

The Graduate Student Advocate

City University of New York

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Editorial:

Trustees to the Community: Guns before Butter

[Editor's note: The following text was presented to the CUNY Board of Trustees at the November 18th meeting for entry into the official record.]

On behalf of the editorial staff of *The Graduate Student Advocate*, the student newspaper of the CUNY Graduate Center, I hereby register my protest against the continued hiring of "contract guards" at the CUNY colleges. A case in point is the current request (see item 4B) for Brooklyn College.

My objection is threefold. First, whether this practice, which I believe now constitutes a definitive hiring pattern, is sanctioned by the leadership of the guards' union, Local 32B, and even if these actions fall within the scope of the current contract, the net effect is to bust the union. As this newspaper, and many of our student groups have repeatedly stated and demonstrated, notably in the Spring '91 strike, we are deeply concerned about the fate of the staff who run our schools and will not stand idly by as the CUNY budget and so-called operations requests such as item 4B are used to dilute the strength of their unions.

Second, the guards represented by Local 32B are not only members of a union which we support, but are also members of our community. As such they are responsive to the needs and mores of a vital university community, and are, finally, accountable to the university. If something goes wrong, or there is a security mishap, the university is directly responsible. We will not tolerate the introduction of guards who are not responsive to our needs, as CUNY students and as members of a community, but simply follow orders dictated by the maintenance of "security". This kind of arrangement will, ultimately result in personal injury to students. After the Spring strike, Yankee Security, and at the request of Steven Cahn/Floyd Moreland, placed plainclothes guards at the Graduate Center who were abusive and intimidating. This cannot continue.

Third, I question the ongoing calls for more CUNY security. These calls, which the trustees couch in characterizations of CUNY students as criminals and vandals, mimics a paranoid and authoritarian policy of "guns before butter", which our own city is now enduring. Furthermore, the call for additional security comes at a time when the 80th Street administration, on behalf of the trustees, seems determined to abridge our civil rights, notably to bar us when we attempt to attend public meetings, and, most recently to annul our democratic attempts to reform our government the USS. For the record, the Graduate School DSC will carry through on its threat to call for the resignation of administrators on the USSERC in order to ensure that a fair and fully democratic USS Chair serves for the upcoming electoral year. We will insist on our democratic rights no matter how many guards are hired, now matter how many cops you summon.

Respectfully submitted,

Andrew Long
Editor, The Graduate Student Advocate

Art History Students Serve Notice to CUNY Administration

For over four years students in the Graduate School Ph.D program in Art History have attempted to avert sweeping changes in their department. Readers of *The Advocate* are familiar with the ongoing struggle between students and administration over changes in the Art History department that, if finally implemented, will radically alter the scope and direction of their program. Students have now retained Matthew Hagopian Esq. as legal counsel and have formally notified the department, the Graduate School and CUNY administrations, as well as the New York State Commissioner of Education, Thomas Sobol, that the proposed changes must conform to statewide guidelines.

Regulations developed by the office of New York's Commissioner of Education state that all new doctoral specializations must be specifically reviewed and approved in a formal process. Finally, any changes must be approved by the Commissioner. Guidelines state that a proposed specialization "must show evidence of careful planning indicated by clear definition of the goals of the specialization and the implementation of a reviewing system devised to estimate the success of students and faculty in achieving such goals..." While a committee has been formed to explore the possibility of expansion, no system has been established to evaluate the feasibility of expansion. An ad hoc committee of faculty from the Department of Art History rejected the idea of expansion, on the grounds of a lack of adequate funding. Nonetheless, the Commissioner's mandate for "evidence of careful

planning" has gone unfulfilled. Thus far, most of the planning has taken place behind closed doors, without input from the students. Excluded from the planning process, Art History students were forced to form their own committee to confront the expansion issue.

Thus far, students have limited their struggle to the department Executive Committee, though their representatives have formally contacted and negotiated with the late President Proshansky, the former Acting President Cahn, and CUNY Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds. In her September 11th letter to President Horowitz, which was publicly circulated, the students' DSC representative Mignon Nixon states that the "expansion" has been "promoted by the late President Proshansky and Provost Steven Cahn not only in the face of student opposition, but in possible violation of New York State law." Despite the Art History students' persistence and insistence that their objections to the proposed changes be addressed and formally recognized, the department and the administration of the Graduate School have ignored them. Indeed, for approximately three years the department has added faculty and altered course offerings in order to embrace the so-called expansion of the program.

These actions have been interpreted by the students as an attempt to bypass the formalized process established by New York's Education Law. Their retention of counsel is an attempt to regain the right to due process and demo-

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CUNY Moves to Centralize Security Committee Recommends Peace Officer Status

Ian McGowan

The CUNY administration is acting to centralize and strengthen CUNY's security force, which may culminate in granting CUNY's security guards arresting powers. Already 40 new public safety officers have been hired, who will hold a new level of campus security supervisory jobs. CUNY's new guards are taking a training course at John Jay College of Criminal Justice. The pilot program will be initiated at John Jay College and three Brooklyn CUNY campuses: Medgar Evers College, Brooklyn College, and New York City Technical College.

The administration is acting upon recommendations made in a report issued last semester by the CUNY Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Campus Security and Community Service. The report, obtained by *Student Leader News Service*, calls for the, "Implementation of a comprehensive, system-wide approach to campus security." The report recommended that "selected CUNY security ... should have officer status."

The reasons the report gives for the necessity of selected guards having peace officer status is that, "The availability of CUNY peace officers will provide flexibility of response and action within the campuses, because the peace officers are empowered to make arrests based upon probable cause for criminal activity." While peace officers will have arresting power, "Peace officer status does not, in itself, confer the authority to carry firearms. The carrying of firearms on a campus is regulated by University policy."

The committee wants to see the University's security program reorganized so as to limit the reliance on outside security firms, and increase the level of training of the University's security force. The report also calls for the

development of a CUNY Police Cadet program, which would involve student police cadets on patrol with New York City police officers was also encouraged.

Currently, the University relies heavily on contracts with a number of private guard services, colloquially known as "rent-a-cops", which include Bell, Burns, Ecco, Guardian, and Yankee. These guards are not CUNY employees, nor are they civil servants, and they do not have the same authority as police officers or peace officers. While many of these services are run by former police officers, their guards do not go through an extensive background check, nor do they receive a high level of training or staff development. Many current guards, having heard about this report and the pilot program, are worried that the reorganization of security will result in them being laid-off and replaced by guards who have peace officer status. [see *The Human Cost*]

The ten member Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Campus Safety and Community Service is chaired by Medgar Evers College President Edison O. Jackson, and includes Kingsborough Community College President Leon Goldstein, Borough of Manhattan Community College President Augusta S. Kappner, as well as John Jay President Gerald W. Lynch and Dean James Curran. Other members include City College Vice President George McDonald and Prof. Eleanor Lundeen, Brooklyn College professors James Levine and Robert Kelly, and former University Student Senate Chair, Gregorio Mayers, who is now employed in the Office of the President at Medgar Evers College.

Ian McGowan is the City Editor of the Student Leader News Service

The Human Cost: Guards React to CUNY's New Security Policy

Ian McGowan

"This new policy has had a demoralizing effect on our guards," said one CUNY security supervisor who asked to remain anonymous. "Guys gave up better security jobs to come back to CUNY to get one of these HEO [Higher Education Office] jobs," he continued. "And now they hear that they're [the CUNY administration] hiring guards from the high schools to replace them. It's very demoralizing."

This feeling among the guards is due to fears that they will be replaced by guards who have peace officer status and unconfirmed rumors that the administration is recruiting guards from New York City's public high schools who already have peace officer status.

One guard commented that private security guards do not have peace officer status, but are nonetheless asked to perform

duties which require such legal privileges. "We've done a lot of things that private security are not allowed to do, like 'stop and frisk' and detaining, and if people were to take it to court and say that their rights were violated we're not going to be covered ... We won't be supported by the college or the company ... We're risking this for the college and they're going to push us out and say, 'Thank you for what you've done, but we're not going to be needing your services anymore.'" Another guard added, "We have no tenure, no contracts and no union to back us up ... God forbid if this goes through, we're out on the street and all we can say is our goodbyes."

"I feel betrayed," said one CUNY security supervisor. "I have a wife and kids, and I feel like I'm going to be left out in the cold."

Editorial:

City Council Ponders CUNY/SUNY

According to the 11/22/91 editions of *The New York Times* and *Newsday*, the City Council, in its counter-budget, has proposed that, it "transfer the City University to the state... (NYT 11/22/91)" The politics which mediate this proposal are typically confusing and downright scandalous, and as typically regards New York City politics, intricately combine the drive towards social spending cuts with personal and corporate corruption. First, both articles describe at length the budget interventions of Felix Rohatyn the chairperson for the Municipal Assistance Corporation (commonly known in the local press as MAC).

MAC, one branch of the unelected government of New York City, is the quasi-public institution which sells bonds (MAC bonds). The profit from the sale of these bonds is returned to the administration of MAC, namely Felix Rohatyn. The money is earmarked for municipal expenditures, such as CUNY, though these expenses must be approved by Rohatyn. It is, consequently, noteworthy that Rohatyn is a partner at the Wall Street financial house of Lazard Freres, the entity which helped to engineer the wage deferral agreements (e.g. the Americana Agreement) which used municipal employee's money to finance the MAC slushfund, and which has subsequently benefitted from the pre-sale auction of these same bonds. It was giveaways which were earmarked for MAC and imposed upon the employees of our municipal unions which "saved" this city in the '70s, not Saint Felix, much less Ed Koch.

With this in mind, a major move such as the proposed CUNY to SUNY transfer would ensure that the MAC debt service would be bolstered, and would also preclude any CUNY financial maneuvers

of which the state government does not approve. Despite the presence of 10 Cuomo appointees on the CUNY Board of Trustees, and especially the presence of former Cuomo political hack and Lazard Freres employee, CUNY Trustee Michael Del Giudice, CUNY is still somewhat politically independent of the politics of New York State and our so-called education governor Mario Cuomo. A case in point is the recent transfer of A.T.&T.'s tax money (their tax abatement was rescinded by the city government) to bail out the financially strapped two year programs at John Jay College and New York City Tech, which would have been discontinued without this money. As *The Advocate* noted, New York State officials howled in protest when the Dinkins administration transferred the money to CUNY, and rightly tended to the needs of its constituency. The state government is politically impervious to the local outrage that would have followed the closing of these programs.

We should also consider that SUNY Chairman Fred Salerno, appointed by Cuomo, is a NYNEX Vice President, and chair of the NYS Business Council, which, in 1990, also proposed that CUNY merge with SUNY and supported a \$500 tuition hike.

A CUNY to SUNY transfer would also provide the historical precedent to destroy open admissions. Without CUNY's community identity, its direct political relationship and responsibilities to the citizens of this city, officials opposed to open admissions could just declare that CUNY's mission is no longer relevant, for after all, CUNY is now SUNY.

No matter how often we strike and organize, whether as students, faculty, or staff, the governor, cynic that he is, simply does not have to listen, much less care.

CUNY Hires Anti-Terrorist Specialist as New Director of University Security

... Ian McGowan ...

As part of Chancellor Reynolds' plan to centralize security procedures, CUNY has established a new position of University Director of Security. The position was filled on November 11th by Jose Elique, a former Police Inspector of Operations for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

In addition to establishing a University-wide approach to campus security, Mr. Elique will be responsible for compiling and disseminating security information and statistics, in compliance with recent federal laws.

According to a CUNY press release,

prior to his tenure at the Port Authority, Inspector Elique worked for Newark International Airport, "where he initiated training programs to respond to violent criminal or terrorist acts." Elique was also "instrumental in establishing a joint FBI/Port Authority Police Command Post Communication Network, designed to deal with hijack and terrorist incidents."

Inspector Elique "holds special certificates from the United States Secret Service and the International Association of Chiefs of Police."

According to sources inside CUNY Central, Mr. Elique's salary will be \$65,000 in addition to a \$10,000 stipend.

ART HISTORY from page 1

cratic participation.

The proposed changes have been dubbed by the non-doctoral committee an "expansion" of the current Art History program. The proposed changes are, however, considered by some observers to be self-serving actions, a means by which the non-doctoral faculty can finally teach Ph.D. classes and thereby boost their careers. Others point out the false promise and reactionary politics of the "expansionists" rhetoric. The multicultural appeal of "non-Western art", for example, masks the tradi-

tional and quintessential Eurocentric perspective from which non-European cultural production is, in fact, interpreted. All rhetoric aside, it is the disregard for well established guidelines that is most dangerous and at issue.

Unfortunately, the dilemma of the Art History students has implications for students in all departments at the Graduate School.

Andrew Long

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1991-1992 Editor for
The Graduate Student Advocate

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Dead or Alive

"I'm sticking with you
'cause I'm made out of glue"
-Velvet Underground



Mouse traps in the
GSUC Student Center.

SUNY Graduate Students Gain Union

Eric F. Coppolino

After battling the State University and the state government for the better part of a decade, SUNY's 4000 graduate assistants (GAs) and teaching assistants (TAs) are victorious in their struggle for unionization rights.

Earlier this month, the state Public Employment Relations Board (PERB), a special court that handles labor disputes between the state and public employees, ruled unanimously that GAs and TAs are actual state employees, not, as SUNY argues, "apprentices," "incidental employees," or "professors in training" — or, as one graduate student organizer paraphrased, "serfs, slaves and prisoners." As recognized state employees, GAs and TAs now have the right to organize a union.

Simply stated, PERB had to decide whether graduate student employees, who are both SUNY students and employees of the University, were more of one or the other; they ruled that they are officially employees, with all the rights that come with being an employee.

The difference is more than just one of terminology. All public employees, under New York's Fair Employment Act, are entitled to the right to form labor unions, and union representation means more power for workers, better wages and real employment benefits, such as health insurance. GAs and TAs not only lacked "employee" status, but also presently work for as little as \$4000 a year and have no health insurance, child care, unemployment insurance, or other benefits, without which most state employees would not even bother coming to work.

The case was delayed before PERB for more than four years because the board, which is supposed to have three members, for years had a vacant seat, and the remaining two members were split in their opinion on the issue. Governor Mario Cuomo, whose Office of Employee Relations has been fighting unionization for years, refused to appoint the third member necessary to break the deadlock. ~~The PERB ruling does not create a labor union, but~~ rather gives GAs and TAs the right to decide for themselves, through a special union election in which they can vote "yes" or "no," whether they want to form a union. If a majority of employees in a given "bargaining unit," or category of workers, votes yes, then the group is considered unionized. This process, called a "certification election," must be undertaken by all unions that are in the process of formation. Yet most formative unions don't have to spend years in court fighting just to get the right to make the choice.

"At its essence, this was about the fundamental issue of voting rights," explained Chris Vestuto, an organizer for the Graduate Students Employees Union (GSEU), an as-yet unofficial labor organization that will represent the graduate student employees. "It's a basic labor issue, but it's also a basic issue of democracy."

There's little doubt how a unionization vote will go, when it happens in the Fall of 1992, though organizers are taking nothing for granted. Most SUNY GAs and TAs realize that they get a raw deal compared to the professors and all other classes of workers who serve the State University, virtually all of whom are unionized, and that unionization is the key to better pay and better working conditions.

At SUNY Stony Brook, where TAs teach 40% of the classes in some departments, the level of pay is about \$8000 a year, though the cost of living is almost as high as in New York City. The situation is worse at SUNY New Paltz, also within commuting distance from Manhattan, where TAs get \$4000 for a year of teaching.

Besides receiving no employment benefits, GAs and TAs have no employee rights, and cannot even file a grievance against the University if they feel they are mistreated by their boss.

Unionization would be somewhat costly for SUNY, probably requiring SUNY to pay significantly increased wages and \$3 million to \$5 million worth of health insurance benefits — a key issue the GSEU has used to motivate graduate students to work for unionization.

Spanning more than three generations of graduate students, and with its roots in the 1970s, the unionization struggle became increasingly heated in the past 12 months, as the newest group of GSEU leaders stepped up campus

Graduate Workers of the World Unite

Editor's note: this article was compiled from a New York Times article which appeared on 11/17/91.

At Yale University a newly formed union representing graduate students is currently seeking official recognition from the administration. Caught in a standoff, the students' union is threatening a job action for December 4th, while the University has countered with the threat of disciplinary action against all participants. Yale has also threatened two campus clerical and staff unions with disciplinary action if they continue their steadfast support of the students' right to organize a union. Both unions, Local 34 (Federation of University Employees) and Local 35 (maintenance, custodial, and food service workers) have repeatedly supported the Graduate Employees and Students Organization in their own contract negotiations and have indicated that they will support any job actions which the student union might take. Yale has warned the two unions that their employees will face suspension or dismissal if they honor student picket lines or do not report for work in sympathy with the students' action.

Yale adamantly refuses to meet with representatives of the Graduate Employees and Students Organization.

organizing, protests, and legal action. Graduate students staged a hunger strike in 1990, a disruption of a SUNY Board of Trustees meeting later that year, and a work slowdown in the Spring of 1991, among other actions.

Over the years, the GSEU has survived a wide variety of tactics used by SUNY and the governor's Office of Employee Relations to block unionization of graduate student employees, ranging from fighting graduate students before PERB every step of the way, to withholding lists of financially supported graduate students which the GSEU uses to organize with, to prohibiting union poster on campuses, which is still going on at SUNY Albany.

Winning this issue meant doing the nearly impossible: sustaining a single issue organization over a number of years, combined with all of the usual complications of running a student organization — lack of leadership continuity, money problems, and problems maintaining communication across the campuses.

But the GSEU, while having some enemies in high places, also has its share of supporters. The most important has been the Communications Workers of America, a major international labor union which has provided legal

"We are not going to recognize G.E.S.O. and I can't conceive of it ever happening," said Peter D. Vallone (NYT 11/17/91). Yale contends that graduate students are teaching assistants, not workers, and that recognition of the graduate student union would harm Yale's academic interests. The administration says it will only deal with the officially approved graduate student government body. This negotiation stance is similar to the CUNY administration's refusal to negotiate with strike committees. During the Spring '91 strike and in the aftermath 80th Street has insisted that they will only deal with elected student governments even when these governments' membership overlaps with the strike committees or the governments have endorsed the strike.

At the first mass meeting, 600 members of the union approved a platform calling for higher salaries for teaching assistants, a new grievance procedure, a revision of time limits for degree completion, affordable health insurance and the restoration of library hours that were eliminated because of budget cuts.

Yale University has a long and bitter history of poor labor relations and has been the site of many protracted strikes. ☞

resources, organizers and continuity for the GSEU. The GSEU affiliated with CWA as a parent union in the mid-1980s and is known as Local 1188 of CWA.

Leading state legislators on labor and education issues, include Frank Barbaro (D, Brooklyn), chair of the State Assembly's Labor Committee, and Ed Sullivan (D, Manhattan), chair of the Assembly's Higher Education Committee, have written to SUNY protesting its refusal to recognize graduate student employees as state employees thus denying them the right to vote in a unionization election.

Asked about the PERB ruling last week, Sullivan told Student Leader News Service, "I'm not surprised, but I agree with the PERB decision. When people perform work, they have certain rights, and one of those is to organize and defend their other rights. The group has every right to be treated as a labor organization."

Eric Coppolino is the editor and publisher of the Student Leader News Service

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at the

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If you have books overdue to the Mina Rees Library, return them to the Library between December 2nd-14th, 1991, and no payment is necessary. All fines are forgiven during this period.
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If you have lost a book, come to the library and pay for it. No fine or processing charge will be imposed, but this must be done in person. No telephone or mail requests will be accepted.

Records not cleared by December 14, 1991, will require the usual payments.

The last library "amnesty" was in 1981 - do not wait for the next one - it may never come!!!!

Library hours Monday - Thursday 9am - 9pm Friday - Saturday 9am - 5pm

Letters & Commentary

P.C. Advocates at SC18

To the Editor:

Two issues ago, my friend George McClintock denounced The Advocate editors' proposal for a student fee increase. Instead of calmly reiterating and debating the merits of an increase, the editors permitted Contributing Editor Jarrod Hayes to supposedly "unmask" George as a participant in the "homophobic discourse of PC [political correctness]-bashing." In their own response, the editors branded George's criticisms of themselves and the DSC "destructive" before they even argued their case.

In the last issue, I criticized Jarrod's lack of hard evidence, and the editors' intolerance. I titled my piece, "Bashing Criticism." Two of the editors responded that, by choosing the word "bashing," I had unwittingly taken part in the right-wing notion that leftists have the power now to violently attack right-wingers (the word "bashing," however, is often used figuratively, as I used it, to connote "outrageous slander"—as Jarrod used it). I was also accused of unwittingly engaging in the "politics of personal moralism," because I criticized a fellow member of SER for arrogantly telling George that SER "controls the student government!" According to the editors, my criticism of the editors' misuse of their public positions is identical to right-wing attacks on people who are women, gays, and/or artists, for their private lifestyles/aesthetic works. The editors then compared me—or rather, my discourse—to that of Dinesh D'Souza, Jesse Helms, Ann Reynolds, and Dr. Thernstrom, a right-wing professor.

Finally, the editors informed me that I had better examine my discourse and its possible right-wing implications, lest I be guilty of bad "faith" (to whom, I'd like to know—these self-appointed discourse-Guardians?!).

I would like to focus this essay on the discourse of "discourse," and how it might lead my former colleagues on The Advocate to compare me with four of the all-time creeps of the 1990s. Who are the real dupes of the discourse?

I may indeed be the unconscious plaything of this mysterious discourse-entity, which only the editors of The Advocate understand. But I think what we have here instead is a new form of left puritanism: political correctness. Stalinism was a previous incarnation. Left puritanism erupts when lefties turn what might otherwise be an excellent analysis of society or language

into a standard by which to measure the moral worth of human beings. In so doing, leftists violate the first principle of our theory: that no one can stand outside society, claim omniscience, and sit in judgment over all the rest. For we are all equally imperfect.

Marx developed his theory that society is divided into an exploitative capitalist class, and a working class. The working class will be driven by its exploitation to overthrow its capitalist rulers. But Marx never claimed, as did Lenin, that the leaders of a single party could use Marxist theory to judge and dismiss the theories of other intellectuals as "objectively bourgeois." Nor did Marx believe, as did Stalin, that a party of Marxist intellectuals had the right to kill or oppress anyone who got in the way, to "further the class struggle." Marx was never so arrogant. For Marx, any other theory must be considered and critiqued on its own merits. And the "political form" of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" must be radical democracy within rule-of-law, so that the basic human rights of all law-abiding citizens may be respected, regardless of class.

Similarly, the current ideology of "political correctness" is a misapplication of the ideas of post-structuralism. One cannot derive from post-structuralism the notion that we can ferret out the Truth about what our political opponents unwittingly meant to say, what discourse they really engaged in. For post-structuralists, there is no Truth. The post-structuralist project is to attack the very notion that there is even a primary meaning or intention for "discourse!"

However, this "politically correct" misapplication of post-structuralism is awfully useful for those who don't have the maturity to engage in honest political debate. Discourse-speak can be used to dress up the most outrageous slander with the most sophisticated of theories: "We're not bashing you without any real evidence, we are simply investigating your discourse!" By saying this, the editors hope to distance themselves ingenuously from being blamed for their slanderous personal attacks. And when people like myself rightfully feel attacked, and criticize our editors for it, our editors can then cry that we have engaged in the discourse of "personal moralism."

Post-structuralism thrives, as does psychoanalysis, on slips of the pen, and on

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Kiss Mine Any Time

To the Editors:

Thank you for demonstrating beyond a shadow of a doubt that democracy, as you put it, "entails debate and argument which is not necessarily polite, and is often unfriendly." You certainly proved your hypothesis with your September issue. Rather than respond textually to "Empowering Cronies," my criticism that you published only after strong lobbying by free speech advocates, rather than quote from my text and demonstrate why my "allegations are false," first you stooped to slander, then added propaganda to injury. What were my "allegations"? That during Occupation 1991 the Advocate "failed to report events with objectivity, and censored the opinions of students who were opposed to the takeover. When a publication of dissenting views was produced, the editors refused to pay production costs and denied its inclusion in The Advocate." These are not allegations. ETCETERAS is an eight-page supplement that I produced during the heat of the occupation, when the Advocate chose to devote several pages to

...I was offered financial assistance by an administrator, an offer I refused, because I knew the administration was calling students at home trying to convince them to come to the rallies...

an Italian communist and to print thousands of words by a professor from California, rather than interview the students, staff and faculty who attended the rallies. ETCETERAS contained twelve commentaries about the occupation, each written by a student, staff or faculty member of the Graduate School. Most of the writers expressed sympathy for the cause and criticized the tactics. Others were completely alienated by the event. One occupier even published his "confessions" in ETCETERAS, an urgent appeal for understanding. ETCETERAS cost about \$300 to produce. Writers were not paid for their contributions. For the record, I was offered financial assistance by an administrator, an offer I refused, because I knew the administration was calling students at home trying to convince them to come to the rallies and vote to reopen the school. Democracy at

F.L.I. Not Biased

To the Editor:

I should like to correct a mistaken impression conveyed by a recent Advocate article concerning the Foreign Language Institute at the Graduate School and University Center. [See Michael Mueller's "Point of View" article in the October Advocate.]

The article stated that the Institute has no interest in teaching non-European languages. That is not so. Over the years the Foreign Language Institute has offered numerous courses in Arabic, Japanese, Korean, and occasionally Bengali and Chinese. Unfortunately, the Institute must rely upon tuition revenues for its existence, and recent years there has been little demand for all except a few European language classes. Other courses have simply failed to register. It is not bias but lack of registrants and dollars that has restricted offerings. We too wish that a broader base of courses could be offered.

Solomon Goldstein, Dean for Research and University Programs

Editor's note: Mueller's submission, as stated in the last issue, expressed the viewpoint of the author alone, and not that of the editorial staff.

work. Because the Advocate is funded primarily from the DSC budget, I thought you should include ETCETERAS as a supplement, and pay production costs, given that ETCETERAS was devoted to reflections by and for members of the Graduate School community. You, the editors, refused. Thinking that the Doctoral Students' Council was the next step in search of funding for ETCETERAS, I approached a number of DSC officials. They agreed to raise the question at the next DSC meeting, a meeting I could not attend. Later I learned that funding for ETCETERAS had been "tabled." Why did you misrepresent my demand for ETCETERAS production costs and my criticism of your refusal as an attempt to have one of my own articles printed? "For the record," you wrote, "the editors of The Advocate have never refused to publish any of Mr. McClintock's articles, and in fact printed all anti-strike submissions." I do not dispute your first assertion; your second demonstrates your complete disregard for the truth. I submitted ETCETERAS to you. You refused publish ETCETERAS. In retaliation, you accused me of "obsequiousness toward the Dean's office [sic] and the all powerful Board of Trustees." To be denounced as obsequious

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Attention All Writers!!

The Advocate welcomes all letters and article submissions. Letters should be brief. The Advocate will withhold the identity of letter writers if requested, though all letters must be signed. Articles should be single spaced, no longer than 2500 words, and submitted on both paper and computer disk, in Wordperfect or Microsoft Word. **The Advocate will no longer accept submissions unless on computer disk.** The editors reserve the right to refuse and edit all submissions.

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The Graduate Student Advocate

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Old Ways Return to Haiti After the Coup

Steeve Coupeau

Father Jean Bertrand Aristide, the first president to ever be elected democratically and under international supervision, in Haiti, was removed by a military coup on September 29. A long time proponent of liberation theology, father Aristide relentlessly preached against exploitation and the capitalist system; "Capitalism is a mortal sin," he often told his followers. In a country characterized by extreme class differences, Aristide's message found a large echo among the majority of Haiti's poor population. Father Aristide also raised hope in the hearts of many in the Haitian diaspora who have been discouraged by the elite's predominance in post-Duvalier Haitian politics. On December 16, the National Front for Change and Democracy (FNCD.), the party that sponsored Aristide's candidacy, won the elections with 67%, followed by the National Alliance for Development and Progress (ANDP.), which received 13% of the vote.

Aristide sought to break with a long tradition of civilian and military leaders who were so eager to please the United States and the traditional elite that they excluded the masses from their political agenda. At his inauguration on February 7 of this year, President Aristide pledged to give voice to Haiti's impoverished masses. However, his government found the public treasury almost empty. With no money for the social programs that it sought to create, it was forced to negotiate an agreement with the IMF, a prerequisite for additional funding by other international lending institutions. Fear that any treaty with the IMF would translate into widespread cuts in social services and additional lay-offs in public administration resulted in suspicion, disenchantment and subsequent demobilization of the popular movement. As soon as it was alerted of such damage, the government invited militants of popular organizations to a large debate on the issue — an initiative unknown to previous regimes.

During its first 7 months in power, the Aristide government tried to inject a new life into a public administration long ravaged by rampant corruption. The government tried to increase taxation of the rich by raising the income tax by 21.4%, the corporate tax by 45% and the import tax by 51.3%. The government also backed a proposal under which the daily minimum wage would be raised from \$2.14 (U.S.) to \$3.85. However, the major corporate organizations orchestrated an effective counter-lobby to demand that the minimum wage be only raised to \$2.51. In August, after 6 months of strife between employers and a divided labor movement, both chambers of the parliament voted a minimum wage law under which salaried workers would be paid \$3.59 per day in the capital, Port-au-Prince, and \$2.76 in the rest of the country. This compromise decision was welcomed neither by the labor federations nor by employers; this law, which was to be enacted at the beginning of the fiscal year, sparked large protests from both sides. No sooner had the legislation been voted by the parliament than labor federations organized protests aimed at its repeal.

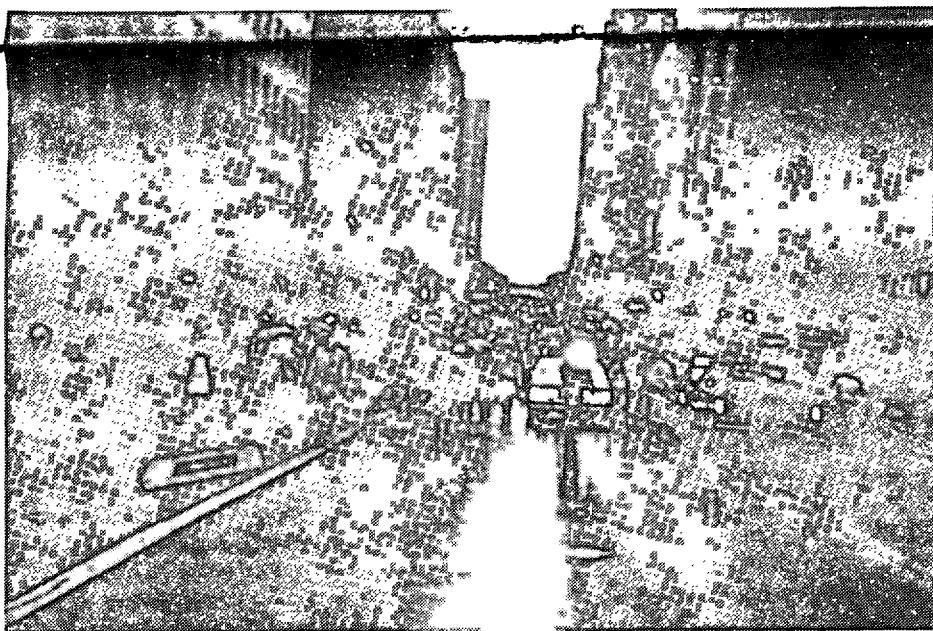
Such measures caused extreme resentment and hostility from members of the Haitian elite and the armed forces, who profited from the status quo. These tensions resulted in the coup of September 29 led by Brigadier General Raoul Cedras, then the army interim commander-in-chief.

The coup d'état in Haiti was known hours before it actually happened. The director of the National Radio, Michel Favard, announced the mutiny one hour before it occurred; immediately after the announcement armed soldiers stormed into his offices and took him away. At first,

many thought that this coup would be easily defeated, as was the coup attempt of Roger Lafontant, last January, when people took to the streets and forced the military to undo the coup. Unfortunately, this time the coup was fomented by the army itself and involved a large number of enlisted soldiers and career officers.

The present coup, in which more than 1000 civilians are estimated to have been killed, has been condemned by the international community. In addition, the Haitian people are now engaged in a resistance movement, for the most part clandestine, to defeat the take-over. For example, there have been general strikes in Jeremie and Les Cayes to protest the current regime. In return, the military is orchestrating a campaign of terror aimed at silencing any opposition to the coup. It has decreed a curfew from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. and has banned all independent news coverage. Gatherings of more than 3 people are prohibited. Partially uniformed soldiers patrolling the streets regularly open fire on civilians without provocation. Hundreds of poor Haitians are being murdered by the army, especially in slums where Aristide is thought to be most popular. At night fall, gunfire can be heard in Port-au-Prince while the army conducts searches in the homes of officials of the Aristide government. As a result of the ongoing repression, Evans Paul, the mayor of Port-au-Prince was severely beaten. Manno Charlemagne, a popular folk singer, was arrested and tried for treason. When he was released a few days later, he was kidnapped by unidentified individuals.

The coup has led to a paralysis of economic activities, which in turn has slowed the flow of hard-currency earnings to the central government. In its search for legitimacy, on October 7, the military forced 29 members of the par-



On Fifth Ave. Haitian New Yorkers protest the coup.

liament to sign a petition declaring the presidency vacant. Joseph Nerette, a supreme court judge, was named provisional president the following day. Many Haitians regard him as a "puppet" president. The parliament later approved the nomination of Jean Jacques Honorat, the director of a U.S. A.I.D. funded human rights center, CHADEL, as prime minister. A well known detractor of the Aristide government, Honorat was welcomed by the bourgeoisie.

The public response of the United States, Haiti's major aid donor and trade partner, is to condemn the coup. The United States has cut its economic assistance to Haiti and has made the resumption of economic aid conditional on the return to constitutional rule. A month after the coup, President Bush called for a total embargo on Haiti. Many other countries such as France, Haiti's second largest donor, also condemned the military coup and cut off aid.

But the United States government appears to favor Aristide's return only under certain conditions. President Jean Bertrand Aristide was thus pressured by the Bush administration and the OAS to issue a statement denouncing violence and pledging respect for Haiti's institutions. His remarks clearly repudiated popular justice such as the use of "Pere Lebrun" (the name of the owner of a local tire

company), in which a flaming collar of rubber tires is placed around someone's neck. The subtext of this obedience to Bush and the OAS is distancing himself from class based politics.

The Haitian army remains the most influential power broker in Haiti. Many senior officers use their positions to sell "favors" while others make a fortune through all kinds of illicit practices, including drug trafficking. Under past regimes, many military officers and business owners were exempt from paying both taxes and utility bills. By combatting such practices, President Aristide made many political enemies among the traditional elite.

There are many indications that the army was paid by members of the Haitian bourgeoisie to orchestrate the coup. A sum of \$40 million dollars was allegedly collected from members of the elite days before the coup and distributed unequally throughout the army. Jean Claude Roy, a Haitian businessman and equally well known opponent to the Aristide government, publicly welcomed the coup. In addition, it is now a known fact that many soldiers who had lived for decades in poor neighborhoods moved out just days before the coup. Knowing the housing shortage in Port-au-Prince and conditions under which these soldiers lived for decades, it is hard to imagine how they could suddenly have moved out of their old neighborhoods without financial help from their superiors. Therefore Cedras' claims that the coup came from rank and file soldiers does not hold. The coup was designed and financed by members of the Haitian bourgeoisie.

In an attempt to reverse the coup, President Aristide swiftly asked the OAS and the United Nations to impose a total embargo on Haiti. The OAS unanimously voted against the coup, urged the return to constitutional order and called for an immediate embargo on Haiti. Following this lead, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted three days later on a resolution supporting the positions adopted by the OAS, and asked its member-states not to do business with the de facto government.

President Aristide remains widely popular among Haitians in the United States. On October 11, an outraged crowd of demonstrators marched in the streets of New York City to show support for Aristide, known affectionately as "Titid". Fearing for their families' safety back in Haiti, many in the Haitian community privately express support for a multinational intervention in Haiti under the cover of the OAS. On that matter, however, Aristide's opposition to intervention has been clear from the beginning, and he continues to believe that military action should be treated only as the option of last resort. Instead, he has called for an international blockade against the current regime.

An international blockade, however, may not be sufficient to force the military out of power. An end to the political crisis and the social inequalities that the Aristide government has tried to redress will not come about without building a national resistance movement against the military. Finally, it will not come about without a redistribution of wealth and power in Haitian society. In that regard, the nascent resistance movement in Haiti is vital.

However, the resistance movement is weak and its actions sporadic. In part this is due to the failure of the Aristide government during its seven month tenure to create a national political party. Such a party would have strengthened the hands of labor unions, peasant organizations and the unemployed who put it in power. Instead, the Aristide government led many to believe in an alleged "marriage" between the army and the people. This belief had the disastrous effect of demobilizing activists and field organizers.

Since the departure of Duvalier in 1986, limited political gains achieved would have eroded, were it not for the mobilization of the Haitian people. Once again, the people will have to mobilize in order to defend these same rights that the Haitian military is denying them — including the right to be governed by a leader they overwhelmingly voted for.

Steeve Coupeau is in political exile from Haiti and is now a student at SUNY Empire State College.

Helio Belik

A New Angle in Angola

When I arrived in Luanda, the dusty, famine-stricken capital of Angola, the end of the war was still being celebrated on the streets. The Marxist-led government of MPLA had constructed an immense stage for music and shows at the Kinaxixi, a barren

plaza in downtown Luanda. There a captured South African tank upon a high pedestal evoked the great battles won with the help of Cuban troops. The celebrations in Kinaxixi had begun on May 31st, ten days before my arrival, when Angola's president José dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the American-backed UNITA guerrilla signed a peace agreement ending a 16-year civil war. The "Estoril Accord", as it came to be known, was the first bit of good news that Angolans had heard since independence in 1975. With the lifting of night curfew, a relaxed atmosphere took over Luanda, and people stayed out on the streets until the wee hours.

Angolans had been at war since 1961, when the armed forces of MPLA, supported by Soviet and Cuban forces attacked the Portuguese colonial power. The war of independence was bloody. The Portuguese forces destroyed villages and massacred thousands of civilians and guerrilla alike. The Portuguese abandoned the country in 1975 - not totally defeated from the military point of view, but with no international support. They also tried to take or destroy the little they had built during 500 years of brutal colonization. Cars and trucks were burned on the streets. Angolans like to say that independence was declared without a single typewriter in a public office or a piece of chalk at school.

There had been five African colonies: Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé & Príncipe. The independence set in motion a large wave of Portuguese migrations. Over 1 million people of Portuguese descent emigrated from the former colonies to Portugal, South Africa, Australia, Canada, Venezuela, and Brazil. More than 300,000 Portuguese settled in South Africa. Today they are a politically influential community among the white population.

In Portugal they became known as the "returned" (retornados). Their conservative ideas were a great help to the political forces on the right. These forces were attempting to regain power lost during the "Revolution of the Carnations" which overthrew the Caetano government, ending a half-century of Salazarism.

The war of independence destroyed Angola. Today, however, most Angolans would share the opinion that the civil war was even worse. Nearly a million died, millions were displaced, and thousands were mutilated during the war. Agriculture collapsed, all roads were destroyed, famine hit the entire country, and a cholera epidemic began, even in downtown Luanda. In ten years, the capital had grown to 2.2 million from the 600,000 of the '70s.

Today, 80% of Luanda's population live in "musseques", the sewerless, jobless, and malaria-infected slums of the periphery of the city. When I first saw Luanda, from the air, the city looked like an endless Brazilian favela spread over the arid and abrupt cliffs and scarps of central Angola.

My first impression of Luanda was that the city had not been cleaned since the war of independence. Yet, I began to notice, hidden behind layers of soot and garbage on the streets, a very charming city with beautiful colonial houses, as well as a very attractive and elegant people. Like Lisbon, the former metropole, and Salvador, Brazil's first colonial capital, Luanda was built on cliffs along the seashore of the Atlantic. Steep and winding lanes connect the lowlands, where the city began, to the highlands with its embassies, middle-class neighborhoods and musseques.

Most refugees from the countryside ended up in the musseques of Luanda during the civil war. The state-owned *Jornal de Angola*, the only newspaper in the country, publishes little news about life and violence in these slum areas. Yet all know that lynchings and small urban wars are very common. A young student described with pride how her brother hammered the hands and feet, and cut off the ears of a petty thief who had stolen some clothes from his home. The Portuguese news agency announced last July that the "South African necklace" had been adopted by the musseques to dispense "popular justice" towards "marginals" and robbers. The necklace, which

some people say was introduced to the Zulu by the South African Inkhata party, is a tire set on fire around a victim's neck.

Because of the civil war, firearms became largely available in Luanda, and every male adult man has one in the musseques. Lately Luanda's government has tried to convince people to turn these weapons over to the police. They have not been very successful. When I was there, the police department set up a Kojak-style operation, which they called "Operation Thunder", intended to disarm and disband juvenile gangs proliferating all over the city. On June 26th the *Jornal de Angola* announced that the police had arrested juvenile members of the Moreno, Trezentos, and Capucho gangs. These gangs had transformed the musseques of Sambizanga into a "war zone."

Almost 2 million people were displaced by the civil war. Some moved to Zaire or Namibia. Those with relatives in Portugal fled there. The civil war began even before the departure of the Portuguese troops. On the eve of independence, MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola), and FNLA, the extinct guerrilla led by Holden Roberto with Chinese and Zairean support, were fighting on the streets of Luanda. The troops of UNITA (União para a Independência Total de Angola), did not have a strong presence in the capital at that time. Savimbi's organization operated primarily in the South where it controlled some provincial capitals.

In the north, there were some UNITA guerrilla operations, but FNLA had a stronger presence. With FNLA support, Mobutu threatened to invade Angola and maintained several very hostile garrisons along the border. (In the far north of the country, another serious problem for the Soviet and Cuban-backed government of MPLA was the intense activities of the FLEC - a small, old, and persistent guerrilla group which continues to fight for the independence of Cabinda, a Portuguese enclave in Congo, very early incorporated into the Angolan colonial administration. The only thing in common to UNITA and MPLA is that neither wishes the independence of Cabinda.)

Cabinda is a very rich region and accounts for nearly 50% of Angola's oil production. Two international companies have operated there prior to independence: the Gulf Cabinda Oil and French Elf Aquitaine. Cabinda also has timber, and is an important commercial center for the Congolese region. FLEC (Frente de Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda), was the only guerrilla group fighting the MPLA government that did not accept the cease-fire.

Although fighting continues in the north, and the tension between MPLA and UNITA is still high, no one in Angola believes that war will return. The country is tired of war and tired of the dispute between UNITA and MPLA. On the other hand, UNITA and MPLA felt weakened with the end of the cold war and realized that they would not have much support to continue civil war. Soviet support to MPLA has diminished substantially, and the 40,000 Cuban troops that fought against UNITA and the South Africans have been gone since April, except for a few personnel. The US is no longer interested in backing UNITA's war. South Africa has stopped all logistic activities along the Namibian border.

Americans, South Africans, and Europeans in general, now want to replace the civil war by the savage capitalism of a free market economy. Angola will buy its peace agreement with international loans and high interest. The country needs everything: telephones, medicine, infrastructure, and food more than ever. Despite its rich natural resources - gold, diamonds and oil - Angola is still a "virgin land" where labor is cheap and easily available.

As soon as the peace agreement was signed in Lisbon, Luanda saw an invasion of businessmen who came in official, extra-official or unofficial visits. Swedish executives arrived with a contract to build a new plant for the assemblage of trucks. The South Africans tried to sell paper, construction projects, roads, industrialized goods, and food. Elf Aquitaine announced a plan for the expansion of its headquarter in Luanda and the inception of oil exploration along the coast. The Spanish and the Portuguese gov-

ernments created new lines of credit, and the Brazilians said they would bring new technologies and more companies.

Along with business people, heads of state began rolling into Angola to express their congratulations with the end of the

civil war. The first to arrive was Portuguese Prime Minister Silva, followed by Brazilian President Collor de Melo and Spanish Prime Minister Gonzales. South Africa also sent a government official to Luanda who instantly announced Pretoria's intention to promptly establish full diplomatic relations. Meanwhile American diplomats have confidentially revealed that the US Embassy in Luanda will be the largest in Africa.

The MPLA government is in a hurry to return all property confiscated in the last 16 years. This is because MPLA has one year to improve its public image if it wants to win the general elections set for September 1992. Some hotels and other small businesses already have been returned to private hands, while the government is negotiating the sale of most state-owned companies. The economy is in shambles and government workers are striking for higher pay and better living conditions.

Most Angolans sound very optimistic when they talk about the future of the country. However there is still tension in the air. The peace process is not totally settled, and new conflicts are arising. Despite all premises of democratization, MPLA hasn't shared any of its control of the state apparatus.

When I arrived in Luanda, the city was celebrating peace, but one could feel its atmosphere of anxiety, tensions, and expectation. Two days after my arrival, the first UNITA delegation landed in Luanda to start a new round of negotiations around the formation of a unified army, the exchange of war prisoners, and the electoral process. It was the first time that UNITA leaders visited Luanda since independence. The government was afraid that unrest would shake the country and that UNITA would draw large masses into the streets of Luanda.

UNITA's arrival in Luanda was much smoother than people expected. After some zigzagging movements in the air, to prevent any terrorist attack, a small South African airplane landed in Luanda's airport, carrying 16 strongly armed guerrilla and three of the top UNITA leaders: Salupeto Pena, Arlindo Ben-Ben, and Abel Chivukuvuku. The plane was coming from the Jamba, the UNITA-controlled territory in the South, and the first message given by Salupeto Pena, as soon as the plane landed, was that UNITA had come to Luanda to free the city from Marxism and corruption.

The three guerrilla leaders who arrived in Luanda were quickly assaulted by dozens of press correspondents and television crews that were in the city to report on the peace agreement. Salupeto Pena and Ben Ben were already known by everybody, because of their participation in spectacular guerrilla operations. Abel Chivukuvuku, the third UNITA leader, was incognito. Few people in Luanda had heard about him. A tall and elegant man from the black elite of the South who spoke several languages, Abel easily impressed everyone.

I had met Abel in New York when he was the UNITA unofficial representative at the United Nations, and soon I realized he was going to be important in the Angolan political game. Chivukuvuku is the democratic face of UNITA. He is a very good speaker, knows how to deal with MPLA at the negotiation table, and people believe he has "culture." Salupeto only repeats what he says. Some people believe that Chivukuvuku will be Angola's prime minister if Savimbi wins the elections.

Savimbi postponed his return to Luanda five times to finally arrive on September 29th. More than 50,000 people were waiting for him at the airport and, although he wore a cartridge-studded belt and was protected by bodyguards, Savimbi tried to stress the fact that he was coming back not as a guerrilla leader but as a politician running for president. To the crowd at the airport he said that Luanda was once the most beautiful city in the continent and now it is filthy. Savimbi spoke in Portuguese, Umbundo and Kimbundo to show his supporters come from all over the country.

UNITA always accused MPLA of being a party of whites, mulattos, and assimilated blacks. Souza Jamba, an

continues on next page

• The Rise of Xenophobia in Germany •

• Angela Bargenda •

One year after unification, Germany is yet again at the center of world attention. This time, however, an alarming increase in the number of hostile actions against foreigners sent shockwaves around the globe.

Indeed, these acts of aggression against immigrants in Germany offers frightening evidence of a rising xenophobia among the population: in September alone, there were approximately 200 attacks against asylum-seekers and immigrants across eastern and western Germany. At the beginning of October, two Lebanese children were severely burned by a fire-bomb thrown at their home.

The 4.6 million foreigners living in Germany today come from a diversity of ethnic origins. The foreign-born laborers are mainly from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal. They were invited by the German government in the 1950s, as they provided cheap labor in areas where most Germans were reluctant to work.

More recently, an infusion of people from civil war-torn Yugoslavia have sought shelter in Germany. In September, they constituted the largest portion of the 28,732 asylum seekers who entered the country. Most other refugees are from Romania, Turkey, Bulgaria, Vietnam, Nigeria, the Soviet Union, and Iran. Additionally, ethnic Germans from the former Soviet satellite countries are taking advantage of their new freedom of travel and their right to German citizenship. Lastly, economic and political refugees from all over the world complete the amalgam of immigrants and asylum seekers.

The number of applicants for asylum increased considerably over the last decade. From 19,700 in 1983, it rose to 193,000 in 1990. By comparison, the European country with the next highest number of applicants was France with 56,000 in 1990. For the next year 1991, official sources in Germany estimate the number of asylum seekers to top 220,000.

Foreigners who enter the country, legally and illegally, claim the right of asylum according to Article 16 of

the German Basic Law: *Those who undergo political persecution are granted the right of asylum.* Hence, in comparison to other European countries, Germany has the most flexible immigration policies. Foreigners cross the border into Germany at an average rate of 1000 a day. Upon their arrival, they are guaranteed housing, clothing, food, medical care and daily monetary allowances.

Considering the background of growing unemployment, psychological turmoil resulting from unification, and a widespread identity crisis in eastern Germany, these benefits have become a major source of discord in the debate over immigration policy. In fact, resentment against foreigners falls on fertile ground among people who fear that their own welfare is in jeopardy.

One notes with dismay that the attacks against asylum seekers are committed chiefly by teenagers. Skinheads who display neo-Nazi emblems and corresponding political convictions threaten the security of foreigners in the streets, throwing rocks or even firebombs. However radical and marginal these formations might be, it would be misleading and dangerous to underestimate these currents which attempt to undermine the principles of tolerance and generosity, keystones of contemporary German democratic society.

Perhaps more revealing are the results of the September 29 local election in Bremen, which show how the social climate has changed: the little-known German People's Union on the far-right won 10% of all votes cast. The chief organizer, Hans Altermann, outlines their platform: "We have nothing to do with Nazi ideology, and we have never said we want foreigners out. We want the false asylum-seekers, the ones who are not truly fleeing from persecution, to be sent home, and we want foreigners who commit crimes to be sent home. America does that too."

In fact, the misuse of Article 16 is a pivotal concern in the immigration debate: 90% of all refugees don't seek asylum on political grounds, but rather due to economic

hardship in their home countries.

Polls conducted by the German television station ZDF in October show that 73% of Germans consider the topic of asylum-seekers/foreigners to be a political priority. In the same poll, 88% favor the right of asylum for political refugees; 71% consider that foreigners have a positive impact on the economy; 50% think that foreigners are a cultural enrichment. Nonetheless, 41% expressed fears of "alienation."

In view of the upsurge of xenophobic violence, many Germans have taken action based on a moral imperative. In concert with city officials, they have organized 24-hour watches around and inside asylum-homes, equipped each home for foreigners with a first-aid kit, a fire extinguisher, and a telephone to contact police in an emergency. Moreover, thousands of people have gathered in major German cities to demonstrate for tolerance.

While these manifestations of civilian solidarity are to be respected, the seriousness of the situation and the deterioration of the social ambience demand for concrete political action. All political parties condemn unanimously the use of violence against foreigners and endorse the protective actions taken by citizens. Dealing with immigration issues is a highly charged matter for German politicians, but the recent backlash from among the population against liberal immigration policies requires a clear standpoint.

The ruling Christian Democratic Party (CDU) advocates a constitutional change in Article 16 in order to filter the flow of foreigners already at the border. This project is opposed by the Liberal Democratic Party (FDP), its coalition partner, as a contradiction to the liberal spirit of the Basic Law. They propose instead that Article 16 be applied more strictly in its present form to prevent abuse by future asylum seekers. The official opposition, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), also rejects the project of a constitutional change and proposes the construction of camps for foreigners to ensure adequate housing and infrastructure.

Actually, given the enormous housing shortage in Germany, the asylum seekers mostly live in deplorable conditions: hundreds of people are often packed like sardines in a high school gym or a city hall, increasing their exposure to disease, drug abuse, rape, ethnic violence and so forth.

While declarations of intention proliferate throughout the political landscape, a consensus on the thorny immigration problem has yet to be found. A temporary compromise, worked out on October 10, stipulates the acceleration of the application process for asylum (formerly one to four years, now six months), the housing of asylum seekers in camps, and the immediate extradition of those not granted the right of asylum.

However, the current debate in Germany cannot be confined to the limits of immigration policy.

The problem is closely linked to the foundations of democracy: to what extent can or must politicians sacrifice their principles in the face of pressure from the populace?

The immigration debate has forced the German government to walk a subtle tightrope. Chancellor Kohl and the Christian Democratic Party need to keep the balance between two vital challenges: on one hand, they have to meet the tolerant inclinations of the Liberal Party to assure the survival of their coalition and hence the continuation of their governmental power. On the other hand, if they fail to satisfy their voters by not initiating incisive action, parties to the far-right might win considerable influence, as the political organ of frustrated citizens, and so become a catch-all for protest votes. Again, action is necessary to prevent a shift of political weight to the far-right.

Meanwhile, regardless of purely political strategies, the problem cannot remain in limbo. Kohl and his ruling party are bound to implement genuine measures in accordance with the Liberal Party's principles, for not only are the living conditions of thousands of foreigners at stake, but also the credibility of more than forty years of German politics, based on tolerance, pacifism, and democracy.

Angola

from previous page

Angolan writer who became famous this summer in England with his novel *The Patriots*, about UNITA and the civil war, writes that Luanda is a city of mulattos who hardly know the reality of Black people in the countryside. Jamba argues that Luanda was never Angola, and that it is a mistake to say that the whitened culture of Luanda represents the culture of Angola.

Before coming to Luanda, I thought that the conflict between MPLA and UNITA was purely political, and a consequence of the cold war. The conflict, however, has profound roots in racial, ethnic and regional differences that were exacerbated by the colonial power to its own advantage. UNITA is Umbundo, the predominant ethnic group in the south. However MPLA is Kimbundo and represents the interests of a black and mulatto elite of Luanda and parts of the north.

UNITA is now trying to transform its image as a Southern Black guerrilla organization pitted against the mulatto class. In his first public rally in Luanda, Salupeto Pena declared that UNITA was not racist toward mulattos and whites but for all Angolans, no matter what race, ethnicity, or skin color. On the other hand, MPLA is now investing in the South, trying to create a strong political basis by 1) promising to revive the rich regional economy that it had in the past, and 2) showing the MPLA is not only Kimbundo but also Umbundo, Kikongo, Tshokwé, Kwawhama, Fiote, Nganguelas, and Hereros.

I was almost killed by some upper-class Angolans for a report in the local newspaper. I wrote that though there was no official policy of discrimination, status in Angolan society was highly defined by skin color. In Luanda, beaches are divided along racial and social lines. There are beaches frequented by whites, others by Soviets and Bulgarians, by Cubans, by mulattoes, or by Blacks and the poor. There are nightclubs exclusively frequented by

Blacks and clubs that cater to whites, foreigners, and the mulatto elite. In all public companies, whites and mulattos occupy the top positions, while Blacks perform unspecialized labor. Angolans will explain that mulattos were the only ones who had access to education during colonial times. Therefore they were the only ones with skills for managing jobs.

The fact is that in 16 years of independence, the MPLA government has done very little to improve the situation of the black majority. This results from the war, in part, but is also due to corruption and implementation of stupid economic policies. For example, up until a few months ago, Angolans were prohibited from selling food on the street. The government claimed that it was anti-hygienic, but this measure only exacerbated an already spiralling black market.

Sometimes the official currency, the kwanza, disappears from circulation and people begin trading with cans and bottles of beer. Beer and whisky are highly available everywhere. It is actually easier to find beer than any food item. The use of beer as official currency has to do with the absurd disparity in the exchange rates for the dollar in the black and the official markets. While I was there, the dollar was worth 60 kwanzas in the official market and 900 kwanzas in the black market.

President José dos Santos still has extensive support among the population, but his MPLA party will have to change its name or have a major shake-up if it wants to remain in power. MPLA and UNITA are becoming so similar, I suspect that they will end up making a coalition. The real opposition in Angolan society today is not the UNITA but the 20 smaller parties created after the formal peace agreement. Some of these parties lean to the right or left, but all contest UNITA and MPLA's monopoly of power. They complain that UNITA and MPLA negotiate peace as if they were the only political forces representative of the nation.

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Gavin Macaulay

MUST SEE MOVIES

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Sun, Nov 24 "Los Olvidados" (2:45, 5:50, 8:55) & "Viridiana" (4:15, 7:20, 10:25) by Luis Bunuel. Especially "Viridiana". One of Bunuel's best. Don't miss the "Last Supper" scene.

Tues, Nov 26 "Bombshell" (2:30, 5:40, 8:50) & "Red Dust" (4:05, 7:15, 10:25) by Victor Fleming.

Fri & Sat, Nov 29/30 "Suddenly, Last Summer" (2:45, 6:25, 10:05) by Joseph L. Mankiewicz & "Holiday" (4:45, 8:25, 12mid) by George Cukor. "Suddenly, Last Summer" is based on the play by Tennessee Williams who, with Gore Vidal, adapted it for the screen.

Sun, Dec 1 "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" (2:45, 5:30, 8:15, 11:00) by Robert Wiene & "M" (3:45, 6:30, 9:15) by Fritz Lang.

Thurs, Dec 5 "The Rules of the Game" (3:00, 6:30, 10:00) by Jean Renoir & "Pepe-le-Moko" (4:55, 8:25) by Julien Duvivier. "Pepe-le-Moko" was later reincarnated by Hollywood as "Algiers", starring Charles Boyer. Duvivier's original has more of an edge to it.

Fri & Sat Dec 6/7 "The Trial" (2:30, 6:20, 10:10) by Orson Welles & "The Third Man" (4:35, 8:25, 12:15am) by Carol Reed. Welles' poor attempt at Kafka's novel but nevertheless interesting: it reveals more about Welles himself than it sheds light on K's world. More enlightening is Welles' brilliant performance in "The Third Man". Graham Green provided the scenario.

Mon, Dec 9 "Smiles of a Summer Night" (3:30, 7:45) & "The Magic Flute" (5:25, 9:40) by Ingmar Bergman. "Smiles of a Summer Night" especially. An intricate dance of desire, humiliation, and fulfillment. Bergman's celebration of women and the men they control. Masterfully composed and beautifully orchestrated, a masterpiece.

Tues, Dec 10 "Mean Streets" (2:45, 6:25, 10:05) by Martin Scorsese & "Bang the Drum Slowly" (4:45, 8:25) by John Hancock.

Fri & Sat, Dec 13/14 "Wuthering Heights" (3:00, 6:35,

10:10) by William Wyler & "Jane Eyre" (4:50, 8:25, 12mid) by Robert Stevenson. Especially "Jane Eyre". Charlotte Bronte's novel scripted by Aldous Huxley, John Houseman, and the director. Orson Welles is magnificent as the impassioned Rochester.

Fri & Sat, Dec 20/21 "Midnight Cowboy" (2:00, 6:00, 10:00) by John Schlesinger & "The Graduate" (4:00, 8:00, 12mid) by Mike Nichols. Two distinctly American films starring Dustin Hoffman.

Mon, Dec 23 "Vampyr" (3:00, 5:55, 8:50) & "Day of Wrath" (4:15, 7:10, 10:05) by Carl Theodor Dreyer.

Wed, Dec 25 "Funny Face" (3:00, 6:50, 10:40) by Stanley Donen & "Sabrina" (4:50, 8:40) by Billy Wilder.

Fri & Sat Dec 27/28 "Taxi Driver" (1:30, 5:45, 10:00) & "Raging Bull" (3:30, 7:45, 12mid) by Martin Scorsese. In "Raging Bull" Scorsese documents the pathetic fate of boxer Rocky Marciano.

Mon, Dec 30 "Rashomon" (3:00, 6:55, 10:50) & "Dodes'kaden" (4:30, 8:25) by Akira Kurosawa.

Fri & Sat Jan 3/4 "Beauty and the Beast" (2:00, 5:20, 8:40, 12mid) by Jean Cocteau & "Black Orpheus" (3:35, 6:55, 10:15) by Marcel Camus. Pure poetry from Cocteau. Pulsating rhythms drive "Black Orpheus", as unnerving as it is hypnotic.

Mon, Jan 6 "This Strange Passion" (2:30, 5:40, 8:50) & "Nazarin" (4:00, 7:10, 10:20) by Luis Bunuel.

Fri & Sat Jan 10/11 "Jules and Jim" (3:00, 6:35, 10:10) & "The 400 Blows" (4:50, 8:25, 12mid) by Francois Truffaut.

Mon, Jan 13 "Kameradschaft" (2:00, 5:20, 8:40) & "Westfront 1918" (3:35, 6:55, 10:15) by G.W. Pabst.

FILM FORUM, 209 W Houston St, west of 6th Ave
Admission \$7.

Through Tues, Nov 26 : Henri-Georges Clouzot's "The Wages of Fear" Mon-Thurs 3:10, 6:00, 8:50 Fri-Sun 1:00, 3:50, 6:40, 9:20

A disarmingly funny satire/suspense film, "The Wages of Fear" explores human need and survival and those who

exploit these for profit. The characterizations of Americans are particularly amusing. Listen carefully for the deadpan humor.

THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM, 200 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, NY 11238

The Luchino Visconti Retrospective

Saturdays & Sundays, Jan 4-Feb 29, 2pm, at the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Auditorium, 3rd fl

Sat, Jan 4 "Ludwig"

Sun, Jan 5 "Death in Venice" Thomas Mann's novella via Gustav Mahler.

Sat, Jan 11 "La Terra Trema" Life among poor Sicilian fishermen.

Sun, Jan 12 "Senso" Highly recommended.

Sat, Jan 18 "Death in Venice"

Sun, Jan 19 "Bellissima"

Sat, Jan 25 "La Terra Trema"

Sun, Jan 26 "Osessione" Italy's version of "The Postman Always Twice".

Sat, Feb 1 "Senso"

Sun, Feb 2 "The Leopard" A fading aristocrat's ambivalent feelings about the future and his nostalgic yearning for the past.

Sat, Feb 8 "Osessione"

Sun, Feb 9 "The Leopard"

Sat, Feb 15 "The Leopard"

Sun, Feb 16 "White Nights" Adapted from Dostoevsky's short story.

Sat, Feb 22 "Sandra"

Sun, Feb 23 "The Damned"

Sat, Feb 29 "Il Lavoro" ("The Job") an episode from "Boccaccio '70" & "Le Streghe" ("The Witches"), an episode from "Le Strega Bruciata Viva"

For ticket information and prices, call (718) 638-5000, ext. 230.

THE PUBLIC THEATER, 425 Lafayette St., one block south of Astor Pl

Fri, Nov 29 - Thurs, Dec 12 Marcel Carne's "Children of Paradise" a new 35 mm print from the restored negative.

Fri, Jan 10 - Thurs, Jan 23 Jean Renoir's "The Golden Coach": a new 35 mm print.

Fri, Jan 24 - Thurs, Feb 6 Luchino Visconti's "Rocco and his Brothers"

Confirm program and screening times at (212) 598-7171.

P.C. Advocates at SC18

from page 4

the subjective feeling of the analyst that "this reminds me of something else." When the method is used to suggest, for example, that Rousseau sought to repress his "desires" with the "discourse" of virtue, when Bakhtin uses it to suggest that Dostoevsky was a closet radical, this makes for an intriguing body of work. Such inquiry is also liberatory. It suggests that everyone has a liberatory potential, and that radicals can tap into that potential by encouraging people to open up.

But when Jarrod uses post-structuralist method to effectively brand moderates like George "reactionary homophobes"; when he calls Evan Stark homophobic because Evan alliterates his L's; when Andrew and Tara brand me a reactionary because I criticize them, they misuse the method. To use post-structuralism to fight political battles leads necessarily to slander. For post-structuralism does not offer the rigorous procedures of evidence required to prove that someone is "really" a right-wing monster, bent on "destroying our communities"—as Jarrod charged George with two

issues ago. There are no checks in post-structuralism against the mistake of slandering the innocent. For the method is properly used only to suggest liberatory impulses: not prove reactionary designs. Such designs are of course present in our society, and provable. But to prove them requires far more logically rigorous methods.

The left would do far better to debate arguments at face value, and to give moderates the benefit of the doubt. That is the way we gain support for a student fee increase. That is the way we can build the community here that Jarrod claimed George was bent on destroying. Slander does not build community. And when the editors belittle Ms. Smith-Bernstein's notion that community is something valuable, worth preserving; when they argue that this too is "personal moralism," the nihilism of their PC ideology has led them to new heights of folly. We lefties need to build community if we are to accomplish our project of popular empowerment.

Thomas Smith, Political Science

Kiss Mine Any Time

from page 4

is a low blow; then again, given the state of the Academy today, to accuse a graduate student of obsequiousness smacks of redundancy. Obsequiousness, unfortunately, is insufficient ordnance for propaganda warfare. Fired guns were needed. Enter Simon Taylor. Simon devoted 1500 words ridiculing the only anti-strike article you had printed to date; somehow he found the space, if not the context, to mention ETCETERAS as "a privately funded vanity rag." Obsequiousness plus "privately funded" vanity. In "Empowering Cronies" I criticized your call for a student fee increase as an attempt to curry favor with the DSC officials who control the budget, given that your argument in favor of an increase consisted of vague notions of the "poor quality of student life at the Graduate School." An fee increase, you wrote, would also pay for "legal counsel for sexual harassment cases, or a much needed student ombudsperson program." I pointed out that the DSC had three well-paid ombudspersons (the DSC co-chairs, each paid \$5000). I suggested that exposure in the Advocate would do more to end sexual harassment at the Graduate School than an expensive lawyer on retainer. I even applauded the DSC's proposed increase in the Advocate's budget; comparing your readership to the membership of DSC Chartered Student Organizations, I noted that the CSOs represent only 10% of the student body. Enter Jarrod Hayes. Identified as a "queer participant in the '91 CUNY student strike," Jarrod was imported to add political legitimacy to your slander. Jar-

rod opted for a cut-and-paste analysis of my argument. Jarrod cut my statement about CSOs and pasted it to another statement I had made concerning the DSC's unwillingness or inability to promote its activities. Jarrod's conclusion? My criticism of the Advocate and the DSC as expressed in "Empowering Cronies" is inextricably linked to what Jarrod identified as the "homophobic discourse of PC bashing" to be found in the pages of ETCETERAS! In ETCETERAS, three commentators had decried the strike committee's tendency to favor groups whose members were occupiers or pseudo-occupiers, while at the same time excluding everybody else, all in the name of a "liberated Graduate School." The Organization for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Concerns was one of those groups mentioned by the commentators. In their articles Jarrod found what he called "passages which, if not homophobic in themselves, reveal a similar panic in the face of potential empowerment of queers." If not homophobic, then homophobic. "Panic" Jarrod defined as the weapon of the extreme right-wing. Because I had published those articles without funding from the Advocate or the DSC, Jarrod decided to compare ETCETERAS to "right-wing newspapers ... sometimes funded by conservative foundations [pressing] agendas including demands like the defunding of black student organizations due to such organizations' 'inherent racism.'" If not homophobic, then racist. Finally Jarrod ad-

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Arts & Events

In Review:

Transcendence Songs
from The Black Rock Coalition,
Sam Phillips, and Others

Steve Holtje

Even though some pundits bemoan the state of music industry, the myriad new releases arriving every day cover broader ground now than ever before. OK, most of what's put out is crap, but that's just a fact of life in every field of endeavor. But quality will out, eventually (provided it has a good publicist).

There's no question which recent release is the most important. The Black Rock Coalition, formed in Soho in 1985 (by writer Greg Tate, Living Colour leader/guitarist Vernon Reid, and Konda Mason, the manager of the all-female band Isis), grew into an effective forum/clearinghouse enabling black bands to better hurdle the obstacles of the music industry; from the very beginning their package bills of various member bands were highlights of N.Y.C.'s musical life on the local level. With the rise of Living Colour, a greater major-label willingness to pay attention to BRC bands would seem logical, but of course logic isn't always the ruling factor when race enters the picture. Maybe *The History of Our Future* (Rykodisc) will open some eyes.

Many compilations lack coherence and consistent quality, but though there's a considerable stylistic diversity here (Funk both heavy and pop, Metal of various sorts, Blues, and the beyond-Rap poetry-over-all-of-the-above of Sekou Sundiata's band, da-dahdoodahda), the record flows well; the quality never sinks lower than above-average (so-so bands picking their best tunes) and often rises to excellent, even outstanding. One of the elements that ties together the ten songs comes from each band having chosen a political or issue-oriented song.

The album's title is either ironic or frightening, considering the disturbing social ills chronicled in many of the songs. Shock Council's "Hustler Man," heavy-riffing Metal-with-a-conscience, and PBR Streetgang's funky-with-harmonies "Didn't Live Long" tell stories of going for the easy money found on the street. Blakasaurus Mex critiques the political process in "Think Twice" (radio-ready Metal in a juster world) .. the list goes on and on, with each band offering a considered, positive viewpoint not found elsewhere.

In a time when dinky voices are routinely enlarged in the studio, Mariah Carey is the real thing, a fullblown diva who combines the best attributes of her competition without their faults. What do her detractors want from her? Should she cut off her hair and wear ugly clothes so they feel less manipulated or jealous or whatever? Bullshit! On *Emotion* (Sony), Carey's technically impeccable yet emotionally charged singing (combining classical training with Gospel feeling and phrasing) puts across her sometimes awkward but always heartfelt lyrics as she combines

Aretha Franklin, Chaka Khan, current dance trends, et al, producing a new Soul for the '90s. And with David Cole and Robert Cliviles (C+C Music Factory) co-producing and co-writing four cuts ("You're So Cold" stands out the most), Carey should be a radio and dancefloor presence for awhile, proving that pop need not be soulless. Only her endless proselytizing grates.

It's tempting to ascribe the excellence of Sam Phillips's *Cruel Inventions* (Virgin) only to Phillips's distinctively plangent yet strong voice and husband T-Bone

tell me / Feet will land on the ground, safe, and walk." Always sticking in the memory, her refrains marry indelible melodies to lushly-constructed but sinewy arrangements that feature not only the usual jangling guitars but sometimes also cello and string quartet, and when she writes a bridge, it fits aptly while still offering contrast, simultaneously providing release while building to the refrain. In other words, this is nearly perfect alternative pop that leaves the listener lunging for the repeat button on the CD player each time the album finishes.

Earthworks, a label distributed in the U.S. by Cardiac Records, specializes in African music and has recently released a number of worthwhile albums. To American ears, this music may at first sound overly repetitive and chirpy, but it's an easy taste to acquire. *Kenya Dance Mania*, subtitled East Africa's Finest Rumbas & Other Styles, collects a pair of hits by the

rumba, South African townships' kwela, and Latin-American music of the '50s and '60s, especially in the horn arrangements) that shape this music. Looking southward, a less Western-influenced style is purveyed by Thomas Mapfumo, who is given most of the credit for inventing the chimurenga (liberation) style, which moved the lilting, repetitive mbira (thumb piano) patterns of Zimbabwean music onto the electric guitar and replaced the hosho (shaker) with the trap cymbals. He also began singing in Shona rather than English, and his band, The Blacks Unlimited, features a horn section at times. To Western ears, it sounds like Minimalism with call-and-response vocals on top, but that's mostly because Steve Reich derived so much of his music from the same tradition. *Shumba: Vital Hits of Zimbabwe* collects tracks from the '80s and includes useful translations or summaries of the lyrics as well as informative liner notes. (Mapfumo also has a new

album out on Mango/Island, *Chamunorwa: What Are We Fighting For?*, unfortunately with no liner notes or translations, in which he reaches new heights of percolating African Soul.) For a taste of other Zimbabwean artists, *Jit*, half a soundtrack to a film that may or may not be distributed over here and half a collection of hits, provides an overview. Among the artists are Jonah Sithole, Mapfumo's guitarist and therefore equally responsible for the chimurenga style (also apparently called Zim Guitar), and the late Tobias Areketa, once a backing vocalist in Blacks Unlimited. The other artists have other influences in their sound, including reggae. The best-known of them, Oliver Mtshudzi, sings in English and incorporates South African mbaqanga into his style and is represented by two tunes. Throughout, the music is uniformly inspirational and infectious.

Steve Holtje is the managing editor of *The New York Review of Records* and an occasional contributor to *The Advocate*.



Burnette's production, but her songwriting holds the attention the longest. Her lyrics tend to be ambiguous (perhaps for the best considering her strong religious beliefs, well-camouflaged here), similar to early R.E.M. in tone; "Tripping Over Gravity"'s first verse goes, "Black Niagara of control spilling down to culture mock / You can

Maroon Commandos, four by Gabriel Omolo & His Apollo Komesha, and one each by four other groups. Not being an African music scholar, I rely on the liner notes to explain that most of the songs are in Swahili rather than local dialects to broaden their popularity in East Africa, and to show the many influences (Zaire's

The Burgess 10

Where It's @!

#1 *Ritz Crackers* @W54th (Bway&8th) 541-8900 8pm

11/29 \$12.50+ *Gang of Four* "Anthrax" back from the '80s w/*White Trash*.

11/26 \$18.50+ *Crowded House* & *School of Fish* Carrying on the tradition of American garage rock (see Aisha Khan for details).

12/12 \$16.50+ *Paul Weller* Neo-mod rather than post-mod;x-Jam,x-Style Council.

#2 *Mr. Stardust* @Academy, 234 W43 (7&8th) 8pm \$15.50

11/27&29. *David Bowie* himself in *Tin Machine* w/the sons of Paul Rubens' role model. Right here in our own Grad School neighborhood! Opening act *The Neighborhoods*. How many omens do you want?

#3 *Irish R&R* @Wetlands 161 Hudson, 3 blocks under Canal 966-4225

11/22 Once upon a time U2 was known as the next *Horseflies*. Kirwan's *Black 47* opens hot on the heels of x-partner Pierce Turner's gig last wknd. You be the judge. #4 *Political Parties* @Carnegie 57&7th 8pm \$15+.

11/22 *Sweet Honey in the Rock* David Duke struck a rock. Celebrate his loss.

11/29-30 *Arlo Guthrie* Be careful where you put your garbage this Thanksgiving.

#5 *Lone Star Legends* @242 W 52 9pm 245-2950

11/29-30 *The Band* Yes, that one. minus Manuel & Robertson.

12/13 *Van Dyke Parks* Brian Wilson's pre-therapy collaborator.

#6 *Songwriter workshop* @Bottom Line 15 W4th, 228-6300 8&11 \$15

12/5 *Townes van Zandt* is interviewed by x-Omni writer Scelsa and gives examples like "Pancho and Lefty."

#7 *Fathers of Modern Saxophone* @Bot-

tom Line, as above.

11/22-23 *Sonny Rollins* Even solo his sound is totalizing.

11/29-30 *Sonny Fortune* w. *Elvin Jones Jazz Machine*

#8 *Pere Ubu*

11/23@Ritz 9pm \$19.50+ Be prepared for the *Pixies*.

11/25@Maxwell's 1039 Washington, Hoboken (201)798-4064 10pm. take Red Apple fr Port Authority.

#9 *Drinks on the house* @Student Center 33 W42 4:30 free!

12/6 *Steering Committee* opening for *Mystery Administrator*.

#10 *Up&coming Paramount Chiefs* @MSG & Penn Station(7&8th) 465-6741 Seats are near stage &no smoking! The allosaurian *Ozzie Osbourne* (12/3) &the stegosaurian *Moody Blues* (12/10).

compiled by Thomas Burgess

The Matter of Thomas and Hill: Sex, Politics, and Ethics in American Life

Ron Winley

The hearings to confirm Clarence Thomas gave Americans an 'unprecedented' opportunity to assess the moral climate of American political and social life. The choice of Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court was a political maneuver to perpetuate the Bush/Reagan conservative agenda. President Bush could have used the appointment to solidify the body politic around values of diversity and increased representation, or he could enhance ideological solidarity around conservative values. Bush went for ideological solidarity. This is of course his choice, but the choice revealed the disservice being done to democratic values. By choosing a Black conservative Bush served notice on the Black community and the liberal establishment that the conservative sector will no longer pay lip service to the values that transformed American social life during the 1960's, especially those that demanded government support for the weakest of those among us. The conservative tactic was to instill the 'value' that people ought to do things for themselves without government intervention, and put forth rhetoric about keeping America competitive in the world economy, as a way of increasingly shifting government support towards business interests. One of the ways to ensure that this would be implemented was to appeal to barely submerged 'white psychic fears' through weapons of symbolic manipulation such as the Willie Horton commercials.

While there were those who hoped that the choice to replace Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court would be a champion for liberty and justice, it became apparent that the Black that was chosen would be more a champion for the conservative agenda. What exactly is the agenda: the hidden agenda of the conservatives is to 'bum rush' the national treasury. The main project of the Black conservative agenda is to let the world know that while they have brains their morals and ethics are informed by the same value system of their white counterparts — and this is their betrayal of the moral and ethical legacy of the Black community.

Enter Anita Hill. She is a young, attractive and brilliant Black legal mind who charged that the President was putting someone on the bench who was not "qualified." The person to be appointed to adjudicate issues sensitive to women, such as abortion and sexual harassment, was himself a harasser. Republicans justified their efforts to destroy Hill by presenting the charges as a liberal plot to derail the nomination, by pointing to how the charges came at the eleventh hour, that it was leaked to the press, and the graphic nature of the Hill's testimony.

What followed displayed the real character of American political/ethical life. Clarence Thomas the Black skinned/white masked champion of the new right stepped out of his hypocritical character and played 'real life,' crying that the hearing had turned into a "high-tech lynching." This probably not only shocked White House/white conservative Republicans who had orchestrated the Thomas performance, but also the "leakers" who took the calculated risk that Thomas would withdraw rather than face the humiliation of having to 'play Black'. Republicans, empowered and vic-

torious as a result of the Willie Horton tactic went full force to discredit and destroy one of the brightest gems in the Black community, Hill, and all for the sole purpose of maintaining ideological hegemony, through Thomas.

Clarence was right when he invoked Kafka; America was willing to destroy human lives, albeit Black ones, to WIN. He was wrong however to think that this was inconsistent with American values. Historically, and from its inception, America has showed how it understood the role of government. Those who established the government forbade the then newly formed government from regulating the slave trade for the next 20 years. This set the precedent of prohibiting government interference with commerce and money making, except where constitutionally legal. So, contemporarily, the mouthpieces for capital ensure that through the tactical choice of Thomas, the historical precedent of protecting the relations of production at the expense of human development will be maintained. Yet in spite of the efforts to destroy Anita Hill and thereby derail protest against women's oppression, sexual harassment has made it into public discourse. We must recognize that she has rendered a great service to this country by creating the space to confront sexual harassment and other related sexual ills; she is still under threat and it is up to the public to ensure that she will be protected. Anita Hill's testimony is part of the process that will eventually bring healing to the American psyche.

America must come to grips with its sexuality. Part of the strategy to derail Thomas relied on puritanical notions of American life — adult men acted as if they had heard never heard of these things before. This obscured how sexual harassment is not created so much by what is said, but the context where the discourse takes place and therefore by the power relations involved. The issue of sexual harassment rests upon how women in subordinate positions in the workplace are oppressed when their interactions with men at work shift to sexual interests. The subordinate power relations are what puts them under such pressure and stress.

The way the hearings appealed to sexual stereotypes activated the puritanism and the latent sexual hangups whites have about their own sexuality, which they have successfully projected on people of color for so long. I suspect that almost all of the senators have had some experience with so-called pornographic material and, depending upon the era one was raised in, one is either furtive or liberated about this. When Playboy magazine first appeared it was read in secret and associated with perversion. Senator Simpson Simpson said in coded language that he read it for its 'editorial content' which was how the 'sexual explorers' of the day legitimated their consumption of the magazine's contents and avoided the stigma of being labeled perverted. Public emphasis upon developing a healthy attitude toward diversity in sexual practices, will spare many lives and allow serious attention to be given to the issue of how sex is used to oppress another.

Now what about the politics of democracy? Are we going to continue to allow democratic values to be mugged by conservatives? The confirmation process revealed the ineptitude of the Senators to elicit from Thomas his constitutional philosophy. They were so keen to maintain lock-step with the administration that discussion of constitutional issues were mini-

Confessions of a first-time Senate Hearings listener

I must admit that I've never understood the appeal of listening to Senate Hearings, when the newspaper always provided the synopsis the next day. But the Senate Judiciary Committee's examination of Anita Hill's allegations was both so compelling and repellent, I wavered between utter absorption and turning the radio off in disgust. These hearings, like no other, condensed so many issues and displayed the difficulty of political discourse in this country, where political confrontation has to wind its way through recuperations into the moral.

My first difficulty was an inability to distinguish the supporters of Hill from the attackers — but then I realized that the tactic, such as the Democrats had, was to create a place of moral testimony for Hill. As such, the Democrats represented her as quiet, private, one who didn't seek the limelight, gentle, understated, etc. This "defense" sounded like your basic average sexist stereotyping of women. Senator Hugh Heflin asked a witness for Hill's "credibility", "Would you call her a violent cause person?" to which the anticipated response was, 'Why no, she has no political viewpoints or agendas.' Most people to whom I pointed this out to invariably said, "this was a necessary tactic of the Democrats." But that is my point — the Democrats are complicit in the production of a political space in which sexual harassment cannot be addressed as systemic, and can only be countered through moralism. The hearings constructed sexual harassment as

deriving from distasteful behavior and moral turpitude rather than power relations.

Another Democratic Senator asked a friend of Hill's whether she had ever used sexually explicit language in conversation. What would it have meant if she had? Would it be excessive to draw out of this the (D)emocratically legitimated assumption that women who engage in sexually explicit language, or who have political beliefs, cannot be sexually harassed, or only fantasize that they are? Certainly these hearings have dire implications for the vast majority of women who lack Hill's credentials — whether educational, professional, or her constructed 'moral purity', considering that even her testimony was judged to lack credibility. The hearings were also a sinister throwback to the not so distant past when it was impossible for Black women to bring charges against sexual abusers because only white and usually upper-class women were considered to have damageable property.

I was left with the conclusion that it would be too disturbing for the ruling bodies of this country to admit to the depths of violence, gender, class and racial violence, that permeate the workplace, home, school, and personal relations. The official response of shock, whether at Hill for having aired such charges, or at Thomas, silenced a recognition that Hill was describing an all too familiar workplace.

Tara McGann

mized. This is the real nature of the process. Several commentators have suggested that the Senate bring in experts on constitutional philosophy to question future nominees; this would ensure a more credible discussion and avoid the spectacle where a potential nominee tells the world that he never discussed the merits of Roe vs. Wade.

Black America must come to grips with the issues of sexual harassment and pay attention to the ways Black women, white women and other women of color are dealing with liberation from historical and contemporary forms of oppression. This way we can become partners in the liberation struggle and reduce efforts to divide and conquer us on the basis of race and gender. Raising the issue of sexual harassment has revealed another aspect of the myriad forms of oppression and much of

the pain that goes along with it. Women have had to bear these violations of their dignity in silence and it is too pervasive in our community to ignore any longer. The Black community must make it personal because it effects so many women who are close to us. Black men must come to grips with the issue so that we can be defenders of the dignity of our women and not be held in check because we are doing the same things that white males do to maintain their power.

Finally, as a community we must continue to struggle against the inequities of capitalism. We must continue to mine our historical legacy for its contribution to the ways that justice must eventually be won.

Ron Winley is a doctoral student in Philosophy and a co-chair for the Black Students Association.

•• WOMEN'S STUDIES EVENTS ••

Wednesday, December 4, Room TBA 4:00 p.m.
FORUM: PREVIEW OF SPRING COURSES

Women's Studies faculty will be introduced and will discuss new courses to be offered in the spring semester.
Welcoming reception for new faculty members.

Friday, December 6, Room 4048 Grace Building 2:00 p.m.
Judith Sensibar (Arizona State), "Did She or Didn't She: Edith Wharton, Imperialism and the Great War."

Thursday, December 12, Third Floor Studio 7:00 p.m.
Film Series Night: *Dance with a Stranger*
Sponsored by the Working group in
Feminism, the Third World, and Postmodernism.

Friday, December 13, Room 1500 2:00 p.m.
Michelle Paludi (Hunter College) on sexual harassment
Sponsored by the Women's Studies Political Action Committee.

For more information call the Women's Studies Office, 642-2344.

The Doctoral Student Council (DSC) is setting up a student advisory board to the Psychological Counseling Services at the Graduate Center. People interested in being on this board or who have suggestions should contact the DSC.

The DSC is currently trying to ensure democratic selection of students to Graduate Council ad hoc and subcommittees. Currently the student representatives appear quite mysteriously on these committees.

Information about vacancies is disseminated in an extremely limited way: apparently only by word of mouth by committee members. We are meeting with the Committee on Committees to establish a set procedure whereby vacancies will be broadly publicized in the Advocate and on posters 2 months ahead of time. We are also requesting that student representatives be nominated only by the DSC. With advance notice of vacancies, the DSC will thereby have time to vote on names submitted to it for nomination. We believe that the DSC should have sole control of names of students submitted for nomination to the Committee on Committees. Anyone, however, should be able to submit names to the DSC for a nomination vote. We see this as a way to ensure democratic process, increase student awareness of vacancies, increase student participation on committees, and thereby have greater effect on changes in policy.

We are also working to ensure that there is student input in such major events as the President's inauguration and graduation.

Notes from Your Student Government

ation.

The Graduate Council By-laws also state that there should be at least the same proportion of student-to-faculty membership on ad hoc and subcommittees of the Graduate Council. This proportion is 3-4 respectively. Currently many ad hoc committees have a much smaller proportion of students to faculty/administrators. We are requesting that the proportion be increased to 50% student population.

Students should be aware that according to the Graduate Council by-laws there should be student representatives on every committee in their department. We encourage students in each department to call for more student representation on departmental committees.

tees.

The DSC is investigating a number of complaints from students directed towards the Computer Center. Please submit any complaints you have about the Center in writing to the DSC. Also, keep a log of when the Computer Center is shut down during normally scheduled hours.

A representative from the DSC is meeting with the Student Services Committee and the new manager of the cafeteria to discuss improvements in food quality.

BRIEF NOTES - The DSC is trying to start a softball league; contact the DSC if you want to join. *If you are interested in being the editor of the Advocate in Spring 1992, contact the DSC Media Board (See Ad).* Finally, Pub Hours are held every other Friday in the Student Center from 4:30-6:30 pm. The next one will be December 6. The DSC is inviting more administrators to go to Pub Hour to talk informally with students. Don't forget that the December Bash will be held December 20 in the third floor studio. Be there!

We welcome your questions or suggestions. The DSC office is located at SC 001 and our phone number is 642-2851.

KISS, from p. 8

vised that "graduate students should be wary of reactionary attempts to manipulate populist and leftist rhetoric to foment panic and to divide and destroy communities such as our own for exclusive and malicious ends." If not homophobic, then racist propaganda. Thus Jarrod took a flying leap from my article criticizing your editorial and the DSC, first to ETCETERAS, a publication devoted exclusively to the occupation, then to reactionary campus newspapers funded by wealthy conservatives. Nowhere did Jarrod state what he knew to be the truth: ETCETERAS was produced at my expense. To state the truth would have undercut his claim that ETCETERAS and all the contributors to ETCETERAS and above all I as publisher of ETCETERAS employed the racist and sexist discourse of the extreme right-wing. Whatever his theory, Jarrod's critical method obviously backfired, because he crooned a different tune in response to the protests of at least one of those whom he had maligned. When confronted with the injustice, indeed, the stupidity of his "PC bashing" accusation, Jarrod could only resort to a Derridian sycophant's worst doggerel. No, Jarrod did not "label anyone"; Jarrod merely "examined the implications of a public discourse and tried to point out its presumptions, whether conscious or not. The author's intention means little in these matters." Apparently Jarrod's intended victim didn't know that by using the word "linkage" near the word "lesbian" he was positing the homophobic discourse of a right-wing Oedipal complex. Fearful that Jarrod might not be completely effective, you played your trump card. Enter Anthony Marcus, who reflected on the occupation and concluded without supporting evidence that CUNY administrations "are producing propaganda against the strikers which calls for students to give up occupations and demonstrations and to lobby and become involved in elec-

toral politics; they are carefully nurturing a small but well supported and vocal anti-activist, reactionary backlash...." While only a fool thinks that lobbying for one's rights and involvement in electoral politics are reactionary activities, in keeping with Jarrod's slanderous insinuations, Anthony implied that ETCETERAS was reactionary propaganda. After having served the DSC as the founding editor of the Advocate for three semesters, after having published as many members of the Graduate School community as I possibly could, after having sought out and printed announcements concerning all the DSC Chartered Student Organizations as a monthly feature and encouraged members of those groups to write for the Advocate, after having published editorials and investigative articles that exposed bureaucratic abuse of students and promoted the rights of adjunct lecturers and other student workers, I do not know why you and Jarrod choose slander and character assassination in order to dispute my criticism of the strike, of your editorial, and of the DSC. To those who wrote protesting your summary execution of my reputation, you replied that they "equate political debate, such as the editors' criticism of George McClintock's politics, with the most extreme examples of 'bodily violence.'" You mentioned the "anti-NEA antics of Jesse Helms" and "a politics of moralism." You reiterated Jarrod's litcrit drivel: it is not your critics who are right-wing fascists. It is their words that are guilty: "we point out, rather, that their words, phrases and arguments are part of a larger discourse which is not wholly their own and with which they must acknowledge and engage, if they are to act in good faith." At least you appear to give your other critics a chance to repent. Not me. Without the least hesitation you continue to spread the original falsehood upon which you built your defamation both of

continues on p. 12

BE HEARD!

PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNANCE OF CUNY

THE DOCTORAL STUDENTS' COUNCIL AND SER URGE YOU TO SPEAK AT CUNY BOARD OF TRUSTEES HEARINGS.

UPCOMING DEADLINES & HEARINGS:

Monday, December 2, 4 p.m. Deadline to notify Secretary of the Board, Genevieve Mullin, that you wish to speak at the December 4th Bronx Borough Hearing. Call her at (212) 794-5450.

Wednesday, December 4, 1991, 5-8 p.m. Board of Trustees Bronx Borough Hearing: Bronx Borough Courthouse, 851 Grand Concourse. You may speak on any issue.

Issues to Speak About:

- 1) What is the Board doing about the State budget? Will they include students at all levels of the budgetary process?
- 2) Affirmative Action: recruitment of minority, women, and gay and lesbian students and faculty.
- 3) Child care.
- 4) The Chancellor's College Preparedness Initiative.
- 5) Financial Aid
- 6) Open Admissions.

For more information call the DSC office at 642-2851 or Students for Educational Rights at 641-2549. Or stop by at Room SC001.

STUDENT REPS NEEDED FOR AD HOC GRAD COUNCIL COMMITTEE

TITLE IX COMMITTEE:
REVIEW DATA ON WHETHER THE GRAD CENTER MEETS FEDERAL GENDER REQUIREMENTS.
MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS.
TIME COMMITMENT MINIMAL TO MODERATE.

504 COMMITTEE:
FOR ISSUES CONCERNING HANDICAPPED PERSONS.
TIME COMMITMENT MINIMAL.

MALL COMMITTEE:
TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE SHAPE, CONTENT & PURPOSE OF THE MALL.
TIME COMMITMENT MINIMAL.

IF INTERESTED: CALL THE DSC OFFICE AT 642-2851 BY WEDNESDAY NOV. 27. YOU DON'T NEED TO BE A DSC REP.

DID YOU RECEIVE A LETTER...

THREATENING TO BAR YOU FROM

SPRING 1992 REGISTRATION

BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT IN GOOD ACADEMIC STANDING?

COME TO A MEETING TO DISCUSS COLLECTIVE ACTION IN RESPONSE TO THIS LETTER.

SC 10
DECEMBER 4
6 - 7 p.m.



SPONSORED BY THE D.S.C. AND S.E.R.

Committee on Persons with Disabilities

Invites participation by members of the GSUC community. Want to join the committee? Attend a meeting? Contribute to the institutional self-evaluation update on accessibility?

Please contact any of the following members:

Dean of Students Floyd L. Moreland
(504 Coordinator), Rm. 1519, 642-2105
Prof. David Chapin, Env. Psych., 642-2575
Ms. Charlotte Frick, Student Services, 642-2827
Mr. Stephen Gorlick, President's Office, 642-2828
Prof. Irving Hochberg,
Speech & Hearing Sciences, c/o Dean's Ofc.
Ms. Vivian Nitzberg, Personnel, 642-2622
Prof. Leanne Rivlin, Env. Psych., 642-2563
Mr. Christopher Rosa,
Doctoral Student in Sociology, c/o Dean's Ofc.

KISS, from p. 11

my character and of the contributors to ETCETERAS. "Where are these mythic anti-strike articles, George?" you ask, as if to deny that those articles were printed in ETCETERAS, a student publication that you and the DSC subsequently refused to fund. First you slander me with the insipid charge of obsequiousness, thus implying an egocentric political agenda. Then you import unscrupulous egotists who, with no evidence whatsoever, identify me and those individuals whose reflections I published in ETCETERAS as sexist and racist propagandists. From Taylor's pompous remark about vanity and Jarrod's pathetic rhetorical violence, to Marcus' unsupported charges of CUNY-sponsored propaganda and idiotic rejection of electoral politics, the only propaganda I can discern is your own, propaganda spreading

the falsehood that the occupation was supported by the majority of the Graduate School community. Given the limited run of ETCETERAS, you could publish your chicanery with impunity. You and Jarrod could pontificate with abandon into that most vicious and anti-intellectual of rhetorical frenzies—ad hominem—unworthy of anyone with intelligence and integrity. You say I have conjured up "an absurd image of a corrupt DSC political machine," but you have yet to include with Jarrod's byline any notice of his position on the DSC steering committee. Sounds like bad faith to me. I am grateful to those courageous souls who wrote in my defense. Please excuse me if I do not genuflect. Seigneurs, and kiss your ring of hypocrisy. You can kiss mine anytime.

George McClintock III
Ph.D. Program in French

Classifieds

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 - plan effective library research strategy
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PERSONALS

Sissy top seeks butch bottom, muscle queen, east village clone for groovy fag love and genderfuck. Send letter to c/o The Advocate, Box 1.

Phone sex dominatrix, into reprimand and mindfuck, seeks part-time services from naughty boys and/or pliant girls. Send response to c/o The Advocate, Box 2.

Want to sell your books? Records? Looking for an apartment? Roommate? Job? Publish your classified ads and personals in *The Advocate*. Call (212) 642-2852 or place in a labeled envelope and slip it under the door at SC 18.

Upcoming Fellowship Application Workshops in December

conducted by Sharon Lerner,
Office of the Dean for Student Affairs

Tues., Dec. 10, 12:15-2:00 PM

Wed., Dec. 18, 5:15-7:00 PM

Thurs., Dec 19, 12:15-2:00 PM

All workshops will be held
in Room 1706

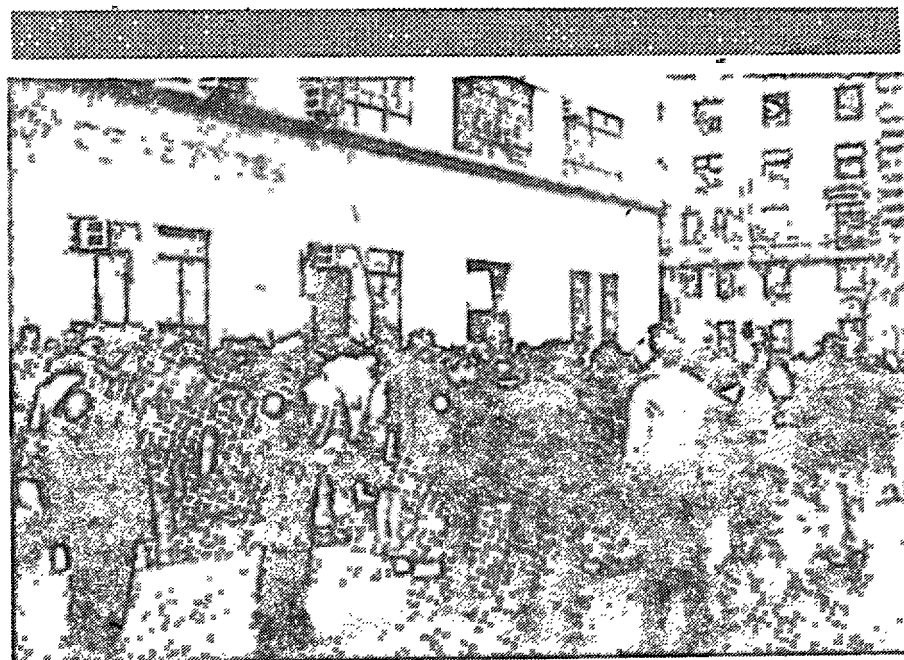
For notice of future workshops (March-April), send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to

Sharon Lerner, Office of the Dean for Student Affairs, Rm. 1519
Graduate Center,
33 W. 42nd St., NY, NY 10036

or drop it off at either
Room 1517 or 1519

Special Services funding:

Some limited enhancement funding is available for the hiring of temporary personnel to act as readers, sign interpreters, transcribers, etc. for students with disabilities on a short-term or regularly scheduled basis. For further info, please contact Sharon Lerner in the Office of the Dean for Student Affairs, Room 1519, 642-2105.



"Jeffries" protest outside CUNY Central. More next issue.

