

The Graduate Student Advocate

City University of New York

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Whither the PTU?

By Vincent Tirelli

The Part-Time Instructional and Research Staff Union (PTU) was a group of CUNY adjunct lecturers who organized in 1983 to try to improve the working conditions for CUNY adjuncts. I joined the PTU in 1986 and was an active member for two years. The PTU has not been active since 1988,

Union encouraged adjuncts to sign union authorization cards in an attempt to decertify the PSC as the collective bargaining agent for part-timers. I want to relate some of the PTU's story because the current New York fiscal crisis presents us with a bleak future regarding educational funding, and

Commentary

but my experience has taught me some valuable lessons.

Some folks think that adjunct lecturer jobs are merely another way of giving graduate students money while they labor through their "apprenticeship" in order to learn their craft. But the adjunct system does not so much bring to mind the image of the guild system as it does modern forms of labor such as the exploited factory worker or the migrant farm worker. In these days of shrinking budgets, administrative needs often take precedence over education needs. This means larger classes, fewer resources, and a preference by "management" for a labor pool that can be easily shifted around as dictated by budgetary needs. In this process the adjuncts become the interchangeable parts.

During the New York State fiscal crisis of the 1970s, CUNY responded to budgetary problems by doing what so many other colleges nationwide have done—they hired vast numbers of part-time faculty, in order to save millions of dollars in salaries and benefits annually. What kind of response will City University make this time, and what will it mean for adjuncts? More importantly, for the moment, what can we expect from the Professional Staff Congress (PSC)—the union that nominally represents all CUNY faculty and staff—as our bargaining agent?

The number of adjuncts employed by CUNY has risen dramatically; they now make up over forty percent of the teaching staff. Who "represents" these part-time workers? The PSC has a legal obligation to negotiate in good faith for its bargaining unit. Nevertheless, there has developed a two-tier faculty system in which almost half of the bargaining unit, i.e. part-timers, are consistently excluded from any significant representation.

In 1983 and again in 1986, representatives of the Part-Time Instructional and Research Staff

I do not have much faith that the Professional Staff Congress is going to protect our interests.

The PTU has had two active periods which correspond to the two "open-window" periods in which groups may challenge the incumbent union (the PSC) to a certification election. This election would determine which group has the right to represent the bargaining unit, i.e. the CUNY staff. It is only during the legally designated challenge period that the PTU (or any group) may lawfully engage on campus in activities such as campaigning—encouraging adjuncts to sign union authorization cards—in order to decertify the incumbent union. The PTU's claim was that part-timers constitute a separate community of interests, and it was this specific group within the bargaining unit that we sought to represent, because we were convinced that the PSC would do nothing to significantly improve working conditions for adjuncts.

Reasons to be Skeptical

I welcome any efforts that the PSC makes on behalf of adjuncts. But I am skeptical, and with good reason. Early in the 1982-1983 academic year, PTU members Jeff Gerson (Political Science) and Jonathan Lang (Philosophy) had asked PSC Executive Director Arnold Cantor and President Irwin Polishook for permission to establish a separate chapter for adjuncts within the PSC, as well as

Continued on page 2.

Victim of Protest?

Yolanda Alvarez is an undergraduate student and single mother who attends Hunter College. One of the protestors involved in the on-going strike at Hunter College, Yolanda was interviewed by Rolanda Watts of Channel 7 News on May 4th and was on the air for 5 minutes.

Yolanda had taken out a guaranteed student loan from New York State a few years ago. On April 23rd, she was told that she will not be eligible for financial aid next year, and that the State will not pay for her aid this semester.

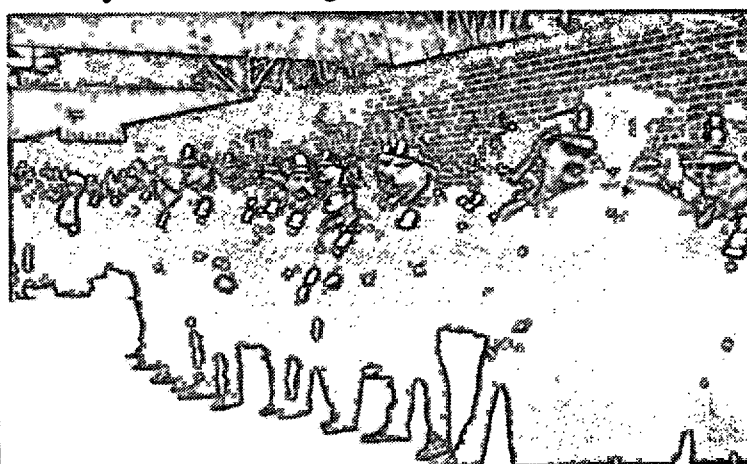
When Yolanda called Albany to protest the State's action, she was told by a Ms. Deeds that her loan had been placed in default, and that the only way she could continue receiving financial aid was to begin repaying her loan immediately, at the rate of \$100 per month. Yolanda told Ms. Deeds that even though she would like to pay the State the amount requested, she could only afford \$30 a month. "I told the woman that I was on disability, and that after paying my medical bills I could only pay that amount." Mrs. Deeds told Yolanda that \$30 payments were unacceptable. "You people should get jobs and not go to school," she told Yolanda. When Yolanda protested this decision, saying that they had placed her loan in default without informing her, Ms. Deeds replied that the only way that she could get the loan default removed is to be "in a hospital bed on a respirator."

Yolanda felt that it was a coincidence that she found out about the default only in April, when the student protest began at Hunter. "I want to go to school, but they won't let me. They will only let me go to school once I pay the \$3,000 loan. What I can't understand is that there are \$40 billion in unpaid loans. They don't get bothered and I do. It's just harassment."

Continued on page 16.

CUNY Students Strike Police Brutality Alleged

By Andrew Long & Christine Hutchins



New York's Finest at John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Faced with the possibility of a \$23 million cut to the CUNY budget, student protests have once again erupted in at City University. CUNY campuses have been awash with rallies and demonstrations for the past three weeks.

May 1st — Students rallied at the World Trade Center to protest the proposed cuts. A total of eight students were arrested. According to the May 7th issue of *The Meridian*, the student newspaper of Lehman College, "the police where visibly brutal in their arrests."

May 2nd — Students at Hunter College blocked traffic on Lexington Avenue for approximately three hours. The next day, rallies at the Hunter College campus began at noon. Students disrupted a telecast of the Daily News Golden Gloves boxing match held on campus in an attempt to gain publicity, and began a five-day occupation of the administration building. Paul LeClerc, president of Hunter College, issued a statement on May 4th stating, "I do not condone or accept the student occupation of Hunter College East," and asked that students "work together with us in an appropriate and constructive fashion to make our unified voices heard in Albany and in the public arena." By May 7th the Hunter College East was open to the public, although protesters were allowed to remain camped outside LeClerc's office.

May 7th — Students at LaGuardia Community College chained the doors to the campus administration building and held it until the next day, when police and campus security guards broke the chains and removed the students.

May 8th — Students at City College broke through a line of security guards in front of their administration building and occupied it until the following day.

May 9th — Full-scale discussions between students and administration officials at Hunter College began. Meanwhile, student unrest continued at Lehman College, where students occupied the library, and at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, where a protest rally was staged in front of the North Building.

Police Brutality Alleged

May 10th — The rally at John Jay College of Criminal Justice erupted into violence when police moved in to make arrests and were met with a volley of bottles. During the ensuing confrontation, ten students were arrested and four students and two policemen required medical attention. Students rallied at North Hall throughout the day and at 4:30 P.M. attempted to meet with President Gerald Lynch. He refused to meet with the students. In response, the students formed a human chain around the 10th Avenue building. The private security guards who were posted at each doorway in

Continued on page 19.

Inside

Around & About The Center..	2
Editorials & Letters.....	4
Reflections & Commentary....	5
World.....	7
Arts & Events.....	13
Announcements.....	20

Bennett Graff on Cafe Paradiso.....	13
Jarrod Hayes on the Mystery Homophobe.....	6
Elliot Jünger on German Reunification.....	5
Binita Mehta on Indian Memories.....	15
Caroline Pari on the F.L.I.....	3
Thomas Smith on Brian Guerre.....	5
Vincent Tirelli on the PTU.....	1
Plus Dueling Pedagogies, Mr. Update & More	
DSC Election Results.....	17

Around & About The Center

Whither the PTU?

Continued from page 1.

a separate rider on the contract, thus giving adjuncts a role in contract negotiations. The requests were denied, according to Lang, on the grounds that if such requests were granted, then every group which constitutes a different faculty level would want a separate chapter, e.g. a chapter for associate professors, one for assistant professors, etc. Gerson and Lang argued that part-timers constitute a unique community of interests. They began to pursue the idea of a separate, break-away union. (Gerson and Lang both received their Ph.Ds in Spring 1990, proving that activists do graduate.)

In the Spring of 1983, Paul Wagner, an adjunct, decided to run for PSC Vice President for Part-Time Members of the Instructional Staff. He was part of a group called the Association of Part-Time Faculty (APTF), which merged with the PTU in 1986. APTF wanted to work within the PSC and try to improve adjunct conditions. Wagner was able to get about two hundred adjuncts to sign up for the PSC as dues-paying, voting members. The PSC Executive Council managed to have the rules changed shortly before the election. Under the new election rules, instead of only part-timers voting for the Vice President for Part-Time Members, as the PSC Constitution had previously allowed, the amended PSC Constitution allows "the entire membership" to vote for this office. According to Gerson, the PSC portrayed this as a "democratizing" measure, since in addition to the above changes the new rules also allowed part-time members to vote for the general officers who represent senior and community colleges, a right previously denied to adjuncts. In other words, now adjuncts could vote for the executive leadership, of whom many run unopposed anyway; and everybody, both full-timers and part-timers, may vote for the adjuncts' representative. Thus Paul Wagner was defeated by the votes of full-timers; and Susan Praeger, a member of the winning slate, won the election for Vice President for Part-Time Members and has not been seriously challenged in an election since that time.

The manipulations of the election procedure by the PSC convinced the PTU that the PSC leadership is not interested in helping adjuncts, but only with helping the University use adjuncts to balance the budget. In my brief interactions with Arnold Cantor and Susan Praeger (at a February, 1987 forum on adjuncts sponsored by DSA-CUNY), the impression that I came away with was that they just do not understand the gravity of the adjunct

dilemma. Their expressed beliefs indicated that they saw the PTU as a bunch of upstarts looking for trouble. Are we upstarts and troublemakers to want to be fairly represented by our union?

The 1986 Campaign For Decertification

During the 1986 attempt by the PTU to decertify the PSC, I was only partially optimistic that we would get enough adjuncts to sign union authorization cards in the time allotted. I say "partially" because although there was an abundance of support for the PTU among adjuncts, the obstacles to a certification election were great. We could not get any help from any other union because the PSC is part of the American Federation of Teachers and of the AFL-CIO. There is a no-raid pact among member unions which prevents any of them from helping an "outside" group in a challenge against a member union. Nevertheless, with a small staff of volunteers and in a short period of time we signed up well over a thousand members. Though we fell short of the required number needed to challenge the PSC to a certification election, the fact that we came close to it under such adverse circumstances shows the depth of the dissatisfaction that adjuncts have for the PSC.

We did not have an abundance of resources to even find, much less sign up the legally necessary percentage of adjuncts (at least 1/3 of @ 5,000) to challenge the PSC to a certification election. It was an enormous task to locate, within the three-month challenge period, adjuncts who frequently change the location of their workplace, not to mention their home addresses. In any case, even without achieving our goal of decertification of the PSC, the process of our campaign brought with it some small victories by politicizing the issue of union representation for adjuncts. Considering the obstacles placed before us, we did amazingly well.

CUNY Neutrality?

The PTU argued that the University administration did not act with neutrality, even though required by State law to remain neutral during a union organizing campaign. A revealing moment occurred during a preliminary conference, held March 11, 1987, at the New York State Public Employees Relations Board (PERB), the institution that governs these matters. In support of the PSC, CUNY Associate Counsel Jane Denkensohn explained why part-timers should continue to be represented by the PSC. She cited

the long-term "mature" and "stable" relationship CUNY and the PSC have developed over the years. In other words, why rock the boat?

The PTU argued that the University was not neutral in four instances: in the timeliness of CUNY's response to our request for the names and addresses of adjuncts; in its interpretation of the length of time of the challenge period; in interfering with our members while they were engaged in campaign activity on campus; in reducing the time requirements for adjunct health benefits during the challenge period.

When we requested of the University the list of all CUNY adjuncts, we were first given a computer printout listing more than 10,000 faculty members. The list did not explain who were full-timers and who were part-timers. The PTU's attorneys persisted and we finally received a list of adjuncts, but valuable time had been lost. It was October 17th when we received the list. We had old mailing lists, but adjuncts move more frequently than other human beings and they are not easy to pin down at the colleges either, because their place of work often changes due to the job security package negotiated by the PSC.

While the PTU maintained that the challenge period in which groups can challenge the incumbent union on campus was for six months beginning May 1, 1986, CUNY Associate Counsel Denkensohn informed us that it was for 90 days beginning on August 1, 1986. The "open-window" period in which we could file a petition for certification with PERB was between November 1, 1986 and November 30, 1986. Thus we had the months of August, September, October, and part of November to organize. Forget about August at CUNY. That left us with less than three months to sign up the necessary thirty percent of the adjuncts. We needed more than the thirty percent enrollment to insure that PERB had no doubts as to our having reached the necessary number. CUNY never seems to be quite certain how many adjuncts it is employing at any given moment. We had our work cut out for us.

On at least two occasions, the University security prevented our members from signing up new members on campus. These two incidents occurred just after the "open window" period, but we claimed that this period should be extended, due to CUNY's untimeliness in providing us with a list of adjuncts. After the two incidents—Tom Smith at Brooklyn College and John Antici at Queens College—we filed unfair labor practice charges against the University. PERB decided partially in our favor. We sought the

extension, but as time wore on, this point became moot. What we won was a six-month challenge period.

PERB's decision offers some hope for the future. The challenge period, we were told by the University, was the three months prior to the beginning of the "open-window period." We always thought it should be six months, in part because of the near impossibility of organizing during the summer months. When PERB handed down its decision that the challenge period should be six months, it was a partial victory for the PTU—a sort of compromise decision in the unfair labor practice charges that we had filed. We were not awarded the extension we had sought in 1986, but PERB's decision gives us or any other group that challenges the PSC a more reasonable amount of time in which to do it. However, the current contract expires August 31, 1990, thus the "open window" period for this contract has already expired.

Smack in the middle of the 1986 challenge period in which the University was required to remain neutral, "an agreement was reached between the PSC and university management" which changed the qualifying requirements for adjunct health benefits from ten consecutive semesters in the same department at the same college to six consecutive semesters and the "same-department" requirement was dropped, as reported in the September, 1986 issue of the *PSCcuny Clarion*. Although the PSC will

probably deny that we were responsible for a reduction in time-requirements necessary for adjuncts to receive health benefits, it seems that this gain was a result of PTU pressure. It apparently was done to undercut the PTU's growing support. In the 1987 contract agreement, the PSC negotiated adjunct qualifying requirements for health benefits down to two courses for two consecutive semesters in the same college. I am convinced that this concession was gained due to PTU mobilization.

Whither Representation?

During our 1986 campaign, I expected that the PTU would put pressure on the PSC and that we would publicize and politicize the adjunctification of the university. We did that with some success, but it is a continuing struggle.

Whether we prefer a separate union for adjuncts or to be part of a PSC that fairly represents us is a legitimate point of debate. But the real point is that the PSC will not represent us if we do not force the issue. This is one of the lessons I have learned. The other lesson is that as things stand we can only make the PSC represent us by posing a political threat to its leaders. The leaders of the PSC are blind to the exploitation in which they participate. It is not just a bad deal for adjuncts. It is harmful to City University as a whole. ☞

Vincent Tirelli, a former Chair of the Doctoral Students' Council, is a student of political science.

An Open Letter to all Cultural Anthropology Students and Faculty

On the eighteenth of May, twenty students of Cultural Anthropology met and agreed to form an organization to address the concerns and promote the interests of Cultural Anthropology students in the CUNY graduate program.

Our intention is to create an ongoing forum to address issues including: communication between students and faculty; the

need for improved grievance procedures; the need for greater and more effective student representation in departmental decision-making processes; and the development of cooperative solutions to larger structural constraints.

This organization is open to, and encourages participation of, all Cultural Anthropology students.

Correction

Due to editorial and production errors, statements by international political figures cited by Brian Guerre in his article, "Communism, Democracy & U.S. Imperialism" [*The Advocate*, April 1990] were incomplete. The first quotation, attributed to former U.S. President Richard Nixon, should have read: "We use 30 percent of all the [world's] energy... That isn't bad; that is good. That means we are the richest, strongest people in the world and that we have the highest standard of living... This is why we need so much energy, and may it always be that way." The second quotation, attributed to Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, should have read: "We are ready to support the democratization of Eastern Europe and help them bring about a new order."

Around & About The Center

Intensive and Beyond:

The Foreign Language Institute & The Latin/ Greek Institute

By Caroline Pari

The late Sixties were a time of love beads, folk songs, and student unrest. It was a time of questioning authority, standards and requirements. At the University of California, Berkeley campus in 1967, graduate students were demanding that the ancient language requirement be eliminated or modified. Floyd Moreland, Dean for Student Affairs, was at that time a graduate student in the classics department at Berkeley. He met the students' protest by creating a more meaningful requirement. Rather than having the Latin exam be just another academic hurdle, graduate students were allowed to learn the rudiments of Latin first, and then to begin reading Latin literature. And if it could be done in one summer, students would no longer have to waste limited time, energy and resources taking three years of undergraduate Latin. "The idea was to create a program where we could push students as far as we could possibly push them," Dean Moreland told *The Advocate*. "The experiment

worked! The original sixteen students, our so-called 'guinea pigs,' finished the program with a superior command of Latin." The Latin Institute was born, and twenty-three years later it has acquired international status.

Students have not changed much in nearly three decades. Presently, students in the Ph.D program in English are questioning both the validity of the ancient language requirement and the limited choice of French or German to fulfill the modern languages requirement. The 1987-1989 Graduate School Bulletin reveals that seven Ph.D programs require students to pass an exam in Latin or Greek. More than twenty-five programs at the Graduate School require students to be tested for reading knowledge of one or more modern languages.

Dean Moreland understands the protest against the ancient language requirement. As a professor of Classics, however, he feels that Latin "is an important founda-

tion, particularly for people in literature. There is so much Latin, not just rhetorical theory, but the excitement of seeing what Horace does with language, for example, that is central to literature of all ages. There is something to be gained from exposure to Latin or Greek." Rita Fleischer, Administrative Director of the Foreign Language Institute (FLI), agrees with Dean Moreland. "You can't read Chaucer or Milton or any classic author without knowing their references to Latin and Greek works," she said.

A recent doctoral graduate from the English Program, Mark Goldblatt, believes that unless a student's work requires knowledge of an ancient language, there is no reason to learn it, although he also stated that he would "hate to see the English program diminish in stature because the requirement was eliminated." In contrast, Dean Moreland believes that such changes may be healthy. "The educational system

Continued on page 19.

DEAR
MR.
UPDATE

Dear Mr. Update:

I've noticed that some of the machines in the Computer Center have insufficient memory to run WordPerfect 5 or Nota Bene 3. Is there a way of getting around this?

Data Freak

Dear Data:

There are a few PCs with 512K of memory instead of the maximum (for DOS) 640K at the Computer Center. In theory this is enough memory to run both WP and NB—provided you don't have Novell software and menus also occupying the memory. The way around the problem—at least until the Computer Center upgrades everything to 640K—is to run the programs from the DOS prompt instead of the Novell menu: at the Novell menu press ESC and exit the menu; then at the F:\GUEST> prompt type WP51 for WordPerfect 5.0, WP51 for version 5.1, or type NB for Nota Bene 3.0. The programs will all begin perfectly normally.

Dear Mr. Update:

I find the Computer Center's file translation and transfer facilities primitive and awkward. Are there plans to improve the facilities? If not, why not? And why isn't there any documentation?

Convertin' Burton

Dear Convertin':

Hopefully things will be much more satisfactory in the Fall. The Computer Center is standardizing all file transfers by moving to FTP (file transfer protocol), a program that is available on both the mainframe (VAX, VM) and personal computers (Mac, PC). The object is to make knowing a number of different programs (MacLink, Procomm, Kermit, etc.) unnecessary, and to simplify the transfer of files between these computers, as well as with others worldwide. If you need to transfer files on a regular basis you should ask a Consultant to show you FTP. Documentation should be available soon.

File translation is more of a problem because every program has its own file format. All the programs in common use at the Computer Center have some import and export capabilities. There are also some translation programs available (for both the Mac and PC) that the Consultant can show you. In addition, if you need to transfer files between the PC and the Mac you should learn how to use the Mac "Superdrive" that I discussed in a previous column.

Dear Mr. Update:

I have a lot of trouble trying to control the Novell Network printers. Sometimes I never get anything, sometimes I get gibberish, and occasionally I get what I want. How can I make this less hit and miss?

No Picnic

Dear No:

One way is to understand a little bit about the process in order to be able to manipulate it properly. The first thing to realize is that when you are connected to a Network printer there is often a considerable delay. Your computer will process the document completely and send it off to the

Continued on page 16.

Responding to the Mystery Homophobe

Outrage was the response to the anonymous West Hall Mystery Homophobe's letter printed in the April issue of *The Advocate*. In the letter, the Mystery Homophobe admitted that he or she had torn off the 10th floor bulletin boards announcements posted by the Organization for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Concerns, a group of graduate students and faculty chartered by the Doctoral Students' Council. Such actions are in violation of Rule I-1 in the 1989-1991 Bulletin.

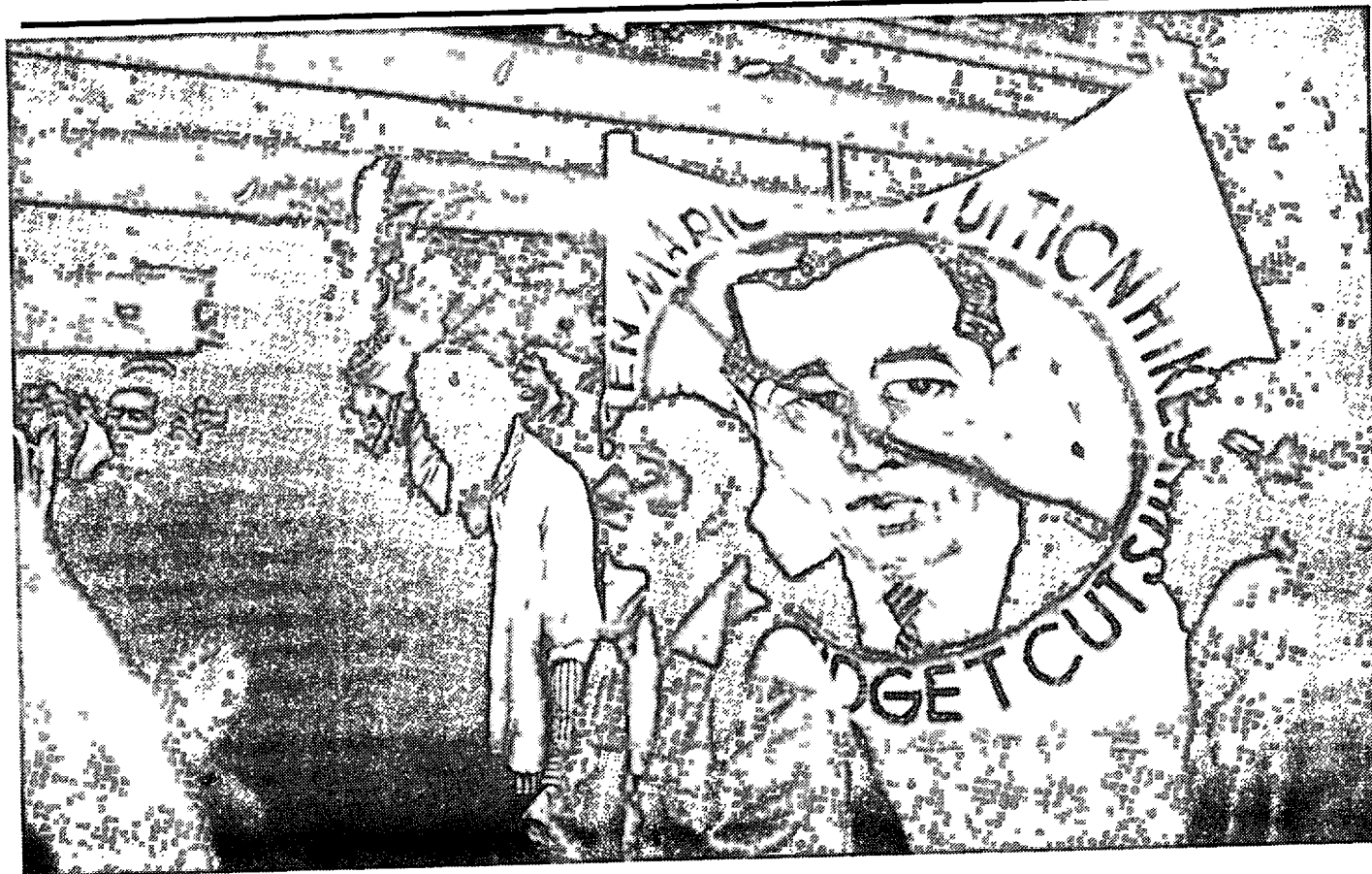
The Organization for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Concerns held an emergency meeting, after which Dr. Jonathan Lang sent a letter to President Proshansky requesting "appropriate and prompt action" against the perpetrator for violation of the chartered organization's "right to publicize its business meetings and social receptions." Dr. Lang also suggested that a

"satisfactory response to this request would announce (1) that such homophobic actions are in violation of the Rules and Regulations for the Maintenance of Public Order Pursuant to Article 129A of the Education Law and are subject to penalties, (2) that this incident will be investigated and the person or persons responsible for violation and offence will be duly prosecuted to the full extent of the Law, (3) if possible, encourage support of the proposed New York State Bias Bill which would provide for more severe punishment of criminal actions proven to be motivated by discrimination based on race, ethnicity or sexual orientation, than of criminal acts which are not so motivated...."

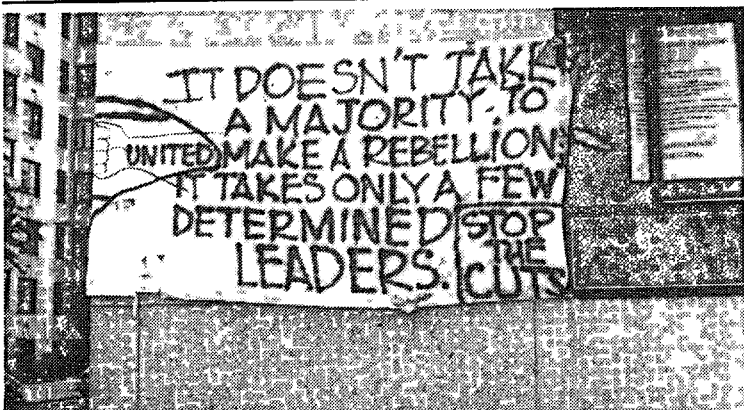
Responding to Dr. Lang's letter, Floyd L. Moreland, Dean for Student Affairs, sent a memorandum dated May 15th to the residents of West Hall. In no uncertain terms,

Dean Moreland wrote: "Any student engaging in conduct prohibited by the Rules and Regulations on pages 403-406 of the Bulletin, will be subject to disciplinary action in accordance with the regulations of The City University of New York."

A photocopy of "Sleepers"—a 19th century painting of two nude women in bed by Gustave Courbet—was tacked on the West Hall 10th floor bulletin board. Soon the photocopy was covered with graffiti, presumably written by the Mystery Homophobe, who thanked the unknown person for exhibiting the Courbet reproduction. After this new incident, West Hall Resident Assistants announced that the weekly study break of May 10th would be a "Celebration of Difference." Twice the usual number of residents attended the study break, and indicated their intolerance for bigotry. The event was a resounding success. ☺



Editorials



Whose Rhetoric?

Although we support the CUNY students who are protesting—at great personal risk—the impending budget cuts, and although we recognize the political importance of such actions as the occupation of college administration buildings, we cannot help but wonder what it is they are trying to accomplish when they use phrases like the one plastered on the wall of the CUNY 80th Street administrative headquarters: “It doesn’t take a united majority to make a rebellion; it takes only a few determined leaders.” We respect the protesters’ courage and determination; we deplore their Leninist rhetoric.

Sexual Politics

Despite the pressing need for minority and women faculty and administrators at CUNY, the Chancellor Search Committee’s short list includes only two white males and one white female, according to *The New York Times* [5/18/90]. The *Times* reported that Dr. W. Ann Reynolds, the Search Committee’s woman candidate, “submitted her resignation as chancellor in California in a dispute with the trustees over pay raises she had given herself and other top executives.”

If the *Times* reporter had done his homework, he would have learned that the controversy surrounding Dr. W. Ann Reynolds is not limited to questionable pay raises. According to the May 2nd issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Dr. Reynolds, former chancellor of the California State University System, awarded “unusually large pay raises for the system’s top administrators, including a 43-per-cent increase in her own salary.” Dr. Reynolds was nowhere near as generous with the faculty, who “received only a 4.8-per-cent increase this year.” Dr. Reynolds appropriated almost \$100,000 from “funds designated in the state budget for employee compensation” in order to purchase “six new automobiles for the exclusive use of six system vice-chancellors.” Dr. Reynolds also “earned \$98,000 last year for serving on the boards of four private corporations and spent \$240,000 in public funds over the past 22 months for maintenance of the home in the Bel Air neighborhood of Los Angeles that the state provides for her.”

Given these facts, why did the CUNY Chancellor Search Committee include Dr. W. Ann Reynolds among the finalists? Was it a political decision? Does CUNY want a white male to fill Chancellor Murphy’s shoes? If so, the Chancellor Search Committee could not have chosen a better white female alternative candidate.

A Professorial Sampler

Off The Wall

“Over the past few decades there has been a steady flow of art from private into public collections. And I must admit that I, for one, have very mixed feelings about the whole process. On the one hand, public collections make art accessible to us all. But they do so at a certain cost, for when works of art pass into museums they come to lead a somewhat truncated existence in which some of their energy is lost to the institutional setting.”

—Professor Jack Flam, “Park Avenue Art at the Met” in *The Wall Street Journal* [3/16/90].

Rhetorical Humility

“It’s like saying you’re a ‘pooh-pooh head.’ It doesn’t mean anything.”

—Professor Michael Levin, on the accusation of racism, to *The New York Post* [5/3/90].

Return of the Repressed

“The Soviets have taught a number of far leftists that democracy is a respectable issue. It’s like a suppressed truth suddenly revealing its face.”

—Professor Bogdan Denitch, cited by Doug Ireland in *The Village Voice* [5/5/90].

Letters

Michael Levin Responds

The City College
Department of Philosophy
May 2, 1990

To the Editors:

While your story about me in your April 23 issue was generally accurate, it contains one significant misstatement. I do not subscribe to any theory of “racial superiority.” I contend, simply, that blacks are on average less intelligent than whites. This is a claim of empirical fact. If it is wrong, it is wrong as a matter of fact. In any case, it is not an evaluative claim. To be sure, many people value intelligence extremely highly, so that for them a difference in intelligence implies a difference in valuation. But to attribute this claim to me is to project one’s own moralizing.

I should also note that I am

not a “biological determinist,” if this means that I regard the heritability of every human trait as 1. I do not hold this, and, so far as I know, it has never been held by anybody. However, I do believe that there are significant genetic influences on human behavior and that, while the evidence for a genetic factor in the race difference in intelligence cannot be established as firmly as the difference itself, it seems to me likely on the evidence that there is a significant genetic component to this difference, in particular. By labelling my view “biological determinism” and dismissing it out of hand, you simply spare yourself the pain of thinking honestly

about a difficult issue.

I should add that far from being discredited, the disparate performances of the races on IQ tests is admitted by every psychologist (ask any member of the Psychology Department). Furthermore, when surveyed anonymously by Stanley Rothman and Martin Snyderman, 53% of more than 600 psychologists, psychometrists and educators agreed that the race difference in intelligence was significantly genetic in origin (see their *IQ, The Media and Public Policy*, Transaction, 1988).

Yours truly,
Michael Levin

April 17, 1990

Dear Editor:

I’m not a graduate student here—I’m a professor. I read *The Graduate Student Advocate* occasionally. The recent issue seems typical of several I’ve looked at—well-written, more-or-less interesting, and containing no hint that there are graduate students in the sciences at CUNY. There was not a single mention of physics, chemistry, mathematics, computer science, biology, etc. I understand balanced coverage is diffi-

No Space For Science?

cult, but surely it is not impossible. Be an advocate for all of CUNY’s graduate students.

Sincerely,
Melvin Fitting
Ph.D. Program in
Computer Science

There but for the grace of its contributors goes *The Advocate*. Although we couldn’t agree more with Professor Fitting, and have invited several students from a

variety of scientific disciplines to write for the newspaper, we have yet to receive an article exploring the wonders or exposing the horrors of science. We would love to add a Science & Technology section to *The Advocate*. And we thank Distinguished Hacker Mr. Update for explaining to our readers the mysterious workings of ASCII codes and DOS commands.

—ed.

In Defense of the DSA

April 30, 1990

To the Editors:

Permit me a mild protest about the way Thomas Smith “reported” on the 1990 Socialist Scholars conference. [*The Advocate*, March 1990] First, to the objection that the conference was crowded, yes it was, his solution to move to Hunter College with its larger space had occurred to us a few years earlier. Hunter is not available on the terms we can afford. Surely he could have asked, the way a good journalist should, some of many student and faculty organizers of the conference he knows?

Second, it is simply not the case that the conference was

the Socialist Scholars Conference. Bill Tabb was also a co-chair of the Conference, but he is not a member of DSA. There are at least a dozen other sponsors including *Monthly Review*, *Social Text*, *Dissent*, *Socialist Review*, *The Nation*, *The New Left Review*, *Union of Radical Philosophers*, *Union of Radical Political Economists*, the Ph.D. Program in Sociology, etc. To be sure, the DSA has a major presence in the conference but it is simply not the case that this a DSA conference. The DSA, as the largest group on the left, tends to have more visibility, that is true.

Third, there was not a single

plenary, not one, where the DSA, even by one solitary speaker, “pushed its agenda” which is “working within the Democratic Party.” The first plenary was on the struggles for freedom around the globe and related the struggles in the Third World, Brazil and El Salvador to those in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The second plenary was on Culture, Gender and Freedom, where the topic of the Democratic Party did not surface. During the third plenary, where I spoke, the Democratic Party only came up when I denounced the absence of an opposition in party in the U.S. To be sure, there were panels where the

Continued on page 14.

The Graduate Student Advocate

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George McClintock III, Editor
Christine Hutchins, Associate Editor
Binita Mehta, Associate Editor
Jeanne A. Marre, Associate Editor
Al Cofribas, Contributing Editor
Ed Marx, Contributing Editor
Thomas Smith, Contributing Editor

Contributors

Thomas Burgess
Vince Camp
Gary Paul Gilbert
Bennett Graff
Jarrod Hayes
Elliot Jünger
Andrew Long
Caroline Pari
Vincent Tirelli
Mr. Update

Letters

Why We Organize

May 9, 1990
To the Editors:

As I read the "Mystery Homophobe" boast about his/her efforts in ripping down posters of the Lesbian and Gay community at CUNY, it was clear to me that her/his justification was an unfortunate statement of his/her own romantic life. [Letter, *The Advocate*, March 1990.] She/he obviously sees the whole of their own sexual orientation (involving the opposite sex) as being simply the obsession with genital stimulation, as expressed by the focus of his/her letter. As a lesbian, sexual orientation means more to me than "the sex

act." It is the essence of who I choose as a partner to share my experiences (of all kinds, in and out of the bedroom) and my innermost feelings.

It is the Mystery Homophobe's narrow-mindedness on this issue that disables this person from acknowledging that when lesbians and gay men organize politically it is not to discuss genitalia. Instead, we organize to fight the political, psychological, medical and economic persecution of lesbians and gay men that people like the Mystery Homophobe act to perpetuate.

Sincerely,
Liz Accles

Dueling Pedagogies:

Gary Paul Gilbert versus Thomas Smith

April 15, 1990
Dear Editors:

From the very beginning of Thomas Smith's diatribe against my article on writing pedagogy, there is a major contradiction. On the one hand, Smith seems to assume that the teaching of writing is remedial work, that it is not really the proper job of a political science teacher. On the other hand, Smith admits that he has to teach writing in order to teach political science to his students. (I applaud him for helping his students with their writing.) Ultimately, he agrees with me that there can be no political science without writing. Because political science is always already a form of writing, it is essential that students write in order to do political science. Thus, writing is more than a remedial skill. At the very least, it is a necessary evil which teachers of any discipline must deal with.

Like many college teachers, Smith fails to understand that his specialized discourse seems like a foreign language to many students. (This is a lesson that I myself often have to relearn!) The reason many college students write bad term papers is not that English teachers have not done their job of teaching composition but rather that students have not learned the jargon and assumptions of the disciplines they are being asked to write in. A discipline's jargon, its whole way of constructing the world, is not natural and thus needs to be taught to students. It just does not go on its own. Just because somebody is fluent in standard English does not necessarily mean that he/she can write a pa-

per in a particular discipline. I myself shudder at the thought of having to write a political science paper! If I had to do such an assignment, I suppose that I would be able to use my skills as a literary critic to mimic the discourse of political science so that my paper would at least read somewhat like the "real" thing. But because most undergraduate students lack the skills needed to do such an impromptu performance, they must be helped with their writing.

What I really object to in Smith's letter is his assumption that there is only one right way to teach writing—his. Actually, Smith is quite a traditionalist when it comes to writing because he offers a traditional deductive presentation as a way of teaching. That is, he starts out by saying that he would teach students the different kinds of discourse such as narrative, description, and analysis. I would argue that this presentation of the rules for different kinds of writing really does not help students to write better. From my own experience, I have found that it is better to try an inductive approach, in which one would ask students questions designed to elicit a specific kind of writing. For example, if I wanted to teach narrative, I would ask questions about what happened during the last class discussion. I would ask some students to go up to the board and write down the answers to my questions. Eventually, a narrative would appear on the board. Now would be the time for the teacher to tell the students that they had just constructed a narrative. The same could be done with description and analysis. The advantage of this inductive approach is

Continued on page 14.

The Advocate welcomes letters. Please include your telephone number for verification. All letters are subject to editing in the interest of clarity and to meet space requirements.

Reflections & Commentary

By Elliot Jünger

The events in both Germanies over the last five or so months have probably been the most socially and politically disruptive (in the positive sense!) since the Spring of 1968. At that time, the West Germany's youth was seeking straight answers to difficult and painful questions about their country's recent history. The post-war generation, the parents of those young people, had grown largely prosperous and self-satisfied, divulging little if any information concerning the war, Hitler, Nazis, the extermination of Jews or even the so-called *Trümmerjahre* (rubble years) from 1945 until roughly the economic boom of 1950. As to their own

United Germany, Divided Loyalties

complicity in anything remotely connected with the Third Reich, the majority remained disturbingly silent. It was best not to make waves, parents would warn, if the probing questions of their children threatened to expose skeletons in the family closet.

Yet as we know, the student demonstrators of twenty years prior dared to probe and to poke in what for many fathers and mothers remained forbidden territory. The agenda of those demonstrators was to force a nation grown too comfortable too quickly to finally

confront itself.

Some twenty years later, beginning in the late summer of 1989 and lasting through early 1990, is the agenda very different? I would maintain that it is not. The prosperity promised by the Kohl administration has been replaced by intense disillusionment on the part of West Germany's student and young professional class who, now in their middle to late twenties, were only children in 1968, when the student demonstrations had already reached maturity.

Continued on page 16.

In the Minds of Our State Legislators

By Sandra Reid and Frances M. Codd

We often wonder what goes on in the minds of our state legislators when it becomes necessary for students to take measures such as occupying buildings in order for attention to be paid to public education. Public education is a cornerstone of our society's structure; it is only through education that such societal ills as drug abuse and criminality will be cured.

The proposed 2% budget cuts to the CUNY system will mean 1,450 adjunct lecturers laid off; up to 5,300 students unable to attend classes; up to 6,400 class sections closed. There is also a proposed cut of \$10 million from the Tuition Assistance Program. The

existence of such programs as open enrollment is seriously jeopardized. Is it public education when the public cannot afford to attend?

About thirty students of John Jay College of Criminal Justice were brutalized by the police during their protests of May 9th and 10th against the budget cuts. Over two-thirds of the students hospitalized were African-American and Latino-American women. How wonderfully representative of the populations for whom CUNY may be the only path to a life as an effective member of society! The budget cuts are an issue of race, gender and class. The historically disenfranchised and the

economically disadvantaged will be hit the hardest.

We often wonder what goes on in the minds of our state legislators, when they appropriate millions of dollars to build jails, yet take \$13.2 million from the public education system. It appears as though they want to make both jails and the people to fill them. This frightens us, not only as people for whom a college education may not have been possible without CUNY, but also as human beings.

Sandra Reid and Frances M. Codd, undergraduate students at Hunter College, have participated in both the protests and the negotiations with the Hunter administration.

Democratic Social Revolution:
Both Possible & Necessary

By Thomas Smith

Brian Guerre's article in the April 1990 issue of *The Advocate* offered a fine analysis of U.S. imperialism and its successful efforts to strangle revolution in what might be called the underdeveloped regions of the world. I wish neither to find fault with Brian's analysis, nor to discourage anyone in the United States from supporting those revolutions that still offer resistance to imperialism: Nicaragua, for example.

What I wish to question, however, is Brian's implication that because the regimes which developed in Russia, China, India, etc. are somehow "social-

ist," they are to be given complete and unconditional support by lefties here for anything they might do, for any sort of politically despotic and economically exploitative structures they might construct, for any atrocities and horrors, from Kronstadt to Tiananmen and Tiamasora, they might have created. I question Brian's implication that anyone who feels like criticizing these regimes

should instead build the revolution here—as if the two projects were somehow mutually exclusive. Indeed, I question the very idea that there ever existed such a thing as a "socialist regime" in any of those places, that socialism is to be equated with any and all efforts by any regime in the fight against imperialism. While I think that genuine socialist goals are the

Continued on page 18.

By ***

Although the proposed changes to the Ph.D. Program in Art History curriculum have been temporarily shelved (for a more "opportune" moment?), recent events, statements and actions, especially the covert machinations of highly placed Graduate School administrators, were very disturbing. This experience was disturbing first, because it demonstrated once again the disregard and contempt that some faculty members

Breaking the Mold:
Whose School, Whose Culture?

and administrators hold for student participation in the decision-making process. Remember, students had to demonstrate in protest in order to articulate and emphasize their position, which suggests that this institution does not provide and/or insist upon the implementation of a truly democratic process based on that most radical

of American political ideals, "one person one vote." More horrifying than this, however, was the revelation that the "expansionists" from the senior colleges and their supporters in the Graduate School administration were really out to retrench a very conservative cultural agenda—the canon of tradi-

Continued on page 16.

By Jarrod Hayes

"AIDS=Cruise Control." This equation was inscribed on the front window of an Atlanta store, Gear, during an attack by skinheads in the summer of 1987. Located in Little Five Points, one of Atlanta's most colorful, bohemian neighborhoods, Gear specialized in T-shirts displaying revolutionary images and slogans of the Soviet Union. Cruising is a political act. Cruising outrages fascists. Cruising outrages homophobes, including those inside the homophobic closet. Fag bashing is a reaction to cruising. Therefore, any discourse on cruising must not only include the fag basher (or the homophobe), but also appropriate his discourse. Cruising then becomes the reaction to fag bashing, a way to disarm, fight, and expropriate the homophobe.

What is Cruising?

"It apparently means a lot to you to introduce yourselves not as human beings capable of the dignity of thinking, cognition, perception and abstraction, but simply on the act of copulation."

—Mystery Homophobe

What a philosophical notion of human nature the homophobe has! To the naked eye, cruising is the introduction to the gay mating ritual. Two people, of the same sex, meet, or one walks by the other. They establish an unrelenting eye contact that continues even after they have passed one another. Then, perhaps, follows the over-the-shoulder glance. That is cruising. Usually, however, cruising is not followed by sex. It is, however, sexual. It establishes two people as potential sexual partners. It confirms sexual orientation.

"It seems to me obvious that a woman who is heterosexual does not wear a button saying 'I like a penis' and a man [notice how this word excludes gays] doesn't walk around with a button saying 'I like vaginas.' This would be equal to how the gays behave."

—Mystery Homophobe

Cruising has nothing in common with the machismo and domination asserted through leering. How many times have we seen a man pass a woman, turn around, and whistle (or make other obscene gestures). For women—at least half of the "we"—this isn't merely an observation, but experience, daily reality. Leering, as it occurs on the street, is done from behind. It has as its object the woman's behind. It is not mutual. It is objectifying, the glance that violates.

"How many times in a conversation when I am discussing something about the opposite sex, maybe even remotely concerned with the sex act, the homosexual will say, 'I'm gay.' I do all I can to stop from laughing; what the hell does that have to do with it? I am not interested in this particular person and the subject had nothing to do with their sexuality and yet they will look at me as if to say, 'I dare you to be civilized.'"

—Mystery Homophobe

This remark reveals that our neighborhood homophobe is a man. His discourse has everything to do with our sexuality. It first assumes we're straight. It then proceeds to sexually objectify women, and by extension, it objectifies gay men—the other. Gay men are not men for the homophobe.

Cruising is a recognition of what two people share. If gay men and lesbians have nothing else in common, we share our love for members of our own sex and the oppression we face daily. Cruising is an act of solidarity. It doesn't usually lead to the bedroom (though it always has that potential), because its goals are realized once this solidarity is established. Often a gay man and a lesbian share this solidarity with each other. Although this couldn't be called cruising, it has the same goal.

"If you want to participate in cunnilingus and other acts in your beds, do it; none of us really care. But why form a political act out of it?"

—Mystery Homophobe

Why, when the homophobe has defined the homosexual in terms of his image of gay men, does he suddenly include the word "cunnilingus"? The word "lesbian" doesn't occur once in his text. Has he been watching too many porn flicks designed for straight men? Or does he imply the act is too abominable to name?

Cruising is fun. Cruising is public. Cruising is a subversion of society's enforced gender roles. It is a public refusal to be masculine (for men), to use sexuality as a tool for the domination of women. It is a public refusal to submit (for women) to male sexual domination. Cruising is an acknowledgement that sex need not be accompanied by guilt. Cruising is public sexuality (notice, I did not say sex). Cruising is unrepentant homosexuality.

For these reasons, cruising is dangerous, dangerous for society's systems of sexual repression, dangerous for those who cruise, because society retaliates. Society's response to cruising is the fag basher. As long as it can program its members with sexual hierarchies, machismo, and phallogocentrism, the ruling class can keep its hands

The Art of Cruising

Deconstructing

The Mystery Homophobe of West Hall

clean. This permits Cardinal O'Connor to "deplore" fag bashing, all the while teaching to hate gays and lesbians. The same is true for almost all politicians (Democrats and Republicans) and the media. Institutionalized hate is the cause of fag bashing.

Fag bashers cruise as well. Cruising is their way of choosing a target. One cannot deny the obvious sexual perversion of the fag basher. Indeed, it is not unusual for the fag basher to rape his target. The ultimate machismo, the ultimate act of domination. He not only dominates women sexually, but men (who are less than men for him, as we have seen; that is, who do not satisfy society's construct of masculinity) as well.

All the more reason to cruise. The more people who cruise, the safer it will become. Cruise as militants. Bash the fag bashers.

How to Cruise

"[W]hy do you find it necessary to form a social and political organization founded on nothing else but to show off and take pride in who can bring you to an orgasm?"

—Mystery Homophobe

The homophobe cannot think of the homosexual without imagining the act too horrible to mention. The homophobe, who accuses us of shoving our sexuality in his face, is the one who cannot separate the person from the sexual act. Or rather, the person no longer exists; he only sees the act that he cannot name.

According to lesbian friends, cruising among lesbians, though equally (if not more) important as a form of solidarity in comparison with cruising among gay men, is used much less as a way of selecting a sexual partner. In the following comments, I have only my own experience to describe. I cannot, therefore, pretend to create a guideline for lesbians.

"There are bars by the hundreds, neighborhoods, etc. where the 'gay' people feel it necessary to announce their sexual activity in a bad tasteless way, may I might add to anyone who will give them a glance."

—Mystery Homophobe

Cruising is easier inside the gay bar than out. But certainly less exciting. The West Hall homophobe wants us to cruise in the closet; I say come out of the cruising closet, although one need not come out of the closet to cruise. Cruising is the only way closet cases ever become a part of our community.

"It is bad enough that one cannot take a lovely leisurely stroll through Greenwich Village anymore without seeing two people of the same sex holding hands and kissing."

—Mystery Homophobe

The homophobe has again excluded from "one" anyone who might enjoy such a sight.

For starters, one might try the Village. If one wants practice, it is certainly the best place to do the most cruising in the shortest time. The more often we cruise the Village, the less often the West Hall homophobe will visit us there. Gee, it's too bad he feels uncomfortable walking in the Village; it is the only place we can walk safely, somewhat without fear of attack.

Cruising at Confession

Since cruising is the lack of guilt, the lack of repentance, what better place to start than the confessional. Of course, until the Catholic Church ordains women, Catholic confessional cruising will remain a male-only sport. Gradually work into sexual transgressions after confessing several arguments with your mother (everyone knows gay men have odd relationships with their mothers). Then describe in detail your latest adventures. If, God forbid, you've happened on one of the Church's straight priests, try again next week, or move on to the parish down the street. In the context of Ritter-gate, reeling in an ordinary priest would shock no one. There are bonus points (and potential financial gain), however, for O'Connor. Cruising at mass while saying the rosary under the fumes of incense. Priests in dresses, altar boys. Asperion. Campy cruising at its best.

Cruising the Mina Rees

A *petit poème en prose* inscribed in the middle stall of the men's restroom at the Mina Rees:

*I've been walking around
all day with a Huge Hard On
So I Came here to get it off
Where are all the Cock Suckers,
I need some head real bad
I also could use a little action,
So fuckin Horny to get my dick
Sucked, so fuckin Horny to suck
on some hard Cock. 3/29/90-
12:30pm
BL/BL/22 Yes?*

Finally, the act the homophobe cannot name, although he sees it each time he sees me. This act, even pushing the textual as sexual to its limits, is not cruising, however poetic it may be. It is questionable that the author is even gay. "The Cock Suckers" seems to refer to an other (as the homophobe refers to the other) in which he later includes himself. This text is overtly phallic (as is most of the poetic canon and the discourse of the homophobe). Cruising is a-phallic (anti-homophobic, anti-canonical—therefore, what better place to cruise than the storage vault of the canon). The stereotype of gay men shows them leaning back on a bar, massaging an exaggerated crotch, waiting for a potential partner. Though this may happen, it is not cruising. In cruising, there is only eye contact, the exchange of a glance of solidarity.

There is however, cruising in the Mina Rees Library—the storage vault in several senses. Not in the bathroom, but out of the closet, closer to the books (text as sex). Cruising in libraries as a study break (all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy and Jill a dull girl). Although textual cruising is more prolific at the public library across the street, although the pool of potential cruisees is larger there, there is something definitely campy about the polyethylene canopies, the buckets of water, the pitter-patter of rain leaking in, something defi-

Continued on page 14.



World

After
ChinaA Conversation with
Professor Frederick Goldin
& His Family

Professor Frederick Goldin: We arrived in China at the end of August, 1988, and we left on June 10, 1989. We arrived in the middle of the ordinary bleakness and despair of China. We were there in the Spring when it seemed that a miracle was taking place. We were there when the massacres took place both in Tiananmen Square, and in Chengdu where we lived; and we left one week later.

The following is from a couple of letters written in the middle of November:

"Sichuan University [in Chengdu, a national university, where I taught], like all the others that I know about, is a center of indoctrination and preparation for assigned roles, closely controlled by Party officials and various other political offices, like the Foreign Affairs Office, which controls all of the foreign students and teachers at the University. No academic makes any serious decisions. My students are all post-graduates, and they study what their work units have authorized them to study. I stand up before them and talk about the vision set forth in Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography about a land of limitless possibilities, about the unfailing rewards of frugality, initiative, and industry, about a new people formed in character by an unprecedented blessing of resources in a new world: a myth that is like anti-matter to the matter of China—and it seems to me that they understand, that they share the vision. Some of them, at least, will go back to their work units discontented, and that made me wonder, in the beginning, what I was doing here; but now I regard their understanding and their discontent as one sign, among a few others, that changes may be on the way.

"I teach two graduate courses—one in American Literature, one in Comparative Literature (but mainly a great books course)—each meeting four hours a week. I have enjoyed rediscovering American literature, and every time I lecture I can see its exotic irrelevance to Chinese life reflected on the fascinated faces of my students. Most of them are teachers given leave by the work units at their universities to study for a master's degree. Nearly everyone has a spouse and a child somewhere far beyond commuting distance, and they suffer intensely from homesickness. Sometimes they have had to plead with the danwei, the work unit, for years before they get permission to do graduate study. For example, one of my students was told for three years running that he already knew English well enough to do his job (teaching engineers to read articles in English) and that he did not need to study further. They are all bright enough—less than 2% of the student population get to study as undergraduates after passing a stiff examination, and the graduate students are an even more select group. But very few are deeply committed to study. As a matter of fact, it is amazing that any are. The good ones work hard and do well. Most of the students just coast along and pass. A few are simply lazy and do very little. But at the end of their graduate study, those who had jobs will go back to them, the others will find jobs; and all of them—the scholars, the operators, the malingerers—will earn pretty much the same miserable salary, about twenty dollars a month.

"A young girl in my comparative literature class, for example, has just cooperated in her banishment to the sticks for eight years. She is engaged now and will

Frederick Goldin, Professor of Comparative Literature, French, German, English and Classics, has taught at City College since 1967 and at the Graduate School since 1970, where he has served as coordinator of the Medieval Studies Certificate Program. Professor Goldin has translated into English numerous works of medieval literature, notably *La Chanson de Roland*. Two anthologies of his translations, accompanied by his critical studies, *Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères* and *German and Italian Lyrics of the Middle Ages* have also been published. His book, *The Mirror of Narcissus*, is a study of the mirror image in medieval courtly literature. Professor Goldin has received many awards for his scholarship, including a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies. As a Senior Fulbright Research Scholar, Professor Goldin has thrice travelled to Austria.

Professor Goldin spent the 1988-1989 academic year as a Fulbright Lecturer in China, where he taught conducted seminars on American literature. He was accompanied by his wife, Dione, and his son, Paul.

A concert pianist, Mrs. Goldin gave concerts at the Beijing Conservatory of Music, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music and the Sichuan Conservatory of Music in Chengdu. Among her other activities, Mrs. Goldin accompanied performers and conducted a student and faculty chorus at Sichuan University.

Paul Goldin, now an undergraduate at the University of Pennsylvania, taught English to Chinese scientists, translated German into Chinese for a visiting professor, and wrote a number of articles in Chinese, six of which were published in *The Economic Digest* of Chengdu. One of his articles, an argument against capital punishment, was not accepted for publication; Paul was told that his views would not pass the censors.

Professor Goldin will retire in June.

be married before she leaves in February. She signed a contract to teach in a nearly inaccessible region—two days and two nights by train, by bus, and on foot to get there—for a monthly salary of 67 yuan, about ten dollars. Her fiancé has declined to move there with her. So they can now look forward to a separation of eight years—the fate of most young couples in this hard land. Those eight years are irretrievable: even if she gets a better offer for a job nearer to home, she can't get out of her contract without paying a fee of twenty-thousand yuan, which is more than three times as much as she will earn during the years of her exile. (No one can leave any job before he has worked at it for ten years without first compensating the danwei for the costs of his or her education.) The fellow student to whom she told her sad story (and who then told it to me) was astounded. Are you that unsophisticated, he asked her; don't you know about back doors, don't you know about guanxi? (The word guanxi literally means 'relation' or 'connection' and refers to useful acquaintances in influential positions.) The young man who told me this story assured me that he makes plenty of money in his teaching post in Xi'an, where he lives with his family. Some may earn a little more, some a little less, but whether they do better or worse in this respect does not in any way depend on their record in graduate school or their dedication or their knowledge; it depends on the

official perception of their political reliability and on who their friends are. So why should anyone work hard?"

One more little passage, written December 4th, a few weeks later:

"What weighs down on me now far more than the difficulty of getting on from day to day"—because living in China, for my wife and me especially, was very difficult physically: we were cold all the time, we were revolted by the food and by the conditions in which it is acquired and eaten, etc.—"is the atmosphere of surveillance and repression in which everybody lives, including us fortunate foreigners. It affects me most through my students. They have little to look forward to, and the best ones will have the least freedom to choose their careers or their subjects or even where to spend their lives. They will be sent wherever the nearest official believes they will be most needed, and they will teach what the local official demands. No one will be rewarded for scholarship or devoted teaching. To excel is to invite retribution in this levelled land. Unless they have well-placed friends or the means to work the network of corruption that covers the whole system, their entire lives are already set down. As a result, most of them see no reason to work hard in their graduate courses. They coast along, they party a lot, they stay out of trouble. Meanwhile I am talking to them about Benjamin Franklin." That generous vision of material blessedness, that kind of

missionary individualism—whether it reached them from Franklin or from the Voice of America or some other source—excited them, and it was influential in bringing on the events of the Spring of 1989.

The Advocate: Given the economic structure and the political climate of Chinese society, is it not astounding that you even allowed to teach in China?

Prof. Goldin: Well, in that connection, let me read you a letter from a student. Since I've come back I've gotten letters from many students telling me what a great teacher I was and swearing that their greatest desire was to continue studying literature with me—here, in the United States. This is dated September 12, 1989:

"The new term began yesterday. We have to listen to the leaders' reports, read their speeches and other propaganda materials, discuss the disastrous sequel of the social turmoil and, finally, by writing a summary every one of us must clearly declare his position and attitude toward the [freedom] movement. This will last two weeks. After the political study we will review last term's lessons and have examinations. Our newspapers say that the Fulbright professors are inclined to spread bourgeois freedom and democracy and their thoughts do no good to us innocent students. So our country does not like them any longer. It is said we won't have foreign teachers' lessons this term though several foreign teachers have come. We feel very disappointed. I feel useless here. I want to go abroad. But the only way to go abroad is to get high marks on the TOEFL exam.

But to take the TOEFL exam requires \$29, which I cannot afford to buy with Chinese money. So I want to borrow (I don't even know if I can return the money, along with my heartfelt thanks, some day) \$29 from you (in the form of a money order, not a personal check)."

And as you know, the State Education Commission in China cancelled the Fulbright program for 1989-90. Now I've read that they've revived it in smaller compass, sixteen professors instead of twenty-four.

Q: For a gigantic country that is a tiny number.

Mrs. Dione Goldin: Although it's a big country, there are not that many national universities. There are only few, and when we consider how many people there are, the number of students actually attending is miniscule.

Prof. Goldin: Aside from the Fulbright professors, there were lots of so-called foreign experts from the States and from Europe; there were others classified as "foreign teachers." The people in these groups were far more numerous than the Fulbright professors. They, too, taught in all kinds of schools in the cities; and since the freedom movement—the demonstrations, the events of the Spring—was very largely an urban movement, the influence of the Fulbright and foreign teachers was very strong in the areas where these new ideas flourished and led to action.

As I said, two percent of the student population get to attend as undergraduates, and a much smaller number go on to graduate school. For my students, who were all doomed to a bleak career of obedience and conformity as college teachers, studying was purely gratuitous. It had absolutely no coherence with their lives. They were not

After China

going to get a chance to teach what they were learning. They would not be encouraged to study further in this literature, or to do scholarship. If they did well in school they would not be praised, let alone receive any kind of material reward. There would be no recognition for excellent teaching, for, as I said before, to excel is to expose yourself to the danger of reprisals. So there is a kind of institutionalized mediocrity which is the area of safety and survival to which everyone hastens. So everything is minimal. These students, like most influential people in China, lead minimal lives.

Mrs. Goldin: Except that many of them were hoping to study abroad, especially in the United States.

Prof. Goldin: The dream of 99% of the students is to study abroad, especially in the United States. Things were better for the students who were studying business or international trade—the import-export specialists—during the period when the economic reforms were going on. I used to talk with some of them at parties and gatherings. They had a much different attitude. For one thing they were more exuberant. They talked at a faster pace. They had a far different future, or so it seemed; they would have exciting, wide-ranging careers and plenty of chances to get rich—prospects entirely different from those facing the students the Fulbright literature professors get to teach.

A: So you taught literature students.

Prof. Goldin: I taught English teachers. All my students were teachers or potential teachers—unless they could get into something better, through friends. They were graduate students of literature or linguistics.

A: Did you teach in English?

Prof. Goldin: Yes, I taught in English

and they understood. There was no problem with comprehension, they understood everything. The quality of their English varied. Sometimes it was very good, sometimes it was really Chinese with English words. But they had no trouble understanding me, communicating with me, and responding to me. They found me exotic, I must say. For their first papers many of them gave me a series of paragraphs drawn word for word from the editors' introductions in the texts we were using—not with the intention of plagiarizing, or of fooling me, but because they thought that that was exactly what I wanted. Because in most literature classes taught by Chinese professors—as my students later told me, and as I could see from the writing left on the blackboards by the teachers who used the classroom before me—the instructor writes out a safe statement of the theme of the work, the correct interpretation of its meaning, comments about its characters and its style and its social significance, and so forth. The students copy the professor's words in their notebooks and are expected to memorize them and exactly reproduce them in the exam. So they thought that they were making me happy by picking out the relevant paragraphs in the editors' introductions. And it took a while to make them understand that I wanted to hear about their own confrontation with the text—what they felt, what they made of it, how it squared with their experience—and even longer to make them believe that I really meant it.

A: Doesn't that reflect a conflicting ideology, one that's anti-doctrinaire?

Prof. Goldin: There's no question about it, and from the official point of view what we were teaching could be regarded as dangerous and subversive, even if we had no such intentions. I mean, to live in misery and to look around and see one's fellows—

one's neighbors, one's brothers and sisters—sharing the same hard life encourages an attitude of acceptance and sage passivity that makes people easy for the government to control; for what everyone sees confirms his belief that a narrow, minimal life is the fate of all, the bedrock of human solidarity. In such conditions, one lives in hopelessness without despair, for one does not envision another state. But to live in misery burdened with the vision of an alternative life, a vision of freedom and material sufficiency that is not only possible but also one's due,

adds to one's physical suffering the pain of humiliation, for then one is not only hungry but also degraded in his own eyes, and outraged. This new, painful consciousness refutes the attitude of renunciation, brings on hope and therefore increased suffering, and lights up the possibility of amelioration, of action. You know, during the demonstrations and after the massacres, when the spokesmen of that murderous geriatric government over there blamed the freedom movement on foreign influence, and particularly American influence, they were absolutely right. It was the natural consequence of economic reform. When you take in

new economic institutions you take in new ideas, and those ideas spread discontent, because everyone realizes that all those who aren't favored by the system are victimized by it. Therefore new perceptions and feelings came forth, envy and resentment and discontent.

Mrs. Goldin: After the crackdown, we were frightened until we got out. Part of the reason was because of what Fred had been teaching. He had been teaching Benjamin Franklin, and Emerson, and Thoreau, talking about thinking for oneself and being a free individual. Then, all of a sudden, there was the crackdown; we heard that there were secret police on the campus, and anybody could have reported the things that Fred had said in his classes... he was even teaching the Bible for a while.

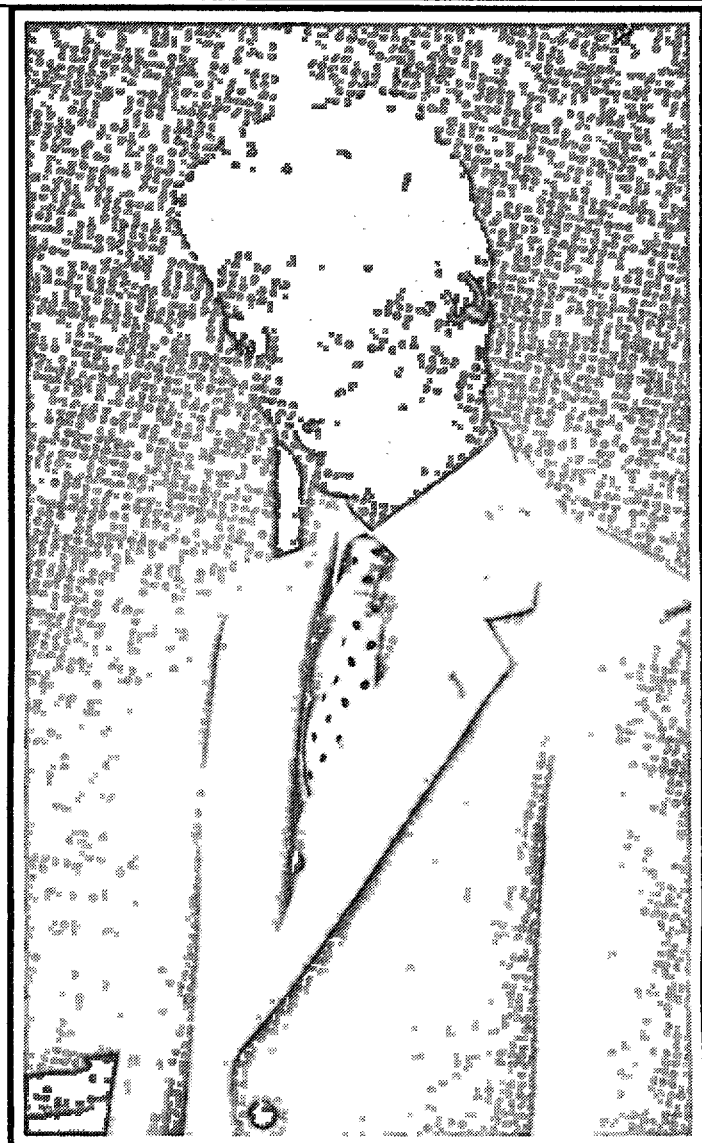
Prof. Goldin: During the demonstrations there was a song that was immensely popular among the students, a song about being a lone wolf from the north. This was the anthem of the demonstrations: the dream of the individual, not merging with the collective, being on your own. It was not primarily a democracy movement, it was a movement for the release of the individual. It was to demand more space for the unsupervised soul. That's what they got from outside, and they were responding to it.

A: How do you feel about your own contribution to those individualistic feelings of students who were later repressed?

Prof. Goldin: As I said in my letters, for a long time I kept asking myself, What am I doing here? What's the point of all this? However, I believe that just as in 1956 the soul of Hungary was saved by martyrs bearing witness to a new vision of the future, so in 1989 the soul of China was saved. There was much suffering and death, and, as you can see from some of these letters, there will be much more suffering. But I believe that the future belongs to those who gathered in the squares.

A: Are the letters from your students censored?

Prof. Goldin: The letters coming into China, I think, are more likely to be censored. I've been very careful about what



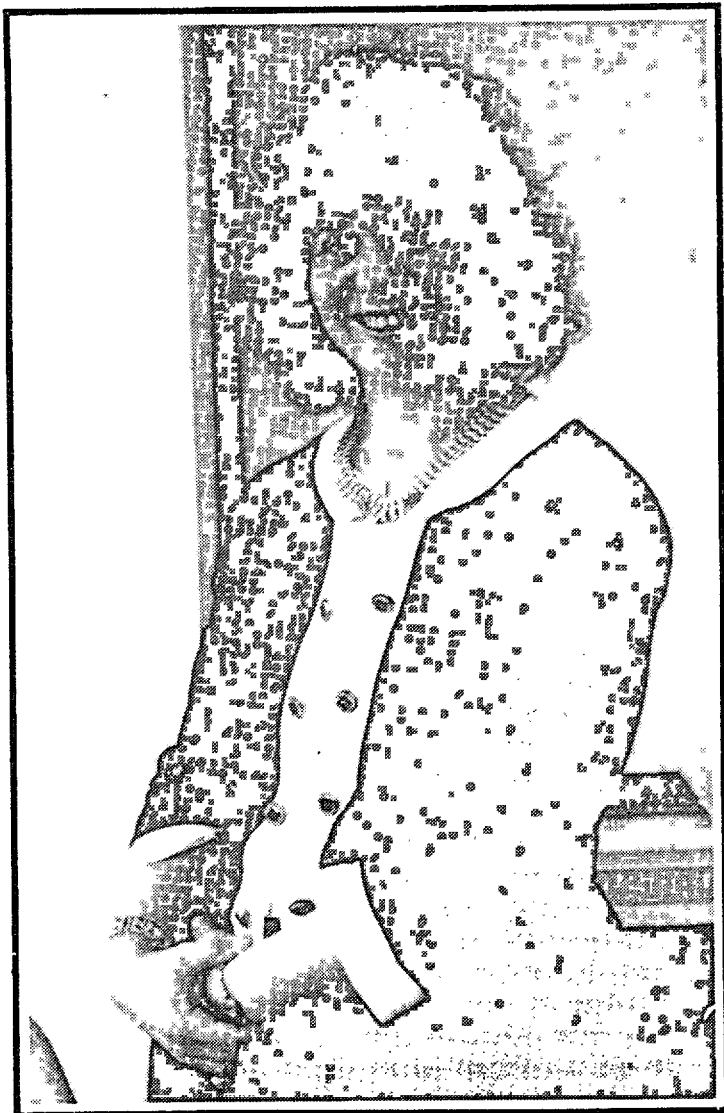
I've written. On the other hand, I'm surprised by the frankness and openness of what some of my students have written.

Mrs. Goldin: They don't say anything specific; they speak of "the turmoil," "the trouble last spring...." We've gotten so many letters, and Paul's gotten so many letters, and we're really surprised about how free they are to say what they're really thinking and what they really want.

Prof. Goldin: This is from a letter that we received since our return; it expresses their mood very well; the writer's father is a high-ranking official of the Party, and the writer was brought up to believe in the Party's dedication to the great community of China, and in the glory of service and self-sacrifice:

"In the beginning of December I was sent to help in the election of the representatives to the People's Congress. It will not be over until New Year's Eve. This is even worse than in the laboratories where I work. But I have no freedom to choose, even when it comes to things that my character cannot bear. The officer told me how important this task was, but I laughed in my mind. A country governed by an iron party using military force needs no People's Congress, and even needs no code of justice. One ticket from the party can be exchanged for five years of imprisonment. Stupid work! A waste of time and money. A waste of youth. I see more clearly the bureaucracy and the dogmatism of the government, the cold, dead body of democracy. People in the office are kind-hearted, but they become false in this kind of political atmosphere. It is a pity that some of them are artificial with a true heart, very sincerely [that is, they have to be hypocrites, but they have an unspoken understanding with each other]. An old Chinese poet said: 'Worry, people, first of all; be merry last of all'."

"I'm not a great person as my ancestor was, but I don't feel good seeing and hearing these kinds of events. However, I have no rights, no money, no reputation to offer to change this society. I have no energy to



fight against the thousands of years of traditional thoughts. Everybody knows that this fighting is only summer dew which dries overnight.

"Everyday after work I go out of the gate of the unit like a little bird that has been freed. Often I walk on the campus of the college, sit on the sidewalk chair by the water lily pool. In summer I enjoy the bright colorful sunset; in the fall I enjoy the golden leaves of the huge trees; and now, with winter coming, I look at the grey overcast sky through the sticky black branches. I think of the purity of college life, the purity of the ungrown-up's mind, the purity of nature. I think of happiness with classmates, with teachers and friends, with you respectable people. There are many soul-touching memories and wishes, turning yellow again and again, like the leaves. 'This kind of life will soon be changed,' I tell myself whenever I feel disgusted with the work."

This kind of despair is typical of the letters I've been receiving from my students.

Mrs. Goldin: These letters are coming from Chengdu, not Beijing or Shanghai where perhaps more letters are censored. I don't think that there are many people in Chengdu who would be qualified to censor that. They wouldn't understand what the writer was talking about.

Paul Goldin: What cadre is going to sit down with that?

Q: How pervasive is the fear?

Prof. Goldin: Certain things that we are afraid of being punished for they need not fear at all. For instance, incompetence, unproductiveness on the job, malingering, most forms of dishonesty. There is an implicit agreement between the government and the people: malfeasance of any sort will be tolerated in exchange for behavior that does not challenge authority.

Mrs. Goldin: And corruption is part of the system.

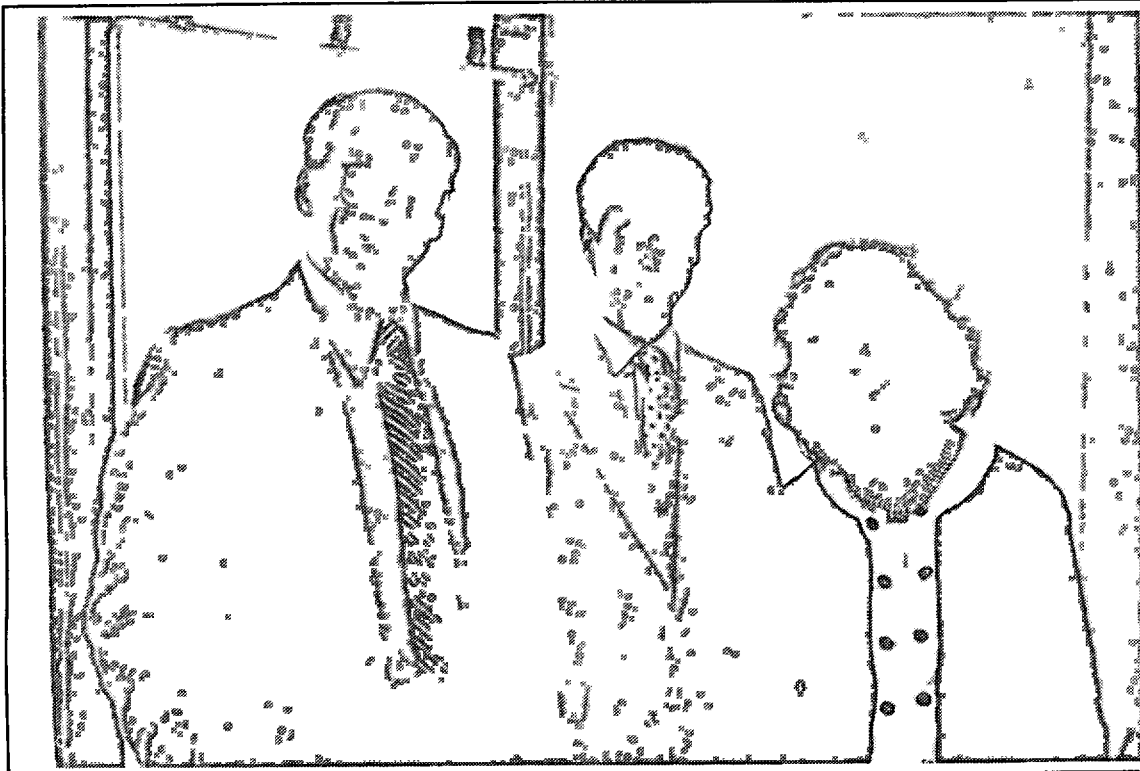
Prof. Goldin: Corruption has the status of an institution. The legitimate system assumes the functioning of corruption. Nothing works without it. To give you a couple of examples: a student wants to take the TOEFL exam, which everyone must pass if he or she is to have any hope of studying abroad. To take the exam, which is given several times a year, one must pay a fee of thirty American dollars, of which twenty-nine goes to Princeton, and one dollar goes to the University. The authorities expect the students to take the exam. But students can't get thirty dollars, except from the illegal money-changers on the street. Therefore, they go to the black market to buy the thirty dollars—unless they have relatives or friends outside the mainland, and very few of them do. So it is known to everyone—to the school, to the cadre, to the State Education Commission—that they will get the money on the street. That is what they are expected to do, for otherwise most Chinese students would not be able to study abroad.

Mrs. Goldin: What right has the Foreign Languages department got to keep an American dollar from a student who has no right to have it in the first place? And this is true all over China. Thousands and thousands of students are taking this test.

Prof. Goldin: The corruption is no longer perceived simply as corruption. It is

considered an indispensable supplement to the official system. It's what makes life possible.

Mrs. Goldin: Foreigners were needed to go out on the street and trade their Western money and buy Chinese currency, so that the Chinese could buy all the wonderful imports that they wanted, like video-records, TV sets, computers, refrigerators, mo-



torcycles (which are a big thing now), Japanese cameras—all of which can be bought only with Western money.

Paul Goldin: Anything produced in China can be bought with *renminbi*, the people's currency. They can buy Chinese TVs for example, but nobody wants one.

Prof. Goldin: Chinese products made for Chinese consumption are inferior because there is no common-sense reason for anyone to work with care and precision. In the days of Chairman Mao's murderous purity, the only legitimate motive was the thought of communal good, and that motive is no more effective in China than it is anywhere else. It was held that any other motive would be corrupting. Of course, with economic reform, it is precisely those impure motives of personal gain—of enjoying advantages and getting rich—that are recognized as the motors of the economy. Those who can benefit from the reform, like the cities along the coast, do very well. The others, factory workers for instance, have no particular reason to work productively—as long as they do not cross the interests of the cadre, they get the same pay no matter how they work.

Mrs. Goldin: Fred was paid in American dollars by the United States Information Agency. The money went into our New York City bank account. We had no currency in China. The Chinese government gave us nothing except a disgusting apartment in which to live. Yet he was given a card that authorized him to buy things with *renminbi*—money that we had no right to have. So the government was saying: we are not paying you and you are not allowed to have Chinese money, but here is a card that allows you to use the money which you are not allowed to have. So the corruption is in every person. The corruption is built into the system. They cannot survive without Western money, and they all want it. Sometimes they would come to our apartment with money to exchange, and you could smell their mattresses and their body odor on the money. They would all come to exchange money with us. Very high-up people in the Party didn't show up.

They would send messengers, who were also members of the Party, to come to the apartment and exchange money.

Q: Communist Party officials would change money with you?

Mrs. Goldin: Absolutely, sure.

Prof. Goldin: That is simply not punished. They can't stop it because if they stopped it, all their advantages would

hundred dollars, a thousand dollars, it made no difference. They knew who had money to change, and everyone knew where they would be. In Shanghai they operate right outside the Bank of China. People come out after cashing their travelers cheques and the money-changers are standing there ready to do business. They are real businessmen. They dress up very nicely in suits—jackets, nice pants, shirt and tie. The men who drive the pedicabs are all money-changers. They drive you off and then they change money with you.

Paul Goldin: In Shanghai they are crooks, though, because they steal your money.

Mrs. Goldin: You have to be careful because they will short-change you.

Q: I suspect that people in other countries, like India for example, might be able to relate to this practice of institutionalized corruption.

Prof. Goldin: You know, none of this is in any way inscrutable. In Mississippi, about thirty years ago—and to this very day for all I know—all the dry counties had a liquor-use tax. Corruption in China, perhaps, is deeper and more desperate. According to everything I saw and

heard from other Fulbrighters and from my students, corruption is ineradicable because not only one's comfort but one's survival depends on it. People are in survival mode there. Every decision, every action, is taken as a solution to the problem of survival.

And now, according to various reports, the very corruption that provoked the demonstrations last Spring has spread through the dissident movement outside of China. If these reports are true, it is tragic, but, sadly, not surprising.

Q: So what about Chinese students here in the United States? What happens to them when they return home? From what you've

evaporate, and things would come to a dead stop.

Mrs. Goldin: We had an orientation conducted by the USIA in Washington before we left for China. What they did not tell us was precisely what we had to know. They told us, 'Don't change money, you'll get caught'; but they didn't let us know what was really true. Nobody gets caught. If anybody got caught, it was the Chinese money-changer on the street.

Prof. Goldin: It was usually a young kid.

Mrs. Goldin: But they would never arrest an American for changing money. Every day, until a certain time, there would be no

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After China

said, the way they are taught to study in China is radically different from the way students are taught to study here. So they must have to make an incredible change when they get here. What happens when they get home? Did you meet students who had studied here and had returned, for example?

Prof. Goldin: I did not meet students who had studied here and returned. I did meet teachers who had studied here and returned, and with one or two exceptions they made the adjustment immediately when they got back, assuming the attitude of obedient employees. They had no choice. **Mrs Goldin:** Michigan State has a big exchange program with China, and so do the Universities of Washington and Oregon.

Prof. Goldin: The Chinese students who are sent here by the government may very well go back and will face fewer problems there. They'll do very well: they've been sent by the government, which means that they were already in privileged positions. The Chinese students who came here on their own, I imagine, will avoid going back for as long as they can, forever if they can. They have every reason not to go back. There will always be some, just as there were some in my class, who might want to go back for idealistic reasons, but their number is very small.

Q: What do you mean by "idealistic reasons"?

Prof. Goldin: The reasons that they very often put on their applications to study here: that they can benefit their students in the future, can liberate their minds, can introduce them to new ideas that would be good for China, and for the future of China—ideas of independent thinking and personal dignity, of a community which fosters individual fulfillment instead of thwarting it; ideas arising from the essential ground of technology and science. All

of going back. They'll go back for idealistic reasons if they cannot find a way to stay here, a connection. We know two people who studied in the United States in the Forties and went back—to help rebuild a free China—and are sorry. They went back just before "Liberation." One man, a doctor, says that he went back one year too early.

P r o f .

Goldin: He could have stayed here another year, he said. At that time, in the Forties, after what the Chinese call Lib-

eration, the State Department adopted a very liberal policy granting residency to Chinese nationals who were here. But he went back, voluntarily, the year before.

Mrs. Goldin: Those who apply to study here must say they want to go back or the American government won't let them in. But nobody that we know wants to come here and study and go back.

Prof. Goldin: Those who are sent by the government and those who have left their families there have good reason to go back. One of my colleagues at Sichuan University came here as a student and was offered a teaching job at the school where he was studying; he could have stayed on for a long time. But he had his wife and child in China, and he passed that opportunity by.

Mrs Goldin: I'm a pianist and in China I got to know a cellist who was sent to Australia by the Chinese government as an exchange student and is now being sent somewhere else; but all that just interrupted his attempt to come to the United States. He is trying to come here and bring his wife and his child. He has no intention of going back to China; of course, as long as he

takes a grant from the government he must go back. But his main intention is not to study in China, and not to be a cello teacher in China, and not to help the Chinese, but just to get his family out.

Q: I have a cousin, a journalist, who in the early Sixties hid two young Chinese boys in the trunk of his car and drove them into Hong Kong. They left their village—their parents, brothers and sisters—with a group of adults and walked eighty miles.

Mrs Goldin: I must say your cousin was very brave, not only smuggling them across the border, but also being willing to drive within China. The way they drive there is unbelievable.

Prof. Goldin: Very few foreigners drive there. I would never dream of driving there. You can't imagine what it's like. We would sit in the back of the taxi or the school car, and whenever the driver came to a pedestrian crossing where masses of people were making their way across the wide avenue, he would not slow down, *he would speed up*. The sight of an accelerating car bearing down on them would make them get out of the way fast. Whenever there is an open space, everyone competes

to get in first. One thing they don't have in China is an alternate merge. You can tell a lot about the view of life from the way people drive. They drive competitively. They drive with the desperation of people whose numbers are too great for everyone to survive.

Mrs Goldin: Taxi drivers, by the way, are considered very well-to-do. They can earn money and set the price on their own, and in most cities they are not regulated by the government. So they are really at the top of the economy.

Q: How do they avoid accidents?

Prof Goldin: They don't.

M r s .
G o l d i n : The death rate in China is alarming, but they have a billion one hundred million people. So they are not alarmed. The bicyclists fall like flies. We don't know anybody who didn't have an accident with their bicycle.

Prof. Goldin: Paul was in two accidents.

Paul Goldin: In one, a truck almost blindsided me; and then another one was with another bicycle.

Mrs. Goldin: We don't know anybody who rides a bicycle who hasn't had an accident. That goes for Westerners who come over there for a short period of time and Chinese who have lived there all their lives. And everybody rides a bicycle. We know an elderly professor who almost got killed....

Prof. Goldin: ...who was hit and had internal injuries...

Q: And I thought I was brave driving across Paris without any brakes. Somebody had given me this car without any brakes.

Prof. Goldin: Well, that was unquestionably brave, but you need more bravery than that to drive in China.

Q: On an everyday basis.

Prof Goldin: On a momentary basis.

Q: When *The Advocate* first approached you for an interview, you said that you were going to retire and that somehow your experience in China had somehow caused your decision. Could you talk about that a little bit?

Prof Goldin: I'm not sure that I can. Our lives before China were based on certainties that were devastated during our sojourn there. It was an elemental experience of minimal life. That changed us forever. Many features of home—a great deal of

that I had retired. And since we figured out that we could afford to make the outer reality conform to the inner reality, I decided to make it official. I hope to have the freedom and the leisure to live an austere life.

Q: If we applied what you just said to the American academic study of literature, this would be somewhat depressing. There is a sense among graduate students, especially among graduate students in literature, that there is a sort of superfluous...

Prof Goldin: Oh, that's not what I meant at all. I just came out of a dissertation defense in which a young woman wrote a very interesting study of modern critical theory and offered illuminating deconstructionist readings of several contemporary poems. I'm amazed by how sympathetic I have become to deconstructionist theory since I got back from China—amazed because theory usually bores me and actions taken on the basis of theory usually revolt me. But the idea of a text accommodating infinite meanings, the idea that the unexpressed, the inexpressible, haunts every confident utterance, the idea of the indeterminacy of meaning, which is in many ways a very liberating idea—all these ideas have such an appealing and exotic affect on me after coming home from a country where there is an official, closed, correct, and immutable meaning to every expression and to every detail and experience of one's life; where loyalty is unambiguous and carefully policed, where language is fixed in formulas. A graduate student in literature should be inspired by his or her horror of the ultimate alternative, which is what we have in China. China is a fascist state. It calls itself a People's Republic, a socialist country, but these are camouflaging formulas. *It is a geriatric fascist tyranny, in which old men send young men and women to their deaths, or to their deaths-in-life.*

Q: In the United States, graduate students in literature who contest the canon enjoy far more liberty than they know...

Prof. Goldin: The whole challenge to the canon, which one may or may not agree with, the idea of openness, of recognizing the dignity of the unofficial, of regarding as necessary and precious that which is not venerable or approved as correct—whatever the occasional lunatic consequences may be, that challenge is the celebration of a rare good fortune and the exercise of an exotic privilege. For many reasons people should rejoice in the privileges of academic life and would certainly understand it better if they experienced the deprivation of its spaciousness—even the room it gives to some to be

However, I believe that just as in 1956 the soul of Hungary was saved by martyrs bearing witness to a new vision of the future, so in 1989 the soul of China was saved.

applicants certainly put on their applications that they want to study here in order to make themselves useful to China. But I think that those who do go back voluntarily will be very very few. I wouldn't want to if I were a Chinese student studying in the United States.

Mrs. Goldin: We know a professor who studied in the United States. He has two children. He also suffered during the Cultural Revolution. He told us that he wanted to get both his children to the United States: first we'll get one, then the other. As a matter of fact, he has a daughter who is now studying here, and her main interest is to try and bring her husband across. She is trying to get him from China to Canada or somewhere else, because it is very difficult once one spouse is here to get the American government to allow the other spouse into the States. And then the brother wants to come, and the whole family wants to come. They have no intention

A graduate student in literature should be inspired by his or her horror of the ultimate alternative, which is what we have in China. China is a fascist state. It calls itself a People's Republic, a socialist country, but these are camouflaging formulas. It is a geriatric fascist tyranny, in which old men send young men and women to their deaths, or to their deaths-in-life.

ordinary patter, and most forms of self-assertion, and most notions of the good life—have suffered a great loss of dignity in my mind. From that experience of the minimal I got a new idea of the superfluous and the spiritlessly ornamental and the meaningless. I can only speak in such generalities. In any case, as I might have said to you before, I came back from China and found

silly and self-indulgent. My colleagues at the university where I taught—and at other universities too, judging from what I learned after talking to the other Fulbrighters—regard themselves essentially as employees. There were some great people whom we got to know, a few wonderful, dedicated scholars; but by and large academics take their orders from the non-

academic cadre, they hope to get nice apartments, they do the minimum, they write the prescribed interpretation on the board, they sing in the Party chorus. It may be very telling that the teachers' chorus there—a kind of voluntary organization which you better join—is directed by an officer of the Party.

Paul Goldin: That's interesting because "singing in the chorus" is a Communist euphemism for joining the forces of imperialism.

Prof. Goldin: In China I received a letter from one of my colleagues here at the Graduate School in which he spoke about the deadlines he had to meet and how much work he had to do—those words, "my work," "the deadlines I have to meet," struck me, as I was teaching with colleagues who have no deadlines, who have no work that they call their own, that they have assigned to themselves and are dedicated to—always excepting the few that I met who were heroic in this respect. I regard as heroic that conscience and self-assertiveness and devotion to a calling in a land that thwarts the moral experience of the professional. But by and large, people don't fight, they don't resist.

Q: How do you feel about your life in the United States now?

Prof. Goldin: It has been very upsetting to us, all three of us, since we came back to see the changes that are taking place here. I have a new standard: anything that increases our resemblance to China is bad. We've been very upset by many, many things that we've seen which tend to obliterate the differences between our country and present-day China.

Q: What do you mean, exactly?

Prof. Goldin: The brutal sentimentality expressed by many people in government with regard to the flag-burning issue is one example. To narrow the area of self-expression, to broaden the scope of intrusive surveillance—that's what I mean. The idea that the police can go into somebody's

So the government was saying: we are not paying you and you are not allowed to have Chinese money, but here is a card that allows you to use the money which you are not allowed to have. So the corruption is in every person. The corruption is built into the system.

men and women discovered themselves in each other. Their very assembly was the great thing that transcended each individual. That is very, very different from what had always happened in China, where one was defined by an authority, where that longing for identity and transcendence was directed at a towering figure that drew its vitality from the masses of the young and then imposed a definition upon them from above. The authority that defines from above still rules in China. That's what the freedom movement fought and what I believe it will ultimately overcome. In any case, that's all very different from hewing to a party line in literature or politics here in our country, as you were saying, where the very worst case is still the result of a free, individual decision—a decision to avoid responsibility. That's not at all like what I saw happening over there in the Spring, during the demonstrations. I really think that this generation is very different from all the preceding ones.

Q: In what way?

Prof. Goldin: There is no figure of stature since the death of Hu Yaobang. There is no figure so adored that it can do what has been done before: attract to itself this burgeoning, erotic energy of the self. In the absence of such a figure, these energies and desires stayed inside each young person and became the experience of his or her identity; and so they engendered a kind of horizontal authority among themselves. The authority resides now in their assembly, in their union, their presence before each other. I don't think that happened before, at least not this way.

The whole challenge to the canon, which one may or may not agree with, the idea of openness, of recognizing the dignity of the unofficial, of regarding as necessary and precious that which is not venerable or approved as correct—whatever the occasional lunatic consequences may be, that challenge is the celebration of a rare good fortune and the exercise of an exotic privilege.

apartment with a legitimate search warrant for a specific purpose and happen, quite by accident, to see through a door something discountenanced by the majority—something that had absolutely nothing to do with the object of the search warrant—and arrest the resident for that reason (you know the case I'm referring to? they picked up some poor guy for engaging in homosexual acts, though they weren't looking for him or for any such thing); the campaign to throttle habeas corpus and accelerate executions—shades of China! We have been witnessing the continual diminution of personal freedom. And something else: you know, China is literally disintegrating. A millimeter of top soil blows or washes away every year, the desert advances continually down from the north. New buildings bear the marks of disintegration. We came back and noticed something similar going on here in New York City. Not that we didn't notice it before, but it struck us in a new way to see cities in this country—the

greatest of all human inventions—really disintegrating, dissolving, in a land that is becoming increasingly substandard and suburban.

Q: To return to your idea about doctrine and deconstruction, it seems that more and more, in the United States especially, doctrine is needed for doctrine's sake.

Prof. Goldin: I think that everyone wants to be part of something larger than himself; it is a hunger for transcendence, the longing to be identified with something bigger than you, something that existed before and will go on after your two brief dates, and of which you are yet a part. Sometimes this is an inspiring desire, sometimes it declines into the herd instinct. In all movements there is a party line and a faddist edge that seek to answer this longing. One joins a group and sees himself defined in the eyes of others who stand upon the same ground as he. Something like that, I believe, is what happened in the city squares in the Chinese Spring: the young

Q: So what will you do at the end of this semester?

Prof. Goldin: Everything that I do now except teach.

Q: Study?

Prof. Goldin: Study, read, write.

Mrs. Goldin: Write all the things that you haven't had time to write because you have been teaching in so many departments on two campuses.

Prof. Goldin: And try to fulfill all the promises that I have been making to myself before it gets too late.

Mrs. Goldin: For us there was before China and there was after China. It's not as if we are retiring. We are just starting a new life.

Prof. Goldin: That's exactly right.

Mrs. Goldin: When we left China, we were really scared, and we were scared with good reason. We didn't know whether the

New York. I can't stand the garbage. China is a very poor country, but they do not have a garbage problem because everybody picks through your garbage. I would throw a shopping bag away in the morning, and two hours later I would see the shopping bag go walking down the street on someone's arm. I threw a bag away from the Bangkok Hilton, a blue shopping bag, a plastic one that was falling apart. Two hours later I was walking home from the Music School and somebody was walking in the market with my shopping bag. They take tangerine peels out of the garbage and dry them and use them for making soup and all kinds of other things. The garbage is picked clean; there is no garbage problem because the garbage-pickers are out cleaning and sorting it. There would be a huge mound of it in the morning, and in the evening it would be all gone. They recycle everything, everything that you can imagine. And then to come here and to see this absolutely disgusting mess. They had this Earth Day celebration. What they should have said was, 'Everybody bend down and pick up a piece of paper.' If everybody in the United States had done that, they would have accomplished something. Instead of that, everybody who stood out there threw

...theory usually bores me and actions taken on the basis of theory usually revolt me. But the idea of a text accommodating infinite meanings, the idea that the unexpressed, the inexpressible, haunts every confident utterance, the idea of the indeterminacy of meaning, which is in many ways a very liberating idea...

plane was going to take off, whether the plane was going to be shot down, whether the plane was going to be sabotaged. The people from the Foreign Affairs Office at the university accompanied us to the airport. We didn't know whether we were going to be arrested along the way because we were a busload of foreigners trying to leave the country. Looking back on it, it wasn't so scary; but at the time we were terrified.

Apart from the way we left, the experience of being there and having to survive, being faced with real problems of survival, not knowing where the next meal was going to be—that experience has changed us. True, they sold us food in the dining-hall, but we couldn't eat it because it made us sick. So we had to go groveling in the market to find something that we could take home and cook. Sometimes we didn't have electricity, sometimes we didn't have gas; and the water we used had to be boiled twenty minutes before we could do anything with it. So we had to learn to survive. After we got out we looked at things in a different way. Even the garbage in

away two or three pieces. So they tripled the amount of garbage by having Earth Day. We look at things differently because we went to China. We realize that certain things are important. Space and air and time to do what you want to do.

Prof. Goldin: We were afraid for our lives. That was a new experience for us: not knowing that we were safe, that we were going to get out. The impossible had happened, and now we were deprived of probability. I wrote a letter to a friend telling him our wishes in case we lost our lives. And then another thing: the people burn coal in braziers, and they go through the ashes to pick out glowing embers that can still be used. That minimal and frugal life had an effect on us, gave us a new idea of what was necessary.

Q: Paul, your folks are retiring: what are you going to do? You can't retire.

Paul Goldin: I'll stay in school, see what happens when I graduate.

Mrs. Goldin: He's the next generation.

Q: Do you feel that you have changed as your parents have changed?

Paul Goldin: In a lot of ways, yes. But

...retirement is just a bureaucratic term to signify a lot of scary and exciting changes...

After China

I'm not going to retire, as they are. But yes, I can also divide my life into before China and after China. When I go to school and see people in the dorms and see some things they do, I realize that last year I would have done the same thing. Now I see it's wasteful and spoiled. I feel the same way about the waste of food in the cafeteria.

Mrs. Goldin: You see how the Chinese students suffer, really suffer; they live eight to a room half this size. The lucky ones have a shelf on which to store their things. Some of them have nothing greater than a small box.

Prof. Goldin: Paul had a very different experience because he was fluent in Chinese. He formed friendships on a different level from what we could.

Q: Did you study Chinese before you went there?

Paul Goldin: Yes, in high school.

Mrs. Goldin: He went to Hunter High School.

Q: And now what year are you in college?

Paul Goldin: Just finished Freshman.

Mrs. Goldin: He finished third- and fourth-year Chinese this year.

Prof. Goldin: He was the main reason we went to China.

Mrs. Goldin: We had a much richer experience because he was with us—we didn't

have a language problem. If we had a problem, we let Paul negotiate for us.

Prof. Goldin: It made all the difference in the world.

Mrs. Goldin: We could go anywhere.

Prof. Goldin: Sometimes he would become impatient with his lumbering, slow-witted parents. He had a completely different experience because he knew the language so well.

Q: How was your experience different?

Paul Goldin: I've told my parents that I don't really think they saw people. All they ever saw was professors and apparatchiks and party secretaries and cadres. Sometimes they saw the guy in the street selling tomatoes.

Prof. Goldin: He had real friends, lots and lots of friends. People his age and even older people.

Q: How would you describe them?

Paul Goldin: Most of them were in school. They didn't wonder about what they had to look forward to because it wasn't as worthwhile looking forward as it was enjoying their time here and now. The person who wrote the letter that my father read is now in the world, working in the laboratory. That person remembers the years in college, with friends. At that time none of them really worried about what

they were going to do after they graduated, it wasn't something that was enjoyable to think about; so they went on trips with friends, played pool, and had a good time. People were living for the moment. Everyone always had lots of friends to do things with. They all knew it was going to end: they would leave school—but that was in the future.

Q: What about your relationship with the scientists that you were teaching?

Paul Goldin: They were taking this class to learn English, so that they would know scientific English and be able to publish and advance in their profession. But they too—at least for the time being—weren't working. They didn't have to face the kind of working life that most people had to. They were just in school, just studying English. One student was an insurance salesman, a jaded character—he was working. He wanted to leave China, and I think that's why he enrolled in the class—to learn English better. But they had friends in their classes, as if they were thirty years younger; they went on trips and did things together, just like the college kids. I did not really know them, I didn't know how they acted when they had their jobs. I don't know how they acted professionally or what they were like in any other context, but when they were studying they didn't worry about all the problems they had. I saw a much gayer life than my parents did. They only saw the Mao jackets and the cadres walking around talking about the Party, and all the students that the cadres

trampled on.

Mrs. Goldin: Many of Fred's students were taking a class just to have a break from teaching. This would be a way to get a year off. One of the professors we know wants to come to the United States on a Fulbright; he just feels it's time he got a year off, not because he deserves it, but because he feels it is time to have a rest. And many of Fred's students felt the same way. It was better to go to school for a year than to teach.

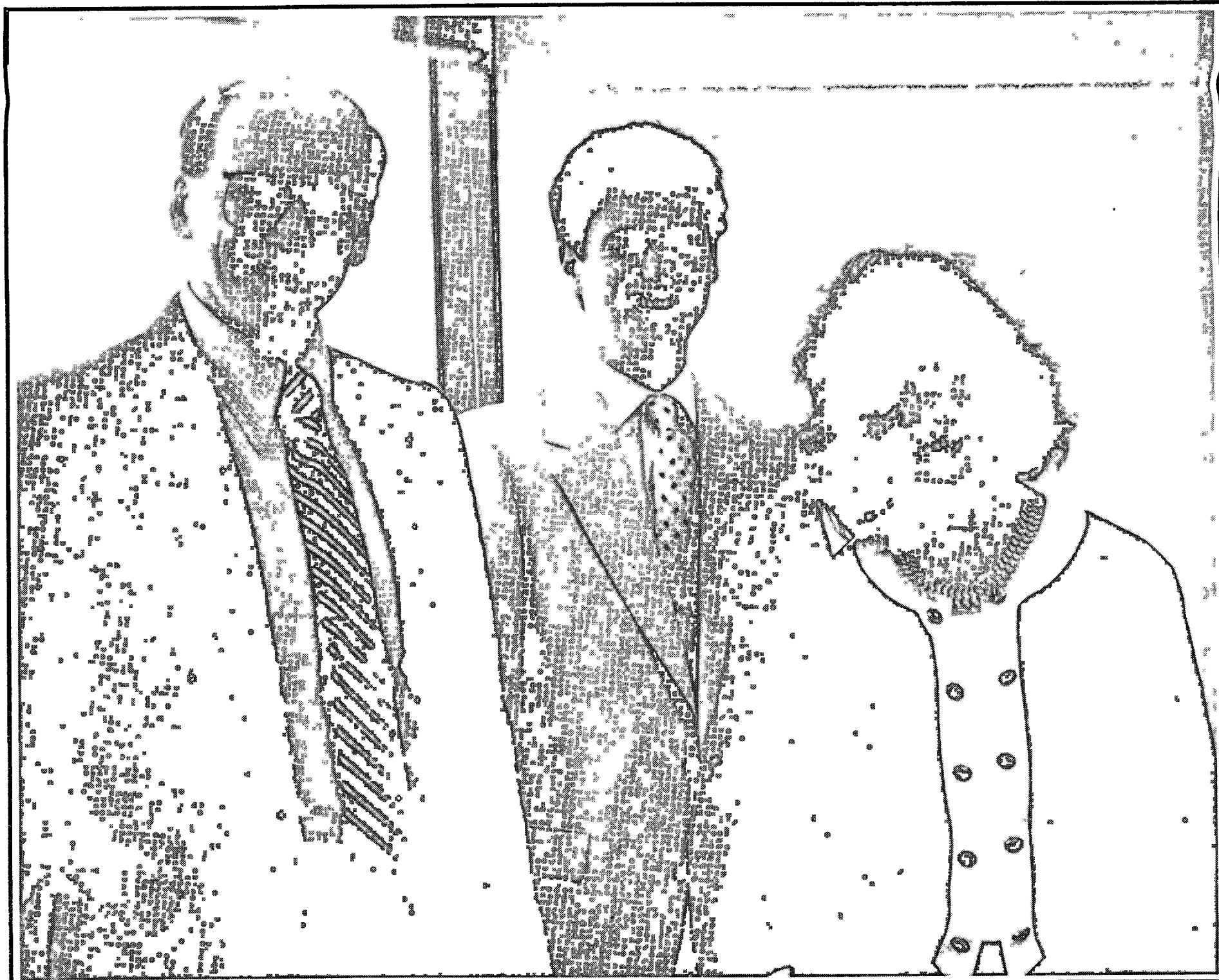
Q: Now that you're retiring, are you no longer directing dissertations?

Prof. Goldin: Yes, there are a few, and I'll see them through to the end, even after I retire. It's very much as Dione says: retirement is just a bureaucratic term to signify a lot of scary and exciting changes. It's like one generation passing and another generation coming within the same person. Teaching has been done now; that's over, after more than thirty-two years. As I have said, nobody should do anything for thirty-two years except love his wife.

Paul Goldin: Or her husband.

Prof. Goldin: It's not retirement so that the next step is recycling. There are a lot of other things I have to do. One hears a voice that says, "Get thee hence unto a place that I shall show thee." Sometimes the place is uncertain, but the "Get thee hence" is very clear. It's really time to go. **Q**

This interview was conducted on May 7, 1990 by George McClintock III, and transcribed by Binita Mehta.



Arts & Events

Cinema Paradiso

Directed by Giuseppe Tortone.

With Philippe Noiret, Salvatore Jacques Perrin and Salvatore Cascio.

When I saw *Cinema Paradiso* the first time, I could not help but think of my father. A child of the depression, he loved the movies because they were an escape from the poverty around him. What they presented were often fantastic (rife with happy endings), but what was significant was not the illusion they created, but that so many people were experiencing the same illusion.

Please keep in mind that illusion is not the same as delusion. If you are a hardnosed cynic who hates all romance and nostalgia, *Cinema Paradiso* is not the film for you. If you do like cinematic flights of emotion, but leery of soporific tearjerkers, then we have something to talk about. *Paradiso*, winner of the Academy Award for Best Foreign Film, is a sentimental film, no doubt about it. But it is not *only* sentimental. Its breathtaking cinematography and memorable musical score are matched by an intelligent and provocative screenplay. Lost in *Paradiso*'s nostalgia and romance, the inattentive spectator may overlook the complex relationships director Giuseppe Tortone has woven between film and memory, community and nostalgia, church and theater, and romance and reality. Although *Paradiso* may seem to lack profundity at first, Tortone's attention to historical detail and character bespeak something different. A carefully crafted piece of work, *Paradiso* is far better than most romantic films screened on this side of the Atlantic.

Paradiso is the memoir of protagonist-filmmaker Salvatore de Vita. News that a mysterious Alfredo has died inspires Salvatore's recollections of his childhood and teenage years in his small Sicilian home of Giancarlo. Alfredo, the town projectionist, takes the fatherless "Toto" under his tutelage. Despite a terrible accident, after which Salvatore replaces Alfredo at the projector, the relationship between the two grows, as does Toto himself. In a quick leap forward, Toto becomes the adolescent Salvatore, projectionist of the Cinema Paradiso. A love-interest suddenly interrupts our hero's happy projectionist's life, and the fatherly Alfredo does what he can to help the lovesick Toto. By the end, the middle-aged Salvatore, called back to Giancarlo by his mother to attend Alfredo's funeral, undergoes a wash of nostalgia that would seem mawkish if not for the highly-crafted groundwork laid down earlier by the film.

This groundwork is essential to *Paradiso*'s success. The flashbacks compose the substance of the film, and the precocious 10 year-old Toto will introduce us to Giancarlo's citizens. Toto's memories are peopled with a host of memorable characters: the priest who edits kisses from the films before they are publicly shown, the laborer

who comes to the movies just to sleep, the businessman who spits on the working class audience sitting below him, the town lunatic who claims to own the town square. Tortone cuts back and forth between film scenes shown in *Cinema Paradiso* and the response of the moviegoers, who cringe with fear (one viewer shrinks behind a pillar), cry hysterically (one grown man repeats all the lines through his tears), laugh uproariously and, at one point, even masturbate excitedly. The community in *Paradiso* becomes a mirror-image of the our own one in the theater.

Tortone's memorable, far from faceless extras create a sense of nostalgia that can only be born of familiarity. Contributing to this are the romantic elements Tortone plays with throughout the film. The adolescent Salvatore undergoes so many variations of the boy-meets-gets-girl motif that Tortone can't help but poke a little fun at it. In one wonderful scene, Alfredo concludes an enigmatic tale of a princess and a soldier with the exclamation "Don't ask me what it means because I don't know!" Again and again, Tortone plays with our expectations by salvaging Salvatore's initial disappointments. But Tortone will not strain the boy-gets-girl motif past improbability, and this is what proves to be the film's final saving grace. The end will please those who are sick of the whitewashed happy ending of American romances. And for those who enjoy film theory, I recommend you stay for the credits.

But the plot is not the only element responsible for *Paradiso*'s success. Many scenes suggest Tortone that is after other game. For example, the "movieness" of the romantic plot—the perpetual happy ending—becomes itself part of the film's subject when Alfredo warns Salvatore that life is not a movie. A character in a movie told that life is not a movie, however, poses theoretical problems I will leave to the post-modernists.

More important aspects of the film may be lost in the sentiment and suspense. For *Paradiso* is neither a love story in a vacuum nor the tale of a director's solipsistic love of cinema (a frequent indulgence of self-conscious filmmakers). Historical circumstance plays a significant role in the movie. The loss of young Italian men to the Russian front is felt in Giancarlo. Conflicts in the town square between jobless communist sympathizers and exploitative mafioso/employers even extend into the grade

schools. Children who perform poorly in school are beaten by parents who recognize that in a jobless Italy a good education is the only route to a paying job. In one scene, a moviegoer asks an old man to read the newsreel to him, only to discover his neighbor is also illiterate. And when the young Toto thinks of leaving school to become the projectionist, Alfredo retorts that he is too smart to waste his life for such a "nitwit" job.

The harshness of history—economic deprivation, war, illiteracy, capitalist exploitation—is cushioned by the movies. The theater is where conflict, love, sex, religion, family and open debate are all played out by the community together. Rich and poor, illiterate and literate, religious and non-religious, even sane and insane, all congregate to share the same experience. Nostalgia becomes communal as well as personal. *Paradiso* is the memoir not only of an individual, but of a country, a culture, a nationality and a period of history.

Nevertheless, the moviehouse is not a panacea. For the escape it offers from Italy's grim realities comes into conflict with the Catholic Church. The first Cinema Paradiso, a church that doubles as a theater, sets the stage for a debate between the moral tenets of the Catholic church and the sensual delights of film. But in a tragic fire, the icon of the Virgin Mary melts. The new "Cinema Paradiso," no longer a church, will no longer censor its films.

Tortone, like Matthew Arnold, offers a vision in which a form of popular media takes the place of religion as the focus of community life. For Tortone, however, film does not replace ethereal spirituality with raw sensuality. Film has a spiritual component, one concerned with man and memory rather than God and prayer. As Salvatore de Vita's name makes clear ("The Savior of Life") he is both filmmaker and Christ-figure. As filmmaker, he preserves memories—life. As a teenager, for example, he makes home movies of his paramour. And if memory is what we use to discover who we are, then film, which preserves memory, can only contribute to that process of discovery. Film becomes a vehicle for soul-searching—the exact role once played by religion. And Tortone, to make this as clear as possible, has us recognize that Salvatore's soul-searching, via memory, is the very film we are watching.

But memory is not only an individual matter. Individuals living in society are influenced by memory, and influence memory in turn. The relationship between film and memory is not only that of the home movie. In *Paradiso*, mass-produced movies offer a locus for shared experience, which is an integral part in defining who and what we are, representatives of cultural memory. Shared experience is where community begins. And this is the significance of that nostalgia, so poignantly caught by *Paradiso*. □

Bennett Graff studies English literature.

Three singer-songwriters performed—Townes Van Zandt on March 26th, Jane Siberry on April 4th and Laura Nyro on April 22th—at the Bottom Line Theater, located at 15 W.4th St. The common ground of these three performances was a good, dark, uncommonly evocative integration of music and lyric regarding life on the edge. But be warned: this is not music to be dropped in on casually. This corpus is an epic of the dispossessed, set in a land where it is always night and where community spirit emerges on the offensive.

The characters portrayed are the psychically down and out, the fatigued at the bottom of the food chain. They include those who attack and love with equal ferocity. Uncut, two-bit journeymen become big men during long, bitter campaigns. Local heroes pluck their eyebrows and hang around diners. Other decent-hearted family men can only communicate with their fists. Such Dickensian dinginess is unrelieved by hope. Its wit is savage. And like the lyrics, the music is vivid but remains slightly detached from the brutality it observes.

In this detachment, however, there is an unusual honesty, often frowned upon by critics who believe that singer-songwriters have an obligation not only to expose corruption, but also to point the way toward moral uplift. These three don't see it that way. The result were performances suggesting that physical, social, psychological and

political degradation can only be understood when seen in something like their true dimensions. With hope obscured.

The scale of the mental geography of these performances is large, the details meticulous. Interwoven with these stories of decline and fall are stories of final humiliations after brief moments of happiness. But there are also tales of two people coming to terms, though not through those of their own choosing.

These performances were both grim and eloquent. Van Zandt's voice is perhaps the flattest on record in his use of the Appalachian style, but never unpleasant. In a way that the blues uses the dissonance within a 7th chord to evoke a bittersweet tension, Van Zandt revealed the gut-wrenching agonies that must find voice.

Siberry's strength lies in her serial codas, which threaten never to stop, albeit in the most unthreatening of ways. Those who have lost their patience with Suzanne Vega as well as Joni Mitchell found relief in the humor that underlies the uncompromising reality of Siberry's consummate musicianship. This Canadian has partially rooted herself in the critical urbanism of Laura Nyro and simultaneously incorporated and transcended Kate Bush.

Nyro, the Divine Miss N herself, appeared in conjunction with Earth Day. As the undisputed soul of the Bronx at her piano, she makes a much better Earth Mother for

Life on the Bottom Line

By Vince Camp

New York than the Statue of Liberty, who it is said has fallen on hard times. Indeed, Nyro long ago generated two small cult followings, one among shy, but independent women; another among gay men. Representatives of both were there to celebrate their survival. Nyro short and altered versions of the hits she wrote for everyone else in the late '60s. She commanded attention from her opening notes which, filled with the colors, have the moodiness of black-and-white photographs of the South Bronx from which she emerged. Nyro was really at the Bottom Line to perform new material, and lesser known work, that exposed her bare wires, but never indulged in self-pity. If James Taylor had taken some cues from this singer-songwriter, Earth would already be a better place to live.

These performances had a North American sensibility that works to the advantage of its subject matter. The songs were authentic, but often displayed everything with the distance of a sober-minded, alien observer. One result was that these performers never exploited the more sensational aspect of their subject matter.

These performances were nearly perfect. Though they offered a bleak outlook, the gloom was never trivial. The effect, instead, was elegiac. □

The Art of Cruising

Continued from page 6.

nately melodramatic about entering a library through a wind tunnel.

Cruising With the Mystery Homophobe

"I am the mystery homophobe of the 10th floor. I am a mystery because I am not alone. There are several of us working together. I admit to ripping several of the posted meeting posters off of the bulletin board, but I also seem to be getting some help for there was an occasion when I wasn't quick enough and someone apparently beat me to it"

—Mystery Homophobe

"Beat" as the Mina Rees poet beats? Fag bashers cruise, too. He is the one who, seeing you get on the elevator, waits for the next one. God forbid he should get stuck in an elevator with a flaming faggot.

Cruising Cops (the sex police)

"I, and I am sure other people who are too intimidated to act and speak out, are sick and tired of you people shoving your sexuality in everyone's faces."

—Mystery Homophobe

Cops like to cruise, too. They send the cute ones, wearing tight jeans, into the T-rooms. They cruise us. They pucker their lips. They make a pass at us. They book us for soliciting, public obscenity, and assaulting an officer. They are the most arrogant fag bashers. Watch them at the next ACT-UP demonstration. Notice those

tight polyester pants. Hear them call you homo. Watch them snicker. Watch them stroke their billy clubs. Blow them a kiss. Watch their phallic ego go limp.

Cruising Down the Road to Liberation

Everyone you cruise is a potential comrade in the struggle. Can straight people cruise? Why not? Or should I ask, can straight men cruise in a way that negates machismo instead of affirming it and thus publicly affirm sexuality in a way that extends solidarity to, instead of, objectifying women? Though such a possibility seems hard to imagine in our own society, there is no monopoly on unrepentant sexuality, the longing for sexual liberation, a redefining of sexuality along non-sexist, non-heterosexist lines in such a way that class divisions are not upheld, but torn down. In fact, many gay men would do well to consider how their own sexuality supports these divisions instead of destroying them. According to the West Hall homophobe, "It is a sad and tragic fact that the culture of the West is on the decline." With each time you cruise does the fall of the Empire (and its canon) become more imminent? If only it were so easy. If only my deconstruction of the homophobe could make him disappear.

Cruise on. ☞

Jarrod Hayes hails from the Ph.D. Program in French.

In Defense of the DSA

Continued from page 4.

Democratic Party and the new Dinkins administration were discussed and even denounced, not many, but a few. There were also panels on Leninism, Post-Modernism and all kinds of other things, since we do not censor the content of the panels.

The Socialist Scholars Conference is a place to debate and discuss ideas, something the left needs urgently, and not a substitute for a non-existent mass left. That is why it cannot give guidance as to "what we need to do." That is not the Conference's job, which does not stop the many true believers with the only correct programs, who regard that as their job, from going ahead with it. The Conference is certainly not stopping them.

Finally, why the snide note of hostility to what is clearly the most important, largest and broadest intellectual leftist event which has survived the long bitter decade of Reaganite drift to the right? Is it because Smith supports one of the leftist organizations which eke out their parasitical existence primarily by attacking others? Why did not Smith, as an ethical journalist should, state his perfectly legitimate special interest, his partiality because of his ties to the journal *Against the Current* and to the organization Solidarity, both of which are hostile to the DSA and from which they differ primarily in their attitude towards the Democratic Party? It is that which made it possible for the DSA to work for Jesse Jackson, Ron Dellums, David Dinkins and Ruth Messinger, in the electoral arena, choices in the real world we did not make and hope to change. It is that which makes Smith see the Socialist Scholars Conference, which provides po-

litical and intellectual space for his organization and journal among others, as an occasion to get in a few snide and safe knocks against the DSA. Why not state one's politics honestly? Why not debate differences openly?

Sincerely,

Bogdan Denitch,

Co-Chair, Socialist Scholars Conference

Thomas Smith responds:

I can understand why Bogdan would be upset. There was an editorial error in my article, making it sound as if I thought that most of the panels at the Socialist Scholars Conference were basically "fronts" for the DSA's positions. Anyone who has been to any of these Conferences knows that this is not true. Any group on the left, including my own, can sponsor a panel to put forward its particular positions. I have no quarrel with that. There is nothing wrong with a free market of ideas, provided that it is not the only thing offered.

What I wanted to criticize, however, is the fact that there exists no common forum within the Socialist Scholars Conference for a genuine debate involving the left as a whole—where we could go beyond the market place to create a public space. What we got on Friday night, as I said, were some great leaders of leftist movements around the world. That was great, and maybe such a plenary should be included in every Conference, but it's not a debate. As we got into the Saturday and Sunday night panels, the proportion of DSA luminaries sitting at the podium grew markedly, as it does at every Socialist Scholars Conference. My suggestion was to structure these plenaries in a way that permits more debate about practical strategy for the left as a whole.

Dueling Pedagogies:

Gary Paul Gilbert

versus

Thomas Smith

Continued from page 5.

that it would show students that they are already capable of producing the kind of discourse their teacher is asking them to produce. (This recalls Molière's M. Jourdain's discovery that he is speaking prose!) What I cannot overstate is that in the teaching of writing there must always be a context. The different kinds of discourse must be taught within the students' own work within a specific context. The same applies to grammar.

Mr. Smith misinterpreted my text as calling for the abolition of grammar. What it does call for is the abolition of the old rule-centered approach, whereby students spend their time studying grammar manuals but spend very little time using the language. Instead, I think that grammar issues must always be addressed through issues of meaning. For example, if a student is constantly using the passive voice in his/her composition, it might be more productive to ask the student, who is speaking in his/her text? rather than going on about the necessity of writing in the active voice. When a student writes: "It will be shown that..." it might be more useful to ask: "Who is actually writing this sentence?" This recalls a certain linguist who would always refuse to define a word out of context. When presented with the word "can," he would ask for a sentence.

What I really object to in Smith's letter is that he seems to be repeating the traditional right-wing argument that if one only brought out those old grammar and composition books the students would learn how to write. (I know the argument well because I used to believe it before I started teaching English composition.) I would argue that the reason many students have problems writing is not because English teachers have thrown away the old textbooks, but rather because that is all they have done. It is a lot easier to teach grammar and composition rules than to have one's students write and revise papers. But it is a lot less fun because the teacher does not get to hear what his students think.

Actually, Smith seems to have a habit of trying to speak for everyone and not really listening, which is not only bad if one is a teacher but also bad if one is trying to work for social change. Smith refuses to engage in a conversation with other schools of Marxism. Instead he presents his own brand as the true kind of socialism. I, on the other hand, prefer to see each movement for social change as fragmentary and defective because there are so many of them. He does not seem to understand the importance of forming coalitions with women and minorities. It is significant that he refuses to recognize the problem with the pronoun "we." "We" has traditionally been used by

first-world bourgeois heterosexual men to present their own limited experiences as universal and to disregard the experiences of minorities. Such insensitivity is not surprising coming from a white male leftist.

Finally, Smith's argument for a "Self," which has itself undergone a process of critique and clarification in order to remove its contradictions and ambiguities sounds incredibly naïve and recalls Communist efforts to "re-educate" critics of the party establishment. Not only is such a model of the human subject naïve because it has no place for the alterity of the unconscious, but it also seems authoritarian. Is there no room for poetry, which celebrates ambiguity, in Smith's classroom? Is it because he associates, like most people in this culture, poetry with femininity? He seems unaware of the work of French feminists such as Hélène Cixous, who argue that ambiguity and contradiction can be used to subvert patriarchy. Cixous writes: "Woman unthinks the unifying regulating history that homogenizes and channels forces, herding contradictions into a single battlefield."

Clearly, Smith is no fun.

—Gary

Thomas Smith's response:

This is the kind of thing that gives the left a bad name: "nuttiness."

C'mon, Gary! Are you trying to tell me that I'm a "white male liberal," oppressive, unwilling to make alliances with women and minorities, because I am not willing to accept your silly, compulsive, totalitarian proscription of a harmless, ordinary word like "we"? Ridiculous. And, in the first place, there is nothing I can do about being white and male, neither can you. The difference is that I am not ashamed of it, nor am I as easily race- and gender-baited by the fact as you seem to think. In the second place, although I oppose liberalism's valorization of the market, its commitment to individual freedom, a commitment which could be generalized to encompass all of us (whoops, there I go again, using those oppressive words. Here's another no-no: "We shall overcome!" The person who thought that one up *must* have been an oppressive-white-male-liberal!), women and minorities as well as white males, doesn't make being called a liberal the worst insult imaginable.

As for your personal teaching methods: Nowhere in my article do I attempt to tell you *how* to teach grammar and argument (I am delighted to learn that you are indeed doing so!) I was simply addressing what I saw in your article as a tendency, encouraged by your post-structuralist references, to abandon all such concern with the self-development of the student because such humanist concern has been used in the past by the ruling social class to manipulate and mutilate rather than to liberate human beings. You completely fail to address this point: the substance of my critique.

—Thomas

Of course, I disagree with Bogdan's implication that any person, or group, who does not subscribe to his commitment to work within the Democratic Party is "sectarian," not really a member of the "broad left" (as he defines it), a "parasite." All this kind of talk reminds me strangely of the Stalinist left of the past. So it always strikes me as quaintly amusing when I hear it coming out of the mouths of Democratic Socialists, whose purported commitment to democracy, debate and, above all, criti-

cism, should enable them to know better. Thomas Smith, a contributing editor to The Advocate, studies political science.

The Graduate Student Advocate

A Forum
for
Students

In *Memoirs of an Indian Woman*, Shudha Mazumdar tells the story of her life between the years 1900 and 1934. She takes us through her childhood and her adulthood as a wife and mother. The memoirs are an interesting social and historical document of India under British rule, the growing nationalist movement, and Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience movement. *Memoirs* also gives an account of a period when women were becoming aware of their rights and position in Indian society. Although *Memoirs* presents the writer's growth and maturity as a woman, it is always placed within the larger context of Indian history.

Born in 1899 into a rich Bengali family of landowners (*zamindars*) from Calcutta, Shudha Mazumdar was the youngest of a family of five. Describing her parents who had little in common, she remarks, "My mother was the sweetest soul, but poles apart from my father. While he remained unorthodox to a degree, wholeheartedly adopting Western ideas, she clung to the Eastern ones." Her father was brought up by his uncle, a Positivist and follower of the French philosopher Auguste Comte, author of many books and articles. At her father's instigation, Ms. Mazumdar was admitted as a day scholar to St. Theresa's Convent School, where she learned English, something most women at the time were not permitted to do. Her devout and orthodox mother made sure that her Bengali education was not neglected. Both her parents maintained separate living quarters and kitchens. Ms. Mazumdar tells us that her father's diet consisted of English food, while her mother's diet was strictly Indian. Moreover, because women in those days were in *purdah* (seclusion), Shudha's mother was never present to greet the guests at her father's dinner parties.

Trained by her mother to perform the various Hindu rituals, functions and social customs, Ms. Mazumdar was constantly reminded of the importance of marriage. "The father-in-law's home' assumed awesome proportions for young girls in Bengal; forever it was dinned into their heads what would be approved of there and what would not." Ms. Mazumdar recounts the innumerable *bratas* or vows, prayers and rituals she had to perform as an unmarried girl at different times of the year. While she was training to be a good Hindu housewife and mother, however, she was also improving her command of the English language and literature at St. Teresa's Convent, thus exacerbating her mother's fears that an English education would ruin her daughter's chances of marriage, "which was then the only vocation possible for a woman...."

When a marriage was arranged for her at the age of thirteen, Ms. Mazumdar was too young to appreciate the importance of the event. She treats it with humour and a certain amount of irreverence. "Not only are birth and breeding, appearance, health, and education taken into account, but the horoscopes of the boy and girl must tally as well." At first unhappy at the thought of marriage, which would mean the end of her school-life, "I soon found myself becoming interested in my marriage," comments Ms. Mazumdar. She describes in great detail the different ceremonies performed before and during the marriage, and then explains in a humorous tone how she nearly suffocated in the gilded palanquin which carried her to her husband's ancestral home. According to the marriage customs of the time, it was "highly improper for a new bride to be found in the same room with her husband in broad daylight..." Even after the birth of her first child, Ms. Mazumdar writes, "In those times, it was highly improper to exhibit interest or affection for one's husband or wife. Young married people only met late at night in the

Memoirs of an Indian Woman

By Shudha Mazumdar

Edited by Geraldine Forbes
M.E. Sharpe Inc.

privacy of their bedroom when everyone else had retired and where their voices were never heard."

Married to a man she hardly knew, Ms. Mazumdar became acquainted with her husband, a civil servant, only in the different parts of Bengal where he was assigned and where the couple was free of family interference. It was also on these postings that Ms. Mazumdar began to develop her own talents. In addition to her responsibilities as a wife and mother, she began to write, developed an interest in the music and the writings of the famous Bengali writer Rabindranath Tagore. Troubled by the restrictions imposed both socially and economically on women, Ms. Mazumdar, encouraged by her husband, helped form *mahila samitis* (women's societies), where women could become involved in social work in the local communities. However, the concept of women's societies was so new that it was hard to convince women to join these societies. Needless to say, their husbands were not in favor of the idea. Gradually, however, Ms. Mazumdar persisted and the idea took root. More and more women became involved in these societies. Citing the example of a remote village in East Bengal, Ms. Mazumdar was amazed to hear women emphasize the need for women's education. "They wanted education to make themselves real help-mates of their husbands, to help them rear strong and healthy children, and to give widows and other poor women a way of earning their own livelihood." Ms. Mazumdar adds, "I was moved and impressed. Here were minds different from the fiercely conservative ones I had met in West Bengal. Yet all these women were from orthodox homes." The writer's involvement in removing the social constraints of women also led to her own liberation. She renounced the *purdah* and became painfully aware of the importance of women's education and of social evils like the ill-treatment of widows and the dowry system. She recounts the story of a young girl who set herself on fire because her family was too poor to provide a dowry for her marriage. "I had read of young girls taking their lives in this manner," she writes, "but I had never realised the extent of the problem or the misery that followed in its wake." Despite the author's good intentions and her genuine sympathy, she could not understand the dilemma faced by the younger less privileged woman. The inherent contradictions in her personality became evident when it was time to select a bride for her brother-in-law. Here the traditional Hindu aspect of her personality dominated. Skin color and breeding were important when choosing a bride. Meeting one of the prospective brides she says, "I observed with disappointment that her complexion was fairly dark." Another prospective bride is disqualified because of her being the daughter of a sub-inspector of police. "Now a hopeless stigma is attached to the position of Sub-Inspector of Police here in Bengal..." The whole issue was later to become an article entitled, "Choosing a bride in Bengal," published in *Asia*, a New York magazine.

Indian Memories

By Binita Mehta

In her memoirs, Ms Mazumdar's focus is on the experiences of her own and extended family along with her own religious and spiritual awakening. At the risk of sounding mildly hypocritical, she gushes "Deeply conscious of my many failings, I yearned for an ideal state which I vaguely glimpsed and understood as beautiful, but elusive and hard to attain." And later, after a visit to a holy shrine, "My faults and failings had been understood and pardoned. The past was dead, and I was born anew in a fresh world that held promise and fulfillment." There are other such moments when Ms. Mazumdar struggles with her own deficiencies and "the yearning to improve" herself.

Ms. Mazumdar's own concerns are intertwined with political changes taking place in India. "The coming of George V is linked in my mind with the anguish of losing a most loving father-in-law." The visit of the Prince of Wales in 1921, the growing movement towards independence, the increasing popularity of Mahatma Gandhi and his *satyagraha* or truth crusade, and the growing civil disobedience movement are important parts of her narrative. The memoirs end in 1934, and in the epilogue the editor informs us that the Ms. Mazumdar is now working on the second part of her memoirs. Apart from changes in her family life—her sons' marriages and her husband's death in 1951—Ms. Mazumdar has become still more involved in her efforts to improve the lives of Indian women through organizations such as the YWCA and the ILO, as well as the plight of female prisoners all over the world. Her articles for local newspapers were later collected and published in 1957 as "Women in Prison at Home and Abroad." In 1935, after a "spiritual crisis", she found solace in the Hindu epic, *Ramayana*, which she later translated.

In the introduction to *Memoirs of an Indian Woman*, the editor Geraldine Forbes questions whether the book is "feminist" or not. She adds that Ms. Mazumdar's memoirs are not "feminist" in the Western sense of the term, "with all that it implies about self-consciously locating the source of women's misery in patriarchy." However, Ms. Mazumdar's memoirs fit the broader definition of feminism, in which "women's lives are irrevocably intertwined with responsibilities for nurturance, caring for the sick, and ensuring family ties and that liberation is too complex to explain away in terms of individual autonomy." The book should not be judged in terms of Western feminism, because Shudha Mazumdar is an Indian woman brought up according to the customs of her time. The reader is constantly aware that she belongs to a privileged section of Bengali society and retains the prejudices of the landowning class that she was born into. What perhaps makes her story unique is the advantage of having had a Western and Indian (essentially Hindu) education, something rare for most women of her generation. Ms. Mazumdar encourages the social education of women, yet eloquently stresses the importance of marriage. "A world of sentiment enfolds the word vermillion, as vermillion on the brow indicates a woman is a 'wife.' This is the happiest phase of a woman's life—when she is honored by her husband, proud mother of his children, and honoured mistress of his home." It is difficult to put labels like "feminist" on a book such as this one, because the word does not mean anything given its time and context. Ms. Mazumdar, with her convent education and her women's societies, was ahead of her time. Yet she is not an anarchist. She works within the system, advocating the education of women, yet stressing the importance of marriage and family. *Binita Mehta is an associate editor to The Advocate.*

T.B.'s Surreal Life Top Ten

- #1 June 15: Gypsy Kings. Roots rock-flamenco style & much more musical than Los Lobos & The Blasters. @Riverstage, 43rd St. Pier.
- #2 June 24: Lloyd Cole w/o the Commotions? @Town Hall, 123 W 43, 8P.M. Westhaulers: Don't be giving me any excuses. This rising star of rock is right at your doorstep. Or at least behind it. And p/u the JVC Jazz Fest schedule while you're there. No room to reprint those 30 events.
- #3 May 28 Reggie Workman, Coltrane's bassist, this night in the Don Byron 4 @Knitting Factory. June 3: Coltrane Legacy Part 2. Billy Harper @ Acme Bar & Grill. June 12-17: Elvin Jones, Coltrane's original drummer @Blue Note. Dave Liebman may sit in since he's doing two gigs elsewhere.
- #4 June 15-16: Mahlatini & the Mahotella Queens

- @Bottom Line, 15 W. 4th, 228-7880, 8 & 11, \$15. Surprise stars of last summer at Central Park & SOB's, this South African bassman has reunited with his back-up singers of 20 yrs. ago. These women may eclipse Marley's I-Threes.
- #5 June 21-23: Toots and the Maytals @Tramps, now located at 45 W. 21, 727-7788. During reggae's formative years, Mr. Hibbert was the Sam Cooke of Jamaica, & the Maytals, the Tempts. At their Central Park Boathouse performance tkts. went for \$100. Tramps guarantees a more pleasant atmosphere.
- #6 June 29: John Fahey @Speakeasy, 107 MacDougal. Renegade ethnomusicologist turned legendary anti-hero of steel string guitar.

- #7 May 24: @East Village Jazz Invades Loisaida! Nuyorican Poets Cafe, 236 E.3rd, 226-0894. Jemeel Moondoc & the Jus'Grew Orchestra. Subtly amazing. Ed Blackwell & Don Cherry
- #8 May 3: Lene Lovich @ Marquee, 547 W. 21 & W'side Hwy. 249-8870, 9pm \$18/16. Lene reminds us of a Yugoslavian Kate Bush gone haywire, till we recall Lovich was first.
- #9 June 3: Leon Redbone @Bottom Line, 15 W 4th, 228-7880, 8&11, \$15. Was Dirty Thirties music really this good?
- #10 July 29: Joe Satriani Band @ Giants Stadium, 7:30, \$28.50 or storm the gates. It's hard to be a star when you only play instrumentals. Bring your binoculars. Additionally, a veteran of the '70s, David Bowie, will perform requests from his vast repertoire.

Whose School, Whose Culture?

Continued from page 5.

tional art history. Still more horrifying were their cynical tactics, such as the manner in which they cloaked with rhetoric their project towards the working class and minority communities of New York City (or even their adoption of the word "expansion," when in fact their objective was a matter of intellectual and political restriction).

Indeed, at the April 20th question-and-answer session with the expansionists from the senior colleges, the pro-expansion canon re-casters (who did not respond to the students' questions) again charged that the Graduate School art history program discriminates against the working class and minority communities of New York City. These are their terms, this is their rhetoric. That is, we do not provide a traditional and affordable Ph.D. in Art History to the CUNY community, and we do not address non-Western art, hence minority culture.

With regard to the availability of a traditional art history Ph.D., we think the real issue here concerns the social and political function of education. The kernel of the canon re-casters' argument is that education is simply a mechanism which feeds a pre-existing job market. Thus, socially and politically, education maintains the status quo—a condition which the working classes and minority communities would agree is decidedly unjust—and, more important for the canon re-casters, the institution reproduces itself. Teachers beget teachers. Many Graduate School art history students believe that the primary function of education should be as a socially transformative force, in a utopian/productive rather than re-productive sense, and that this

begins with questions such as "what are the implications of this discipline of ours?" and "what is the social and political function of our critical practice?" Needless to say, the criticism and theory component of our program, for which it was unique and well-known for many years, plays a role here. Students have taken their lessons into various New York City communities.

The expansionists' charge that the Graduate School art history program is Eurocentric, that we discriminate against minority culture, is first an example of arch-hypocrisy, but also simply wrong. The operative term used by the canon re-casters to describe their would-be program is "multiculturalism." Let's consider this term for a moment. Our inclination is that "multiculturalism" is the detritus of Cold War liberalism (similar to "pluralism"), the cultural ideology of a hegemonic vision where all communities co-exist and produce culture side-by-side, on an apparently equal basis. We are all familiar with the racist brutality of Bensonhurst and Howard Beach as well as the recent "official" variant in Teaneck, and we have all heard from the top levels of the Cincinnati government that gay culture is not culture at all, but is obscenity and must be suppressed. Meanwhile many of us do not produce culture—we are not artists and if culture is not really "there," then repression, state intervention, is unnecessary. In *Culture and Society*, Raymond Williams writes: "The working class, because of its position, has not since the Industrial Revolution produced a culture in a narrower sense. The culture which it has produced, and which it is important to recognize, is the collective democratic-in-

stitution, whether in the trade unions, the cooperative movement or a political party."

There are two important points to be considered here. First, in our society (American/capitalist), cultures do not exist harmoniously, side-by-side, but in a competition/struggle, as dominance and resistance. Within the current academic setting "multiculturalism" is really mono-culturalism. Second, the determination of the form and character of culture is itself problematic and is a fundamentally political (oppressive?) activity. All culture is not material and is thus not necessarily visual. Nor is culture a matter of leisure and an uplifting, "positive" activity. In the narrower sense, homeless people do not produce culture, but rather are produced as culture. Read the vitriol in the local newspapers, watch TV footage of NYC police actions in our parks, read the graffiti on the walls of the Christopher St. subway station. Culture is then a lived relation between people, and it is common and it is often violent and it is often distasteful.

But the canon re-casters would have none of this. No, they say, culture is homogeneous and continuous. More than that, culture is Art, a term good for all time. Its teleology extends, in expansionist Prof. Leonard Slatkes' memorable words, from "the pyramids to Picasso." Art, as the expansionists explain in their proposal, is produced by all "peoples in their homelands." With this apartheidish phrase, the expansionists described "primitive art." To speak of—or for that matter to teach—African art is to presume that there is a seamless totality, Africa, and that the people who live there produce what Europeans call art. This activity effaces difference and is intellectually and physically violent.

So, with this in mind, let's discuss racism. ~~Authors' names withheld by request.~~

United Germany, Divided Loyalties

Continued from page 5.

city. The same difficult choices have to be addressed by the youth of both German states. However, the crucial difference between 1968 and 1990 is, to my mind at least, the difficult questions are not being asked.

On a recent visit to West Germany, I was struck by what seemed to be a guardedness and overt caution when discussing questions of German reunification, the fact that for the first time in many years the Social Democrats had lost tremendous ground, the effects of the East German elections or the reasons why Germany was divided in the first place. What struck me too was the candid indifference of most of my contemporaries towards the admonishing tone of certain intellectuals, among them Jürgen Habermas, who feel that today's young West German is in danger of becoming an a-historical being by losing a perspective on the past.

Admittedly, my views have been colored by having discussed reunification with West Germans, rather than with East Germans as well. My overall impression though was somewhat disappointing as regards the willingness among my West German contemporaries to take a critical

stance towards reuniting Germany in the light of the highly publicized *Historikerstreit* (historians' dispute). The questions for which no one seemed to desire an answer included: would a united Germany necessarily unite the political loyalties of both East and West Germans?

While I do not share the fears of some Europeans (both Christian and Jew) that a united Germany would bring swift and merciless economic along with political instability to the whole of Western Europe (i.e. a rehash of the two world wars), I do worry that the majority of West Germans with whom I had spoken in late January, are not cautious enough in just how reunification will or should proceed. The killing pace with which events in East Germany have been taking place, thousands of refugees pouring across the now open borders each day, the massive demonstrations in Leipzig and Dresden, almost unthinkable as little as two years ago, has not been tempered, balanced by "democratic" forum, weighing the issues side by side.

If the events in East Germany and throughout Eastern Europe are an indication, as many have suggested, that Communism is defunct, or at least undergoing the growing pains of Perestroika, and shall cease to exist as previously, what will be its replacement? And if a reunited Germany will be trying in the course of the next several years to put its house in order, what, then, will this "new Order" bring? *Elliot Jünger studies German literature at the Graduate School.*

Mr Update

Continued from page 3.

Print Server—the computer that is actually controls the printing. Only then will that computer put your document in a queue to wait until the printer is available.

For all this to work properly you need to do two things: to indicate the queue that you want your work to be placed in; and to indicate the type of printer that is being used. In Nota Bene can simply choose your printer from the printer menu (F1-PRINT-DESIGNATE) and both the queue and the printer will be correctly identified. If you are using WordPerfect you must identify the queue from the Nov-

ell menu before starting the program (NETWORK PRINTERS), and then identify the printer from within the program (SHIFT-F7, Select).

Of course if there is a problem with the Print Server your job may be sitting out there in Machineland going nowhere and there's nothing you can do about it. That's when you ask the consultant to intercede on your behalf. *Q*

Mr. Update will be The Advocate's West Coast computer correspondent in the Fall. Write him c/o the Computer Center.

Victim of Protest

Continued from page 1.

ment. I want to pay back my loan."

Yolanda, who was a foster child, feels that the system has failed her once again. "School is my therapy," says Yolanda, who has undergone operations for cancer and suffers from lupus, a terminal illness. "This woman wanted me to go to work. My mother worked in a factory and lost a breast and three fingers. I don't want to end up like my mother. The most I would make is \$15,000 a year. That would pay only for my medical bills." *Q*

Primum Moble Presents A Reading of

"Rent Control"

By Michael Glassman

Friday,
June 1, 1990
7:00 P.M.
Graduate
School
Auditorium

Advocate
The Advocate

Doctoral Students' Council 1990-1991 Election Results

Program

Representatives

At-large Representatives

Anthropology	Betsey Andrews, Megan McCormick	Lakshmi Bandlamudi
Art History	Mignon Nixon, Virginia Rutledge	Brenda Baskin
Biochemistry	Raymond Vazquez	Linda Bastone
Biology	Margaret Basile, Edythe Jones	Alice Bresznica
*Biomedical Science	Run-off due to a tie	Danny Choriki
*Business	Run-off due to a tie	Cindy Cromer
*Chemistry	Run-off due to a tie	Steven Gerardi
Classical Studies	Kathy Crissy	Manjula Giri
Comparative Literature	Jim Malkin	Michael Glassman
Criminal Justice	Michael Foley	Robert Greer
Computer Science	Tamer Avcilar, Athan Hatsopoulos	Anita Haravon
*Earth and Environmental Sciences	Run-off due to a tie	Jarrod Hayes
Economics	Laura Bonanomi, Christopher Vaz	Peter Hodges
Educational Psychology	Pat Moore	Christine Hutchins
Engineering	Failed to elect a Representative	Elizabeth Kelly
English	Cheryl Fish, Mike Mandelkern, Barbara Roseman	Sylvia Maldonado
French	Carina Yervasi	Ed Marx
German	Christine Kallinger	George McClintock
History	Dan Greenbaum, Richard VanNort	Binita Mehta
Linguistics	Robert Hollander, Richard McKinnon	Madeline Mignon
Liberal Studies	Catherine Clarke, Karen Popkin	Greg Pinney
Mathematics	Gordon Candall	Tanya Serdiuk
Music	LuAnn Dragone, David Freudenburg	Vincent Tirelli
Philosophy	Russell Dale, Jane Pollack	
Physics	Wenling Sha	
Political Science	Jonathan Kranz, Martin Tanz	
*Biopsychology	Run-off due to tie	
Clinical Psychology	Ilene Green, Virginia Picchi	
Learning Processes	Ken Reeve	
Developmental Psychology	Linwood Lewis	
Environmental Psychology	Ann Kelly	
Experimental Psychology	Failed to elect a Representative	
Experimental Cognition	Paula McKinley	
Social Personality	Brian Cassell	
Neuropsychology	Sandi Yecker	
Industrial & Organizational Psychology	Laura Gooler	
Sociology	Bruce Haynes, Solomon Selvam, * (3rd -Run-off due to tie)	
Social Welfare	David Felstein	
Spanish	Luisa Garcia	
Speech & Hearing Sciences	Patricia Walsh	
Theatre	Martin Russell	

Referendum:
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[88 abstentions]

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* Students whose names appear
on the ballot for these programs will be contacted.

Democratic Social Revolution

Continued from page 5.

best way to combat imperialism, this does not mean that anti-imperialism is by itself equivalent to socialism. It is therefore our responsibility, as thinkers committed to fight against imperialism, to criticize such regimes for not being socialist enough in order to fight imperialism!

Brian refers rather briefly to the idea, argued by Marx and Engels, that socialist revolutions, especially in the underdeveloped regions of the world, must rely upon the socialist revolutions of other societies if they are to survive and thrive rather than to have their economic development strangled by capitalist imperialism. Brian then argues that the regimes of the East have been so strangled, that all the evils of these societies—political, social, economic, environmental—are simply the result of this imperial strangulation; therefore, such regimes should be immune from all criticism. The question he begs, however, is whether these regimes would indeed be defined as socialist by Marx and Engels, or for that matter by anyone who retains a critical perspective rather than a credulity for the self-advertisements and apologetics of these regimes.

Besides being merely anti-imperialist, at least when they first started out, what is it about these regimes that might give them the right to style themselves socialist? Brian never answers this question. For him, socialism means anything that these regimes do. Therefore, since these regimes do not permit workers' councils to develop, Brian concludes, post facto, that such institutions are neither necessary for socialism, nor possible—even though Marx and Engels, Brian's heroes, thought that such institutions were both possible and necessary for socialism, everywhere, and for good reason.

When Marx and Engels used the term *socialism* or *communism* or the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, in the *German Ideology* or anywhere else, they meant the struggle of workers to control their production collectively and directly, within a radically democratic political structure, involving democratic assemblies of the people as a whole and their elected and removable delegates, local, regional, and national, making and executing the important political decisions in the society. They defined socialism in this way because this is the only means they thought that class society, domination and exploitation could be effectively abolished, and that freedom could be attained and human needs fulfilled by everyone, universally.

Workers' control and democracy in societies that are still largely agrarian can not be self-sufficient, nor can they survive unless the revolutions spread to the more advanced industrial societies—societies which are now capitalist empires. But for Marx, according to his essay, "The Revolutionary Movement" published in his *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of New Year's Day, 1849, it is in such underdeveloped societies that socialist revolution must commence. For here is where the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism are most acute. And it is only by *smashing imperialism* that the contradictions of capitalism will come home to roost in the advanced industrial imperial centers, thus forcing the working classes of these societies to

struggle for power.

Unless both these elements, workers' control and radical democracy, are created, the fight against imperialism will be weakened tremendously. If the working class possesses these two things, it can genuinely unite the exploited majority of the society—the peasantry and the urban middle class as well as the workers—against the exploitative upper classes within the society and against imperialism. The masses learn directly, through the democratic process itself, who their real enemies are, as well as their genuine allies and leaders. Without such institutions, the revolution is enormously weakened, because bureaucracy and bureaucrats, not democracy, mediate the political relationships among the majority. This bureaucracy inevitably tends, consciously or unconsciously, to pit each of these lower classes against the other, in order to accumulate power and privilege for themselves. As they deprive in turn each of these classes of their political and economic rights, and treat them insensitively and arbitrarily, they alienate the vast majority, especially the peasants, from active support for the revolution into a passive neutrality at best. (Thus, for example, the devastation of the Russian Civil War was so prolonged.) This bureaucratism also dampens the will of lower classes in other, adjacent societies for revolution. (As Fernando Claudin writes in *The Communist Movement*, after Zinoviev, the leader of the Russian Comintern, ran around Europe making speeches about how "our ultimate goal must be a one-party state," the memberships of the Communist Parties were cut in half, while the memberships of social reformist parties doubled.) Finally these bureaucracies become attached to their privileges, thus they tend ultimately, under the pressure of the economic contradictions peculiar to these bureaucratically (mis-)planned societies, to seek a rapprochement with imperialism, as they have in the past few years especially. If they do for a time fund genuine revolutionaries, it is simply to keep the empire off balance for the sake of their own national security—not to foster revolution as an end in itself.

What led to the bureaucratization and weakening of anti-imperialist movements of the past was Leninism: the idea that an intellectual vanguard could manipulate the working class into putting this vanguard in power. Upon achieving power, the vanguard's aim would become, not to transform capitalist state and society, but instead to gain *bureaucratic control* of these hierarchical and exploitative structures, thus attempting to fight fire with fire. The vanguard, relying upon its superior "will" and "science," would then use these structures to benefit everyone. As Lenin said, "socialism is nothing but state monopoly capitalism made to benefit the whole people." Of course, some people would tend to get more of the "benefit" than others.

One might ask what possible influence the ideas of a small group of intellectuals could have on the outcome of a mass revolution. But while ideas might not matter much in general, in a crisis situation, where intelligent leadership is required above all, ideas become important, especially if these ideas are the ideas of those who led the workers in their initial insurrection. As a result, the workers tend not to resist the hierarchy put into place by their own leaders. Then the whole dynamic of bureaucratic perversion sets in. After the first bureaucratic perversion of social revolution

(as in the Soviet Union) occurs, these ideas "take hold" as gospel, as the "practical lessons of the first successful socialist revolution," etc., etc., in the minds of revolutionary leaders around the world—leaders who, once in power, and despite their tremendous courage in fighting imperialism, do the same despotic things as their elitist mentors had done.

Yes, Brian, we need to build socialism here. But even our own responsibility to make socialism palatable here means that we have the right as well as the duty to criticize regimes that pervert the ideal because of their own misconceptions and/or for their own gain. Nor is anyone in China or Romania, among many other places now, going to take us seriously when we "defend" the bureaucratic regimes that have been tyrannizing, massacring, polluting, exploiting, and pillaging the people there. While it is vitally important to fight capitalism and imperialism, that goal is not achieved via the old black and white, Cold War-in-reverse view to which you, and many others on the left, still seem to cling. \mathcal{A}

Brian Guerre responds:

"The Americans have nothing to offer the world, unless it be the destruction of their empire; the American empire is a curse, even upon its own people" (Don Pedro Albizu Campos, the esteemed Puerto Rican patriot and internationalist, speaking early in this century). As a veteran of the U.S. ruling class's war of aggression against the peoples of Indochina, who is now a Marxist, I present a sympathetic and objective discussion of the struggle of the communist movement worldwide for economic and political democracy against the exploitation and oppressions of the capitalist world order.

In spite of himself, Thomas Smith manages to find much fault with what he calls my "fine analysis" because he never actually comprehends its central point: the systemic interconnection of every communist or communist-oriented society with U.S.-led imperialism, and the unavoidable, multidimensional, destructive consequences of that interconnection for all such societies and parties and movements on every continent. Whereas Marx and Engels emphasized in *The German Ideol-*

ogy that "not criticism but revolution is the motor-force of history," Tom's thinking is typical of nearly all U.S. leftists of every type, who are preoccupied with criticizing the "bureaucratic regimes" of the transitional societies and whose all-too-American anti-communism manifests itself also in their unwillingness to take part together in constructive communication concerning what is to be done collectively about the U.S. system and ruling class, the most counterrevolutionary in the world.

Tom claims that socialist revolution, according to Marx and Engels, must commence in underdeveloped societies, but he writes as if this were tantamount to "smashing imperialism." In reality, none of these societies has been able to rid themselves of imperialism, though to the limited degree that they have been able to fight their way out of the imperialist system, they have undermined its foundations. Similarly, in the real world, in "necessary" defense against invasive capitalism, the communist movement has not been able to create the institutions of economic and political democracy that would become "possible" in communist societies free from the depredations of imperialism.

My position implies that both the "criticism" and the "support" of U.S. progressives has done the peoples and leaders of the transitional societies practically no good, and that the only way to defend them from U.S.-led imperialism and to change them for the better is through the revolutionary transformation of the advanced capitalist societies in order to take the imperialist economic and military pressures off of them, so that they are able to behave better.

I do not define communism as "anything these regimes do." Those parties and governments that have led in the founding and construction of the societies I describe in the first paragraph of my article are communist. In a future issue of *The Advocate*, I will compare and contrast the policies of the U.S./NATO and Soviet/Warsaw Pact governments historically in the areas of the arms race and disarmament, international development, and the global environment, and draw out the implications of their respective policies for the rest of the world, and for the people of China in particular. \mathcal{A}



CUNY Student Strike

Continued from page 1.

North Hall were ordered to the 10th Avenue building to thwart a takeover. The students swiftly moved back to North Hall and chained the doors, only to discover that campus security, presumably on orders from the administration, had opened the loading dock doors for the police. As a force of approximately eighty-five officers moved into the lobby, the students formed a human chain. In turn, the police formed a perimeter and eliminated all escape routes. With nightsticks drawn the police charged the students, pushed them to the ground and beat them. Some prominent student leaders, apparently targeted for special treatment, were surrounded and beaten. The police made no arrests, although eleven students were injured. One woman was taken to the hospital after she passed out due to a blow from a police nightstick. "Bottles were flying at police during the time they were beating up and hitting people and trying to arrest people," CUNY student Lisa Galloway told *The New York Post* [5/10/90]. Witnesses also said that police refused to allow an ambulance to pass when it arrived to transport the injured students to the hospital.

A group of administrators watched the incident from a panopticon security booth equipped with a pull-down plexiglass window situated slightly off the center of the lobby. At about 6:30 P.M., Chancellor Joseph Murphy, who was attending a conference sponsored by the Center for Non-Violence, instructed President Lynch to meet with the students, and Vice-President Smith ordered the police to leave the cam-

pus. According to students, the police were unwilling to leave and marched and drilled in this lobby while watched by the now captive student audience. President Lynch met with students on Thursday evening, the following Friday, and Saturday, when the students showed him a video tape of the previous violent incidents. President Lynch reportedly told faculty that he was touched by the video but "it was edited by students, after all". On Sunday, May 13th, direct negotiations broke off and were replaced by negotiation committees. As of May 20th, students continued to occupy North Hall.

John Jay Student Demands

Among the demands made by the students of John Jay College is the promotion and tenure of Assistant Professor Donald Torres, whose tenure had been denied by an administration committee and supported by the John Jay President Gerald Lynch, despite the recommendation of the department of Law and Police Science, his publications, and student support. Prof. Torres has charged that the decision was capricious and racist. Students also demand student representation on faculty selection and curriculum committees and a required course in both African-American and Puerto Rican Studies. Currently students must enroll in one or the other.

Many students at John Jay College are police officers who wear their weapons to class, although this is no longer a Police Department requirement. Students have demanded a school-wide ban on handguns in the classroom.

Reaction to Violence at John Jay

Hunter College President, Paul LeClerc issued a statement on May 11th in which he commended Hunter College students and administration for their "goodwill and cooperative spirit," and for "working in effective, non-confrontational, and peaceful ways to achieve several objectives." He ended his statement with the hope that "we all continue to work together to avoid at Hunter the regrettable violence that has occurred elsewhere."

At the Graduate School, a letter in support of the protesters was circulated and signed by numerous graduate students: "We are outraged by the use of police force against students at John Jay ... we hold the administration responsible for the police presence ... and for the failure to protect students from police brutality." The letter also condemns John Jay President Gerald Lynch for his refusal to meet with student protesters. The letter calls for Lynch's resignation, stating that he "turned a peaceful demonstration into a riot... by disregarding his promise made last year to address student concerns, by refusing to open his door to meet with groups of students for over a month, and, most seriously, by standing by while the police beat students who were peacefully demonstrating against proposed budget cuts and tuition increases."

Students Take Over 80th Street

May 21st — A group of 100 students from different CUNY colleges took over the East 80th Street building which serves as the headquarters of the CUNY Board of Trustees. Ken Stein, a history student at Lehman College and a University Student Senate representative acted as spokesman for the group. "We have already issued a set

of demands," Mr. Stein told *The Advocate*, "and are waiting to meet late this afternoon with the Board of Trustees and the Chancellor to resolve some of these demands." Mr. Stein said that the building would be held indefinitely until their demands were met. These are demands of the CUNY students:

1. No Tuition increases and no cuts in services.
2. The Chancellor Search Committee should be reopened to include persons of color as part of the final process.
3. A University wide policy should be established to protect students against the atrocities of police brutality on college campuses.
4. Medgar Evers College should be funded as a senior institution.
5. Lehman College should hire a president who represents the ethnic composition of the Lehman student body.
6. Tuition for foreign students be rolled back immediately to pre-1988 levels.
7. The resignation of Gerald Lynch, President of John Jay College.

When asked for the latest news about the budget negotiations, Mr. Stein stated that things were still "up in the air." If the proposed \$23 million budget cuts are allowed, CUNY may be forced to lay off some 1,500 adjunct lecturers and 200 non-tenured faculty members, advisors, counselors, and tutors, all support services that are necessary to maintain the standard of education at CUNY. ☞

Andrew Long is a student of Comparative Literature; Christine Hutchins, an associate editor of The Advocate, studies English Literature.

Beyond the Intensive

Continued from page 3.

has to reflect the needs of each decade," he said.

Serving the needs of students is precisely the aim of both the Latin/Greek Institute and the Foreign Language Institute. Although the two Institutes are housed in the same small office where each share the same phone number, they are separate entities. The FLI was already established a few years before Dean Moreland, invited by Brooklyn College, brought his successful Latin Institute to New York in 1973. Greek was not taught at the Institute until 1978. Dean Moreland continues to direct the Latin/Greek institute.

Total Immersion

The Foreign Language Institute offers intensive instruction in the modern and ancient languages throughout the year, whereas the Latin/Greek Institute brings students together for eleven weeks every summer. According to Dean Moreland, the Latin/Greek Institute offers courses "beyond the intensive." Three years of undergraduate Latin or two years of undergraduate Greek are covered in eleven weeks, for the equivalent of twelve credits at Brooklyn College. "The Foreign Language Institute," Dean Moreland added, "addresses the same need in a more realistic manner." Courses at the FLI cover about one year of undergraduate instruction, although students do not receive course credits.

David Kornacker, a graduate student in the Ph.D. Program in French, referred to the Latin/Greek Institute experience as academic "boot camp." According to Mr. Kornacker, "the first two weeks are like basic training and are the hardest to sur-

vive. If students can keep up in these critical moments, they are most likely to succeed." For eleven weeks, students in the program literally spend every waking moment with the language. A brochure states that courses are from 9:30 A.M. until 4 P.M. A typical day begins at 8:30 A.M. with a pre-class discussion of individual problems, then lessons and quizzes fill up the day until 4 P.M. Then a few extra hours are spent preparing the next day's assignment. When students finally go home, they have at least six hours of homework to prepare for the following day. Sleep comes in small doses.

This total immersion program has had wonderful results. Graduate students who participated in the eleven-week course are now teaching at the Institute and studying in the Classics Ph.D. program. Students suddenly find room for Latin or Greek literature in their dissertations. This is not surprising, given that the attrition rate is roughly 18-23%, according to Dean Moreland, "largely because most students decide within the first week they cannot make the time commitment." This enthusiasm for the language revitalizes the importance of ancient languages and accounts for the steady growth of the Institutes.

Professor Colette Coman, who has taught French at the FLI since 1978, attributes its international status to "word of mouth." When students are asked how they have heard about the program in a questionnaire, most often the response is "a student." Coman recalls that it used to be a much smaller program with most courses offered in the summer; only a few courses were offered during the academic year.

Today, more classes are offered and these fill up rapidly; students are sometimes turned away.

Ms. Fleischer credits Dean Moreland with the growth of the two Institutes. "He's full of energy, full of ideas, full of enthusiasm," she said. The FLI also has an excellent faculty, which the students help to maintain by responding to the teacher evaluations requested at the end of each course. Another reason for the success of the FLI may be its flexibility and its open-minded attitude about language instruction. Languages are offered to meet student needs. At various times Arabic, Japanese, Russian and Hebrew have been offered when requested by potential students. Schedules are created to accommodate the schedules and financial constraints of graduate students. The tuition has not been increased since 1979.

Classic Heaven or Intensive Hell?

Mark Goldblatt, who has taken both Latin and French at the FLI said, "It is the most effective language acquisition system I know about. Students learn modern languages as fast as humanly possible although the expectations are superhuman." He recently passed the French exam after taking the 12 week course. Professor Coman said that the failure rate is low. In her 12 years of teaching she has only failed two students. "Usually students want to go on learning the language and take the advanced courses," she said.

Not all students, however, are happy with what the Institute has to offer, and think the intensive Latin course is unrealistic. "My main gripe," a student complained, "is that the Foreign Language Institute represented the Latin course like you would pass the course if you were diligent and did all the work. True, you pass

the course, but it's very difficult to pass the final exam or the department exam. If you are taking two courses, teaching two courses, and have a life, it's a difficult row to hoe." Since every student from the English Program who took the Latin exam this past December failed, it would seem like 12 weeks of Latin is insufficient preparation. After this devastating event, students decided to form a study group and hired a tutor rather than repeat Latin I or have a Level II course in translation opened for them. This solution was more costly and in the end it did not guarantee success. Some students believe the ancient language course should be organized as a year-long project.

Despite these problems, the Foreign Language Institute and the Latin/Greek Institute continue to grow. In 1972 the average enrollment was twelve students; today the average number of students per class is twenty-five. The Latin/Greek Institute has greatly expanded and enrolls more than forty students for each language every summer. Students come from all over the world for the intensive courses in ancient and modern languages at the two Institutes. There seems to be a consensus among the faculty, students, and administrators that, in Professor Coman's words, "It should be even better known because it's so worthwhile!" ☞

Caroline Pari studies English literature.

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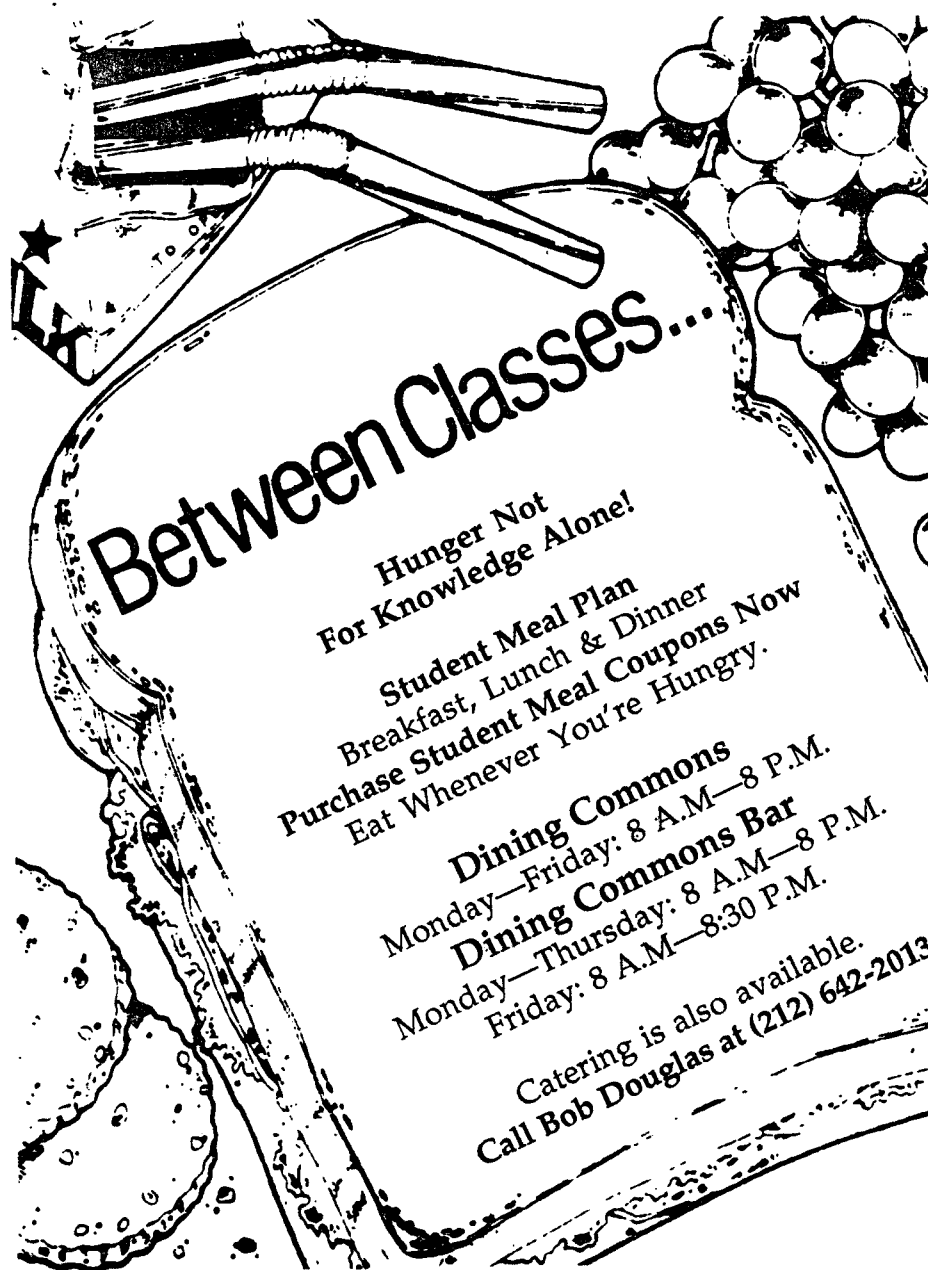
These Are Paid Positions!**Doctoral Students' Council
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On the Agenda:

DSC 1990-1991**General Election Results Announced****DSC Elections****Three Co-Chairs:****Business Affairs
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