, according to their "projects" and not according to the abstractions of their statistical scores. But, more important for the topic of my book, my students' class projects and our joint planning sessions for physical-political action were the labs in which my interpretation of the dialectical synthesis of theory and practice had begun to germinate. They revealed to me the difference between routine thought and imagination and the connection of both with radical action. Such illuminating thoughts were never conveyed to me in the classrooms of the "stars" at Columbia such as Neumann, Marcuse, and Merton. You can see why I dedicated my book to the best of the generation of the 1960's.

CV: Do you mean to say that your dedication ends with the arts students of liberal arts?

GR: Not at all. It extends to some of students and faculty friends of Richmond College—the senior parent of CSI which I joined in 1971. Here, I thought, was an opportunity to put the lesson I had learned from my art students to test on presumably "liberated" liberal arts majors. I shall not bother you with the results, which are written up in numerous internal papers of that period, except for one which bears directly on my book: The notion of "putting to test," or "applying," just used, which is the key to my dialectical synthesis of the theory and practice. Many grandiose radical schemes, including those of applied Marxism, have come to grief for failing to distinguish the various meanings of "apply" and their implications in practice. Their failure stems from extending the scientific notion of "apply" to projects which are essentially social and humanistic. The great merit of the dialectic lies in having detailed that misconception in some of the most illuminating, but also difficult pages in philosophy.

CV: Are you turning your back on the role of the scientific method in effecting social change?

GR: Not altogether, but in some important cases, yes. We have to be extra cautious not to be seduced by the Sirens of science. For example, if you are a rational individual educated and socialized in the spirit of our age, it is difficult not to accede to the proposition of science that the understanding and the effecting of change involve some theoretical tools and some rules of "application" to natural, as well as social, reality. The dialectic is the best antidote against such seduction, because it shows the illusions and the afflictions of our age hiding behind such seemingly obvious truth. Instead of going about the problem of social change by way of the accepted political, economic, ethical and humanitarian considerations, the dialectic approaches the problem in a more fundamental way: the "logic" of social change, the tools, such as the notion of theory-practice, by which social disciplines and social reformers tackle social change. The

continues on next page

Rozos is a Rozos is a ...

continues from previous page

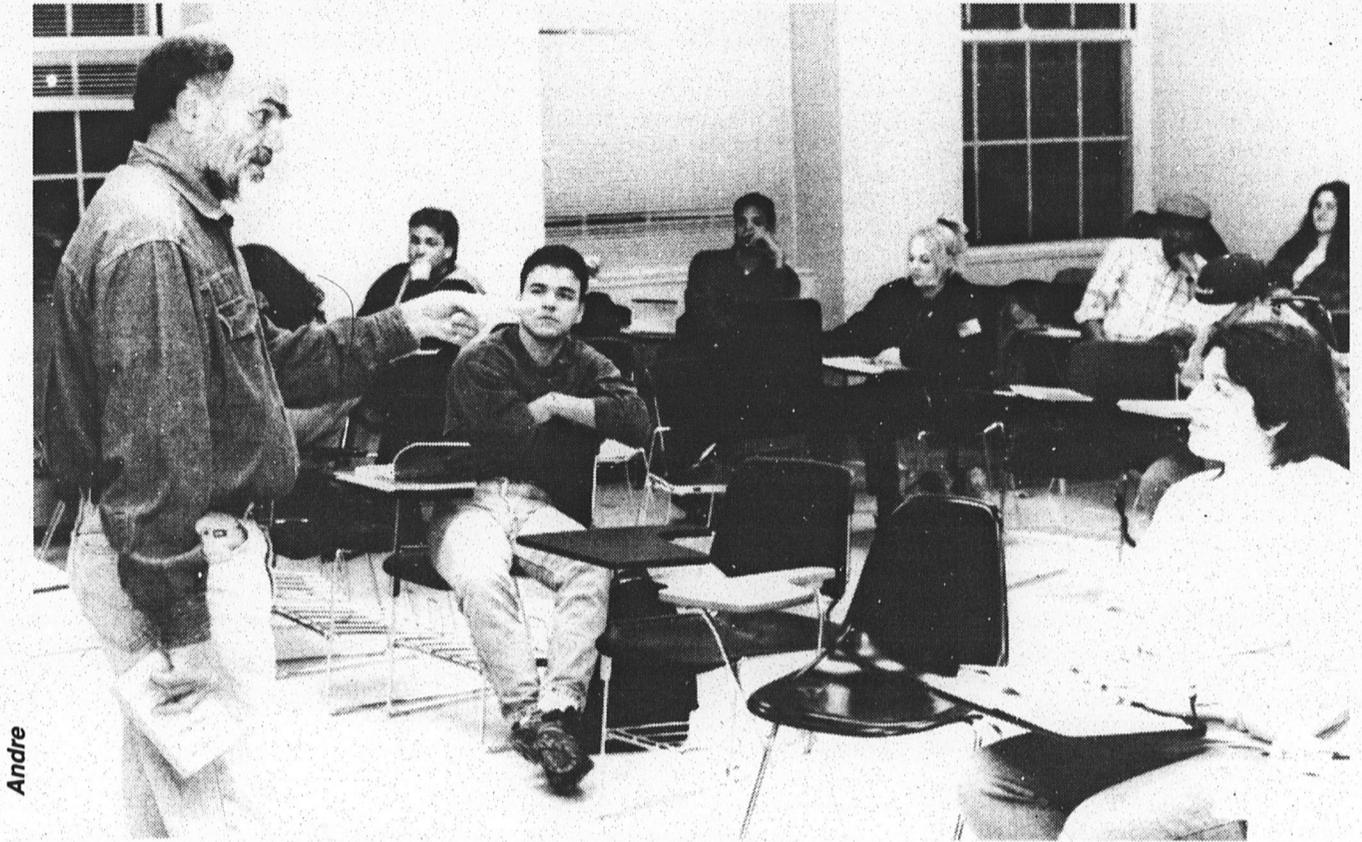
results are devastating for many respectable, and even so-called critical, ways pursuing social science.

CV: You seem to shift the job of examining and effecting social change from the social scientist and activist, where it legitimately belongs, to the philosopher, who has proved notoriously unreliable in practical matters over the millennia. Isn't there a danger that the dialectic may prove to be just another Platonic Idea in the sky?

GR: You are throwing at me the monkey-wrench that Marx threw at his teacher, the great German philosopher Hegel. I devoted Part IV of my book to show how bad a student of dialectical philosophy Marx was. I go even further in showing that Marx's fatal error was that he missed the radical features of the dialectic of his teacher. He, therefore, set the stage for the deradicalization of social movements. Instead of laying the foundations of socialism, those who tried to translate his blueprints into political reality set up caricatures of capitalism, which sooner or later collapsed because they could not compete with real capitalism on its own terms. We all know the sad fate of "applied" Marxism which, by the way, I could foresee as early as 1968 in an essay I wrote for J.P. Sartre's *Les Temps Modernes*.

CV: What then is the role of the dialectical philosopher according to Hegel, if not the true activist Marx wanted him to be?

GR: Paradoxically—or, shall I say, dialectically—he should not be an activist at all, or even as an advisor to aspiring activists and reformers, but a reflective thinker who refuses to predict and simply takes



Andre

Students listen to the mystifying words of relaxed Professor Rozos.

stock of the situation after history has taken its course. This, Hegel thought correctly, gives the green light to genuine radicalism, which, like my art students' projects, should remain unencumbered by theories normally produced by timid sedentary intellectuals. All of this is sorted out in

great detail in my book.

CV: Why did you choose a non-serious, almost frivolous, picture of yourself eating a banana on a tilting sailboat for the cover of what is obviously a serious book?

GR: Because I don't take my self too seriously. Sailing helps me in that. Many

academics assume a stance of self-importance, and even pomposity, which I think is totally out of proportion to our social power and out of place in a business like ours, which is inseparable from play and pleasure, especially in the liberal arts.

1991 CUNY Revolt...

continues from page 6

faculty union bureaucracy and college administration, and by a city labor union bureaucracy, which had an opportunity to step in and defend the students' bold initiative, broadening it in defense of the unions' interests. Instead, they chose to hold off and wait until the students were defeated.

If the working people of this city have any hope of winning the struggles which lie ahead of them — and we do have the potential for winning — we must all carefully consider the lessons of the CUNY student revolt of 1991 and draw the correct conclusions for next time, *because there definitely will be a next time*. The CUNY student revolt points out the necessity of revolutionary leadership and a united front strategy, and the ruinous consequences of the "popular-front," class collaborationist strategies of reformist tendencies. It also calls attention to the need for workers, students and all oppressed people to have their own labor party, united and independent from the capitalist parties, to fight for their interests. The CUNY student struggle is part of the *class struggle*, and unless it is linked up with the struggles of workers and the oppressed it has no possibility of being successful. The people united will *always be defeated* when they are united with the ruling class' politicians and divided from their class allies, and this applies to students as well as to workers and oppressed minorities.

In 1989, when Cuomo tried to force a \$200 tuition increase down the throats of CUNY students the students occupied campuses and marched down the length of Manhattan 10,000 strong. This show of unity and strength forced Cuomo to back down and forego the increase. Last year as corporate profits nose-dived, Cuomo began planning a new assault on the City State University of New York as well as on the State University system (SUNY).

One piece of the puzzle was found when

the city selected the diabolical W. Ann Reynolds to become the new Chancellor of CUNY. From Day One her job has been to help coordinate the wrecking of the CUNY system. Reynolds had previously served as Chancellor of the California State University system where she had proven herself by slashing academic spending and excluding minorities with new admission policies. This was clearly a more important job qualification for the city and state than the fact that Reynolds had been thrown out of her California job after it was learned that she had tried surreptitiously to increase her own salary by some 46% to nearly \$200,000. As the new CUNY chancellor, Reynolds was given as \$160,000 salary plus a free brownstone on the upper east side of Manhattan.

But Reynolds' most important qualification may be the fact that she sits on the executive boards of three notoriously racist and labor hating corporations where she nets another \$100,000: Abbott Laboratories, the American Electric Power Company and Maytag. She also previously served on the board of GTE of California. Abbott does well over \$11 million dollars worth of business annually with its friends in South Africa where it also has a base of operations. According to an article in the *Financial Times*, several months ago, the Admiral Company, a subsidiary of Maytag, illegally exposed its workers to a deadly chemical spill at its Galesburg, Illinois plant in 1989. GTE, of course, is a major player in the military and nuclear industries. As a racist supporter of apartheid and a hater of workers everywhere Ann Reynolds was perfectly qualified to help impose the "New World Order" on the largely minority students CUNY in the Metropolis of Misery.

Another interesting move made by Cuomo last year was his reimposition of the 1989 \$200 tuition increase at the end of the term in mid December. Cuomo successfully sneaked that by, but not without

reactivating student protesters and much ill will throughout the city. In early April of this year the state announced the really big cuts it had been forecasting, encompassing between \$92 and \$96 million. This included the elimination of the \$400 Tuition Assistance Program (TAP), as well as the Liberty and Regents scholarships, the liquidation of numerous degree programs, the cancellation of thousands of class sections, curtailing maintenance and library hours, the firing of about 900 full time faculty and staff and 1000 adjuncts, and the raising of tuition by another \$500 a year. This dismantling of CUNY also does not exclude the possibility of two or more campuses being shut down altogether since the average annual budget of a CUNY campus is around \$30 million.

A major component of this plan to dismantle CUNY is the "displacement" of between 50,000 and 75,000 students from the system. After SUNY and the California state system, CUNY the third largest public university system in the country with about 200,000 students. The tuition increase, along with various new admission tricks Reynolds is reusing from her "Cally" days, amount to a de-facto expulsion of one out of every four CUNY students, a planned shrinkage specifically designed to bar the lowest income groups from a college education. Obviously, you don't need a college degree to see that this is not only class prejudiced, but outrageously racist and sexist as well. Women, Black, Latino and Asian students are being singled out to take a double and triple hit of "New World Order Justice" doled out by the Democrats.

One of the ironies about tuition at CUNY, which stood at \$1,250 a year ago and could end up around \$2,150 in the fall, is that none of it goes back into CUNY itself. Every dime of tuition revenue goes directly to "debt service" — in other words,

toward paying interest on loans to the city and straight into the hands of the bankers and financiers who hold the coupons on the city's debt (the city currently owes \$23 billion and plans to borrow more in June). The two political parties of American capitalism — Democrat and Republican — are coercing workers and students into paying for a fiscal crisis that is nothing more than a product of their own irrational and racist capitalist system. Socialist and radical students intervened correctly during this crisis by calling for the cancellation of the city's debt and by pointing out the inherent incompatibility between capitalism and public education. *Moreover, the wrecking of CUNY won't end here*. Currently, forty percent of the student body comes from households with incomes of less than \$16,000, ten percent receive public assistance, and a sizeable number are singleparents. When tuition was first imposed on the CUNY system during the city's financial crisis of 1976, it came after 129 years of free tuition (and a much briefer six year policy of open admissions). The exclusion of one out of every four students this year could easily become two out of four next year as the decline of capitalism and the assault on working people's living standards intensify.

The Student Takeovers

The student takeovers began on the morning of Monday April 8 when about 75 students occupied the North Academic Center complex at City College in upper Manhattan. By 5 p.m. Wednesday the entire campus was shut down and classes were suspended indefinitely. By the following week students had occupied buildings at fifteen other CUNY campuses, though some of these such as those at Baruch, Brooklyn College and Medgar Evers College lasted only a day. The take-

continues on following page

CUNY Revolt...

overs at Borough of Manhattan Community College, La Guardia Community College, John Jay College, New York Technical College, York College and at the CUNY Graduate Center all occurred within the week of April 9 and April 16, and were all ended between April 25 and April 28. The takeovers at Hunter and City College ended on May 1 and 2 respectively. Large rallies in support of the takeovers were also held at the two College of Staten Island campuses where a library was held by students for several days. The administration buildings at two SUNY campuses, SUNY Purchase in Westchester County and SUNY Stony Brook on Long Island, were also seized by students in solidarity with the CUNY protests.

Naturally, one of the first things a large number of faculty and outside observers said at the time of the takeovers was "I support the goals of the students, but not their tactics." In fact, the headline of one article in the faculty union newspaper "Tuition Protests: Union backs goals, rejects tactics," (May 1991). This refrain, uttered by many who simply did not want to come out in earnest and say that they were completely against the students, was eventually taken up by a large number of reformist "progressive" types who are accustomed to tailing after the liberal majority viewpoint, no matter how reactionary it might be.

The reactionary character of this posture was not adequately agitated against during the course of the protests. The idea that the fight against the budget cuts could be won with anything less than direct militant action against the city and state by students and workers is preposterous. The reformist argument that the takeovers proved nothing or that the students should have just given up and waited until mass demonstrations were launched were deceptions promoted by people who have no desire to see working class protest go beyond anything more than big rallies where people let off a lot of steam, get drunk and then go home to be exploited the next day. This is not to say that everything the students did was "correct" or that their tactics were the exact one's we would choose in a similar situation. But what it does mean is that in this given situation these were the tactics that working people used as an expression of their self-assertion and self-empowerment, and that once the barricades were up and the class struggle was engaged it was not for a bunch of revolting [petit-bourgeois] fence sitters to decide which tactics they would and would not support. The college takeovers, actively supported by thousands of New York City working class students were more than just a symbolic act demonstrating that education is a right of all people and that these campuses belong to the people, to be occupied, kept open or shut down as they saw fit; it represented a real attempt by the working class to wrest the wealth of this society from the ruling class and to exercise the kind of real, democratic self-government that socialism would be based on. A socialist budget cut would abolish the overpaid administration that expels students (and receives six figure salaries for doing so) and establish student, faculty and worker control of the university. Once the struggle against the budget cuts was launched it was up to other groups of people to widen the struggle in solidarity with the students, not to question every tactical move they made. Those who did nothing proved themselves to be on the side of the state. This is what we revolutionary socialist said when we intervened in the struggle as it was unfolding, and we say it again now for those who are learning about the struggle for the first time.

Potential for Broader Struggle

Once the struggle against the budget cuts was launched it should have been possible for other groups in the city to

broaden it. It was a problem with the takeovers that, in most cases, the students involved were not sufficiently conscious of the need to move in that direction to bring in sympathetic faculty, staff, workers and trade unions, community activists and parents. In some cases this was attempted, but in others there was a mistaken perception that this was a "student thing" and "outside agitators" should be kept out. Needless to say, by the time the takeovers were about to be broken by cop assaults the student occupiers were desperate for "outside agitators." But by then it was too late.

A united front with labor would have involved much more than simply the rallies which finally did take place on April 24 and 30; it could have created a dynamic that would have significantly advanced the overall situation of the class struggle in

New York City — beginning with an active defense of the students involved in the takeovers by a broad coalition of students, faculty, workers and community activists, and would have extended to the calling of a city-wide workers' and students' council organized for the purpose of negotiating with the city and state for student and worker demands, and for calling for a city-wide general strike — or as a broad strike as possible — in the event the demands were not met, and to last until they were met.

Of course, the radical youth who led the takeovers should not be faulted for not possessing expert revolutionary leadership, or for breaking this or that rule of Robert's rules of order. [In general, the students bent over backwards to be democratic and understood from the beginning that the takeovers on the inside would last

only as long as mass support could be mobilized on the outside]. Moreover, they also understood that they had to take the initiative themselves because the faculty and staff had already shown themselves time after time to be incapable of taking the lead in fighting the budget cuts. Not surprisingly, the slimy leadership of the faculty union, the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), did absolutely nothing to defend the students from arrests, expulsions or cop violence. But the problem went even further than this. For a number of reasons the faculty, including those most sympathetic to the takeovers, found themselves unprepared to act when the takeovers began, even though many had been already involved in a variety of protests against the budget cuts prior to that time.

continues on next page

PRINCIPLES of SOUND RETIREMENT INVESTING

For fast relief from the nagging ache of taxes, we recommend TIAA-CREF SRAs. SRAs are tax-deferred annuities designed to help build additional assets — money that can help make the difference between living and living *well* after your working years are over.

Contributions to your SRAs are deducted from your salary on a pre-tax basis. That lowers your current taxable income, so you start saving on taxes right away. What's more, any earnings on your SRAs are also tax-deferred until you receive them as income. That can make a big difference in how painful your tax bill is every year.

As the nation's largest retirement system, we offer a wide range of allocation choices — from TIAA's traditional annuity, with its guarantees of principal and interest, to the seven diversified investment accounts of CREF's variable annuity. What's more, our expenses are very low,* which means more of your money goes toward improving your future financial health.

To find out more, call our planning specialists at **1 800 842-2888**. We'll send you a complete SRA information kit, plus a free slide-calculator that shows you how much SRAs can lower *your* taxes. Call today — it couldn't hurt.

Ensuring the future for those who shape it.™

*Standard & Poor's Insurance Rating Analysis, 1994; Lipper Analytical Services, Inc., Lipper-Directors' Analytical Data, 1994 (Quarterly). CREF certificates are distributed by TIAA-CREF Individual and Institutional Services, Inc. For more complete information, including charges and expenses, call 1 800-842-2733, ext. 5509 for a CREF prospectus. Read the prospectus carefully before you invest or send money.

© 1995 Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association / College Retirement Equities Fund

CUNY Revolt...

continues from previous page

There was a reluctance to state openly that students should have the right to engage in acts of civil disobedience to protest their legitimate grievances — acts which are regularly endorsed even by conservatives in academia when discussing the civil rights movement of the 1960's. Although the budget cuts came at the same time as the faculty was negotiating a new union contract and contesting a union election, there was not even a clear appreciation of the fact that the best way to defend thousands of full-time faculty facing layoffs was to link their demands with those of the students. Among no group was a failure leadership more evident than among the part time faculty, the adjuncts.

Adjuncts Get Screwed

The adjunct position in CUNY was created in the 1970's as a way of reducing expenditures, primarily by grossly exploiting the labor of graduate students working toward a PhD, as well as the labor of PhDs unable to find a full time position in their field. Today there are approximately 3000 adjuncts in the CUNY system comprise about half of the entire system's faculty and teach about 63% of all undergraduate courses in CUNY. Despite the high quality and commitment of adjunct faculty instruction — which is usually superior to that of the fulltime staff and is concentrated in large, required and introductory courses — and despite the fact that many have been teaching for over a decade in the CUNY system, adjuncts are paid only a fraction of the salary earned by full time faculty and staff for an equivalent amount of work and in most cases receive absolutely no benefits. Although the system has become completely dependent on cheap adjunct labor for its survival, adjuncts have virtually no job protection and are regularly victimized by arbitrary departmental policies that vary from department to department, from school to school and from year to year.

Although PSC union boss Irwin Pollishook has admitted that the exploitation of adjuncts "raise[s] serious questions about the university's employment practices and academic integrity," the union has done nothing to help adjuncts. Indeed, as numerous sympathetic full time

bers from the union election and a smear campaign by mail against the PTU slate of candidates.

Although individual PTU activists offered an enormous amount of financial, logistical and political support for the student protestors, the PTU failed to link its struggle against the budget cuts and union bureaucracy with that of the students in the most effective way possible. This was due to a number of factors: the failure for students and adjuncts to coordinate their actions in advance, the attention being paid by the PTU to the union election in April, the newness of the adjunct organization, and the failure of adjuncts to recognize fully that the student struggle was their struggle as well, campus takeovers and all.

The failure of the adjuncts to mobilize themselves as a bloc in solidarity with the occupations was a serious miscalculation on their part. In order to cut the city's losses during the student strike, the CUNY's Board of Higher Education decided that adjuncts would not get paid for any time lost as a result of building occupations. It also decided that in order to extort extra free labor out of adjuncts adjunct paychecks would be withheld until after the extended semester was completed and "work certificates" were signed by deans and department chairs. With the adjuncts' challenge to their authority in the elections still fresh in their minds, the PSC union leadership voted to strongly support this decision. Meanwhile, the entire union continues to work without a new contract since September 1990 and one out of every three adjuncts now faces the prospect of not returning to work at all in the fall. The opportunity to fight back was lost and many adjuncts are still asking themselves why.

Reynold's Rap

As soon as the takeovers began CUNY administration strategy aimed at intimidating the protestors in every possible way. The first element of this strategy was a slander campaign against the students, including lies about stolen property and allegations of violence and vandalism. The capitalist media immediately picked up on this and made every effort to

There was a reluctance to state openly that students should have the right to engage in acts of civil disobedience to protest their legitimate grievances — acts which are regularly endorsed even by conservatives in academia when discussing the civil rights movement of the 1960's.

professors have often said, the PSC views itself as a white, male dominated, tenured professors' union.

Last fall several hundred adjuncts and graduate assistants organized their own adjunct caucus within the union, calling itself Part Timers United (PTU). The PTU was constituted specifically to address concerns such as the budget crisis, the demand for equal pay for equal work, health benefits, and better job security. From the very beginning there was a consensus within the PTU that drastic action would be needed to be taken in order to advance these demands. It was decided last fall that adjuncts would mobilize themselves first by joining as many adjuncts as possible into the union and then by preparing to run a slate of candidates in the union election jointly with another progressive caucus. There was also an early consensus that some sort of strike action needed to be taken in the spring. The urgency of a strike action intensified when the union bureaucracy did everything in its power to block adjunct participation in contract negotiations and in the elections, including the disqualification of hundreds of new mem-

delegitimize the student takeovers. The goal of this tactic was to turn both general public opinion and sympathetic faculty against the protestors, and this disinformation campaign undoubtedly had a considerable impact.

Another administration tactic was aimed at the student body itself in an effort to divide the majority of students outside the occupied buildings from those on the inside. Reynolds threatened the entire student body with the cancellation of the entire semester.

On April 16 the Emergency Committee to save CUNY met with Reynolds and her staff to demand that no police or other disciplinary action be taken against the students. This committee had been organized by progressive full-time faculty and PTU activists the preceding fall and had also planned to organize a campaign against the budget cuts before the student protest began. Reynolds used this occasion to further intimidate the students, claiming she had full authority to use police action as she saw fit and to expel any and all students associated with the takeovers. She also emphasized her close

One of the ironies about tuition at CUNY, which stood at \$1,250 a year ago and could end up around \$2,150 in the fall, is that none of it goes back into CUNY itself. Every dime of tuition revenue goes directly to "debt service" — in other words toward paying interest on loans to the city and straight into the hands of the bankers and financiers who hold the coupons on the city's debt.

personal friendship with cop commissioner Lee Brown. As students were soon to learn, one of the reasons Dinkins and the city's rich want to hire 50,000 more cops is to bash in the heads of unruly students and prevent student takeovers like this from ever happening again, even it means another Tianamen Square massacre on the streets of New York.

Thus, during the first ten days or so of the takeovers, the CUNY chancellor's office focused its energies on generating as much negative publicity and threats as possible in order to divide and conquer the protests. The third week of the protests beginning on April 22 was devoted to the actual smashing of the student protests.

The Smashing of the CUNY Revolt

The CUNY administration was determined to end the student takeovers, no matter what, before the mass labor march and rally of April 30. During the week of Monday April 22 the CUNY administration helped to organize counter-demonstrations of twenty to thirty students at New York Technical College and BMCC. Reynolds and the college presidents at both schools managed to dupe nursing and dental hygiene students into believing that they would fail their licensing exams unless the protests were stopped. After giving only trivialized coverage of the protests and takeovers, television and radio news teams showed up in force to report the pathetically small New York Tech counter-demo for the evening news, bawling the denial of a college education to these stooges by the "selfish" protesters.

The decisive day in the breaking of the takeovers occurred on Thursday April 25. Reynolds arrived that day in Staten Island for a 5 p.m. meeting with the Board of Trustees, perhaps to receive final blessings from the supposed caretakers of the CUNY system for the planned cop assault on the students. Reynolds was met by an angry crowd of students, faculty and community activists who were being barred from the phoney "hearing." Learning of the imminent counter-demonstration and attack on the takeover at BMCC by nursing students, and perhaps annoyed that protesters were about to break into her "hearing," Ann Reynolds broke off her meeting after less than an hour and headed for Manhattan. Apeing a scene from the movie "Roger and Me," Reynolds made a dash for her limousine as protesters chased her, yelling obscenities and attempting to block her exit.

In what appears to have been a carefully orchestrated event, Reynolds arrived an hour later just after a violent mob of nursing students smashed through the glass doors of the BMCC takeover. It was no coincidence that security was there in advance to help cut the chains on the entrances and provoke the attack or that television film crews were also there in advance to film the action live for the seven o'clock news with an interview from the estatic chancellor spouting something about her pride in being a woman.

But even bigger plans were in the works for that evening. Approximately 500 specially trained riot cops were assembled late that night at Yankee Stadium in the Bronx for a series of violent mass assaults which would eventually put an end to all

of the takeovers. As in Iraq the modus operandi of the "New World Order" in New York City is massive armed force in the dead of night. In the early hours of Friday morning two to three hundred heavily armed riot police marched into Bronx Community College and ended the takeover with court orders in hand. The scene was repeated in the next 48 hours at Lehman, Hostos, La Guardia, New York Technical and York. Only the takeovers at Hunter and City held out beyond the April 30 demonstration, ending May 1 and 2 respectively.

Mass Actions - Too Little, Too Late

The culmination of the CUNY crisis coincided with two mass student and labor demonstrations against the city and state budget cuts in downtown Manhattan on April 24 and 30. About 4000 people, mostly students and faculty, turned out in a driving rainstorm for the CUNY demonstration on the 24th. The demo on the 30th, called by the leading unions in the city and drawing out tens of thousands of their workers, focused on labor's response to the budget cuts. But it was even better attended by students than the rally of the 24th.

However, instead of using the rally to forge links with the CUNY students and solidarize with their takeovers, using the impetus of this protest to help the city workers in their struggle, the April 30th organizers chose to hand the students a clear insult by roping them off in a corner at the back of the march. Small contingents of students had tried to meet with the leaderships of the hospital workers local 1199, AFSCME district council 37 and the Transport Workers Union, but fearing that the students would contaminate their workers with a militant strategy for fighting the budget cuts the union officials told the students to get lost.

The rally on the 30th, rather than marking an opening shot in a militant battle by the city unions against the cutbacks — a battle that would reinforce the students — turned out to be another case of the bureaucrats going hat in hand to the politicians in City Hall, Albany, and Washington, to beg for a few crumbs to ease the impact of the crisis on their members. Their only appeal was for a return to the "Roosevelt tradition" of the Democratic Party, and it was clear to anyone who would listen that the threats being made of a fightback were all bluff and bluster — if the politicians failed to respond to their pleas, the union officials were not planning any effective response. Under these circumstances, rather than contributing to a rebirth of the student protest movement after the police attacks against it, the April 30 rally actually marked the end of any effective protest by students against the cuts, at least for the time being.

The Defense of the Protesters

The zeal and determination of the city and state to prosecute the students, to intimidate anyone who might consider taking part in future protests, has driven the CUNY administration to launch a vicious and widespread campaign of frame-ups against many of those who took part in the occupations. Thus, the last act in the Reynolds' strategy to wreck CUNY involves the prosecution of student protesters on false charges.

A typical case study in "Frame-Up 101" comes from La Guardia Community Col-

lege. Threatened by a mass assault of riot cops on the main building, occupying students surrendered the building at noon on Friday April 26. Ten minutes before police and security stormed the building three members from faculty and staff entered the building to inspect it for damages. Throughout the occupation at La Guardia, the students took extraordinary care of the building, mopping the floors and cleaning rooms that were not even in use. They issued printed statements—"memorandum"—distributed to students outside the building and at rallies and teach-ins on campus countering the false accusations made by the college's ultra-reactionary and vindictive President Raymond Bowin, who has called for police actions on every possible occasion and who turned off the heat and hot water during the two weeks of the takeover. The students proved to everyone who listened that they were the true protectors of the college.

But soon after entering the building security and police claimed that they had "discovered" extensive and senseless vandalism. The media center and the student government offices in particular were filthy with food, beer, liquor, vegetables and other foul substances spilled all over the floors and walls. Media equipment and lab equipment were broken. This is one of the flimsiest and most amateur frame-ups ever attempted—and by people who run a college no less! On reentering the building on Monday, faculty, staff and students were amazed by the blatant duplicity and insanity behind this scheme. More remarkable still is the fact that the college president and the dean of students, who have done everything they can to rig the disciplinary hearing, may yet get their phoney charges to stick.

In a separate case at Hunter, two students were arrested in their homes after completely bogus charges of assault and theft were leveled against them by security and the dean of students. The students involved in the takeover at BMCC have even been charged for breaking the glass doors smashed in by the deranged nursing students. Dozens of students are still facing months of disciplinary hearings and court appearances in front of them. The hearings at York College, for example, began only on June 10.

Although as a whole the faculty did not acquit themselves well during the takeovers, there hundreds of faculty across the city who did offer considerable support to the students and made admirable sacrifices. Faculty and staff played a very positive role in helping to defend students from more severe disciplinary action at Lehman Hostos, City College and La Guardia.

A positive effort in helping to defend students facing reprisals for their participation in the protests has been the work of the Legal Defense Committee headed by Ron McGuire of the National Lawyers' Guild, and a similar effort in the defense of students at BMCC by the Center For Constitutional Rights. McGuire, who has volunteered his services to defend the students, has been tireless in his efforts in negotiating with college presidents and organizing legal defenses for students facing both academic and judicial hearings. According to McGuire, nearly 200 students have been singled out since the occupations for some sort of disciplinary action ranging from academic probation, suspension, censure, or expulsion to serious jail time for framed-up charges of theft, vandalism, and assault. At least one student faces felony charges. Clearly, the building of a city wide student defense committee represents the most effective and logical direction in which to carry the CUNY protests further and build a solid coalition of faculty, labor, and community support for the students under attack.

Unfortunately, this essential task of political support for the students has hardly been given the necessary attention that it

needs. It would be a very grave error to believe—as some faculty who have testified on behalf of the students have suggested—that successful manipulation of bourgeois legality is the only way or even the best way to defend these students from class oppression. Legal defense is absolutely necessary, but it would be a reformist pipe dream to think that it is a sufficient condition for winning any serious victory on behalf of the students. Moreover, a student defense committee that mobilizes support effectively citywide will not only defend the students better in court by bringing community pressure to bear on the proceedings, but it could also lay the groundwork for developing a more effective vehicle to reopen the struggle against the budget cuts in the fall. Once again the opportunity to build labor and community support around a long term strategy presents itself.

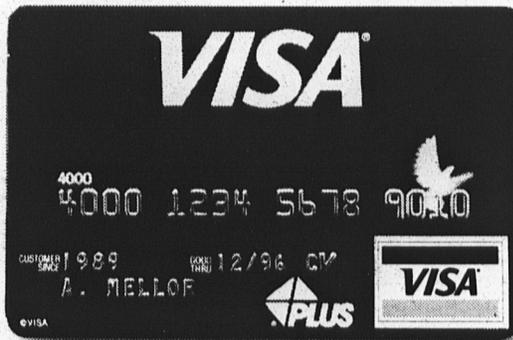
Of the original group of persecuted stu-

dents, about 125 have been given amnesty. But amnesty in this case means an admission of guilt and a permanent mark on the records of these courageous people. To have to accept "amnesty" from such corrupt and despicable bureaucrats is an outrage and an insult to these students who should be regarded as heroes. These students who issued these leaflets, who occupied buildings, and who led a brave protest in defiance of capitalist legality are without question "the best and the brightest" of their generation. And yet today, the very same students who wrote this document are not receiving degrees, nor engaged in rewarding labors, but instead find themselves on trial for their "crimes." It is difficult for me to understand why anyone who has seen what this system is doing to its youth would ever want to reform it. The necessity of a labor party that will fight for the *class interests* of student and workers will become increas-

ingly clear to growing numbers of students and workers as they unite and fight for their interests. Once again we come full circle to the choice posed by Trotsky over fifty years ago: socialism or barbarism? The students who are on trial, and those of us who have witnessed the trials, need to realize the immediacy of this decision. The "New World Order" and all of the other crap associated with this system must be put out of order, forever.

Come out on
March 23!

Whoever said
"the best things in life are free"
probably had a trust fund.



It's everywhere
you want to be.®

Students, Staff, Faculty unite and rally on City Hall on March 23

Gov. Pataki's budget cuts to CUNY mean much more than just increases in tuition and decreases in student financial aid cuts in cuts in programs in the various departments and adjunct positions. They are an assault on students' chances for a productive career by way of higher education and on the jobs of many staff members and on professors without tenure.

The only practicable, effective way to fight the cuts in funding to CUNY is a mass rally and to show our strength in opposition through protest. The current governor would be quick to reverse himself if many thousands of students, faculty and staff members march in unison to City Hall from the ferry terminal.

On Thursday March 23, protesters will on 11am sharp at the SI ferry terminal. The rally begins on 12pm and ends on 3pm. Protesters will march on Broadway Ave. From the Manhattan ferry terminal to City Hall.

The College Voice holds weekly meetings each Wednesday during club hours in the office. All those who are interested in the paper are welcomed to drop on by anytime.

My Bright Future - NOT

By Stephanie O'Conner

What kind of future could we expect after these horrendous budget cuts and tuition hikes? Who am I to ask this question? I'll tell you who. I am a citizen of this country, a working middle class student, taxpayer, and one day hopefully a career women. I predict a negative future for this country if these proposed budget cuts go into effect. I predict a great increase in crime, unemployment, welfare recipients, and poverty.

Let me explain my predictions. If taken away the opportunity of education by increasing tuition and decreasing financial aid students will not be able to attend college. In this technologically advanced country you can't go far without a college education. A high school diploma will take you only as far as flipping burgers in a fast food restaurant. If denied the opportunity of bettering yourself through, people will turn to a life of crime. Nobody wants to flip burgers for the rest of their life. School just won't be affordable, so they'll take an alternate route, which unfortunately will be crime. Murders,

robberies, and drugs will be more prevalent on this city's streets than ever before.

These budget cuts are also stating cuts in jobs, therefore resulting in increased unemployment. In schools and colleges there will be an elimination of faculty, staff, and classes. Is this fair? Classes are too big already. Teachers will be handling twice as much work, having more responsibility and less patience. The students will not be able to get the attention they need or deserve. It's not just the schools that are feeling these cuts, but the working class as well. Their jobs are just as threatened.

If laid off where are they to turn? In my opinion, they will turn to welfare and maybe worse, a life of poverty.

The United States of America is supposed to be the land of opportunity, but these budget cuts will be taking away those opportunities. There will be no middle class, just the rich and the poor. The budget cuts will put forth a weaker work-force as the result of the weakness of future minds, therefore a fall in the economy.

Fight Back!
CUNY Against the Budget Cuts coalition meets every Thursday during club hours in the College Voice office (Bldg. 1C - Rm 230.) In unity there is strength - Join the struggle to preserve our education.



THE COLLEGE VOICE

The College of Staten Island Student Newspaper

Editorial Board

J.P. Patafio
 Managing Editor

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

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

DEVON BLINTH
 EDITOR-AT-LARGE

Faculty Advisor,

Onwuchekwa Jemie

Staff: Matsunaga Kyoko, Edwin Luciano, Nathalie Gomez, Kasadora Ramkassooy, Bianca Lane, Lou Bardel, Craig R. Whitney,

Contributors: David Lipp, Barry Lituchy, Tom Smith

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

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

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

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED UNDER COPYRIGHT LAW

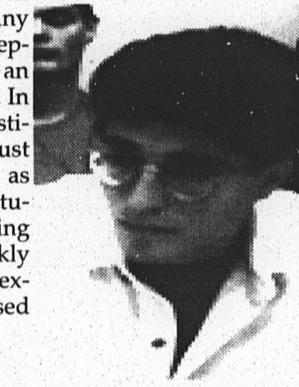
"To Increase Student Government Stipends, Or Not To Increase Student Government Stipends?" That is the question.

By Micheal Carbonella,
Deputy President, CSI Student Government

For the last few weeks there has been talk among the C.S.I. Student Government on whether or not to we should increase our stipends, from their present state of one penny per semester. I, Michael Carbonella, Deputy President of this body believes, we should increase our stipends for the following reasons. Looking at any non-profit organization that has volunteers, you will notice the persons among that organization which have the power to make decisions, all receive something called pay. We sitting at this table are those persons. Our decisions affect not only the more than 13,000 students here at C.S.I., but they also determine what our (meaning the C.S.I. Student Government) six employees who receive more than \$145,000 (or 31%) of this bodies funding do to earn 31% of our funding. With next years budget being significantly lower, that 31% will rise to nearly 50% of our funding. This must be avoided. I ask you, would any organization pay its managers without paying its board of directors. I also ask you, can any non-profit organization which has the responsibility of allocating other peoples money, justify salary expenses which equal half of its allocations. What do Student Government members represent? Being Senators, and approximately 13,000 students, each Senator represents the voice of many students. The Bursar Office collects over \$24,000,000 from these students yearly. This means we Senators speak for over \$1,333,333 worth of financial investment from our constituents. If we look at the student: activity fee portioned out the Student Government, we will see each Senator on this body represents \$13,853.44; by adding in this bodies reserve money and other income it receives, Senator now speaks for \$25,964.56. I bring this up to point out that we are not in a game playing with monopoly money. When we make decisions at this table, we speak for approximately 722 people. We represent over \$24,000,000 in investments of futures. Therefore, we should all know what we are talking about when we speak. We should all understand the actual day-to-day running of this office. We should all be attentive to the needs, wants, and understandings of our constituents, who voted us into office. We should all be responsible for our own duties, and stop passing them on to others. I, Michael Carbonella, would like to see all Senators give three hours biweekly to office time. I would like to see the Deputy President give four hours biweekly to office time. I would like to see the President give five hours biweekly to office time. I would like to see all Commissioners, and U.S. Representatives give an additional 2 hours biweekly to office time. This adds up to a minimum of 79 hours worth of office time, or more than one full-time employee. By doing our work there is no reason we would not be able to cut our staffing ex-

penses in half, giving us an additional \$72,527.50. I propose that to the Senators living up to the above duties we increase their stipends in the following manner. All Senators will receive \$60 biweekly. The Deputy President will receive \$70 biweekly. The President will receive \$80 biweekly. Any Commissioner, or U.S. Representative will receive an additional \$25 biweekly. In order to receive these stipends the Senators must put in their office time, as well as, show up to the Student Government meeting at the end of each biweekly period (with the only exception being an excused absence). These stipends will occur only in the Fall and Spring semesters of each year. Not the summer sessions when activity on campus is low. The total cost for a year would be \$24,930, a savings of \$47,597.50, which can go back to students. However, for the rest of this year the cost would only be \$9,695. I believe by increasing stipends it will bring more unity among this body, do to the fact that they will be working together more often, and in much closer circumstances. I believe it will make Senators more aware of the many issues being voted on, on this table; and much more informed to make the appropriate decision. I believe it will give students greater access to the people they voted into office, to look after their own interests. I believe it will broaden each Senator's knowledge on how the office is run. Which will enable them to know more answers to more students questions. I believe it will enable Senators to learn how to get things done swifter, and to find out who they should be turning to for advice on different issues. I believe this body will have an increase in professionalism. I believe this body will have an increase in qualified students willing to run come next election time. I believe we will no longer have "no quorum" called at any of our meetings stopping us from continually prolonging work which must be done. And I know, it save a large sum of money students so need I ask you, my fellow colleagues, to please take this information home with you, and to review the reasons I believe such a time has come to improve this body. I ask you to review it fairly, honestly, and nothing more. If you have any question, or ideas to add to this, please feel free to call me. My telephone # is at the bottom of this sheet. I look forward to hearing from you, and to seeing you at the next meeting when this subject will be called to a vote. I thank you for lending me your ear. And I wish everyone a wonderful, and peaceful day. Thank You!

Sincerely,
Deputy President Michael Carbonella



Just another pretty Sg face?

Mo' Money, Mo' Money, Mo' Money Mo'...

Should Student Government Representatives Pay Themselves?

By Devon Blinth
Absolutely not.

Look, the City University of New York is under financial attack. If fully implemented, Governor Pataki's budget will deal a critical blow to CUNY, and the very concept of a quality public education for working class students will become myth. According to the Preliminary Overview of the 1995-1996 Executive Budget Recommendations, the governor's proposal, if fully implemented, will result in the elimination of the following programs: SEEK, College Discovery, Youth Internship Program, and Liberty Scholarships among many others. In addition, tuition might go up at least \$1,000 and TAP will not be increased to offset the increase in tuition. With students facing, in effect, the dismantling of public higher education in this state, one would think Michael Carbonella would have, shall we say, more pressing issues on his mind.

In his memo to Student Government, "To Increase Student Government Stipends, Or Not To Increase Student Government Stipends? That is the Question" Mr. Carbonella presents a detailed numerical analysis to support his argument that Student Government senators should pay themselves. According to his memo "... each Senator now speaks for \$25,964.56," when student activity fees, SG reserve money etc. are factored in per student. He basically contends that Student Government will save money because the organization will no longer be required to pay a professional staff. Mr. Carbonella also argues that SG members will always make quorum and senators will be forced to keep office hours simply because they will be paid to do so.

His argument is fundamentally flawed. He reduces students to mere numbers with the aim of justifying personal gain. Admittedly, SG has been notorious for not

making quorum but the job of a student representative is to interact with the very students he or she represents and paying a representative to sit in some office will not make that individual a good advocate. Mr. Carbonella should encourage his colleagues to go to the library and the cafeteria, talk with us and hear our grievances, let us know what is going on and more importantly what SG is doing. This will remind SG members that they represent people, not abstractions. They represent full-time workers who attend night classes, parents with child care problems, and the average 18 year old just out of high school and having a difficult time adjusting to college life. Students should not be put into leadership positions to sit in an office for a predetermined period of time, collect payment and leave.

In addition, he writes that paid SG members will work "together more often" to get things done quickly. Because a task was done "quickly" does not necessarily mean that it has been done effectively. SG's day to day operations are coordinated by an excellent professional staff-whom Mr. Carbonella rather derisively refers to as "employs"-with years of experience. To fire that staff in the quest of a "leaner [and certainly] meaner" budget arrangement would not only be amoral but also incredibly stupid. Mr. Carbonella envisions individual senators taking over the administrative tasks of the professional staff, but that would seriously compromise SG's organizational integrity because senators graduate, drop out etc. and continuity will be lacking in the administrative structure of the organization. A professional staff can follow through on a given task and provide the continuity needed in an organization such as SG.

To their credit, SG has overwhelmingly dismissed Mr. Carbonella's proposal and have generally been active on the very real issue of fighting against Curious George's budget proposal. Isn't that why they ran for office?

TO ALL FACULTY AND STAFF

CUNY Against the Budget Cuts has weekly meetings each Thursday during club hours in the office of the College Voice. We appeal to the faculty and staff to join us in the struggle not only to save their jobs, but to ensure that a public higher education does not turn into an APEX Tech.

The struggle will lose without the support of the faculty and staff, which hold the key to victory - their labor power! If students go out on strike it will only hamper the routine of the university. But when faculty and staff support the students, either by joining them (e.g., work stoppage) or encouraging their classes to organize and fight the cuts the movement to turn the tide of reaction will be victorious.

We can not afford to sit idly by while they break down the doors of others and take their rights away.

TO ALL CLUBS

In order for the cuts to be defeated we need to broaden the existing coalition to include every club on campus, from Nursing to the Spanish club. The cuts effect all of us. The coalition meets each Thursday during club hours in the College Voice office (Bldg 1C - rm 230).

STOP THE CUTS! STUDENTS AND WORKERS UNITE AND FIGHT! CANCEL THE DEBT THROUGH A GENERAL STRIKE!!!

THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS AT WORK

by Craig R. Whitney

Ever since the Republican Congressional victory last November, there have been signs of quarreling and disagreement among the GOP representatives. House Speaker Newt Gingrich may be the Speaker of the House and an influential conservative leader but "New" Republicans must struggle with the problem of a fragile unity in the dominant party.

Most of the 73 Congressional freshmen are fiercely determined to drive their hearty conservatism through the House. They also steadfastly oppose compromise (but the new representatives did so at the strong insistence of Gingrich at a Jan. 26 meeting in his office dealing with the balanced budget amendment). The freshmen held occupations unrelated to law or government, the traditional and vital steps to any political career. Rep. Stockman, for example, was an accountant, and Rep. Bono, a singer. Their lack of connections with the powerful elite in Washington, DC and their populist rhetoric generated mass appeal as translated in their victories in the last election. They stand in contrast to older, more moderate Republicans, who are less conservative, part of the Congressional establishment rather than brash outsiders, and who prove to be more compromising in their dealings with the Democrats.

The Congressional Freshmen, of course, are strongly in favor of the famed Contract with America, and gave almost complete support for the balanced budget amendment. But even on the most important issue for Gingrich and the "New" Republicans, there was difficulty involved on the Speaker's part in mobilizing the freshmen's support. On April 26, Gingrich yielded to demands of his followers for a separate supermajority amendment for tax law passage on April 15 in his office. DeLay, the House Majority Whip found it hard, before the compromise, to get votes from the freshmen. Afterwards, when the compromise was done and the streamlined version was presented in Congress, the newcomers gave it strong support. Now that the Balanced Budget Amendment is passed, a trillion dollars in spending and an end to the deficit through rigid enforcement supposedly will be achieved. But it can be highly impracticable times of depression, natural disasters, and war - a time when deficit spending, done without indulgence and extravagance, is proper. In those situations the amendment that might be enacted would be a noose around the neck of the government and the people. And the amendment, if passed in the necessary thirty-eight state legislatures, will not be as effective as it is portrayed to be by the "New" Republicans. The amendment can be easily circumvented with a statute or executive order to suit the needs of future Congresses and administrations.

The controversy of the Mexican Loan Guarantys provides another case in point. Republican leaders in Congress and the Senate support it, catering to the vested interests of corporations and Wall Street. Freshmen are strongly against the proposal to guarantee \$40 billion dollars in private loans to the fallen economy.

Showing their conservative colors openly, the 73 new Congressmen also opposed the current assault weapons ban although 71% of Americans in a Time/CNN Poll are in favor of maintaining it. As with the other two chief issues at stake in America, the freshmen representatives prove to be zealous in their might agenda that they are thrusting faith.

The proposal for term limits in the Contract with America is like an old book, cast aside and forgotten. The senior Congressional Republicans, many of whom are

continues on page 31

Working class students once again must fight an attack by the bosses government against the right to an education. CUNY, as we know it, is threatened with extinction by increased tuition, a decreasing budget and the implementation of 'academic standards.' This time around the ruling class of capitalist bankers and businessmen want the government to cut public spending on education making CUNY little more than a vocational center for higher learning, reducing public education to its bare minimum, i.e., training an obedient labor force to work harder for less pay. The bosses would like to finish the job by making us consumers in a wretched marketplace of 'job training' programs so that we may compete for the drudgery of making money for the rich, which is their design for our lives. **Stop the Extinction of CUNY!**

The youth, those facing police brutality approved by judges, grand juries, and politicians, in CUNY can be the spark that unites the different sectors of the working class into a broad united front around a set of demands that would reverse the course of the present budget crisis. The knife of capitalist greed threatens the healthcare workers of 1199, the transportation workers in TWU local 100, and a hundred other organizations of working people. The fight against the politicians of the rich needs to be unified into one coalition with the intent of shutting the city down and resting political control out of the hands of the professional politicians. **Students and Workers Unite!**

It is the workers of New York who con-

trol the creation and flow of wealth for the fat bankers and their friends. It is the workers of New York, particularly those all ready organized into trade unions who through their collective action can stop the flow of wealth from entering the pockets of the bankers and into the creation of jobs for all, free education from K to the graduate level, guaranteed healthcare for all - fundamental human rights for starters. The bosses and politicians cry about a budget deficit. We will not pay the government for the rich more, to make us work even harder, and get even less. The money and productive power exist. The corporate elite are intoxicated by a 41% increase in profits over the past year. **Cancel the Debt! General Strike to Shut Down the Bosses!**

We can beat this bosses attack on our education, jobs, health - our lives, with a demonstration of our power as those that live, work, and create the wealth of this society by a general strike. In order for us to have power in this society we must link up with all those under the knife of the bosses surgeons (the Republican and Democrats), with workers from all over the country. Corporate greed has ignited struggles all over the country. In the mid-west Staley and Caterpillar workers are on strike, immigrant workers are fighting the racist Proposition 187 in California that would deny labor working often for \$2 or \$3 an hour schooling for their children and healthcare for their ill, the women being shot at health clinics for daring to make decisions about their bodies by right-wing Christian terrorist. **An injury to one is an**

injury to all! Build a Fighting Labor Party that will Champion all Workers!

This time the working class must have an answer a hundred times more powerful than the politicians of the bosses. We must demand an end to the increasing taxation upon the working class and the implementation of a progressive tax structure on the capitalist class, the wealthiest class in society. The debt is the responsibility of the bankers and multinational corporations and it is they who should be paying for it. Such a fighting Labor Party of the working class must be forged through the struggles against the attacks we are facing. Such a mass party can begin to articulate a program that will place the needs of working people on the political agenda locally and nationally. Such a party can make a revolution that will realize these needs in a new egalitarian socialist society. We must take the wealth, that we create, and use it to benefit humanity, and prevent capitalist from driving us all, including the planet into a collective mass grave in the name of higher profits! **Workers to Power! Socialism or Barbarism!**

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST GROUP

Students Fight Back! March 23

Cancel the Debt

by Mitchel Cohen, Red Balloon Collective, SUNY Stony Brook

Much of the construction on CUNY and SUNY campuses is funded through the New York Dormitory Authority, which raises money by floating bonds. These are purchased by various banks and brokerage houses who forward the money to the Authority and are guaranteed annual interest payments, in addition to the original amount borrowed.

As of March 31, 1994, the total amount owed by the NY State Dormitory Authority to the banks, not including interest, is \$11,110,488,000. Of this, SUNY construction comes to \$4,029,148,000 and CUNY construction comes to \$2,697,620,000. And there are other agencies involved as well, which add billions more.

The interest paid to the banks adds up, over the years, to two - in some cases even three - times as much as originally borrowed; it's a never-ending cycle. Increases in student tuition and other fees are used to pay off these debts. That why there going up. We say: Cancel the debt to the big banks and use the money to lower tuition, hire more teachers, provide better facilities and increase enrollment. Open admissions! Free higher education for all!

Overall, New York City owes approximately \$2.6 billion to the banks every year in interest alone. This is called "debt service." This money is skimmed off the top and paid to the banks before everything else: before teachers, cops, fire people, hospitals ... everything. Why should the banks get paid before workers? Where's the justice in that? Here, too, the interest

on the debt that has already been paid to the banks amounts to more than twice as much as originally borrowed.

In the mid-1970s, during a major financial crisis, the Emergency Financial Control Board was appointed by the Governor to oversee and have final say over New York City's finances. This board is still in place today, although we hear very little about it. It is run by bankers who dictate various austerity measures to the City government.

Around the world, this sort of financial squeeze is known as "structural adjustment." In Mexico, we are now seeing the results of the International Monetary Fund's "Structural Adjustment Program" there. One of the main "squeezers" in Mexico is Chase Manhattan bank, owned by the Rockefeller family. Recently an internal Chase mem was exposed which demanded that the Mexican Government "exterminate" the Zapatistas or Chase would stop its investment and call in the debts. It works the same way in New York.

Chase Manhattan is also one of the largest holders of New York State Dormitory Authority debt. In the beginning of 1993, Chase had a total assets of \$74,454,098,000. One year later, it had increased its total assets by almost \$10 billion, to \$84,189,415,000, and its net income in 1993 was \$670,139,000. Surely it's time for the rich banks and the corporations to pay their share.

Instead, public funds are used to insure the private profits of huge banks and financial institutions. Cancel the debt - in

New York City and in Mexico, too! Stop Welfare for Wall Street!

There are additional ways for New York City to raise the billions it needs. These are carefully laid out by Bob Fitch, Labor Party Advocates, Communication Workers of America, and others. They all include a reimposition of the stock transfer tax, taxing rich "non-profit" institutions and their property holdings, ending tax abatements for luxury and office buildings, and the like. The proposals, all sound and explicit, would generate at minimum \$4 billion - enough to cover the entire budget deficit and throw in a few billion dollars to increase services, hire more workers, and expand social programs.

But instead of taxing the rich, Guiliani administration, like those before it, continues to offer Welfare for Wall Street while ripping out the guts of programs benefitting working people and the poor. This is an amazing moment. Students can, by showing "where the money comes from" and making that an integral part of our demands, encourage the unions, the health providers and others to do the same - something they have never done. We have the opportunity to go on the offensive and show how a decent, just society could be organized, while we fight to stop the cuts. This is rare moment. Let's not squander the opportunity. Be sure to include this area in our list of demands. We should also set up a committee to investigate this area further, and work with unions and other to develop it as general approach.

But instead of taxing the rich, Guiliani administration, like those before it, continues to offer Welfare for Wall Street while ripping out the guts of programs benefitting working people and the poor. This is an amazing moment. Students can, by showing "where the money comes from" and making that an integral part of our demands, encourage the unions, the health providers and others to do the same - something they have never done.

Fiscal Folly in Higher Education

Never before has the eye of the politician been more firmly trained on the bottom line. So why is Governor Pataki proposing to sacrifice hundreds of millions of future tax dollars through his proposed fiscal devastation of public higher education in New York State? In his 1995-1996 Executive Budget, the Governor proposes to cut \$158 million from CUNY and \$290 million from SUNY. For CUNY the cut exceeds the entire annual cost of running its two largest colleges; for SUNY, it is equivalent to 70 percent of the cost of running all of its four-year colleges. The proposed decrease in the State's General Fund Budget was 3.4 percent compared to an overall 30 percent cut for its universities.

More than 50 percent of the cost of these reductions in being transferred directly to students in form of tuition increase of unprecedented proportions (tuition is proposed to go up by 68 percent at the University Centers of SUNY and 40 percent at the four year colleges at CUNY and SUNY; the State's two year colleges, which have been spared a tuition increase, already impose a tuition that is in the top 95 percent nationally.) The remaining cuts will force the two university systems to dismiss nearly 3000 faculty and staff, eliminate several thousand course offerings, terminate entire programs, impose enormous hardship on all students and push thousand's of New York's of New York's most vulnerable students out of college altogether. The termination of some of the programs will seriously undermine the State's existing tax base.

The most reprehensible of the Governor's proposals, are those that target the programs that serve the State's most economically disadvantaged students. These have been singled out, not for cutback, but extinction: the budget provides zero funding for the Economic Opportunity Programs, which last year were allocated \$51 million and served more than 30,000 students. These programs (which go under the names of EOP at SUNY, SEEK and College Discovery at CUNY and HEOP at the State independent colleges) provide special tutoring and counseling during the year, special pre-freshman programs in the summer and direct stipends for books, students fees and other college related expenses. They target students who are both poor and in need of special academic attention.

Without the academic and financial support of the Educational Opportunity Programs, most of these students will simply not be able to go to college. They are full time students now, thanks to the additional financial and academic support of these programs, and as full-time students are also eligible for TAP, the State's tuition assistance plan for full time students. Without this additional support most will have to work to support themselves and their families. And the tuition assistance program for which they would become eligible APTS (Aid to Part Time Students) has also been eliminated.

But what is the real cost of the Educational Opportunity Programs? When we compare the \$51 million allocated to them by the State plus the additional small saving due to the downsizing of the University with the differential tax revenues contributed by their graduates to the State and localities, the answer is Not a penny! Differential tax revenue is the tax contribution made by a college graduate over and beyond the tax contribution that he or she would have made with only a high school degree. Currently, this translates to \$22.50 in State and local taxes per year for a Bachelor's degree and \$1000 per year for the Associate's. Since inception in New York State in the 1960's the educational Opportunity Programs have produced 73,000 graduates, the vast majority of

whom continue to live and work in the State. This year alone, these tax payers are providing the State with a differential increase in revenue of \$150 million. If prior Governors had followed Pataki's economic thinking, this huge differential contribution would not have been made at all this year. Or last year. Or the year before.

Next year, these differential tax revenues will be even larger, and larger again the year after that as the pool of graduates increase. Currently, Educational Opportunity Programs graduate about 4300 students per year and yield an annual 5 percent increase in differential tax revenues. Even at the present graduation rate, which has been highly criticized in the press, the yearly differential contribution of these tax payers is projected to grow to nearly \$300 million by the year 2010. Not bad for a yearly \$51 million investment.

Who are the victims of the Governor's faulty arithmetic? Mostly African-Americans, Hispanics and Asians. The percentage of students from racial and ethnic minorities in the Educational Opportunity Programs at CUNY is 94 percent at SUNY 67 percent and at the private colleges 82 percent. The Governor's budget is not color blind.

The Governor attempts to justify the elimination of the Educational Opportunity Programs on the basis of their low graduation rates. But the graduation rates vary considerably between the various CUNY and SUNY campuses and depend critically on the extent to which each campus chooses to or is able to support the program. At six years after initial enrollment, rates range from less than 10 percent to as high as 50 percent and have increased significantly over the past five years. At the privates, where the programs are small and the students receive more individual counseling and academic support, the graduation rate (55 percent) is even slightly higher than their general student population. The national six year graduation rate for low socioeconomic status Black and Latino students is 24 percent.

The Governor position on low graduation rates has two serious flaws. The programs are currently woefully underfunded (as many as 150 students are assigned to each counselor at CUNY and SUNY). Six year graduation rates are very misleading especially for CUNY students. Students who live at home and not in dorms are faced day to day with the huge economic and personal difficulties of their families, obstacles that constantly interfere with their time to study. These obstacles produce college careers with one or more stopouts often stretching over ten years. The latest CUNY statistics show that if a student has survived the first three years in SEEK the chances of the student graduating in ten years are over 50 percent. This is an eloquent testimony to the perseverance and strength of character of these future contributors to differential tax revenues.

CUNY students and faculty already have a suit pending against State officials for racially biased funding of the University. Oral arguments will be heard this month at the State Court of Appeals. The Governor's proposal to eliminate the Educational Opportunity Programs and Aid to Part Time Students is a transparent attempt to remove primarily minority students from its public and private universities. Morally, socially, and politically, this is inadmissible. Financially, it represents economic folly of the greatest magnitude. All students in our State, regardless of ethnicity and race should fight these ill conceived and destructive proposals.

Ricardo Otheguy, the author of a 1990 report "The Condition of Latinos in the City University", is Professor of Linguistics at the CUNY Graduate School and Professor of Lin-

guistics and Education at the City College.

Sheldon Weinbaum, the lead plaintiff in the lawsuit charging State officials with racially biased funding of CUNY, is CUNY Distinguished Professor of Engineering and Director of the Center Biomedical Engineering at City College.

THE PRACTICE OF ACADEMIC SUICIDE

by Robert E. Chiles

A Guide for the Perplexed

Was Albert Camus strung out when he argued that there exists only one philosophical problem: "should I commit suicide?" Maybe not. And if not, maybe students face the problem of suicide in a special way. The truth is that many students find academic existence demanding and frustrating and sometimes just plain absurd. So strong is their discontent that some begin to entertain academic suicide as an easy way out.

Unfortunately, students who are attracted by this prospect frequently are bewildered about how to go about it. No doubt they will welcome practical instructions on ways to proceed in this weighty matter. Note carefully that we are not talking assisted suicide here. No one else need be involved. Individual effort will be enough. You can do it yourself!

So consider three tested and proven ways to achieve academic suicide.

The F: Going for the Jugular Vein

This is the clear, straightforward, non-nonsense way to secure separation from higher education. It can be summed up in one brief imperative: Earn lots of F's. To do so, attend class spasmodically, disrupt proceeding, neglect assignment, submit incoherent papers (late if possible), bomb exams, and otherwise demonstrate your disdain for the academic process. These are time-honored ways to earn an honest F.

But some warnings are in order. It is necessary to be utterly serious and determined in this effort. Regrettably, our world is enamored with degrees and paper qualifications. Knowing this, some of your instructors may refuse to cloud your future by awarding you the F you so richly deserve. You must make it clear that you mean business!

Skeptics will try to convince you that this route is too hard on the ego and will leave you deeply depressed. Obviously, they are unfamiliar with a great tradition which has always been able to find glory in defeat. If you have worked hard to achieve it, you should be proud of a smashing failure. You can fail if you really try!

The UW: No one will miss me when I'm Gone

Iron resolve and endless effort are not required here. Passive submission is the key. The path is simple: fall behind, get discouraged, succumb to indifference, find something more interesting perhaps. Then about midterm quietly disappear. No one will seem to care as the water closes over you without a ripple.

Don't be misled by no one seemingly not noticing. The tireless computer notices and in due course will come to your rescue. At term's end it will record a UW (unofficial withdrawal) after your name. For all eternity it will read the UW as an F in computing your grade index. Accumulate enough of these disguised F's and your urge to extinction will be secure.

It is true that this route may require some deception. It takes time, and it wastes money—yours, your parents, your hus-

So when academic suicide seems more than you can manage, take heart! Finally, all you need do is trust your self-destructive instincts. That's enough. With their help you can fail in academia without really trying.

band/wife's, the taxpayers. But in the long run it is just as effective as building a proud collection of real F's. And it provides an important bonus. Since you never really tried, you never really failed now, did you? This indelible knowledge is great for morale.

The I: Exquisite Torture and Linger-ing Death

We come now to the most sophisticated maneuver of all. You needn't be obvious and try to fail. Or cowardly and sneak away under the cover of darkness. There is a better way! Consider the Incomplete, how it thrives. That's it! Take an I, take a bundle of them, and guarantee yourself the worst of the world of success and/or the world of failure.

Success in converting your I into credit will involve prolonged, agonizing effort. It will require you to give up many pleasurable things. It will hurt! Failure to redeem your I's also will take you along a downward path that is a masochist's delight: noble resolve followed by spasmodic activity, followed by acute paralysis, followed by self-recrimination, followed by delicious pangs of guilt. Merely repeat this sequence until the "incomplete" is irrevocably incomplete.

Eventually, the omniscient computer will convert long-standing I's to F's and your efforts will be crowned with victory, (i.e., defeat). True, this is a hard way to go and requires courage and a fondness for suffering. But it strengthens the spirit and, at last, will gladden the heart. Who among us fails to admire the unwavering soul who bravely struggles through the valley of the shadow in pursuit of a dream?

Variations on the Theme

Of course, there are lots of other possibilities. Properly utilized, even ordinary experiences can aid in your effort to achieve academic suicide. Fall in love, for example, or fall out. Get married, or get divorced. Find a job, or lose a job. Face a crisis, or sink into boredom. Garden variety possibilities are legion and need not to be multiplied here since student ingenuity is rarely more inventive than when set to this task. Thus only the most perplexed will need to consult Man Against himself (K. Menninger) for further information about the practice of suicide.

Moreover, should you stay in school, an impressive array of proven strategies can help you ease the pain of academic life and avoid the needless waste of energy. Their common virtue is that they enable you to get a degree without also getting an education. But these strategies are too important and their use are too widespread to be casually hurried.

Finally, do not despair if all this closely reasoned advice fails to turn you on. Though cognitive clarity and singleness of purpose help, they are not essential. Your cause rests secure in the arms of a beneficent Nature that has equipped each of us with a deep-seated impulse toward self-destruction, just as Freud said.

Should your head refuse to give in to the lure of academic suicide, all is not lost. Deep in your subconscious a life-denying drive is hard at work. In ways unassisted and unsought it can help you snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. So when academic suicide seems more than you can manage, take heart! Finally, all you need do is trust your self-destructive instincts. That's enough. With their help you can fail in academia without really trying.

The Death of Gay Liberation?

By David Thorstad

This article is taken from "Women and Revolution magazine," Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League.

The gay movement faces an old paradox. Just when it has attained a level of social influence greater than any achieved over the past century, it is losing its soul.

Gay leaders prefer political correctness to variety and ambiguity, sameness to difference. I myself yearn for the spirit of a banner I saw in 1971: "Love is a many-gendered thing."

Passionless bureaucrats on C-SPAN press a politics of victimization (copied from middle-class feminism) and a liberal strategy of expanding state protection of "gay people" rather than liberating sexuality. Victimization is "in" these days—there's money in it; it can get you acquitted of murder. As a strategy for extending rights, though, it reminds me of the "Victim of the Press" button worn by the ex-homosexual zombies of Aesthetic Realism.

No talk here of empowerment of liberation (passé in these postmodern, post-everything times), rarely of repealing sodomy and other anti-sex laws, and never of laws that discriminate against youth. Rather than fight the anti-sex legacy of Judeo-Christianity, gay leaders seem to ignore it, even embrace it.

Oblivious to the source of gay oppression in institutions like the family, gay lobby the state to bless their union—and stage a "mass wedding" in the nation's capital fit for the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. The state is using AIDS to reimpose coupledom and control over sexuality, and how do gay leaders respond? By embracing monogamy and marriage—this despite the fact that half of straight marriages fail, and monogamy is a bit player in the mammalian heritage (fewer than 3 percent of mammals are monogamous).

We Are Family-or wannabe.

Hundreds of thousands marched in gay pride in Washington in April 1993. The event became a virtual love fest for President Clinton and Janet Reno after their incineration of the Waco Branch Davidians (among whom 25 children). That numbing act of police-state terrorism and child abuse gave little pause to gay leaders, who were enthusiastic vote-getters for the principle-less draft dodger turned mass murderer.

Fresh from a meeting with Commander in Chief Clinton a week before the march on Washington, Human Rights Campaign Fund executive director Tim McFeeley voiced confidence that Clinton would terminate the ban on gays in the military by July: "It's not just what the President said, but how he said it. It's a feeling you got by looking into his eyes" (New York Times, 18 April 1993). McFeeley expressed similar sappy certainty on Donahue. All that gay money donated to big-business bimbos (instead of being used to fight gay oppression) was about to pay off. Clinton nevertheless opted for continuing a discriminatory policy.

Gay leaders argue that since "lesbians and gay men" (p.c. nomenclature nowadays) fought so well in the US war against Iraq, they deserve recognition as cogs in the war machine. As we prepare to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall Riots, one of their main goals is to get the state to welcome same-sexers as servants of the New World Disorder. Proud out-of-the-closet patriotism.

Despite their rush to embrace the military issue, no gay leaders invoked history's most renowned example of same-sex military heroism—the "sacred band" of Thebes. That would not have been p.c. since the ban involves men and youths, and pederasty is a secret not to be told. (These days, only androphilia is p.c.)

On one level, surely, gay men and lesbians who are fighting to be in the military are extending the civil rights of all of us.

Their contribution to sexual liberation is more iffy. And the morality of militarism is never questioned.

Can this be what Stonewall was about?

The first group to emerge from the Stonewall Gay Liberation Front—struggled against the Vietnam War. It was exhilarating to see the GLF banner waving in antiwar demos. Today, gay leaders wave the Stars and Stripes and hope to bring gay pride along in the next bombing raid on Third World babies. In this respect, little of the Stonewall spirit survives.

Hoping to appease the Christian right and the Clinton administration, gaycrafts from Barney Frank on down join Jesse Helms in calling on the International Lesbian and Gay Association to expel the North American Man/Boy Love Association—the only US group active in the ILGA for more than a decade. But heterosexual supremacists object to all varieties of homosexuality, not just this or that subgroup.

On January 26, 1994, the US Senate unanimously (99-0) adopted a Helms amendment to withhold \$118 million from the United Nations unless the ILGA expelled NAMBLA. Not a peep from the gay establishment against this antigay Republicrat diktat—for which, in fact, they paved the way.

Pat Califia has observed that boylovers and SMers face the brunt of anti-sex repression—thereby winning for the broader movement the elbow-room it enjoys. That is why NAMBLA and SM figure prominently in right-wing religious propaganda. But don't expect the gay establishment to acknowledge this. To them, "An injury to one is an injury to all" is a mere phrase.

In England, the gay movement has been campaigning to lower the age of consent to 16 for male-male sex. (It is already 16 for straight and lesbian sex.) On February 21, activists stormed Parliament when it adopted a "compromise" age of 18! In contrast, in the United States—where the age of consent varies from 14 to 18 in states where sodomy laws have been repealed (you can't do it legally anywhere else no matter how old you are)—gay leaders have agreed not to challenge whatever the arbitrary age happens to be.

Lowering any of the ages of consent would advance the civil rights of youth and their (often older) lovers. But the new homophile establishment will have none of it. For them, pederasty remains taboo and anathema. Peri Jude Radecic, executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, recently stated: "Lowering age of consent laws has never been and never will be a part of the mission of NGLTF" (Village Voice, 8 February). The gay movement in England fights to lower the age of consent, but in the United States, never.

New York's Gay Activists Alliance (from which NGLTF was an elitist offshoot in 1973) and other post-Stonewall groups in the United States, Canada, and Europe opposed age of consent laws on the grounds that they protect no one; rather, they criminalize consensual sex (the best kind).

Stonewall meant struggle. It meant putting your livelihood on the line. It meant irreverence, pride in outsider status, youth sexuality, drag, sexual ambiguity. It meant rediscovering gay history. It meant solidarity with gay prisoners and anyone who is oppressed.

Solidarity—there's a concept that now counts for less. When was the last time you heard a guppie call for freeing gay prisoners? Their silence may suggest that

there aren't any, but thousands of gay men call a US jail home because of sexual activity that was no less consensual than anything Radecic, McFeeley or Frank engage in.

A 14- or 15-year-old has the right as they do sexual pleasure with the partner of his or her choice and should not need the imprimatur of the state or any gay/lesbian Pope. In Minnesota, where the age of

consent is a ridiculous 18, a lesbian director of an anti-violence agency called for locking up any gay man who has sex with a youth under 18! That reflects an anti-gay male agenda, in which yelling "child abuse" is a way of increase funding. "When they lay those dollars on you, your soul goes" (Malcom X).

Gay liberation is falling victim to its success. With growth have come middle-class efforts to get into the mainstream, to win a place at the het table (two current Clichés—even if this means anathematizing pederasty, a ubiquitous same-sex variant. This is a form of self-hatred).

The loss to AIDS of many sex radicals has also been a heavy blow, from which gay liberation will not soon recover.

Fighting discrimination is necessary. Civil rights and sexual freedom issues have always coexisted; they complement each other. Personally, I have felt more discrimination from other homosexuals than from straights—in 1989, for example, when New York's Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center refused to rent space to NAMBLA for a concert by America's greatest living poet, Allen Ginsberg (boylover and NAMBLA supporter).

Your case against discrimination is weakened if you yourself discriminate.

Man-boy love has been a player in gay liberation since the mid-nineteenth century. The first gay magazine in the world, *Der Eigene*, celebrated boylove and anarchism. Pederasty is the form that homosexuality most commonly has taken throughout Western and non-Western culture. It is inseparable from the high points of Western civilization (Ancient Greece and Renaissance). It lies close to the roots of gay liberation.

In all cultures and in all historical periods, men and youths have been getting it on, because they are naturally attracted to each other. Efforts to deny this, and to demonize man-boy love, are grotesque.

Pederasty is the form that homosexuality most commonly has taken throughout Western and non-Western culture. It is inseparable from the high points of Western civilization (Ancient Greece and Renaissance). It lies close to the roots of gay liberation.

Vladimir Lenin

by Tasmila Nasrin

Printed below, from "Women and Revolution" magazine, is a translation from Nasrin's Selected Columns (1991) of an essay about Vladimir I. Lenin. Nasrin, whose political views reflect a blend of radical secular humanism, feminism, nationalism, and Marxist influences, laments the destruction of the Soviet Union and sees Lenin as a sort of tragic individual whose cause has "fallen." The capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR was a world historic defeat for the international proletariat.

It is because of her views and her brave account of women's oppression under far-right Muslim sects and states that she has a bounty on her head. We stand in solidarity with her in her struggle against women's oppression and defend her against acts of aggression.

A human being was born into this world who did not wish to see any inequality between rich and poor, men and women. There was once a person born in this world, one worthy of remembering at dawn. That person had said, "The chief task of the working women's movement is to fight for economic and social equality, and not only formal equality, for women. The chief thing is to get women to take part in socially productive labour, to liberate them from 'domestic slavery', to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and nursery" ("On International Working Women's Day", 4 March 1920).

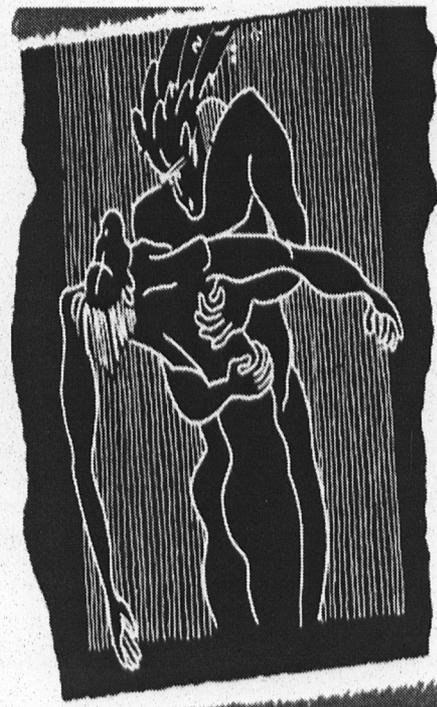
A person was born into this world, and that person had said, "Education, culture, civilization, freedom—all these high-sounding words are accompanied in all the capitalist, bourgeois republics of the world with incredibly foul, disgustingly vile, bestial crude laws that make women unequal in marriage and divorce, that make the child born out of wedlock and the 'legally born' child unequal and that give privileges to the male and humiliate and degrade womankind" ("Soviet Power and the Status of Women", 6 November 1919).

The human being had furthermore said: "Down with this lie! Down with the liars who speak about freedom and equality for all, while there is an oppressed sex, oppressing classes, private ownership of capital and shares and people with bursting bins who use their surplus grain to enslave the hungry. Freedom and equality for the oppressed sex! Freedom and equality for the workers and labouring peasants! Struggle against the oppressors, struggle against the capitalists, struggle against the kulak profiteers!" (ibid).

A human being was born into this world, and that being had said: "Bourgeois democracy is the democracy of pompous phrases, solemn words, lavish promises and high-sounding slogans about freedom and equality, practice all this cloaks the lack of freedom and the inequality of women, the lack of freedom and the inequality for the working and exploited people. Down with this foul lie! There is no 'equality', nor can there be, of oppressed and oppressor, exploited and exploiter. There is no real 'freedom', nor can there be, so long as women are handicapped by men's legal privileges, so long as there is no freedom for the worker from the yoke of capital, no freedom for the labouring peasant from the yoke of the capitalist, landowner and merchant" (ibid.).

Today a few uncivilized and insane people in this world are trampling and dancing on that estimable figure, after having felled him to the ground. Blinded by the illusion of luxury and dazzle, these lunatics are now throwing away sculptures of that great person. They are lowering, with nooses around the necks of these statues, all honored memories. They are hurling "equality" to the ground, they are bringing down "freedom." Oh trampled Lenin, you had said, "Women's incipient

continues on next page



Political Prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks

The Voice is proud to publish contemporary article's by Mumia Abu-Jamal, a black political prisoner framed up on trump charges and on death row in Pennsylvania. Currently there is a campaign to free Mumia from jail, and expose the racist/class nature of the judicial system. If you are interested in learning more about his class drop by the Voice, Campus Center room 230.

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Across the nation, from state capital to the nation's capital, the cry rebounds: "Welfare Reform!"

Politicians, running on the lowest common denominators, envy and fear, are on the warpath against those in this society who possess the least political power and influence — welfare mothers.

From North to South, from East to West, politicians foam at the mouth at those who exist in the pit of poverty.

Envy?

Yes, for social and psycho-historians have demonstrated that anti-female campaigns have occurred and reoccurred throughout Euro-American history, based on little more than male envy of feminine

powers of birth, nurturance and sexual attraction, as Dr. Joseph H. Berke noted in *The Tyranny of Malice* (Summit Books, New York, 1988):

"... [T]heories about the womb and the role of women changed radically with the writings of St. Augustine and other Christian theologians, who affirmed that female maladies, in particular hysteria, were cause by an 'alliance with unholy powers' (typically 'seduction by the devil'); hysterical women were thus equated with witches."

Dr. Berke explains things really went cuckoo when Charlemagne, Emperor of the holy roman Empire, issued a decree against "witchcraft", calling for the death penalty:

"Charlemagne's decree signifies an abhorrence and hostility toward women's powers - their bodies, their functions, their products, and their pleasures - that culminated in 1494 with the publication of *Malleus Maleficarum*, also known as the *The Witches' Hammer*. the impact of this work was immediate and long lasting. It became an international bestseller and an established authority by which untold numbers of women were tortured and executed 'ad majorem Dei gloriam' [Latin for 'to the greater glory of God' - Ed.] over the next couple of centuries." (pp.102-103)

"Witchcraft" meant any action which excited lust, which extinguished lust, and generally, anything anyone in authority said it was.

Nor was this merely a European delusion, as evidenced by the Salem witchcraft trials and executions in "New" England.

That male envy and hostility didn't die in Salem, but lives now, under camouflage, in politicians who are plumbing those sentiments anew, exploiting those who are the poorest in this land of plenty, damning them for their poverty, cursing them for their fecundity, in the name of "fiscal responsibility."

These same politicians, who often receive more per diem than de welfare families monthly, spit on the poor, while suckling military industries who spend billions in minutes in the technology of death.

Those who create life are pissed on; those who create death are praised.

GOP Congress ...

moderate in their political persuasion, are now the proposal's main opponents. It is convenient on their part because the older moderates want to remain in office and stay there. It's not in their vest interests to advocate that once-important mart. Holding true to their beliefs, predictable as ever, the freshmen are strongly in favor of term limits.

One does not have to worry whether the present Congress will have a negative or a positive influence. The victory will not be a lasting one if the bickering and Republican rantings continue. In unity there is strength and in division there is weakness. And a GOP with dissension from within cannot reveal their mark in Congress.

A bullet in the head!

by Sarah Husain

A teenager in Paterson, N.J. got a bullet in the back of his head. Why? Because he a supposed "drug dealer." That's the product of our society: a kid selling drugs to survive and a "threat" to this society.

How did corporate media cover the event?? The sad plight of the police? Oh, those poor officers standing outside without food for twelve hours. I wonder what the family of that kid was going through. I wonder what all those other young kids were thinking about, maybe they were thinking they might be next. Believe me that's not hard to picture, considering the poverty stricken neighborhood they wake up everyday to.

Waking up to a crowded household, where the mother or the father is unemployed; if employed, it is for cheap labor. Four to five people concentrated in an apartment suitable for only about two people. Shunned from the rest of the world that deems his life as non-existent.

His mere goal is survival! This is the reality that society shuns out. That kid is told to reject and look down upon activities that back in his house is being practiced to put food on the table. Told that selling drugs is bad, but he is never taught otherwise. He is told, "Those who are on welfare are lazy." However, the only thing

he can see is a McDonald's ad looking for someone to sweep floors. In small letters it is printed "If you do good, you can be promoted to the kitchen to help the cook." But, of course, only to flip burgers.

Contradictions, contradictions and contradictions....

The kid's problem was that he didn't work "hard enough". He didn't pray in school. Got kicked out of school, because he refused to learn Columbus's "discovery" of the "New World." Because he refused to get up and pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America. What to do with a kid like that? Shoot? One would think that shooting a six-teen year old in the back of the head is unjustifiable in any situation, however, the reactionary and racist nature of the justice system uses the "black criminal youth drug dealer," heightened by corporate media, stereo-type. It is even more unfortunate that so many white people buy into it, like they did with the killing of Ernest Sayon on Staten Island. It is this outright murder of black youth, its justification by the politicians, and the support of the media that makes Malcolm X's declaration "By any means necessary" a principle to stand by. This is one major aspect of the so-called "American dream" that people dismiss.



This is excerpt from, Malcolm X Speaks, is from an interview with Malcolm X in may 1964. Thanks to corporate media's tendency to foster illusions about revolutionary figures most people associate Malcolm X with the Nation of Islam and neglect the left-ward turn towards socialism in his later years.

Question: What political and economic system does Malcolm X want?

Answer: I don't know. but I am flexible. . . . As was stated earlier, all of the countries that emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries, and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America. It's impossible for a white to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. you can't have capitalism without racism. and if you find one and you happen to get that person into a conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialist or their political philosophy is socialism.

are tugging viciously at all our dreams, all our desires, all our liberties, with a rope tied around their necks.

Once upon a time, in some countries of the world, there existed a system of state rule known as socialism. Socialism is now in disarray, crippled- we have not calculated how much damage this has inflicted on civilization and humanity, by how much it has escalated the fearful danger of dreaded imperialist aggression against the Third World; only this I know for sure: woman has lost heavily. A policy or ideal for women's political, economic and social liberation has died a merciless death.

Now mummified on a slab is Lenin-Vladimir I. Lenin. Now he is being toppled, demolished from head to toe. Against the transformation of woman into a commodity, against the prostitution of woman, against the petty, trivial domestic slavery of women, the most outspoken voice in history was the voice of Lenin, the most hardworking hand was the hand of Lenin. Worthless people are today trampling on that history- I cannot tell how much loss this means, and to whom, but the loss to women is the greatest. Women today bow their heads, in silent sorrow, for fallen Lenin, for the fallen cause, for the fallen equality.

Lenin ...

social life and activities must be promoted, so that they can outgrow the narrowness of their philistine, individualistic psychology centered on home and family." Vladimir I. Lenin, you had said, "Don't twitter like a bunch of chatter boxes, but speak out loudly and clearly like fighters should. Show that you can fight" (Dr. Clara Zetkin's "My Recollections of Lenin")

O Great Sage Lenin, we were indeed learning to fight. We were speaking out against the capitalism that pushes women into 'domestic bondage,' against that capitalism which drives woman into prostitution. We were fighting for liberation from "household slavery"; we had united heart and soul with you, bearing the same aim in view; we had believed "she continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and the nursery, and she wastes her labour on barbarously unproductive petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery" ("A Great Beginning," July 1919). We were dreaming of the liberation of woman from this regimen. The demented rulers and their countless rapacious followers

DYING WITH DIGNITY

by Laura E. Esposito

On November 26, 1994, while I was watching the six o'clock news, I saw a shocking picture on my television screen. The network was airing a videotape made eight months earlier of a seventy-two year old woman, Margaret Garrish. A newscaster was reporting her death. She had become Dr. Kevorkian's first assisted suicide in more than a year. The picture on the screen showed her in a wheelchair, both her legs had been amputated and one eye had been removed resulting from severe rheumatoid arthritis, osteoporosis and other disorders. Her voice, hardly recognizable as human, expressed her desire to have a way out of her unending pain. The thought that this woman had to wait to end her life eight more months after she had filmed the videotape, made me shudder. It was at that moment that I realized that I was in favor of doctors assisting patients in committing suicide.

When the topic of physician-assisted suicide had been introduced in class to be used as a possible theme for the final paper, it was just five days before Mrs. Garrish took her life. I recall considering the topic, but found myself vacillating on whether or not I condoned the practice of doctors prescribing lethal drugs or whatever means necessary to make it possible for their patients to end their lives. Maybe it was fate that I had turned on the television at that moment. When I saw the picture of a woman whose hands looked like gnarled decayed tree limbs and whose voice sounded as if each cracked syllable she uttered caused her great pain, I became a believer in her privilege to end her life. I can empathize with human beings' "right to die" when they are hopelessly ill and all attempts to alleviate their suffering are in vain.

Recently, the State of Oregon voted to allow doctors to prescribe lethal medications for terminally ill people. Robert A. Burt, professor at Yale School, wrote an article "Death Made Too Easy" in which

he argues against permitting physician-assisted suicide. He offers an argument for this view: "Physician-assisted suicide may have a legitimate place among the many palliatives available for dying people, but it should not be the first and certainly not the only response to social isolation and abandonment of dying people." Burt means that once the states allow doctor-assisted suicide, it may start a practice of making that the only means of assisting people who are suffering and dying. He suggests that society's existing problems about attending to the needs of those who may not want to commit suicide would be ignored, leaving those patients unattended to die alone. Burt feels strongly that physicians should offer solutions for treating people who do not wish to take their lives earlier than nature dictates.

I disagree with Burt. I don't think all doctors would promote suicide, because I feel that most doctors regard saving patients' lives as their first priority. I am confident that doctors would only help patients commit suicide if the patients wanted it and medically the doctors could do no more to help them. Also, I realize that Prof. Burt has a valid point regarding responding to problems surrounding the isolation and abandonment of dying people, but that is a separate issue to be reconciled.

In Martin Luther King's "Letter From Birmingham Jail," he contends, "How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law." King later in his letter, paraphrases St. Thomas Aquinas, when he says, "Any law that degrades human personality is unjust." Dr. King believed that if man made up laws that were concerned with good rather than bad, or laws that were right rather than wrong, these were laws that could be

classified as fair. He also emphasized that if laws made by man were bad or caused injustices, those laws would not be in agreement with laws that endorse fairness. When referring to St. Thomas Aquinas' theory, Dr. King further clarifies what he means by an unjust law stating that any law that would degrade the character of a human being is not just.

Martin Luther King's beliefs on just and unjust laws can be applied to support the legality of physician-assisted suicide, otherwise known as euthanasia. "Euthanasia" is derived from the ancient Greek: eu (good) and thanatos (death). In modern times it is almost always used to refer to causing or allowing death in another person, not oneself. Literally, the term euthanasia infers "death is good."

People who suffer intolerable pain that can't be controlled by medicine or cases of severe dehydration, which causes incessant itching and fatigue are just two examples of helpless individuals who have a right to die. Some of them can't even move in bed. They lose control of their bodily functions, but all through this suffering the mind is functioning, so the patients know what is happening to them. Fears and sorrows lead to a complete loss of human dignity. The person that once "was" is no more. Dr. King's theory of degradation of human personality can be applied to the situations I mentioned. His explanation of moral law absolutely upholds the right to legalize euthanasia. My impression of euthanasia is that it brings dignity into the dying process. When there is no hope, it is more humane to assist people to die rather than have them humiliated into waiting for their bodies to finally expire.

I have never known anyone who died from physician-assisted suicide. However, in 1985, my aunt passed away from lung cancer. She was receiving chemotherapy treatments that were prolonging her life but her oncologist informed me

at the time that her cancer condition was incurable. Before she reached the stages of extreme suffering, she contracted a viral infection. Her white blood cell count was too low (a side effect caused by the chemotherapy) to fight off the infection and she died. Several family members remarked how she was fortunate not to have gone through months of suffering and degradation, only in the end to die. The night she passed away, I had visited her and found her fighting to get out of bed and writhing back and forth in pain. The nurse, attending her, told the family that a couple of hours before she passed away, my aunt had asked her why dying was taking so long. My aunt must have been in extreme pain to ask the nurse that question. I know now if she had not contracted the infection and ended up suffering for months, I would have understood and agreed if she sought euthanasia as a way out of her misery.

Dr. King's message regarding degradation of human personality provides a good defense to argue for legalization of physician-assisted suicide. The most important message regarding euthanasia as a solution for those who can no longer live as viable human beings comes from those who have died and are dying. Robert Burt may be concerned with society as a whole, but I believe it is the quality of life of the individual that should take precedence on this issue. He seemed more concerned with the physicians' future practices rather than the patients' present needs. The individual, who is suffering, is the person who has the moral right to choose to leave this world as a person with dignity, not to be treated as a "thing" with machines, transfusions and treatments that will only prolong the inevitable. To me the "inevitable" means the biological process of the body expiring, because the human being, who once had a personality, has long since disappeared.

In Honor of AIDS Week

by Mary Molly Flanders

Once in a drama class, almost a decade ago, the instructor turned to the class and asked, "Whom among you has ever had a venereal disease?" Not one student raised a hand. Everyone remained silent and confounded by his words. The question came out of nowhere and went nowhere. Who was he to say such a thing? A madman, half idiot? I interpreted his inquiry as a divulgence of himself. I never had a venereal disease.

Today, thinking again about that question, hoping Mr. Theatre hasn't changed much, I wonder if he has amended the question to the times... Whom among you has ever had an HIV test? How strange and fragile the human condition; one year to be secretly asserting how I've never had a venereal disease, a few years later to be wondering if I have AIDS.

AIDS, the number one killer of women 25 - 35 years of age in this country today, (with adolescents being the fastest growing group of infected persons with HIV) is still kept as taboo and away from the sacred rituals of family life. We dare not speak of it at the dinner table or in bed or while driving the kiddies to school. Now do we? Do we really listen?

Some guy wants to bend my ear with his recent broken heart, a love fling out in India, or a young girl reflects of her heart left on a balcony in Greenwich Village, and its the same old story: Lover sick all the time... fevers happen, colds happen, yeast infections happen, marks on the skin happen (especially to those of us getting older)—all symptoms to be easily dismissed as being nothing more than what they appear to be. Or is it something else?

Perhaps Karposi's Sarcoma? What about that fever? How long did it last?

The point is not psychosis. The point is a reevaluation of self. If you are committed to celibacy, you are the one exception. The rest of the planet should be tested, not so much for the blood test results, but for the thinking that should naturally evolve. Anyone can look in the phone book or call information for local anonymous testing. The Department of Health has a wonderful place on the fourth floor in the Health Building on Stuyvesant Place in Staten Island. (Only go for testing where counseling is available and mandatory.) These people know what they are doing. They know what questions to ask. It works. I recommend bringing a family member and at least one friend. It's free. The number is 718-983-4531/4532.

Do not confuse the act of reevaluation or real thinking with "ruminating" while sucking on the lip of a chilled bottle of vodka or marijuana joint, between lays. People with a pattern of retesting for HIV either every six weeks or everytime they enter or exit a casual relationship are wasting time and blood. They've missed the point. They may as well, go fornicate freely among the infected, and sit there licking their oozing wounds off their lips. It's only a matter of time.

Keep silent the sense of community. Keep the lie alive. Keep your nose buried in literature or anthropology or between the forest of your present orgasm. Let's dare not talk about disease. It speaks for itself. Right? Keep society barren. We don't want to make a mockery of Godot's vision of our own souls. Especially the

schools of learning. Keep your mouth shut, act stupid, propagate lies. Tell yourself this disease belongs strictly to male homosexuals and drug addicts. It doesn't touch nice, clean people like yourselves, teachers and students. You are married right? Your husband doesn't do his hairdresser, now does he? And if he does, he uses a condom, right, not the way he has been doing you for years. Your children are smart, they never get high and horny like other people and engage in risky behavior. I know, you are a professional counselor and/or an educator; you have been married and monogamous forever. You need not visit the Health Department with your adult offspring. Not for your sake. Certainly not for your child. Or humanity, for that matter. If you really want to succeed, fit in—be stupid. It fits.

My high-school age daughter comes home and tells me about her "AIDS instructor" (a regular in N.Y.C. public schools). She tells me how the lady comes in and addresses the boys in the class by

asking, "If a pretty girl walked up to you and wanted to have sex with you, but she told you she had AIDS, how many of you would still have sex with her anyway?" Without fail, everytime this question is asked, every boy in the classroom raises his hand. It's hard to believe, but it's true. This is the

world we live in. Our community. Our children. Its not about love or lust, its about life. It is about confronting our own mortality and the well-being of the species. Think about your sons (the girls are NOT raising their hands). If the dumb question was asked on a college level, you know what I think? I think most of those boys would still have their hands in the air.

In closing, I would like to make two suggestions to everyone: First, go see the movie "Boys on the Side". It will make you laugh and cry. Second, call for an HIV appointment, preferably the Health Department on Stuyvesant Place (AIDS anonymous).

Life is good. Empower yourself. See your own mortality for what it truly is. Get real. Get a life, while you have one. I read a New York Times obituary recently. The author was a giving person, it was his last gift to humanity. He said, "I would have rather have been hit by a Mack truck than get AIDS." Doesn't that say it all?

U.F.O. SIGHTINGS HOTLINE

1-900-289-1010 ext. 660

Catch the latest nationwide accounts on recent U.F.O. activities. Weekly updates

\$2.00/min. / Avg. call 3 min. / Touch-tone phone / Over 18
Max cost \$10.00 / Strauss Comm., Carmel Ca.

Benedetto Fontana, "Hegemony and Power: On the Relation Between Gramsci and Machiavelli"

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Book Review

by Tom Smith

Material force can only be overthrown by material force, but theory itself becomes a material force when it has seized the masses. Theory is capable of seizing the masses when it demonstrates ad hominem, and it demonstrates ad hominem as soon as it becomes radical. To be radical is to grasp things by the root. But for man the root is man himself.... the categorical imperative [is] to overthrow all those conditions in which man is an abased, enslaved, contemptible being...

- Karl Marx, "Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Doctrine of the State," 1843.

CUNY Graduate School, Dr. Benedetto Fontana's book which began as a dissertation, entitled *Hegemony and Power: On the Relationship Between Gramsci and Machiavelli*, is absolutely brilliant as a piece of scholarly work. For those who have not tasted of the fruits of these two historical thinkers, the topic, however, may seem somewhat arcane. But the themes of the book has a great deal to offer to active, democratic-thinking radicals. It will appeal to those vitally interested in the question of how "theory" might "grip the masses," to become a force for change within the rapidly decaying society in which we live today.

Antonio Gramsci was the leading intellectual light of the Italian Communist Party from its inception after the Bolshevik Revolution to Gramsci's arrest by II Duce Mussolini's Fascists in 1926. Gramsci is most famous for his singular contributions to Marxist political theory. His most important concept was Hegemonia: how ruling classes utilize politics and ideology to forge cooptative alliances with elements of the lower, "subaltern" classes, in order to provide the stability necessary for rule, to form a "historical bloc." Gramsci was concerned with how the working class could develop and use their own political ideological, and cultural institutions to forge a new, counter-hegemony, allied with the middle and peasant classes of Italy, in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

Fontana's work sheds light on a much-neglected source of Gramsci's thought. Most thinkers view Gramsci merely as a clever adaptor of Lenin's work to Italian conditions. Fontana shows how little justice this approach does to the profundity of the work of Gramsci, who after all was a highly cultured Italian writer, not just another Leninist. Fontana shows how Gramsci was profoundly influenced by his intellectual ancestor, Niccolò Machiavelli. Machiavelli was the Renaissance thinker who sought to revitalize, from the ancient Roman Republic, ideals of an active political life, and concepts of a politically effective morality. His aim was always to empower the Italian people, with a "Prince" at their head, to clean out the corruptions of the papacy and the aristocracy, and to drive out the armies of other European powers, the "barbarians," from Italian soil. Fontana shows how Machiavelli, far from playing second fiddle to Lenin in Gramsci's hagiography, even enabled Gramsci to transcend the paternalist elements in Lenin's thought.

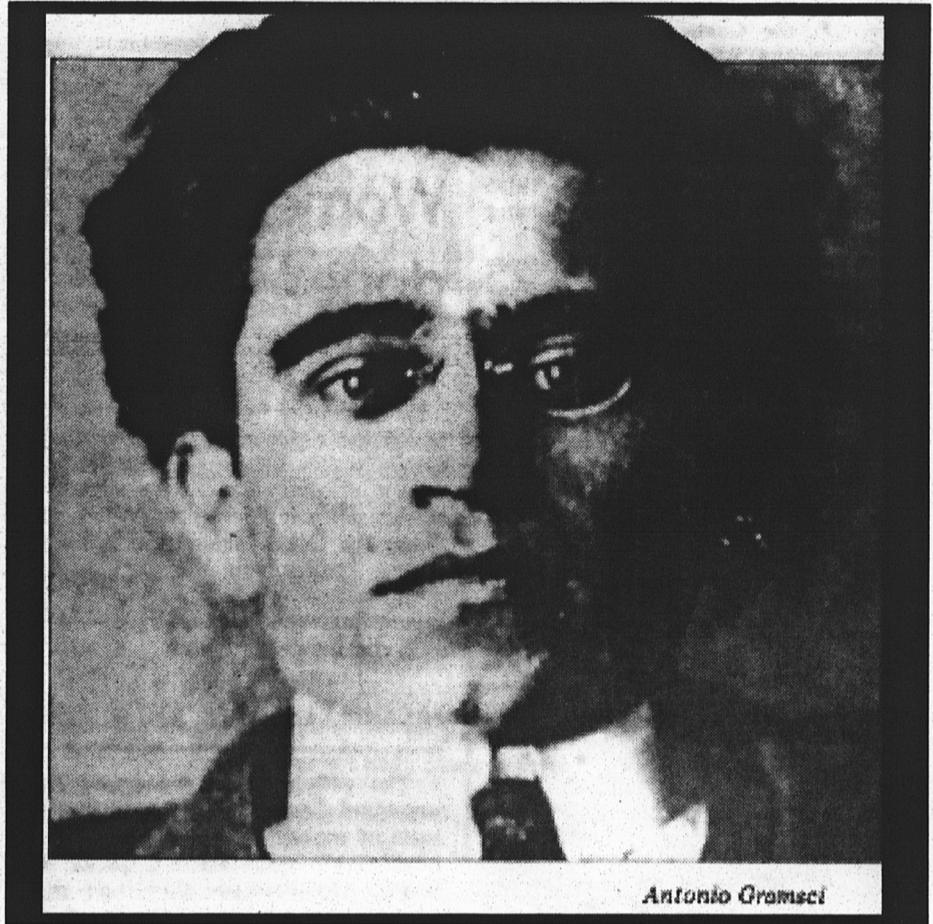
As context for his analysis, Fontana presents an intellectual conflict, running throughout the modern age. The central question: "Since, in the modern era, the masses have entered the stage of history, what role should they play? Can they

have the knowledge to lead, are they properly doomed to the role of stage hands? Is history a play to the glory of elites, or of everymen?" On one side of this historical debate are thinkers such as Machiavelli, Marx, and Gramsci; thinkers who posit, in Machiavelli's words, a "new science" for conscience political action and self-empowerment by the mass. These thinkers tended toward materialism, democracy, and political activism. These intellectual Prometheans aimed to bring Truth, heretofore studied only in the scholar's chamber, and pursued for the sake of the aristocrats' pleasure and self-glorification, down to the level of the mass, where it could be used by the mass to radically transform society. On the other side, against these thinkers, Fontana pairs Machiavelli off against Guicciardini, Marx against Hegel, Gramsci against Croce (who attempted -sleight-of-hand-like, it would seem from Fontana's account-to transform Machiavelli into his elitist rival, Guicciardini, and thus ignore Machiavelli's decidedly populist, activist stance).

These latter antagonists were idealist and elitist. They posited knowledge Entities, independent from and above ordinary mortals and their sordid everyday lives; Truth or the Absolute Idea, or Spirit. Thought thought Itself, using these Great Thinkers to think Its Great Thoughts. Throughout the whole process, the Thinker need never leave His armchair; why would he have cause to thus sully himself out in the dirty street. Knowledge not only absolved elites from responsibility for the masses' welfare, it also mystically imparted to them a superior morality, which made their rule always and everywhere benevolent.

Many students of Gramsci, especially the Althusserians and the post-structuralists like Laclau and Mouffe, have, ironically enough, attempted to read Gramsci as a "pure scholar" of the State and of Ideology, as if Gramsci numbered himself among these idealists, in quest of essentialist Truths. Though they do accept that Gramsci understood the State and Ideology as the products of "social practices," the Althusserians reify these institutions and practices, so as to become removed from any capability of ordinary human beings to revolutionize them. The endpoint of this fetishism is, I believe, the puritanism of "PC." If we all are made to think think good thoughts and do our little S & M analyses of "Dallas" and "Dynasty," on the campuses, that will somehow ramify throughout the "ideological state apparatuses" to recondition everyone to get us back to the Great Society. Thankfully, Fontana refocuses Gramsci scholarship on Gramsci's real goal, to which his study of the State and of ideology was completely subordinate. Gramsci's goal was to theorize about popular education for empowerment. Hegemony, therefore, is not just the science of how the ruling class rules, but how the masses can attain for themselves the science of rule and thus overthrow the bourgeoisie. For this process to occur, however, our very concept of knowledge itself must change. Heretofore, it has been delusional, and private. To become revolutionary, it must become public, and realistic.

The knowledge of rule is inextricably involved in social relationships. As Marx understood, the proletariat must understand these relationships in order to urle. The social "conditions" of modern impoverishment and misery must be "made to dance to their own tune." Once in possession of the knowledge of social conditions, the proletariat will understand not only the fact that we are being ex-



Antonio Gramsci

ploited, but also our real power to control our labor and thus the economy and society itself.

According to Fontana's Gramsci, elite knowledge is preconditioned upon a denial of these social relationships. In the first place, elites must convince themselves, for the sake of their own morale, of a fundamentally narcissistic fantasy: that they exist alone at the center of the universe. They must deny to themselves the essential fact of their existence: that their very existence is predicated upon the exploitation of the "dangerous" classes. In addition, they must hide from themselves, as well as from the subalterns, the fact that their class rule is crisis-bound, and will lead to barbarism if it is not overthrown. For both these reasons, then, elite knowledge is delusional.

In the second place, elites use their knowledge to awe the subalterns into submission Snabbery and exclusion are not just the side effects of elite knowledge, as elites would have us believe (when, for example, thinkers from Plato down to T.S. Eliot assure us of the necessity of a leisured class and a class of pure manual laborers for the sake of the "disinterested" pursuit of knowledge) For the goal of idealists is not really knowledge; instead, it is to make the subaltern classes feel inferior, because they are "ignorant." Elite knowledge must therefore be both private, and fundamentally of the nature of a collective delusion. It must therefore, ultimately, be on all the characteristics of a dogma, which must be constantly defended against the "assumptions" of the barbarians waiting at the gates.

Contemporary examples, from the ruling class, abound. The Social Darwinism of The Bell Curve, Chancellor Ann Reynolds, Mario Cuomos, Newt Gingrichs, Giuliani, et alia, all pronounce that lack of economic opportunity does not mean that "we" cannot conclude from poor IQ scores (from tests which "we" devise) that education is wasted on the poor. But Fontana finds another example of this elitist view of knowledge solidly within the Left itself. Instead of placing Lenin solidly in the camp of Machiavelli, Marx, and Gramsci,

Fontana places him, along with both his teacher and his adversary, Kautsky, in between the two camps. While Lenin and Kautsky were both committed emotionally to the proletariat, the theory of knowledge which they shared-the theory that socialist consciousness must be brought to the proletariat "from outside," by intellectuals-always lent to their thought an undialectical and elitist derction. As with Guicciardini, Hegel, and Croce, knowledge becomes the res privatas of the party, deliberately segregated from the experience of the proletariat, experience which can lead only to "trade-union" consciousness. I have always thought this about Lenin and Kautsky, and though I'm not Italian soil. But by merely preaching against this society, one simply reproduced its paternalistic, dominative pattern. The method of education had to contain within its very sturcture the egalitarian relations it sought to inspire. Thus only dialogue contained the antidote necessary to dissolve away the corruptions of Italian society.

According to Fontana, Gramsci applies Machiavelli's theory of republican dialogue to his own conception of socialist education. To pet one's own dogma, and dogmatic teaching methods, against that of the far better financially heeled and stronger bourgeoisie, was, in Gramsci's opinion, foolhardy. The new knowledge the proletariat would need to involve the proletariat in the process of his own education. Mere attention to teaching was not enoughL learning, as a process, was far more important. In addition, the task of the teacher was not to invest knowledge already and exclusively acquired by the teacher in school. The task instead to raise the consciousness of the worker-student, who already knew, in the concrete, what he needed to know about capitalism, production, society, and life, to the level of generalizable propositions, to the level of knowledge. As Marx said, what is needed is to "make the conditions dance to their own tune." Thus, to ensure that learning,

continues on page 30

"Does Art Have a Purpose?" Asked the Poet.

By Louis Bardel

In a recent poetry class I asked a teacher what the poet's purpose was in today's society. I got the strange feeling he was implying that a poet is practically socially irrelevant and only good for segregated, depressed, overly-romantic, alienated portions of society. Or worse, by the nature of those artists who have the time to produce, they are nothing but isolated from the real reality, sweating, cynically hopeful, hoping to hit the lottery chord of society that, through their labor, allows those artists who have "made it" to do their thing. That class, and of course those who are even richer, are the classes that have the leisure to create, appreciate, and dedicate their lives to art. A man or woman who is a wage-slave cannot ever dedicate the time it takes to nurture their craft or even see it. Today's art, sad to say, is alienated from the majority of society, and frankly bores them to tears, myself included. Even in the stuffy areas where art is "appreciated" are located in expensive and fancy-plastic venues that raise their snout at whoever does not fit into their monetary and fashionable cliques.

Nevertheless, underneath a huge mound of imposed consciousness, there has been a resurgence of impulsive poetry writing. Whatever it is that has kept their art alive, the need to express it is steadfastly eternal. It can be viciously influenced by mainstream media, but never bastardized. Depending on the poet, his or her purpose for writing can be numerous. My claim is that they are all products of their society whether they believe it or not; therefore they are sensitive spokesmen with a purpose for their world. Very often the poet

finds himself in a social hell, a monolithic environment devoid of artistic expression and intellectual thought. This compounded by mass suffering in the form of people being deprived of basic human rights like shelter and education, makes for a literal grave to rebel against. Yes, the sensitive poet is in hell, but almost never finds a solution or real escape route, always deluding himself in unattainable Nirvana. The so-called transcendental ideal, to the point of actually leaving our physical reality (easy to do when food is on the table). Some never pick their outcasted skulls from the lonely sand to put their energy in positive, constructive directions —like the overthrow of lackey institutions, such as our government.

Ultimately, their art is of their design. It is the poet's choice to choose what direction he wants to follow. Some would say a poet relates a message, that in turn creates a sanctuary for those who seek it. Others would claim the poet is a sort of beacon attracting members of like mind to a kindred cause. A human springboard posing questions that need to be answered. Will you answer it? Or will you meld with the inanimate couch and waste away?

Poetry, in order to be successful, must touch a common thread of understanding, then concoct images, thoughts, and emotions that move the reader. This thread of understanding does not just create itself. Common threads of thought are the product of common experience, recognized by those who care to recognize it. Common experience comes through social functioning. And the one fact remains: WE are all seeing, thinking, feeling human beings in a world where we all commonly work and

live in together. A large part of the current struggling art world has subjugated their lives around the 20th Century lifestyle: Televisions, radios, telephones, cars, cameras, rocketships, movie theatres, duplicate politicians, wage-slave conditions, etc., just like the rest of us. We have all subtley, and not so subtley become automatized and compartmentalized in the quest for safety and well-being. We are less socially interactive creatures than our ancestors of the past. We have receded back into man-made caves and connected our eyes to the television screen and video game. Almost all of our mainstream information sources are controlled by men richer that we can only dare to understand. Rich capitalist people whose wealth depends on us below them, including artists who must petition their good robbing graces. They want us ignorant, and I say Fuck them! I am an expropriator from the Expropriators, a quasi-socialist who sees through their masks. My uncle calls me a parasite on society. I suggest You do the same. I, the poet, fight the big media and public relations firms who are the manipulators of our lives, who do the bidding of the super-rich. They construct our perceptions of the common experience. So there in itself, is a source of discontent that CAN be changed or at least rebelled against. "What is our revolution, if it is not a mad rebellion in the name of the conscious, rational, purposeful and dynamic principle of life" Leon Trotsky said in his book "Literature and Revolution". Frederick Engels thought that the determining factor in life is the production and reproduction of everyday life, an art in itself. "Against the elemental, senseless, biological automatism of life"

concluded Trotsky. That is...against the American Way. Agent Orange on the roots of Capitalism! There is still purpose for human beings! Artists plant your silvery seeds! Come alive in a mad rebellion! This is not the way life has to be, there is an exit out of Hell.

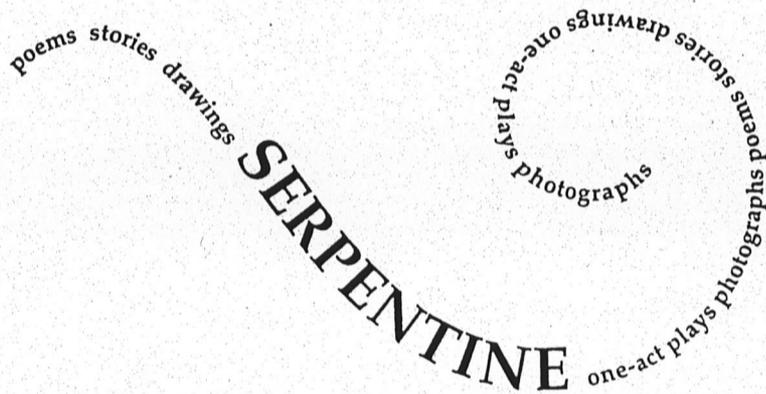
Ever since the later part of the 19th Century various artists from painter to poet to musician have reacted negatively to increased social commodification and the dominance of the dollar bill over our lives. It has lead, unfortunately, to an almost complete rejection of human beings able to change their lives communally. Instead focusing in on intense personal, mystical, unrealistic, drunken and delusory view of reality. There is nothing wrong with that except that it is a fallacy. A disillusioned view negates us as social creatures, "political animals" as Plato put it. This has brought us to the present where an artist such as Kurt Cobain tells us that he "hates himself and wants to die". And we can all somehow relate. Should we follow in his footsteps to the grave?

The Industrial Revolution which presented a societal switch from being a mainly agricultural economy to where life is now lived predominantly around

the cities and factory sites where we are forced to work for survival. Ever since, we have become less self-sufficient, more unemployed, and more dependant upon the dollar bill to survive and live comfortably. This must completely change, this situation screams out for Social Revolution.

Human beings have always been tor-

continues on page 30



The Annual Literary Magazine of CSI invites students to submit manuscripts for its next issue (no. 14) to be published **SPRING 1995**

Submit original poems, stories, one-act plays, photographs, and/or drawings to:

Mrs. Mary Ann Cadawas
PCA Department
1P Room 203 (M-F 9-4)
(You may use college mail)
Include your name, address,
and phone number
Deadline:
Tuesday, March 21, 1995

1994 - 1995 EDWARD J. REHBERG MEMORIAL PRIZE FOR POETRY EIGHTH ANNUAL AWARD SPRING 1995

The annual Edward J. Rehberg Memorial Prize for Poetry will be offered for the eighth time this coming April 1995. The prize, which carries a monetary award, will be presented to the CSI student whose poetic writing, in the opinion of a faculty committee, is judged best among the entries submitted. Students are invited to apply for the award by submitting to the committee three recent poems -- typed, minimum total for the three poems of twenty-five lines. Submissions, which should include the poet's address and phone number, should be sent to:

Rehberg Award Committee
c/o Mrs. Mary Ann Cadawas
PCA Department, Room 1-P- 203
College of Staten Island
Staten Island, NY 10314

or dropped into College mail, or brought directly to Room 1-P-203. Office hours: Monday-Friday, 9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.; telephone: (718) 982-2520

The deadline for submissions is Tuesday, March 21, 1995

The results will be announced in April.

Awards Committee: Professor Nancy Bogen
Professor Arnie Kantrowitz
Professor Morty Schiff



Up The Reel Rebels!

by Frank Giallombardo

Fade In:

A man garbed in a paramilitary uniform, his face covered by a black wool mask, aims his assault rifle at an unsuspecting British politician, or Catholic man, and assassinates him.

A contingent of British soldiers goes after an IRA sniper, while another group is examining the credentials of Belfast citizens at local checkpoints.

Lines of mourners paying their respects to a fallen IRA soldier march past the colorful heraldic murals of the Falls Road.

Chaos, panic, and fear spread throughout Belfast as bombs in sectarian neighborhoods go off in taverns, in shops, and under cars.

Those familiar with some of these images most probably have viewed a film which deals with the "Troubles" of Northern Ireland.

chotic (Tommy Lee Jones in "Blown Away"), he/she is looked on by audiences as a villain.

Supporters of Irish nationalism have often complained that film-makers do not always portray the IRA fairly. They feel there would be a greater balance if the lives of many IRA members were shown to be swept up in a torrent of politics, religion, and violence through a cycle of unfortunate circumstances (i.e.- high unemployment; low self-esteem; grudges and vendettas; tribal obligations; etc.). Also, it would be novel if film-makers showed the brutal actions of the outlawed, but rarely prosecuted, Protestant Unionist paramilitaries like the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) and the Ulster Freedom Force (UFF). The world would then know that the IRA are not the sole architects of Northern Ireland's Troubles.

World War I, Irish Nationalists took over the Dublin General Post Office and declared Ireland to be independent of the United Kingdom. In this siege many of the rebels were killed. By 1921 a bloody civil war had ensued in which a guerrilla outfit calling itself the Irish Republican Army fought the brutal tactics of the British Black & Tan soldiers. A year later Ireland won its independence, but six counties in Ulster remained part of the U.K. The Northern Irish Catholics felt betrayed. The Protestant community controlled the industries and political scene, systematically managing to keep the Catholics at a low socio-economic level. In 1969 the disenfranchised Catholics followed the example of Martin Luther King and marched for civil rights in Derry. The scene grew violent and became known as Bloody Sunday. A quarter century later, with more than 3,000 Catholic and Protestant dead, the struggle for Irish freedom continues and is told from a variety of perspectives.

Screenwriters can draw from the well of Irish history and find a myriad of characters for their stories: gunmen, prisoners, bombers, assassins, snipers, terrorists, gun-runners, the wrongly accused, the mural painters, the pallbearers, policemen, occupying soldiers, folk singers, couriers, bartenders, priests, politicians, judges, civil war vets, sympathizers, informers, and common flag-waving citizens.

Though a film version of Sean O'Casey's play "The Ploughs and Stars" in the 1930s gave audiences a view of the Easter Rising, it was John Ford's "The Informer" which really brought the Irish Civil War to the general public. It tells the story of Gypo (Victor MacLaughlin), a big, burly man who betrays his friend to the Brits for twenty pounds, but is later discovered by the IRA (referred to as the "Organization") and punished. Shot in the style of a gangster film, the rebels are shown with trenchcoats, fedoras, and machine guns.

In 1959 "Shake Hands With The Devil" was the first to depict the 1921-1922 struggle for Home Rule, displaying the guerrilla tactics the IRA used to fight the Black & Tans. James Cagney plays an IRA commandant who, as a medical professor, recruits one of his students into the rebel forces, and puts The Cause above love and human compassion. For him, surrender is

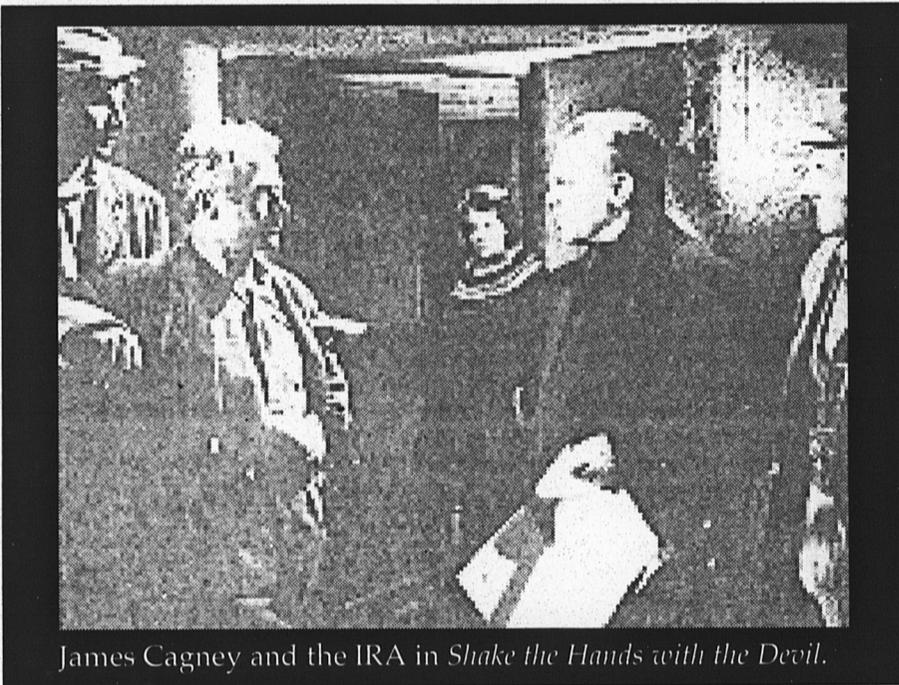
unthinkable and a partitioned Ireland is unacceptable. This film includes the talents of Glynnis Johns, Richard Harris, Cyril Cusack, and Michael Redgrave.

It wasn't until after the Troubles had erupted in Derry that film-makers returned to this subject. In the 1970s a film called "A Quiet Day In Belfast" depicted how the actions of some colorful citizens effect each other. Many end up in the wrong place at the wrong time, like being in a betting parlor to collect their winnings on a dog race just before a bomb in the back room goes off.

By the 1980s, with the war between the modern versions of the IRA and UDR escalating, British film-makers were putting their spin on this topic. For England, the conflict in occupied Northern Ireland had become their "Vietnam". Spurred on by such incidents as the assassination of Lord Mountbatten, the explosion in Harrod's Department Store, and the attempted killing of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, British studios showed the IRA as nothing less than terrorists and thugs. In "Cal" the sympathetic title character is an unemployed Catholic young man who is a driver for the IRA, but falls in love with a woman who works for a Protestant family. The faction he belongs to selects civilian targets, like bookstores, for bombings. In "The Price", a BBC-TV production, the IRA kidnap the wife and daughter of a British politician. Also produced was "Harry's Game", in which a British agent is planted in Catholic Belfast in order to find the man responsible for killing a London politician in front of his family in plain daylight. More popular, however, was "A Prayer For The Dying", about a soldier (Mickey Rourke) who kills a VIP in a cemetery before a priest's eyes (Bob Hoskins), then later confesses to him in an attempt to protect himself from imprisonment. Roarke's character also tries unsuccessfully to shun violence. When he wants to quit the IRA, his friend (Liam Neeson) is assigned to stop him. Neeson also played a member of The Fenian Brotherhood in the mini-series Ellis Island.

With problems in Belfast gaining wider international attention, and the IRA be-

continues on the next page



James Cagney and the IRA in *Shake the Hands with the Devil*.

In the last few years Hollywood has taken a closer notice of the violence and passions which run through Northern Ireland. With movies like "Patriot Games", "In the Name of the Father", and "The Crying Game" international audiences, and Hollywood and BBC screenwriters and directors, have come to learn something of the conflict in Ulster, Ireland's northern region, between the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) and their traditional target, the British occupying force, the Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR).

More Irish political stories have been filmed in the last decade than ever before. And now, with the IRA in a cease-fire and the door open for peace, it's evident that more films could be produced well before the governments of Dublin, Belfast, and London have resolved the conflict. Already in the works is a biography of IRA soldier/prisoner/hunger-striker Bobby Sands. Even the lives of classic revolutionaries like Wolfe Tone, and activists James Connolly and Padraic Pearse might one day go before the camera.

Like westerns, romances, and science-fiction movies, the stories of the Irish struggle for freedom have become their own film genre. Depending on the filmmaker's point of view, the IRA gunman is more often depicted as terrorist than as a freedom fighter. These soldiers usually have mixed morals. They can be intensely Catholic and still gun down their British adversaries. And even though they may engage in some despicable activities, as film protagonists they almost always earn the sympathy of the audience. As long as the IRA soldier is motivated by political and patriotic concerns, the audience favors and justifies his/her actions; but once that soldier's motivations turn personal (Sean Bean in "Patriot Games") or psy-

Yet for each film produced on this subject the screenwriter must be educated somewhat on this ancient problem: The Irish and British have been adversaries ever since 1166 when Leinster King Dermot MacMurrough hired military support from British Earl Richard FitzGilbert "Strongbow" in fighting a civil war with other Celtic royals, and rewarded him and other English nobles hundreds of acres of the Emerald Isle. The indigenous Irish were consequently transplanted off their properties, and eventually relegated as second-class citizens. With occasional revolts the Irish tried unsuccessfully to regain their lands. Many continued into the modern era from groups like The Fenian Brotherhood, but were put down. During the Great Famine (1845-9) the British government exported food that otherwise might have saved a million Irish from starvation. The cry for "Home Rule" was heard throughout the country, and a renaissance in Irish arts, culture, and literature blossomed through the works of W.B. Yeats, J.M. Synge, James Joyce, and Sean O'Casey. Speaking Gaelic was legal again. But at Eastertime in 1916, while most English soldiers were away fighting



British policetorture IRA suspect in the movie, *In the Name of the Father*

I Will Tickle You!

by A Common Everyday Student
Searching For Meaning In This Vast
Cruel World

A liberal arts education promotes freedom and creativity of the students. It permits them to actively take part in the intellectual battles. The student is only equipped with a critical mind and energy.

The institutions of "Higher Learning," as we know them today, are more geared toward a professional and technical education rather than toward a "liberal arty" one. Historical, economic, socio-cultural dynamics are behind the current situation. Elite schools offer elite education for elite people. The elite defines what elite education is.

The university, which is the materialization of a certain ideal of higher learning, end up crippling creativity and freedom because of its structure and workings.

The creative mind of the freshman is normalized by the combined effort of his/her family, friends, music, TV, established society, culture, God Himself and the Angels, too. All this makes possible the manufacturing of a college-student's mind. Class evaluation, in the form of structured multiple choice exams, limits the creativity of individuals and emphasizes their sameness. "We all have the same kinds of ideas!" is the slogan of today's university students. "I want to be special!" is their aim. Poor babies!

The professors have a stake in the current situation since they are the first beneficiaries. They don't have to teach difficult, and for some "dangerous", challenging stuff, they repeat, year after year the same excrement. It stinks!

Now, let me tell you why I decided to write this complaint. Because I want to further my "education," I need to apply to graduate programs. The "good ones" require two to three Letters of Recommendation from teachers who are, as the formula goes: "familiar with my work."

Well, as a student of the so-called higher learning institution known as CSI, this situation creates a terrible problem. Who will be these three teachers of mine whom I respect and consider as being familiar with my work?

All the papers that I have written do not express my real thoughts, but rather what was expected from me by my professors. The only few times that I wrote what I

thought I got "bad" grades. This saddens me a lot. I am very sad. Sad I am, very much.

Let me tell you what I think of this whole situation. No, I will not.

If I ask the three professors to write a Letter of Recommendation for me, I am betraying myself, since I don't really respect them or consider them an authority on "my work." They couldn't understand anyway because they are slaves to their Ph.Ds! Afraid that they might recommend a student who will not live up to their recommendation.

If I don't ask them, I will not be allowed to pursue my "education." The question arises to whether "education" is worth it. Under the circumstances, I will say? definitely a) Yes, b) No, c) sometimes, d) all of the above, e) None of the above.

The size of the departments is another problem. How many liberal arts professors are there anyway? A department like Cinema Studies has a few tenured professors who actually teach. Philosophy? Two. Not even enough for the three letters! History, Sociology, Anthropology? Well, Anthropology, two! Check it out, I didn't invent it!

With two professors, with whom I both disagree, what can I do? Masturbate your brain for a while!

Can you disagree with your Math teacher? Your Engineering teacher? Not much to disagree with? Well, I can do that with my sociology teacher. An the question remains, is it really "good" to be taught by a white-woman-bureaucrat-upper-middle-class-pompous-control-freak whose name starts with —? The answer is: a) Yes, b) No, c) What do you mean by "good"? d) Could you be more specific.

The resolution of this problem has to be in the form of physical action. I recommend administering CSI-cafeteria food to all the culprits: professors, administrators, students, and to my mother because she works on campus!

Is the whole situation something new? No, say the history professors located in building 2N (We know where you are!). Do we have a program of action? No, and it is to ridicule the too rigid professors of Political Science, also located in building 2N. Are we aware of the cultural ramifications of such a rampage? Yes, we studied the pigeons of the psychology lab long enough!

Gramsci ...

continues from page 27

rather than simply the teacher's own ego, grew, teachers and students in the process of proletarian education must approach each other as equals. Political education must be itself political, involving the conflict and freedom of debate, not just absorption.

One criticism must be noted of Fontana's book and that is that he only focuses upon Gramsci's implicit criticisms of the Leninist and Stalinist views on the party, without examining the ways in which Gramsci publicly and ultimately adhered to the Leninist model. While Gramsci always pushed against its limitations, he did not only accept it, I would say positive, concern with building a party of leadership. He also, unlike Luxemburg, quite explicitly accepted the Leninist-Stalinist "ideal" of a totalitarian one-party state. After the failure of the strike movement at Turin and the rise of fascism, Gramsci's explicit conception of the party itself was hierarchical, a la, not only Lenin, but Sorel. In Gramsci's party a small, permanent, cooptative and self-selecting group would lead, a lower belt of middle intellectuals would transmit this elite's ideas, and the rank and file would receive them. Of course, Gramsci, against Bordiga, urged

upon the leadership of the Italian Communist Party the will to learn from the masses (as Lenin did with the Bolsheviks). But Gramsci never seemed to understand, any more than did Lenin, how the formal political relations of hierarchy within the Party would tend to defeat any such will-to-equality. It would seem that here, too, inside the Party, the superior knowledge of elites imparts to them a will-to-benevolence which makes a reevaluation of political relations unnecessary. We the living certainly ought to point up the contradictions herein, and champion the liberatory Gramsci against the totalitarian one. But it does us no good to ignore this totalitarian side.

Fontana's work really highlights the role of Gramsci in the long tradition of dialogical education, beginning with Machiavelli, and continuing on, in our own day, in the work of Reich and Freire. He also makes Gramsci a potent critic of current fallacies of the Left most of which is now enmeshed in the quest for pure politically correct thoughts and thrilled by every latest trend in the solipsistic and invidious politics of identity. Fontana's Gramsci shows the necessity and the strategy for integration of our forces, through talking and working together. All in all, an excellent work for both scholars and activists, worth checking out.

Reels ...

continues from previous page

coming more technological in its fighting style, film-makers decided to journey down new roads. Two films presented on cable-TV were set in the 1920s. In "The Dawning" Anthony Hopkins plays a soldier befriended by a teenage girl; "Fools For Fortune" concerns a middle-class Irish family terrorized by the Black & Tans.

In "Patriot Games" Harrison Ford is Tom Clancy's literary hero, CIA analyst Jack Ryan, who tries to protect his family from a crazed gunman bent on getting revenge for the death of his brother during their foiled attempt by Ryan to kill members of the Royal Family. The soldier's rage also spoils his comrades' plans to carry out their terrorist mission. However, the film "Hidden Agenda" takes a different turn as it follows a woman's attempt to discover how, why, and who killed her husband when both were investigating human rights abuses committed by British soldiers on Irish Nationalists. Conspiracies and cover-ups abound in this suspenseful political thriller. But in Neil Jordan's "The Crying Game" originality was truly shown when Stephen Rea played Fergus, a gunman who falls for the girlfriend of Jody, a Black UDR man (Forrest Whittaker) kidnapped by his IRA comrades. The girlfriend, however, turns out to be a man (Jaye Stevenson), and when Fergus is later reunited with two IRA friends he thought were killed, he is recruited to assassinate a British judge, but this plan gets bungled. Fergus is one of the few IRA film protagonists portrayed with compassion and not depicted as just another terrorist. The film was nominated for a Best Picture Oscar.

The most recent IRA films have downplayed the roles of politics and the gunman. "In the Name of the Father" (also Oscar nominated) focuses on a group of innocent people who were wrongly accused and convicted of planning and participating in the bombing of a London pub. It is based on Jerry Conlon's memoir of how he, his friend Paul Hill, his father Guiseppe, and other family members were victimized by the British Intelligence and Police who, after apprehending the true terrorists, would not admit their mistake. Attention was called to the injustice happening to Irish Catholics visiting England. For "Blown Away" the focus was on the relationship between two IRA bombers: one who emigrated to the U.S. and joined the Boston police bomb squad (Jeff Bridges), and his old comrade who escapes from a castle-like prison only to show up in Boston as a mad terrorist. The film is big on explosive special F/X but hardly even discusses The Troubles.

With the British government and the IRA in a cease-fire and searching for a peace agreement, it is uncertain which direction Irish political films will turn next. It's possible we might see more emphasis on the struggles of average Irish people and not on gun-toting terrorists; or the IRA and UDA portrayed more as mobsters; or perhaps even a futuristic Northern Ireland at peace and old IRA soldiers dreaming of the days when all Brits were the enemy. Perhaps when there's no longer a reason to keep bringing up the Irish Troubles every St. Patrick's Day, Irish political films will have more to say about people working together rather people tearing each other apart. Until then — ERIN GO BRAGH!

**Come join the Voice in
struggle against
exploitation and
oppression in the arts,
media and other cultural
norms.**

The Poet asked ...

continues from page 28

tured with inequity and unhappiness. When searching out for the truth, the traveller falls inevitably into the abyss. Finding out only that there is no actual stable of truth to ride their horse out of. Wasn't it Shakespeare who said "Out out brief candle, life is but a walking shadow, a poor player who struts and frets his hour upon the stage and then is heard no more". Now that is really despair over the human condition from a Literary and psychological luminary. Nothing has changed since the 16th Century. Human beings are still not self-governed!

Now I will digress. If life has proven to show it's full possibility, then I am not convinced that we have seen the full flower of it's potential-technological bloom. Heroic efforts, such as the October 1917 Russian-Workers Revolution, a large disgusted mass that cracked pavement when it moved, was a noble pursuit that also never seemed to fulfill it's capacity. The question is do we become cynical and treacherous in return figuring that man is a loser as a whole and not worth fighting for? Or do we learn from mistakes and move on in a transcendental direction, a communal direction. I do not say that socialism is the pure answer. But I know Goddamn well that Capitalism, will serve the few well, and if allowed to run rampant, will never serve the masses of artists and people. Human caravans of artistic souls need to be cultivated. It is a system worth being junked, at least massively overhauled in the form of extensive wealth redistribution.

Somewhere out there in the shadows, another person somewhere has thought the same thing, and so is another, and another, and the poet is the magnet for these wandering souls. His purpose is of his own powerful design. Constructive, destructive, religious, sluggish are all choices he cannot help but to convey. Ultimately, it will not be the poets or the artists who create a revolution; it will be the masses of people that out of economic necessity become united to fight a common oppressor (i.e. the corporate class and political opportunists). Hopefully, conscious revolutionary artists will be there to provide help and inspiration. The real shame will be, and we all seem to be heading in that direction, when art will become obsolete if it does not come catapulted from that strange colored screen in your living room. —When human beings act like drones. With the precision of a sledgehammer we will knock. Join us at City Hall in Manhattan, March 23, when artists, that is People, protest the N.Y. state budget hack at education. Peace to everyone except the Masters of War.

Yes I am a poet...

Alive in stride

One quiet moment

All night long

Our bodies tangled

Wanted to see what makes you cry

Just wanted to know behind that smile

Wanted to hear your body moving slowly

Just wanted to be let in...

Without a disguise, she fucks my mind

The veil that conceals has been strangled

Knows no such things as boundaries

She's a woman I will never understand...

Spontaneously desirous, keep travelling brother

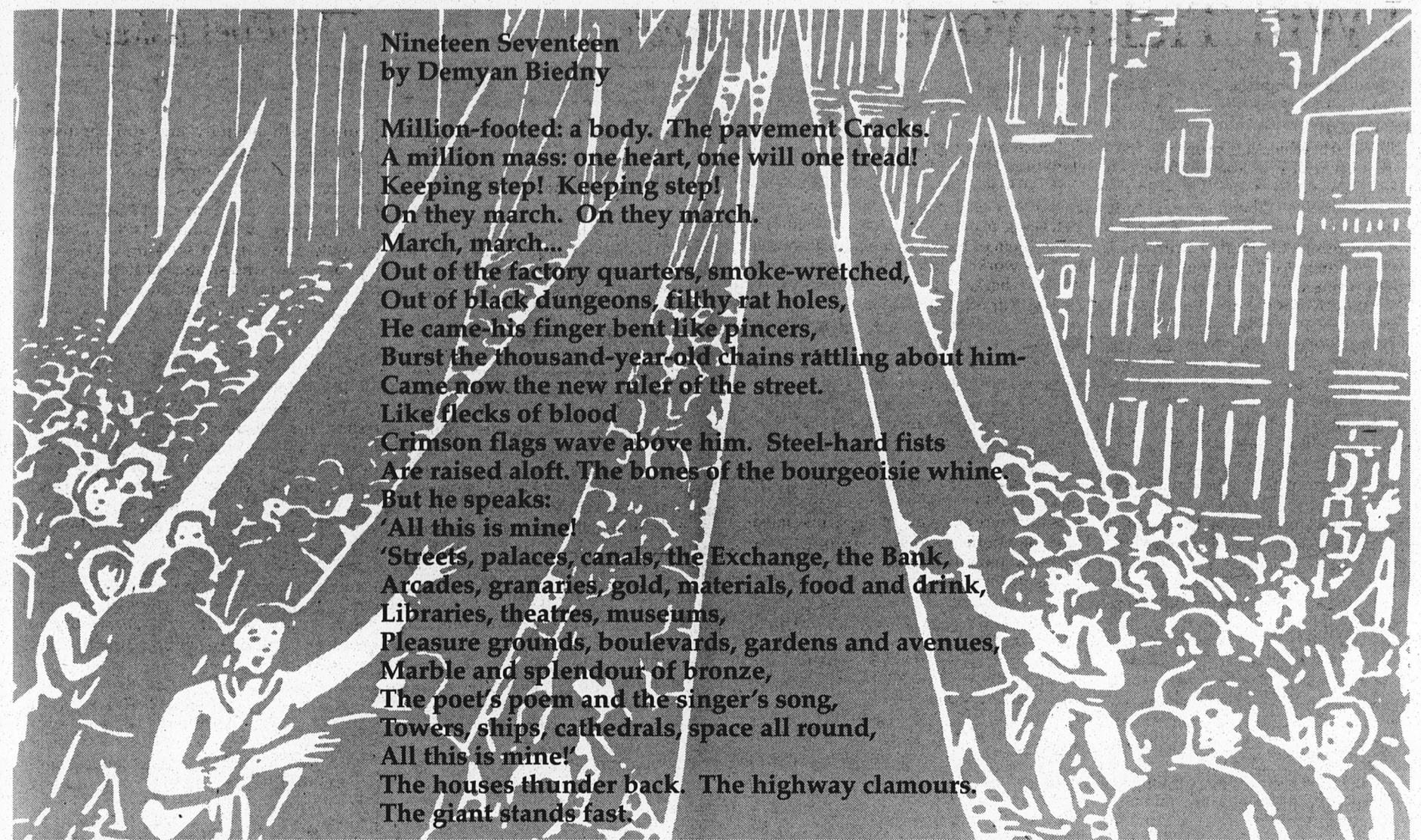
Your a disturbed freak leaking from every corner...

And she's just a bitch with a — — militant mind

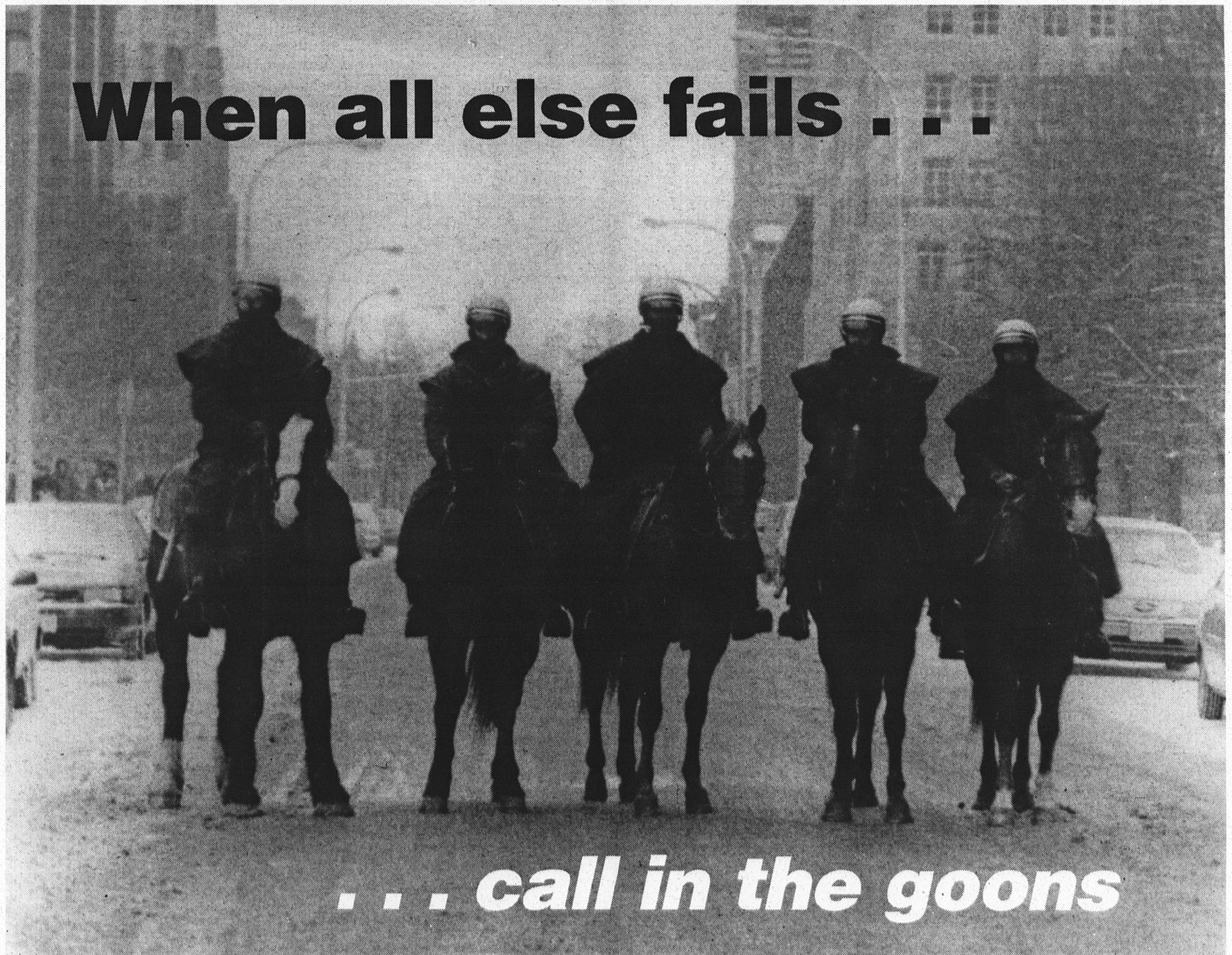
"Your just a sucker with no self-esteem"

Nineteen Seventeen
by Demyan Biedny

Million-footed: a body. The pavement Cracks.
A million mass: one heart, one will one tread!
Keeping step! Keeping step!
On they march. On they march.
March, march...
Out of the factory quarters, smoke-wretched,
Out of black dungeons, filthy rat holes,
He came-his finger bent like pincers,
Burst the thousand-year-old chains rattling about him-
Came now the new ruler of the street.
Like flecks of blood
Crimson flags wave above him. Steel-hard fists
Are raised aloft. The bones of the bourgeoisie whine.
But he speaks:
'All this is mine!
'Streets, palaces, canals, the Exchange, the Bank,
Arcades, granaries, gold, materials, food and drink,
Libraries, theatres, museums,
Pleasure grounds, boulevards, gardens and avenues,
Marble and splendour of bronze,
The poet's poem and the singer's song,
Towers, ships, cathedrals, space all round,
All this is mine!
The houses thunder back. The highway clamours.
The giant stands fast.



When all else fails . . .



. . . call in the goons

Death of Innocence
by Eddie Kleydman

Before my world became a nightmare
Drowned deep in all its glory
A wicked man once came along
In colors of all that's sad
He cried to me a bit
and in the mist of all his tears
He whispered love to me
And as the colors of his heart
Became apparent
Pain ripped my soul apart
The world turned black, and as I
Lay dying on my bed of flowers
I felt a tear drop down on my bare chest
And when I looked up to see my precious
His laughter showed me death

TO TOUCH THE GOLDEN MONKEY
by David Lipp

It's shine is too tempting to just touch it,
you want to be apart of it.
It's rigid curves excite you to the point
where just following it's contour lines
gives you an orgasm and makes you wet with envy.
The Golden Monkey is perfect in every way, shape, and form.
But what would you do to bask in its effervescent glow?
Would you sacrifice your morals?
Would you sacrifice your ideals?
Would you twist your words to show your loyalty?
Would you give up your beliefs, religion, respect, love, hate,
indifference, identity, way of life, point of view?
Would you bite the hand that feeds you?
Would you kiss every ass possible that was close to it?
Even if every ass person weighed 400 pounds and had a bad case of
hemorrhoids ready to explode in your face?
And what are you going to do when it's yours?
Will you segregate yourself from everyone
because you don't want to share?
Will you let it change your view?
Will you become what you once despised and talk like one of the
Howell's from Gilligan's Island and say such things as,
"Come lovely, we'll be late for the party"
or
"Let's go chat with Biff and Buffy".
Will you handcuff it to your arm? So when you wave good-bye, ev-
eryone will be forced to notice you, because no one really noticed you
before, and now you're everything everybody talks about.
Will you take pictures of yourself kissing it and send copies to all your
friends who really just despise you now, and would rather see you
burn instead of your picture?
Will you take it to parties and set it in front of you, and do a weird
classic rock tribal dance around it to show your admiration?
Will you put it in a comfortable chair, by your bed, next to a stack of
your favorite books, hoping it would up one and read from the latest
book on Elvis sightings where he was last seen at a McDonald's eating
cheeseburgers with Marilyn Monroe and James Dean.
Will you treat it like a lover and give it long erotic kisses?
Will you romance it with candlelight dinners under starry skies
giving it your undivided attention, because you love it so much?
Will you hold it until it's shine has gone?
or will you realize that the flesh and blood that once held you was a
better companion than thoughts of letting The Golden Monkey
charm your soul.

The Budget Hymn of the Republic
by Frank Giallombardo
(Read to the tune of "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?")

Once I was a student at C.S.I.
I studied hard night and day,
But then tuition rose high very high
Now I'm not attending class today.

I used to take four classes at four credits each
My average was at 3.9,
But college education is now out of my reach
Thinking about my future doesn't feel fine.

My parents couldn't help me; they had no funds
Financial aid, I too, can't expect,
They told me I should get a job or a loan
But I don't want to spend decades in debt.

I had my heart set on a scholarship
But didn't have the eligibility,
This isn't like it was twenty years ago
There's no way I can go to school for free.

I had two years left to graduate
My plans were for medical school,
I don't see how I'll finish at this rate
I'm just another drop-out unskilled fool.

Now I'm flipping burgers and sweeping stairs
They're paying me minimum wage,
But I'm afraid I'll have to collect welfare
With no degree I may end up in a cage.

SECRETS

Life

The pain is my domain
Everyday it rains
This domain is my pain
Killers and Hunters clouding my mind
The shroud of blood covering my eyes
Empty soulless corpses strewn along the street
Grasping the sky as life seeps out
in long dramatic breaths
Greeting the darkness with open arms
Gothic madness dancing along the halls of hell.

—Ode to the Lizard King—

A shaman he was
everything to reach
what he could not—
touch
What he finally received
was what he always perceived
was to step through the door
and take some more.
Riding the snake of truth
through waves of tension
that he never mentioned
leaving us hanging till
he opened his mind and fed us more.

—Escape—

Pain is never the same
all forms living in the
dorms of my mind
opening all doors to find
the most peaceful
I seek
not the bleek

But the bright
and right
Not wanting tomorrow's sorrows
Just releasing today's dismays
going to a home
where I can roam
Among those who are known
only to meI am free.

Meatshaker
by David Lipp

I dance for you
revealing all my inhibitions
I live for you
you can be my demolition
I have no self-esteem
but I'm confident you'll stay.

I am the meatshaker
shaking just for you
I'm living for your dirty looks
loving your pocket change
until your gone.

You want your meatshaker
to dance against the wall
you want your meatshaker
to spread her legs and fall.

I am the center of your attention
you overpower my discretion
until we reach the end of my reception
I'm poked and prodded for you dimension
praying to survive your mind's conception.

Someday I'll leave you
and then you'll fall apart
no more spare change to throw
and you'll be my personal meatshaker
so I can watch you shake your sweet ass for me.

Untitled
Nicole Susi

Sadness comes as happiness
Passes.
Her mind is filled with angry
Thoughts
She wishes to free her soul of such
Anger,
But it won't go away
worries about life, about
Anything
Are always on her mind.
Is she
Crazy?
No, just immersed in her
worries.
Why does she have these
Thoughts.
The question remains
Unanswered
She can not search for the
Answer
For it is too complex a
Dilemma
Why her? Why does she have such
thoughts?
such worries? Such
Fears?
Someone.... Take them
Away.

Murder
by Eddie Kleydman

As I caress my soul to sleep
I build a stronger castle
Against the envious that sit along the road
They preach their song and dance
While shoving fists far down my throat
As their corrupt beliefs
Come dancing in my head
And angels in the dark bleed sorrow
While holding on to what is left

The One Who is a Poet
by A Craig Whitney Disciple

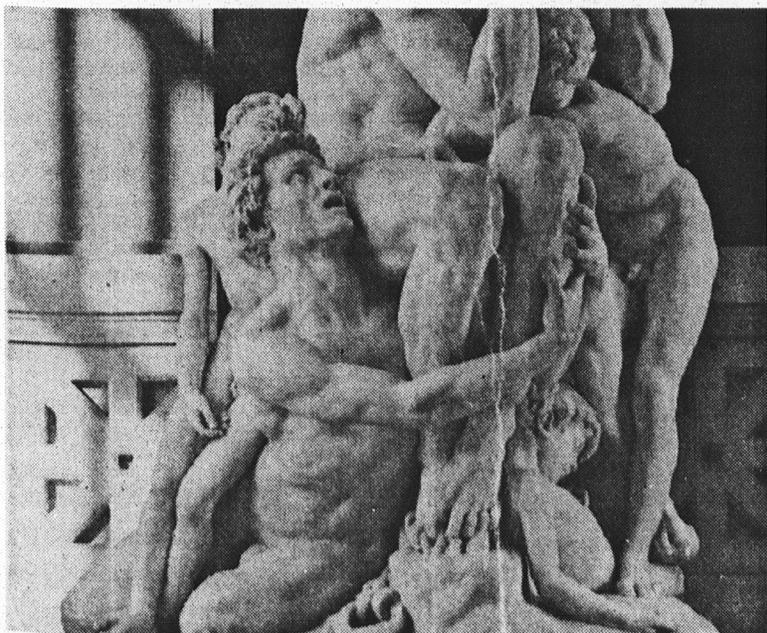
Behind that smile
Walk with you, and absolute sex
Laugh, smoke a joint
Behind those lonely eyes
Slowly
Mind games are being played
A joint together and I laugh
Call me up....
(How long will I have to wait)
Tell me what makes you cry
before we fucked
Do we have to be friends

My poetry, cured tender lips
Kiss me quickly,
watch me masturbate
Jerk me off with your pretty feet?
I see your body slink across the sheets
Hot teasing snake,
be my mother
Tell me your real name,
lets get drunk together

Discuss Oscar Wilde—haayeAHAHHH
Jim Morrison—Madonna—at everyone who turns and stares

Cry? Hide your tears
Lick my skin....Hold me closely,
Nothing is left?

Who really owns who
What we could do
We can.... fuck them over...



KOTITE'S ANXIOUS TO PRODUCE WINNER FOR JETS

By Tom Krasniqi

He still has to pinch himself to realize what has happened to him over the past few months. He's a Staten Island resident who's elated to be back with the New York Jets, a team he once worked as the offensive coordinator in the 1980's. He's a Wagner college alum, former boxer, and former head coach of the Philadelphia Eagles. He's the new head coach of the New York Jets. His name is Rich Kotite.

Recently on WSIA on our "Sports Action" show, James Speciale and I had the pleasure to interview Kotite. The first thing he mentioned was that he thought the Jets could be contenders this year. "I think we can contend this year, I really do", said Kotite. "We need to establish a winning attitude that we haven't had in a while. We need to relay that attitude to our players". Kotite plans on instilling this attitude early on in training camp and he wants to show the players that he means business.

When talking about his players, he immediately stated that he thought Boomer Esiason will be the starting QB when the Jets take the field in 1995. "I think Boomer can win for us. The guy is a proven winner. He's won in the past and he can win again. We just have to surround him with a supporting cast." But coach, what about the rumors that Boomer can't throw the ball deep anymore? "He still has the arm strength to throw the deep ball with accuracy. I've seen him do it". Kotite also expressed to acquire an experienced backup quarterback through free agency. Did anyone mention Bubby Brister? "Bubby is a guy who will be visiting us soon and he's the type of guy that we might be looking for". Brister spent the past couple of years with the Eagles under Kotite. Look for the Jets to sign Brister really soon.

So how do the Jets expect to improve from last year's dismal 6-10 showing? "We would like to improve our defense through free agency," Kotite explained. "The defensive line is a position which we would like to upgrade. The first thing we'd like to do is take care of our own guys who are free agents." That means trying to re-sign defensive lineman Jeff Lageman and Tony Casillas. The Jets are hotly pursuing free agent defensive lineman Kelvin Pritchett from the Detroit Lions. He could be signed by the time you folks read this. Should Pritchett sign with Gang Green, he will probably play defensive tackle and the Jets will likely move Donald Evans back to his old position at defensive end. That would signal the imminent departure of the inconsistent slacker, Marvin Washington. Other free agent defensive linemen that the Jets are interested in are Jeff Wright of Buffalo and Erik Howard of the Giants. The linebackers are the strong point of this team with Mo Lewis, Bobby Houston, and Marvin Jones. The secondary is a cause of concern with the departure of Ronnie Lott and thugs James Hasty and Brian Washington. However, help could be on the way. The list of defensive backs visiting the Jets are Gary Jones of Pittsburgh, Marty Carter of Tampa Bay, Mark Carrier of Chicago, Henry Jones of Buffalo, and James Washington of Dallas. The bet here is the Jets have fair chances of inking Jones of Pittsburgh and possibly James Washington of Dallas (more on him later).

Kotite said that Boomer Esiason could do the job if surrounded by the right supporting cast. He will have Pro Bowler Rob Moore, explosive tight end Johnny Mitchell, and running back Johnny Johnson. The Jets also resigned fullback Brad Baxter which means Kotite will emphasize more of a Northeastern type of football: controlling the clock with a power running game and then utilizing one of Boomer's strongest points. "Boomer is

one of the best play action passers ever to play in the NFL. We want to put pressure on the defense by running the ball effectively and using Boomer's play fake abilities to stretch the defense," Kotite explained. The Jets plan on bringing in free agent without Alvin Harper for an interview but don't expect anything out of that. The only thing the Jets may try to do is sign his ex Dallas teammate safety James Washington and hope that he persuades Harper to join the Jets but that's a long shot at best. Besides, the Jets can't afford to pay two receivers (Rob Moore is a franchise player which means he will earn \$2.45 million) over \$2 million a year. Kotite would like to play some of the younger receivers like Stevie Anderson, Ryan Yarborough, and Orlando Parker. "I want to give these young guys some quality playing time. They have speed to get deep and they have good hands. We can't let these guys sit on the bench anymore," Kotite confessed. "We have to get these young guys a chance to see what they could do". The offensive line is in good shape according to Kotite. "We have some young guys who are NFL caliber offensive linemen. This is the best group I have had and that includes my days when I was in Philly". Speaking of Philly, I asked the coach what happened with his relationship with Randall Cunningham. Kotite didn't hold anything back when talking about the enigmatic QB. "His play soured out over the last seven games. He made critical mistakes that lost us some games in the 4th quarter and then I had to bench him for the last couple of games," Kotite said.

Kotite said that the Philly situation was unfortunate but everything turned out for the best. "In Philadelphia, I just got caught in an ownership change and Mr. Lurie had the right to do whatever he wanted to with his team. He paid over \$200 million for it and that was just the way it went," Kotite said. "I think it turned out pretty well in the end. I'm working for the greatest owner in the history of sports. We can contend this year. We are going to show the fans that we'll play hard every time we hit the field." Let's hope so. Jets fans are growing restless but it looks like they have the man that can give them hope for the future. And if the future is next year, as Rich Kotite thinks it is, then Jets fans have a lot to look forward to in 1995. Besides, the Jets have the fifth place schedule and they just signed return specialist Dexter Carter.

QUICK OUTS: I don't expect to see major league baseball anytime soon. These guys don't care about damaging the integrity of the game. The players want to keep their undefeated streak in these labor disputes in tact. The owners predict that they will not blink first. Oh well, at least the World League of American Football is making their return this year (if anyone cares).....Giants' GM George Young doesn't seem to get it. This guy seems to take a long time to adjust to the free agent system. I think he's still looking for the Plan B lists. But seriously, Young faces a dilemma when it comes to David Meggett. Granted, the guy was the Giants MVP last year, but do you pay \$2 million for a third down back who returns punts? I wouldn't want to be in his shoes.....If I see the Ranger players show up at another fancy place holding that Stanley Cup up over the heads, I will explode! This is getting ridiculous!! They did it again at the ESPYs, whatajoke! (then again, I think the ESPYs are lame altogether). These guys are so hung up glowing over what happened last year, they have lost their focus on what's on hand which is trying to repeat.....Your 1995 NCAA national champions in college basketball will be.....(drum roll, please).....The Uni-

CSI BASKETBALL MAKES THE SEASON WORTHWHILE

By Tom Krasniqi

The College of Staten Island basketball program made great strides this season evoking memories of years past. The Dolphins finished the regular season 20-6 and earned an at large bid to the NCAA Division III tournament. At press time, they were scheduled to take on Jersey City State in the first round of the tournament.

CSI dominated the CUNY in the 1980's winning the CUNY championships as often as the Lakers won the NBA championship. When you talk about the success of the 1994-1995 CSI team, you have to start with their All-CUNY backcourt consisting of seniors Rommel Santos and Kirk Staine. Santos, who lost out on CUNY Player of the Year honors by two votes, performed consistently at a high level of play and intensity. The point guard led CSI in scoring (19.7 ppg), FT% (87%), 3 PT shooting and percentage (37 for 81 46%), assists (140), and steals (50). His foul shooting during crunch time was as automatic as his fadeaway baseline jumpshot. Santos' backcourt mate, Kirk Staine finished second on the team in scoring (14.8 ppg). The 6'2" shooting guard finished up the regular season with 1635 career points, just 82 shy of the all-time scoring mark held by current CSI head coach Tony Petosa. Staine also finished the year averaging 4 rebounds per game and played good defense compiling a total of 41 steals, second only to Santos. The backcourt of Staine and Santos gave CSI one of the best the school has ever had.

The CSI frontcourt was led by 6'5" forward/center senior Rick Maida. Maida averaged 13.1 ppg and led the team in rebounding averaging 8.6 boards per contest. Maida also led the team in blocked shots with 24. Maida's career point total is over 1,000 and his rebounds are over 700 for his career. Jack Westrenen provided good all around play at both sides averaging 6.1 ppg. The starting frontcourt welcomed a new member to its starting lineup in the form of 6'7" Chris Kelly. The St. Joseph's by the Sea product started at center and made major contributions. He averaged 9 ppg and 7.2 rebounds and played some good interior defense. Kelly and Westrenen are both sophomores and should provide a bright future for the Dolphins up front.

A major strength on the team this year was the bench play. When they needed a spark, they got it from seniors Fred Blaskovich and Terrence Aiken, along with freshmen John Cali and Brian Gasper. The 6'5" Blaskovich averaged 6.7 ppg and 4.9 rebounds per game off the bench. His size (245 lbs.) was very useful on defense and on the offensive glass (finished third on the team in rebounding). Newcomer Terrence Aiken demonstrated great athleticism and intensity. Whenever the 6'3" Aiken entered the game, he provided a huge lift for the Dolphins averaging 9.1

ppg. A pair of freshmen really came on to contribute. John Cali from Monsignor Farrell handled the back up point guard duties and served as Rommel Santos' understudy. Forward Brian Gasper from Port Richmond High School really came on late in the year and both he and Cali will provide stability for the Dolphins for years to come.

CSI had some big wins this year and the biggest one was probably the 79-76 victory over nationally ranked New Jersey Tech. They won at Hunter on Jan. 17 by the score of 95-83. They also defeated Albany in December in a preseason tourney. The Dolphins also posted a season sweep of York College.

On top of all this, CSI will be moving to a brand new facility on the Willowbrook campus. It has promised to be one of the finest facilities around. In fact, the CUNY tournament next year will be held at the new CSI facility which is believed to have a seating capacity of 2,500. No matter what happens in the upcoming Division III tourney, the CSI Dolphin basketball team has to be happy about their accomplishments and should be more appreciated by the students and residents of Staten Island.

Dolphins Nab More Awards

by Tom Watson

It was announced on Monday March 3rd that for the second year in a row, Dolphins basketball Head Coach Tony Petosa has been tabbed Skyline Conference "Coach of the Year", after leading the Dolphins to an overall season record of 20-7 and a Skyline record of 8-2 this was his most successful campaign as Head coach and the first time he has won the award solo, last year he had to share with Hunter Hawks Head Coach Ray Amalbert. Petosa in his 6th year as Head coach had a little help in getting the award, guys like Rommel Santos, Kirk Staine and Rick Maida also had award winning years for the Dolphins. Santos, who incidentally missed being the City University of New York Athletic Conference's Player of the Year by a slim 2 points and had to settle for first team honors in the CUNYAC, was also honored by the Skyline on Monday with All-Skyline Conference first team honors, Santos closed out his career with a stellar offensive performance in the Dolphin's first round loss in the NCAA Division III Championship Tournament, he finished with 30 points against a team that was ranked first in the country in Field Goal % Defense, proving once more that Santos should have been Player of the Year. Seniors Kirk Staine and Rick Maida were also honored by the Skyline Conference, they are members of the All-Skyline Conference second team. Staine had been honored by the CUNYAC earlier this year with first team honors. This was an exceptional way to wrap up an outstanding year for a basketball team that returned to prominence in two competitive conferences. With the loss of Seniors - Staine, Santos, Maida and Fred Blaskovitch there will be a big void to fill next year, but with a winning foundation like this the Dolphins should still be a factor next, with more award winning prospects on the horizon.

Hey you sports fans there is life after "big game.". Join the rally on March 23

College Hoops '95: Who's The Real #1

By James Speciale

As the NCAA Tournament and all the excitement of March Madness draws near there are still about ten teams in College Basketball who have a legitimate shot at cutting down the nets in Seattle come the first Monday in April.

In a year when there have been six teams in the top spot not one has been able to grab hold, run and hide. U.C.L.A. has been the latest to lay claim to Number One; however, College Hoop fans know of their NCAA Tourney under achievements (first round exit last year, second round the year before).

The season kicked off with defending Champion Arkansas as the top team, but after getting jacked up by UMass in Springfield, they dropped out. A team loaded with superstar talent, the Razorbacks have since fallen from the top 5 with 5 losses. Still, all that said, Nolan Richardson's squad is way too talented to say they can't repeat. Next up is North Carolina for the first of two trips they would make in the catbird's seat. Carolina is a team that may have the best starting 5 in the country (Arkansas is a close second) yet lacks the

depth that may prevent The Dean of Coaches from getting his second title in three years. Led by Super-Sophomores Jerry Stackhouse and Rasheed Wallace (probable All-Americans who may look to the N.B.A. for millions come season's end) Carolina could possibly win despite 5 starters playing 30+ minutes a night. Sandwiched in between UNC'S two appearances, at the top was UMass, whom is currently sinking faster than a cement block in the Hudson. Since an injury to star Center Marcus Camby that resulted in two losses to conference rival George Washington, and head coach John Calipari's decision to suspend senior guard Mike Williams for the season due to a violation of teams rules, UMass has not had the continuity it displayed in January.

Still, they stand a subpar chance of getting to the final four. Carolina again laid claim only to lose to ACC rival Maryland. Enter the UConn Huskies, whose women's team is also the top team in the country. The Huskies ran through the first half of the season, especially the overrated Big East, like a hot knife through butter. They went on to get trounced at home by conference rival Villanova. UConn is a legitimate Final Four contender due to their intense defense, but I believe their lack of an inside force will keep them out. May I have the ballot please??? This week's lucky winner is the Kansas Jayhawks. Congratulations!!!! Your stay at Number One will last a whopping 24 hours. Yes! Kansas is upset on Big Monday by arch Big - 8 rival Oklahoma. At the time of print U.C.L.A. still held the

top spot for two weeks. So stay tuned. Led by senior All-American forward Ed O'Bannon, brother Charles, and lead guard Tyus Edney, the Bruins hope to change past Tournament results and get the monkey off of much criticized coach Jim Harrick's back.

I feel that many of these teams can make a legitimate push for the coveted crown: Kentucky (depth and defense wins in the tourney) Maryland (great coach Gary Williams, superstar in Joe Smith) Arizona (team defense All-American Damon Stoudamire) Virginia (depth, solid guard play) Wake Forest (stars Randolph Childress and Tim Duncan).

Hey Sports Fans-

Glad to see some sports in the Voice? Think you can do better? How about getting in on the action. Come by the Voice offices in 1C-203 and tell us you're interested in Sports reporting.

Lady Dolphin Hoops: Getting There

By James Speciale

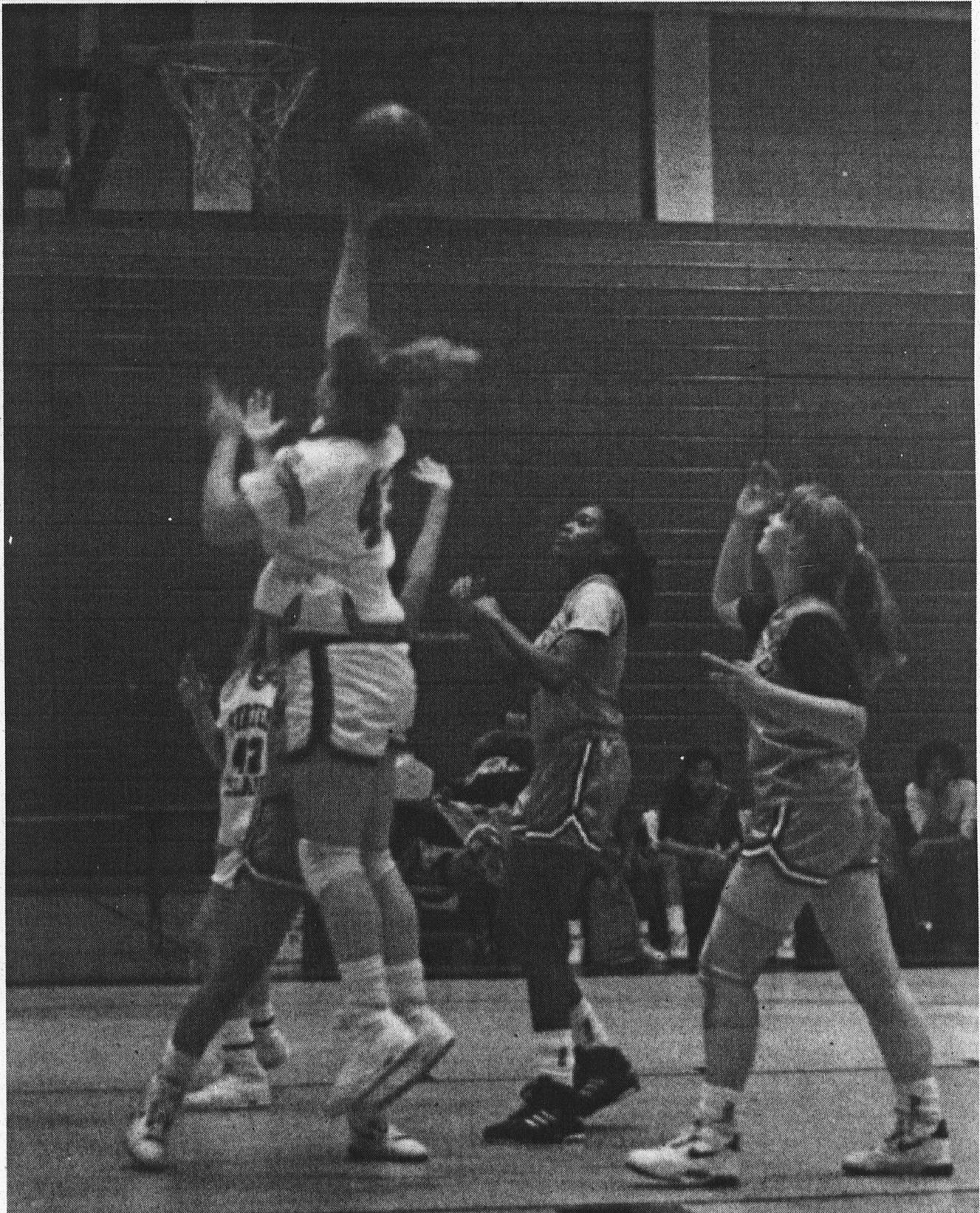
As the C.S.I. Men's Hoop Team prepares for the NCAA Division Three Tournament, the Women's team can only sit back and dream of a similar feeling. It's been two years now that the April Owen Chapter has closed and the Lady Dolphins led by a very dedicated coach in Gerry Mosely, have struggled enormously.

Although the team's record does not show it (10-16) the Dolphins made a marked improvement from last years squad. The main problem seems to be that they are caught in a numbers game. Without the dominant star (like an Owen or even a Mia Arcuri) role players at best like Lynn Saunders, Lily-Ann Sciametta, and Darlene Lewis can't carry this team past CUNY powerhouses, such as Hunter and CCNY.

Though still a young team, major improvement was shown from the three team leaders mentioned above as well as talent from Kerri O'Brien, Jen Massiello, and Michelle Monahan. Newcomers Stephanie Bird (St. Joseph by the Sea) Soulindia Galindez contributed nicely at times, yet must make strides like the rest did to make this team competitive next year.

To the womens' credit they were a team that played hard, never quit, and for the 7 or 8 who showed, were very dedicated. Saunders, Sciametta, Lewis, and O'Brien seem to be the nucleus which coach Mosely must build around. These four are the type of four-year players that can help a team win on the College level. I believe O'Brien, along with Lewis, seems to be the most improved player. Meanwhile, Lynn and Lily have the hearts of lions and often spend as much time on the floor going for loose balls, than they do on their feet. The co-captains are clearly the heart and soul of this squad. Sciametta showed a major improvement with her shooting in the second half that struggled enormously and miserably in the first. Saunders led the team in scoring.

With some new players next, if everybody returns (no seniors on this year's team) these dedicated lady Dolphins can definitely make some noise.



**STUDENT
STRIKE
AGAINST THE
CUTS**

**SHUT THE
CITY DOWN!**

**CITY HALL, NOON
THURS., MARCH 23**

**By subway: R or N to City Hall; 4 or 6 to Brooklyn
Bridge; 2 to Park Place; A or C to Chambers Street**

CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts
Call (212) 642-2549 CUNY Budget Cut Hotline

CSI Chapter located in the Campus Center (Bldg. 1C) room 230 - 982-3091