

# The Graduate Student Advocate

City University of New York

SEPTEMBER 1991

Volume 3  
Number 1

## Graduate School Administration Threatens Status of Over 1600 Students

• Thomas Smith •

Many Graduate School students recently received unsigned letters from Senior Registrar Robert Goldstein. These letters informed students that they had failed to fulfill the minimum requirements for satisfactory progress toward completion of their degrees. According to Bob Nelson of the Office of Student Services, a total of 1619 letters were sent out, out of a total of 3956 cases reviewed. In order to meet minimum standards for satisfactory progress students must:

- Maintain a 3.0 GPA
- Take their first doctoral exam before they complete 45 credits of course work.
- Not have more than two incompletes outstanding.
- Complete their degrees within eight years if they begin work here without a master's degree; seven years with a master's.

These letters further informed students that they must consult with their Executive Officer at the beginning of this semester to arrange a required plan of action. If students do not satisfy these minimum requirements by the spring semester, they will be barred from registration.

Understandably, quite a few students were upset. These letters, coupled with rumors to the effect that the Federal Government conducted an audit of the CUNY system over the summer, has led some to believe that the Administration was pressured into a "crack down" to preserve its funding. [According to Ian McGowan of the *Student Leader News Service*, Dean Floyd Moreland confirmed that the Graduate School Office of Financial Aid was audited during the summer of 1991.]

However, Registrar Goldstein, Dean of Student Affairs Floyd More-

land, and Executive Director of Student Services Matthew Schoengood, all insist that "extenuating circumstances" would be taken into account with the advent of spring semester. These circumstances might include family obligations, work, etc.... Each official insisted that the letters were not intended to "intimidate" anyone though Floyd Moreland admitted that the letters have caused some "panic" among students. Moreland apologized "if the letters were read that way." These letters were intended to "foster a stronger relationship between faculty and students, to foster better mentoring by meeting with their EO's," one administrator responded. At the least, these letters give "the students six months to get their act together," said Goldstein. Yet, Floyd Moreland ominously pronounced that "At the end of the Fall semester the computer will generate another series of reports. If the students have achieved a minimum degree of progress, fine. If not, they've got trouble."

The Advocate asked these administrators how they will define a minimum degree of progress. "This is a difficult question, and will have to be taken up on a case-by-case basis, in consultation with the student's EO and advisor," answered Goldstein. Such consultation will be especially important, Goldstein acknowledged, at the dissertation stage, where it is difficult to show tangible results, and where the student frequently changes the "direction" of her/his topic or text.

Moreland admitted that only "a small percentage" of those who received letters faced serious problems. What most concerned Goldstein, Moreland, and Schoengood was students' failure to maintain a 3.0 GPA. "We make a commitment to the student

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## Meet the President:

An interview with Frances Degen Horowitz.

On July 17th *Advocate* editors Andrew Long, Thomas Smith and Jonathan Lang interviewed the newly appointed president of the Graduate School, Frances Degen Horowitz. We have printed an abbreviated version of this interview below.

*Advocate:* Can you tell us more about yourself, about your New York memories and your academic interests in college? You were, for example, a philosophy major.

*President Horowitz:* Well, I grew up in the Bronx. If you have ever read Doctorow's *World's Fair* he writes about Eastbourne Ave., the street I grew up on. And in fact I attended P.S. 70, which is the school he went to. I even think we were there at the same time because I remember some of the things which he recounts. I consider growing up in the Bronx to have been a very personally rich experience. It was partly because my extended family lived in various parts of the Bronx. I intend to write more about that. For a child growing up here it was a whole world. While reading *World's Fair* I compared his perception of the exact same block with my own memories. I think part of the difference in our perceptions was that he was male and I was female. He seemed to have much more freedom than I ever had as a child.

Why did you attend Antioch rather than CUNY? I ask that because I know that Antioch has a reputation as a radical and alternative place to pursue a degree.

I knew someone who had gone there and I was really attracted to their work-study program; I loved to travel, and needed that sense of freedom. Actually I

went to another college for a year before I went there. Getting to Antioch was like a breath of fresh air.

*A:* Was it unusual to go to a place like Antioch at the time?

*H:* Well, I knew only one other person. By that time my parents had moved to Long Beach, Long Island, and that is maybe why I never thought of CUNY, as I was no longer a resident of the city.

But my mother's dream, when I was growing up, was that I would go to Hunter College. In fact, my husband ended up teaching at Hunter. Hunter College was, in my mother's youth, the absolute epitome of a perfect college. I think she always wanted to go there. Anyway, Antioch was a very special experience. It was a place of a lot of ideas, and while I would never claim to have been part of the radical fringe, I learned a lot about a spectrum of ideas, but I didn't learn about conservatives there. I had to go to Kansas to understand that.

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*A:* How do you feel about returning to New York?

*H:* It's exciting and it's scary. The city is very different from when I left it, and in a sad way it's different. But it's still a vibrant place and there is still enormous energy.

*continues on p. 6*

## Distinguished Psychologist Sylvia Scribner Dies at 67

*Editor's note: This obituary is reprinted from the Graduate School and University Center newsletter.*

Sylvia Scribner, an internationally renowned cognitive psychologist on the faculty of the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, died of cancer Saturday, July 20, at Lenox Hill Hospital in Manhattan. She was 67 years old.

Dr. Scribner gained an international reputation for her research on cultural influences on learning and development. Her interests included learning and thinking in the workplace, formal and informal education, and the influences of activities such as schooling, literacy and work on the development of intellectual skills.

One of her best known research projects examined the psychological skills involved in literacy activities among the Vai people of western Liberia who invented an original writing system. Her work was detailed in a highly acclaimed book, *The Psychology of Literacy* (1981), for which she received the Melville J. Herskovits Award from the African Studies Association in 1981. Another book, *Culture and*



*Thought: A Psychological Introduction* (1974), which she co-authored with Michael Cole, has become a standard college textbook in the field of cognitive psychology.

Dr. Scribner was a member of the U.S. Department of Education Delegation on Educational Research to the Peoples Republic of China. She made presentations and consulted on projects throughout the United States and in Berlin, Moscow, Helsinki, and Tokyo, among others.

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## Around & About The Center

### Students Threatened

from p. 1


when they matriculate that we believe they can do the work," Moreland remarked. "We let them down if we let them complete nearly 60 credits with less than a 3.0 average and they have to take extra courses to catch up," Schoengood argued. Such a student "might be better off at another school, such as Columbia or NYU," argued Goldstein. "Sometimes students and departments don't match. It's not fair to let them continue if there's no way they're going to complete."

According to Goldstein, these letters were written collectively, as a "group compilation." He and his office were merely "an instrument in the process." The Administration thought it most suitable that the Registrars handle the matter. Its officials were thought to have the most experience in "dealing with students sensitively and on a regular basis," Goldstein reported. The letters were unsigned "because we did this on the computer."

Schoengood and Moreland were reluctant to comment on when asked if the letters were prompted by an audit. Schoengood commented that such an audit was always a possibility, "given current attitudes in Washington toward public education." He added that an audit might seriously jeopardize the Graduate School's Title IV funding, including College Work-Study and Student Loans and that this was a factor in the decision to send these letters. But "this is nothing new," Schoengood argued. "We have been doing this on a smaller scale, warning students about lack of progress, for seven years. What's new is that we now have the computer facilities to generate information and these letters on a wide scale." This new computer facility is based on Oracle, a new database system used by the Administration which will soon be made available to the departments. "Our capacity to generate this information is a positive thing," Moreland stated. "In the past, students often did not even get to look at their Satisfactory Progress Report before it was signed off and sent to our office. Now at least the students know there is a problem and must meet with their E.O.'s to discuss it."

Schoengood and Moreland also asserted that the Administration, in particular the new President, Dr. Frances Degen Horowitz, was open to other ways of building a "mentoring relationship." Such alternatives would include more meetings between faculty and students about exam and proposal procedures and standards, as well as courses on the research process. Moreland also said that students could appeal to his office when they felt that their E.O.'s had unfairly refused to certify their progress. "I can set up an ad hoc appeals committee, composed of an E.O. from another department, and two faculty members, who do not know the student, from the student's department. I set up such appeals committees regularly for cases of failing grades and exams, etc.." Students have in the past expressed concern about how sensitive such committees

are, however. But Moreland also said that he proposed the appointment of an independent ombudsperson for all such appeals, including sexual harassment, early in the summer. He is awaiting final "technical" approval from 80th St. Such an ombudsperson "was appointed at Columbia University last month," reported Moreland. "The Graduate Council once appointed a faculty member for the position; but this postition was allowed to lapse."

Goldstein, admitted to The Advocate that there was an audit, "a short, fast one." He does not remember which agency conducted it, whether it was state or federal. This audit was applied "to schools throughout the local area, in New Jersey and upstate New York, as well as throughout CUNY, not just the Graduate Center." As a result of this audit, the agency felt that there was some "confusion" on the part of administrators as to how to apply these standards. Administrators were informed that they could not enforce satisfactory progress standards only against those receiving financial aid. While the standards themselves are a matter for the individual school to decide, the standards, "have to be applied universally, to all students," said Goldstein. Thus, to satisfy the auditors, it was not sufficient to inform a few students that their financial aid would be withdrawn if they did not achieve these standards. All students, whether they receive financial aid or no, would have to face the more universal sanction of being barred from registration. 

#### COMMENTARY:

Though the Graduate School administration's explanations and provisos will hopefully assuage students, they need to make good on their commitment to pursue means other than intimidation and the threat of suspension. Since the Federal Government leaves enforcement to each school, the Executive Council should consider revising these standards. The average duration for a social science doctoral degree at Columbia University, a fully funded private institution, is ten years. Why should the Graduate School require its students to complete their degrees in eight? Why should CUNY's grad students have to apply twice for a year's extension? With the new presidency, the Graduate School should try to live up to its rhetoric of good-will for the next six months, and certainly avoid the expulsion and forced withdrawal of approximately 33% of our student body.

Thomas Smith is a doctoral candidate in Political Science.

# D.S.C.

(Doctoral Students' Council)

## General Meeting

September 23

5:30 p.m. SC10

## AUTOMATED SYSTEM TO SPEED BOOK CHECKOUT

by Susan Newman

During the month of August the Mina Rees Library began barcoding ID cards of Graduate School students and books circulating on the CUNY+ system. No longer will library users find that the date due tag has peeled off the book; no longer will they have to write in their name, social security number and telephone number on the book card of each item they wish to borrow. The CUNY+ system assigns a barcode to each patron and a barcode to each item in the library collection. If your Graduate Center ID card has a Graduate Center Library barcode and if the book you wish to check out also has been barcoded, the checkout process will involve only a few flicks of a light pen and a minute of your time.


The key to speed is the presence of the barcode, so please come to the library to obtain your personal barcode on your ID card as soon as possible.

While many of the library's books have already been barcoded; many others have not. As it takes a few minutes to barcode a book and, as each book must now have a

barcode before it can be borrowed, it would be wise to bring books to the circulation desk at least 20 minutes before you plan to leave the library and at least 20 minutes before the library closes.

Using the CUNY+ online public access catalog (the computerized card catalog), you will now notice that books on reserve are so indicated on the screen. Bar-coded books which are taken out will be indicated as "in circulation". If you have a modem you could by accessing CUNY+, find out if the book have been taken out, and thus save a trip to the library to look for a book which is not on the shelf.

Additional benefits of the automated system will be: more timely recall notices for overdue items and the ability to check on which of books need to be renewed.

The staff of the Mina Rees Library hopes that you will find the new system helpful and the library easier to use. We also ask your forbearance while we barcode all our patrons and all our books. 

*Susan Newman, here since 1986, has recently been promoted to the position of Head Librarian.*

# BLACK STUDENT ALLIANCE

(formerly the Minority Students Association, MSA)

FIRST MEETING  
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13

5:30 PM

ROOM 06 OF THE STUDENT CENTER

FOOD, DRINK

NEW AND RETURNING STUDENTS WELCOME



## Around & About The Center

### Everything You've Always Wanted to Know About the DSC

...  
Michael Glassman

The question of who, or more appropriately what, the DSC is, runs through many minds at this time of the year. The trouble with names that are initials is that everybody tends to gloss over them. And the DSC gets lost in a haze of taking the MTA in NYC so that you can get a good GPA, or if not you can go visit an LPN and give her an SOS. Well the DSC stands for something, and what it stands for is Doctoral Students Council. Good, now that we've straightened that out, everybody's wondering what the Doctoral Students Council is; is it anything like a city council, is it a council of elders, what does it do? What it is supposed to do is serve students needs. Students have needs, many of them, but often times feel too isolated to recognize their's are student needs and not the result of some personal psychodrama. One of the biggest needs students at the Graduate Center have is to be with other students.

For times when students have problems the DSC can act as ombudsperson for the individual in distress. This is a role we hope to expand and take very seriously. It is important that members of the student body recognize us in this capacity. If students don't know to come to us when they have troubles then there is no way that we can represent them. If a student finds him/herself being treated unfairly, the victim of any type of harassment or prejudice, or is in any way placed at risk (either personally or academically) and these actions have been taken or precipitated by members of the Graduate Center community, then that individual should either come to the Doctoral

Students Council office on the basement mezzanine or get in touch with the DSC representative in his/her department.

The Doctoral Student Council will try and advise you as to your rights as students in this institution, the offices to which you could and/or should bring your complaints, and any ways in which you can protect your own interests in this situation. If we do not know the answer to a specific question, which is more than likely, we will try and contact the appropriate offices to find out. During this process your identity will be kept confidential if you so desire. If you decided to approach a school official about the problem (e.g., the Dean of Student Affairs), and you do not wish to go alone, then a member of the DSC steering committee will accompany you. The DSC is the student advocate, at the Graduate Center, in these situations and has no other agenda to follow than that of the students and is concerned with no other needs than those of the students.

The DSC serves other student needs as well. As already mentioned one of the biggest needs of students is to be with other students; it is our job to establish a sense of community here at the Graduate Center. This is not as easy as it may seem. The environmental set-up of the building, the fact that so many students must work many hours to support themselves in the pursuit of their degree, and the lack of natural and/or designated areas where students can congregate and socialize work together to isolate students from each other. The sad thing about this is the only people in the

world who are going through what students at the Graduate Center are going through are other students at the Graduate Center. That is why the DSC is committed to creating situations and environments where students can come together and feel part of a whole. We hope to have a number of center-wide parties this year, smaller "pub-hours" where students can get together and chat over a beer, a film series, and if possible a softball league. But it won't do any good unless you, the students, get involved! ☺

#### An Advocate Announcement

### CUNY Grad Students Must Be Given CUNY Adjunct Positions

If you are unable to find an adjunct position at a CUNY undergraduate campus you should know that adjunct positions at CUNY must go to CUNY graduate students on a first priority basis. A legal agreement signed by the CUNY Council of Presidents states that adjunct appointments on the senior college campuses must be given to doctoral students of The City University over doctoral students from other universities. This decision was passed in 1977 and then restated and reaffirmed in 1982.

If you know of an instance in which a non-CUNY graduate student has been hired instead of a CUNY graduate student, contact our Provost Geoffrey Marshall at 642-2101. Our Provost must contact the Provost at the college in question to remind him or her of this decision of the Council of Presidents. ☺

### Scribner

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A fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dr. Scribner was a member of the editorial boards of several professional journals including the *Journal of Applied Psychology* and *Ethos*. Her professional affiliations included membership in the American Psychological Association and New York Psychologists for Social Responsibility.

Prior to joining the developmental psychology faculty of the CUNY Graduate School in 1981, Professor Scribner was a research scientist at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. She was the associate director of the National Institute of Education from 1978 to 1979 and senior research associate at the Rockefeller University from 1970 to 1978. She began her career in 1945 as the research director and an organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, in Newark, NJ, a position she held for 14 years.

Dr. Scribner attended Smith College on a full scholarship and graduated valedictorian in 1944. She earned a Ph.D. in Cognitive Psychology from the New School for Social Research in 1970.

Dr. Scribner was married to David Scribner, a distinguished labor and civil-rights attorney who died April 10, 1991. She is survived by her son Oliver Scribner of Vancouver, Canada; her daughter Aggie Kapelman of Manhattan; her niece Barbara Buehring of Seaford, NY; two grandsons, Alex and Scott; and her husband's daughters from a previous marriage, Tom Scribner of St. James, NY, Wendy Scribner of Manhattan, and Nancy Jaslow of Abington, Pennsylvania. ☺

### If You Can't Take a Strike,

### Stay Out of the Kitchen

...  
Tom Burgess

The firm that manages our cafeteria, Restaurant Associates, summarily discharged over 60 employees from the staff of their 8 United Nations concessions this past August. These employees had joined Local 100 and were on strike seeking recognition of that local as their union and bargaining agent.

Restaurant Associates (RA) is well known at CUNY as the operator of the GSUC cafeteria on the 18th floor. The firm operates restaurants such as the Four Seasons and cafeterias at places such as the Ford Foundation.

*Newsday* reported that Mayor Dinkins' liaison to the UN, Paul O'Dwyer, wrote UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, "I cannot believe that representatives of nations who so firmly believe in the principles and purpose of the United Nations... would approve of what is happening in their dining areas."

In an interview with *Newsday* O'Dwyer commented: I have been a union lawyer and with unions all my life. I find it unusual for people to be thrown out in the street and told, "You can't come back." Scabs are scabs." (8/13/91 p.32)

Taking a hard line against employees is not unique to RA's operation at the UN. These employers chose not to pay their workers for time lost during the student strike of last spring, despite the fact that affected CUNY employees collected all or partial pay.

This tactic by management violated an agreement with the Student Strike Committee, who had allowed two RA managers to enter the occupied building for over two hours to obtain payroll records. Committee representatives had previously allowed RA to remove perishable foods. The Strike Committee was able to raise some funds to partially compensate these workers. Unfortunately, many of these same employees have since been laid off.

Lack of strike pay to some workers while others in the same workplace are compensated seems to violate the spirit of RA's contract with CUNY requiring them to meet prevailing wage standards for similar work.

Lack of union representation guarantees that abuses of labor continue. At the UN, the right of workers to negotiate with bosses has been denied by RA. The final coercion is termination.

Readers interested in bridging the gap between academia and labor are invited to contact Vinnie Tirelli, (718) 846-8626. He and other graduate students are organizing a number of forums here on contemporary organized labor. ☺

### Announcement

*The Organization for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Concerns*

### Party!

Friday September 20th, 6:00 p.m.  
in the Grace Building, Room 4048

Meeting and Election of Officers  
Friday, September 27th, 6:00 p.m.

### COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL STUDIES

GENERAL MEETING  
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20  
11 A.M. ROOM 800  
GRADUATE CENTER

## Editorial

## The Board Invokes Financial Exigency — What Next?

On July 2nd *New York Newsday* revealed that the continued operation of New York City Technical College was in jeopardy "because the city and state budgets excluded \$19 million for the college's 42 associate degree programs." On July 3rd the administration of New York City Tech stated that the budget reduction would bring about the elimination of 31 of 42 academic programs, and the loss of 4,500 of the 11,000 students. A spokesperson for NYCT stated to the Advocate that the school would be effectively closed. In the days that followed, the CUNY administration at 80th St. admitted that several associate degree programs at John Jay college were also threatened. Their press release states that 4 "essential associate degree programs" would be eliminated. As a consequence, 2,000 CUNY students would have to find another school.

The funding for these programs was previously paid for by New York State though its officials always insisted that New York City must pay the community college budget as part of its open admissions policy. When the state government refused to make the payment this year, after a Spring of loud student protest, they effectively forced New York City to either make the payment or take responsibility for the demise of one its institutions and several important academic programs.

The editors of *The Advocate* believe that the CUNY Board of Trustees reinforced the state government's reactionary and destructive financial tactics when the Board voted on August 1 to declare financial exigency at both New York Tech and John Jay. After all, 10 of the 17 trustees were appointed by our not-so liberal and anti-education governor, Mario Cuomo.

Never mind the political implications, the declaration of financial exigency sends a very real chill down the spines of all CUNY employees, whether clerical aides, students, or professors. With the declaration in effect the colleges concerned must submit a plan for retrenchment, that is the "orderly" firing of tenured professors and unionized staff. The Board and 80th St. administration can make college-wide cuts, or simply close down separate depart-

ments. Clearly students are effected when they are left with diminished services and possibly without an academic program. Financial exigency is, then, CUNY's version of martial law, where tenure, job security and union rights, and a student's right to due process are irrelevant. This is the law and logic of austerity.

Fortunately, AT&T was forced by the city to refund a tax abatement, for its 550 Madison headquarters, "because it rented part of the space to Sony." (*NYT* 8/13/91) (The AT&T tax abatement is an unintended example of the pro-wealth/anti-community financial policies of Ed Koch and David Dinkins — our budget cuts are a result of tax cuts to corporations and the wealthy). In the following weeks various state fiscal officials and even our own comptroller Liz Holtzman criticized the city's stop-gap remedy. Meanwhile, the state Division of Budget tried to indirectly negate this transfer of funds and again threaten the community colleges, thus open admissions, by invoking a maintenance of effort rule. According to *New York Newsday* (8/23/91), "To qualify for the state funds, a community college must get as much money from its local sponsor — in this case New York City — as it did the previous year." As we know, the city is unable to match the state's funding.

If the results are so disastrous, why would the Board declare financial exigency? When *The Advocate* asked this question their representatives at 80th St. argued that the Board had no choice, that CUNY is the victim of city/state politics. We do not agree. First, even if the city did not pay for the programs at New York City Tech and John Jay, the financial loss should be absorbed by all of the CUNY schools. Second, as *The New York Times* noted in their 8/13 report, the City and Board knew about this particular financial threat last year. Why did the the Board and their chancellor, W. Ann Reynolds, leave this matter simmering until the last minute when financial exigency was the only recourse? Are we to believe that these people are politically helpless administrators or are better seen as slashers for austerity?

Some argue that the Board's declaration was good "political hardball", a tactical gambit, and a masterstroke. If this is indeed the case then we are ruled by a committee of malicious cynics, for if retrenchment were to take place hundreds of

## Letters &amp; Commentary

## Occupation Paranoia Redux

To the Editor:

Mark Goldblatt's letter on the student occupation of the Graduate Center ["The Drive of Marxist Zeal", *Advocate*, Summer '91], in which I was castigated as a fanatical Marxist bully, is almost a textbook case of neo-conservative irrationality. Although Goldblatt claims to be a supporter of affordable public education, he completely sidesteps the issue to denounce the occupiers by playing on a familiar (McCarthyite) theme: "No, the current occupation of the Graduate Center is not a Marxist plot", he assures his readers (phew!)...However, his entire diatribe degenerates into supporting precisely this absurd, conspiratorial thesis. His "argument" is supplemented by the sort of "pop psychology" one might expect to hear on the *Geraldo* show. Goldblatt characterizes all of the student occupiers (without substantiating his claims) as "people of diverse backgrounds [who]...unless I am very mistaken, [share] a single ideology: each one considers himself or herself a Marxist."

Who the hell does this piss-artist think he is, to presume that he can speak on behalf of others? He seems completely oblivious of the authoritarianism underlying this arrogant form of objectification. Goldblatt's fantastic comparison of the

*continues on p. 12*

employees would lose their jobs, and students would lose their education. Yet, given that the Board is not responsible to the citizens of New York City, this collection of men and women would remain in power, and hold their monthly meetings, unperturbed by the pained cries of the constituency they unfortunately govern. ☹

Andrew Long, Tara McGann, Michael Waldron

**The Advocate welcomes letters. Please include your telephone number for verification.**

**All letters are subject to editing for clarity and space requirements. Letters should be brief (c. 250 words)**

## Liberals for Choice

To the Editor:

As a pro-lifer of generally conservative political disposition, I find utterly hypocritical the pro-choice stance of many self-professed liberals. The contradictions of this posturing would border on comical were its consequences not so tragic; the slaughter of four thousand innocent babies daily. In many rhetorical diatribes liberals allege to be the champions of the voiceless, the advocates of reason and science over religious mysticism, and the proponents of egalitarianism. A careful examining of the reality of abortion reveals the pro-choice rhetoric as masking the very mysticism, slavery, and elitism that liberals claim to vehemently oppose. The belief that somehow life begins at birth is more mystical than any Catholic Church dogma, devoid of biological basis, and solely a product of convenience over reasoning. The biological reality of abortion is the stopping of a heartbeat. Those who claim the woman sovereign over her body obviously don't appreciate the logical conclusions derived from their sentiments. If a woman's body is really her exclusive, personal property then by implication these proponents would have to advocate the legalization of prostitution upon these same grounds. After all, if her body is her property this would logically include her right to sell it if she so desired. The my body, my choice mentality could just as easily be applied to substance-abuse, self-mutilation, and even suicide. Slavery is the belief that one person may own another as property. The concept that the woman owns the life of the fetus while it resides in her womb is nothing more than geographic slavery, its essence indistinct from slavery upon racial or religious grounds. Moreover, the absurd contention that the right to life extends only to those who have successfully managed to escape from the womb is the most irrational elitist doctrine ever conceived. In short, when the political rhetoric is removed and the reality of abortion scrutinized, the pro-choice position stands in direct opposition to everything liberals purport to believe in.

Stephen Clare, M.A. program in Political Science.

## 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 if possible. The editors reserve the right to refuse and edit all submissions.

for further information.

Call 642-2852 or visit our office in room SC18

## Advertise in The Advocate!!

Fees are:

\$50 per quarter page for out-of-house advertisers

\$40 per quarter page for in-house fee-collecting advertisers

All Graduate Center student groups, and offices which provide free services to students may place a quarter page advertisement, notice, or announcement free of charge in each issue of *The Advocate*.

## The Graduate Student Advocate

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The opinions expressed in *The Graduate Student Advocate* are those of the individual contributors and in no way reflect the opinions of the Doctoral Students' Council, its officials or its representatives.



In the early morning hours before dawn on Monday April 8, 1991 a group of about 35 students at the City College of New York (CCNY) prepared a surprise for the roughly 60,000 students, faculty and staff who were returning from spring recess. They silently went through the New Academic Complex (NAC) building, a huge mall like structure that houses over 80% of CCNY's classes, put glue in locks, chained doors shut, seized offices, telephones, and other communications equipment, blocked off the underground entry tunnels that were shown in the building blueprints they had obtained, called up the local Pacifica radio station WBAI and declared the university liberated. For most of the students who arrived that Monday morning a campus occupation was no surprise, virtually everyone knew it would happen, the question was when.

Every year for the past three years the governor's proposed budget has called for more and more drastic cuts to the City University of New York (CUNY). Every year there have been attempts to raise the tuition and roll back the open admissions policy that guaranteed every New York City high school graduate the right to attend college. Every year there has been a struggle that started with lobbying and demonstrations and ended with rebellion and campus occupation. In jest, people refer to this tradition as the CUNY rites of spring.

This year the proposed cuts were qualitatively more brutal than ever before: \$92 million in cuts (over 10% of the operating budget); a \$500 tuition hike which was to be added to the \$200 tuition hike that had been summarily imposed between semesters, coupled with a \$400 reduction in state aid, affecting approximately 50,000 students, mostly people of color; the elimination of virtually all state scholarships; and an end to open admissions.

For many of the 250,000 students who attend classes at the 21 CUNY campuses, a CUNY education is their only ticket out of dead end minimum wage jobs. Many of the students are recent immigrants, over half have family incomes below \$20,000 a year, quite a few are homeless, and a large majority are people of color who have had educational opportunities systematically denied to them at

## Reflections on the Fightback of '91

• Anthony Marcus •

every level of the public education system. Between higher priced tuition and a move towards new entrance requirements that project eventually only 20% of New York high school graduates being eligible for admission to CUNY, vast numbers of working class New Yorkers will be permanently shut out of higher education.

With changes like these in the works since February many activists on campuses around the city spent the winter and spring feverishly trying to build a fightback to save our university. Letter writing campaigns were initiated, teach-ins were held, lobbying trips made, culminating in a notorious maelstrom at the state capital on March 19th in which Black and Latino student caucuses rioted in response to the governor's silence. Furniture was smashed, the governor's offices were overrun, and students squared off against riot police after using desks as battering rams to attempt entry into the governor's private office.

For most of the 250,000 CUNY students, however, a kind of paralyzing desperation set in. With budget cuts, layoffs, givebacks, and all the other forms of austerity being imposed at every level, there was a feeling that little could be done to save CUNY. With the university being rapidly dismantled, most students were more worried about finishing up than fighting. Between the defeats of the previous three years and the fact that a 2 year wait is often necessary to take courses required to graduate, most students felt pretty beaten down and helpless. It was in this climate of desperation where CUNY wide rallies were drawing fewer than 100 people that activists decided to take buildings.

Campus occupations had won open admissions in

1969, enabling thousands of Black and Latino students to enter the then mostly white CUNY system; occupations had touched off the CUNY wide rebellion of 1989 that brought 20,000 students into the streets in an all-day 6 mile march that disrupted business as usual all over downtown and midtown Manhattan, and helped win a withdrawal of tuition hikes and put the brakes on \$18 million dollars of proposed budget cuts. It is unlikely that anyone expected that level of support this year, with the low level of struggle, hope, and consciousness present, but our education was being stolen out from under us and something had to be done.

CCNY was the first school occupied. This was also the case for the occupations of 1969, 1975, 1978, 1989, and 1990. CCNY, is located in the predominantly African-American and Latino neighborhood of Harlem and has always been able to count on heavy support for its struggles from community activists, merchants, local churches, and neighborhood residents. It is a neighborhood school with many radical students organized into radical campus clubs and ethnic societies with strong social bases in the community. Once an occupation has started at CCNY, students on other campuses know that they can count on help and protection in their attempts to seize their own campuses.

This year was no exception. With a leadership that was predominantly African-American and Latino, the occupation of CCNY drew on the support of a wide variety of political and social groups such as the Dominican Communist party, the Black Consciousness Movement, the Young Communist League, the Puerto Rican Independence movement, the Ecuadorian Student's club, and many other ethnic and political organizations from New York City and other parts of Latin America.

This April, when students showed up to find the NAC building closed, a sound system blasting Reggae music onto campus, and occupying students peering out between gaps in newspaper covered windows, there seemed to be heavy support for the efforts of those inside the buildings.

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### Grace Coffee Shop & Delicatessen Just across from the Graduate Center on 43rd St.

#### Specials

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
<b>Soup:</b> Yankee Bean, Chicken Noodle, Cream of Mushroom	<b>Soup:</b> Beef Barley, Chicken Rice, Cream of Spinach	<b>Soup:</b> Lentil, Chicken Noodle, Cream of Broccoli	<b>Soup:</b> Split Pea, Chicken Noodle, Cream of Turkey	<b>Soup:</b> Clam Chowder, Chicken Rice, Cream of Broccoli
<b>Entrees:</b> Beef Stew w/ potato, vegetable, soup or salad (\$5.25); Macaroni & Cheese w/soup or salad (\$4.95); Linguini with Meat Sauce w/soup or salad (\$4.95); B.B.Q. Chicken w/potato, vegetable, soup or salad (\$4.95); Spinach Pie w/ soup or salad (\$4.95)	<b>Entrees:</b> Beef Goulash & Noodles w/soup or salad (\$5.95); Lasagna w/soup or salad (\$4.95); Cheese Manicotti w/soup or salad (\$4.95); Roast Chicken w/potato, vegetable, soup or salad (\$4.95); Spinach Pie w/soup or salad (\$4.95)	<b>Entrees:</b> Roast Turkey w/potato, vegetable, soup or salad (\$5.95); Baked Ziti w/soup or salad (\$4.95); Greek Pastichio w/soup or salad (\$4.95); Chicken Francese with Rice w/ soup or salad (\$5.25); Spinach Pie w/soup or salad (\$4.95)	<b>Entrees:</b> Stuffed Peppers with chopped meat w/soup or salad (\$4.95); Meatloaf w/potato, vegetable, soup or salad (\$4.95); Macaroni & Cheese w/soup or salad (\$4.95); Chicken with Scampi Sauce w/potato, vegetable, soup or salad (\$5.25); Spinach Pie w/ soup or salad (\$4.95)	<b>Entrees:</b> Lasagna w/ soup or salad (\$4.95); Fried Filet w/potato, vegetable, soup or salad (\$6.25); Baked Ziti w/ soup or salad (\$4.95); Fish Cakes with Spaghetti w/soup or salad (\$4.95); Spinach Pie w/ soup or salad (\$4.95)
<b>Sandwiches:</b> Tuna on Pita w/tomato and french fries (\$4.50); Chicken on a Bun Deluxe w/lettuce, tomato & french fries (\$4.50); Ham & Cheese on Pita w/tomato and french fries (\$4.95)	<b>Sandwiches:</b> Chicken Salad on Pita w/tomato and french fries (\$4.50); Sliced Beef on a Bun w/ tomato and french fries (\$4.95); American Cheese on Pita w/tomato and french fries (\$4.25)	<b>Sandwiches:</b> Burger Deluxe (\$4.95); Grilled Cheese Deluxe (\$4.25); Tuna on Pita w/tomato and french fries (\$4.50)	<b>Sandwiches:</b> Meatloaf Sandwich w/french fries (\$4.25); Cheese Omelette w/tomato and french fries (\$4.25); Bacon Lettuce and Tomato w/french fries (\$4.25)	<b>Sandwiches:</b> Fried Filet on Bun w/lettuce, tomato & french fries (\$4.95); Shrimp Salad on Pita w/ tomato and french fries (\$4.75); Western Omelette w/toast & french fries (\$4.25)

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ergy, human talent here. I especially like coming back to CUNY, which represents what a public university can mean to a city.

A: You just alluded to your husband. I know that he is an academic as well. He will be teaching at Hunter?

H: He is a professor of English. And he is also a writer and an artist. He is very creative.

A: You have an established reputation as a child psychologist. Could you briefly speak about your particular interests?

H: Well, I have been interested in a number of things. My empirical research has been on early infant behaviour and development, perception, cognition, but then I have also had an interest in the theory of development. I hope to continue in this area.

A: Do you foresee affiliations with our developmental psychology program? My experience with Harold Proshansky is that he needed to be in the class room. This job [the presidency] can be so burdensome. But I think presidents of the Graduate school keep a certain fresh outlook when they continue to teach. And you also probably have an active interest in doing further research work.

H: Well, until coming here I have always taught. I've taught developmental theory for the last 6 or 7 years. What I am going to be able to do here, I don't know. For the first semester I won't do any teaching. But I hope people will invite me as a guest lecturer. I love to teach. And there is a little trepidation associated with this job, but you don't get away from the fact that if you do that, then you lose touch.

A: How and why did you become an academic administrator?

H: Well, this is a typical feminine answer. It was by accident. But it really was by accident. We went to Kansas [University]. There was a nepotism rule there. My husband had a job and I went along and someone gave me a grant for a research center and I also got a post-doctoral fellowship. In the meantime they changed the nepotism rule so that both members of the family could be employed. And exactly at that time the university decided that the Home Economics department would evolve into something else. The Dean called me in and said, "What would you do with this department?" They had a preschool, a university preschool, and I outlined for him what was ultimately a developmental psychology curriculum. He liked the idea and asked, "Would you take the acting chair?" This is before affirmative action, searches and procedures. When I accepted, he said that the department had a problem of distribution. About half the faculty were women who were about to retire and the other half were young women who were there while their husbands were

in graduate school and they were going to leave. We sat down and asked each other "What kind of department should we make?" It was an incomparable opportunity. I don't know any other person who had such an experience at a very young age. I became a chairman which I remained for 10 years. I recruited colleagues for one of the most unusual and interesting and non-traditional departments in the country. Then I was asked to go on into the

ence is that if you go for change that is radical and "revolutionary" it very often does not last. But if you go for change that evolves and brings along as many people as possible, then what you create lasts longer. And I will give you an example. The Developmental Psychology department [at K.U.] is a non traditional Ph.D. program, and ten years after I was chairman of the department the whole spirit of the department is still there. What we created together did not require my official presence. That is what I would like to accomplish.

A: We know that your style involves a kind of group process. As president of the CUNY Graduate School you actually are invested with a great deal of authority. Specifically with regard to the appointment of executive officers, do you see that as a comfortable situation, to have that kind of authority? Do you see the possibility for change whereby faculty and students elect an executive officer? [Currently the President appoints Executive Officers.]

H: Well, I don't know the situation, I don't know the dynamics. You can have authority and then the question is how you exercise that authority. You may have the authority to appoint. Do you exercise that authority independent of any information or do you exercise this authority with an intelligent partner?

A: The reason I ask is because we asked Chancellor Reynolds the same question. It [the election of EOs] requires a revision of the Graduate Center bylaws. And given the way power works, and I am sure you have a feel for it, the time for change would be with a change of leadership. Some departments, perhaps, would trust a more democratic procedure, others would be afraid. I think partly this desire to go outside CUNY for Executive Officers was also a desire to bring in new central appointments. What you have at the Graduate Center is a borrowed faculty. If you bring in new central appointments that means that there are less classes to teach for those people who are released from the CUNY colleges [the doctoral faculty].

H: Well, I just have to become more familiar with the whole situation.

A: What do you feel are the strengths of the Graduate Center? Are there any changes you hope to make in the future?

H: Well, what I know about the Graduate School is its reputation, its faculty. It has a superb and nationally recognized faculty in a lot of areas. And the other thing I know, that is attractive to me, is that it is a consortium arrangement that allows one to draw on a fairly large school. As to changes, inevitably, there will be some. It's probably too late to discuss them now, but they will be made, talking in consultation. So, I don't know what specific changes will be made. **Look for Part II in the October Advocate.**

## Interview with Frances Degen Horowitz

from page 1



College Deans office for three years. I did not care for that because as an associate Dean you can't assert any leadership. So, I was going to leave when by chance the position of Vice-Chancellor for Research and Graduate Studies became open and I was asked to fill it.

A: I have heard a number of good things about you from people on the search committee. Do you have a special style of working with people? You mentioned that Associate Deans don't get to assert their leadership. What style of leadership do you see yourself providing?

H: You know, someone else is better able to describe my style than I am. Flexible maybe. I like to listen to people. I don't feel comfortable doing too much talking. I believe in trying to identify themes and core ideas. I think if I have any skill, it is looking for consensus, that is also part of a vision. You don't just settle for mediocrity, which sometimes is what consensus can give you. You try to identify where you can find consensus that is leaning toward a vision, and developing that vision together. People who have visions all by themselves are called schizophrenics. If nobody buys into your vision, you are out there flailing your arms and you never will accomplish anything. So, I am for evolution. I am not a revolutionist but I am an evolutionist in terms of bringing about change. My experi-

## The CUNY Board of Trustees Votes for Tuition Increase

• Tara McGann •

Summary of the Action Taken at the Special Meeting of The Board of Trustees Held August 1, 1991.

With only one nay, the CUNY Board of Trustees voted to increase tuition by \$400 a year at their August 1 meeting. The student trustee, Jean LaMarre, President of the University Student Senate, also voted against the increase, though as an ex-officio member, his vote was not counted.

At this same meeting the Board declared financial exigency at John Jay and New York City Technical College. This meant that without restitution of a \$20 million dollar shortfall—the amount yearly funded to the Community Colleges that New York State had previously paid but now refused—these schools would be closed, students would have to go elsewhere to complete their degrees, and layoffs of faculty and staff would follow. Chancellor Ann Reynolds declared that it was with "a heavy heart" that she recommended financial exigency at John Jay and New York City Technical Colleges. At the end of August, however, money was restored to the two schools from monies which were available when AT&T lost their New York City tax abatement.

At the meeting college Presidents spoke of how the budget cuts have devastated their campuses over the past

year and enumerated the continued elimination of class sections, reductions of faculty and adjuncts, and cuts in services which would be necessary if budget shortfalls brought about by state cuts were not bridged through an increase in tuition. The revenue raised through the \$400 tuition increase will only cover half of the budget shortfall.

President Leon M. Goldstein of Kingsborough Community College said he was faced with the situation of "an education devoid of substance and support, in short a revolving door and a fraud." He continued, "It is important to remember that the cuts occur in the context of substantial reductions already sustained throughout the system over a period of years, and these have resulted in educational consequences that are in fact harrowing."

### Trustee Stanley Fink on the Undemocratic Structure of CUNY

"He [student Trustee Jean LaMarre] is the only person really democratically representing a group of people. All the rest of the Trustees have been appointed either by the Governor or the Mayor for reasons best known to the Governor or the Mayor."

Trustee Robert Picken commented in the course of the meeting how during the Reagan years the cost for public services were pushed onto the users; he added, "[CUNY's] mission cannot be achieved if the costs of the system are to be borne by those we seek to educate."

Trustee Gladys Carrion, Vice-Chair of the Student Affairs Committee, who cast the one dissenting vote, stated, "I think it's time to take a stand." Carrion added, "I really believe education is a right . . . it seems we've abandoned that." She commented, "We're just throwing this back onto the students. The commitment of this city, of this state to higher education, to quality higher education, I think that's the issue they [the Board] don't want to deal with." She concluded, "If we continue to function as a university with more limited resources and more limited resources, at some point . . ." her voice trailed off and she tossed her hands in the air with exasperation.

When *The Advocate* asked Rita Rodin, spokesperson for the university, whether the continued inadequate funding will force the closure of CUNY campuses she replied, "we're not talking about closing any schools, we're talking about not buying any more books for the library, about not hiring X number of faculty." *The Advocate* then asked if CUNY schools can continue to operate on an inadequate and non-sustainable budget. Rodin answered, "We're talking about an issue that is out of our hands."

In a most revealing statement, CUNY Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds explained that the increase was necessary to bring the university through the next year, and that the administration will be searching for ways to "create more economies for the University that will render this a leaner but very effective University." **Look for Part II in the October Advocate.**



• Anthony Marcus •

## Reflections on the Fightback of '91

from page 5

Nearly 1000 students spent the day sitting in front of the NAC building in support of occupiers. Other students helped take other buildings; the faculty, students, and Dean of Architecture seized their building; and the college president, Bernard Harleston, declared CCNY officially closed.

As students all over the CUNY system started seizing buildings on their campuses, it became clear that this was a movement that people were generally in sympathy with, in spite of the few anti-occupation students who were being interviewed by the media and paraded around by the Chancellor's office. The question lingered, however, what to do next. The many students who milled about outside of occupied buildings on the first day of an occupation had little idea of what they could do to support those inside the buildings. The students inside of buildings were not sure how they could use the support of those outside, and the question everyone inside and out was asking was where do we go from here; how do we win this?

Before any discussion could be generated, any answers could be reached, or any programs for mobilization implemented they found themselves smack up against a force they had never had to deal with in previous years. This force was the administration of the new Austerity Chancellor Ann Reynolds. An outsider who had been brought in by the state to gut CUNY, the way she had previously gutted the University of California system, Reynolds is a scabherder who specializes in administering the theft of working class people's right to an education. In 1989, when students had rebelled against the budget, the chancellor of CUNY was Joseph Murphy, a man who has always been portrayed as a soft hearted social democrat, a friend of the students, and an ethnic New Yorker who speaks Gaelic and Yiddish and has friends in the African-American community. Although Murphy did little to support the student struggles, as Chancellor he owed his allegiance more to those in the University whom he served, than to the state officials in Albany who paid his salary. He did nothing to impede the strikes. In fact the morning of the first occupations of April 1989 he was heard saying "this is great, maybe we will get more money for the university." Ann Reynolds has no friends in the CUNY system to whom she owes allegiance. She brings with her a vision of the CUNY system, not as a university paid for by New York's poor and working class where they can get a high quality education, but as an enterprise that she can make more profitable by excluding the people who pay for it, in the name of higher standards: "a better quality of students" (read more affluent, more white), greater prestige, and efficient management.

Reynolds reacted swiftly and immediately to subdue students and protect the state's austerity plans. She immediately suspended all those suspected of occupying the buildings and declared that this gave her the right to bring in the police and have them arrested for trespassing. She made a public demand that Mayor Dinkins bring in an army of police to clear out occupying students. Dinkins refused, probably in fear of a general rebellion and possible riots at CCNY and in the surrounding neighborhood, but allowed for limited police actions at weaker occupations where students were forced to battle police on their own campuses. She initiated a campaign to create a climate of fear and dissension among the students. Students who were opposed to the strike were paraded before the media; she threatened to cancel the semester and give no refunds; she refused to talk to students; and paved the way for use for university resources to be used to mount counter-demonstrations (all very small and ineffectual). Students faced a situation in which they not only had no university protection from the wrath of the state, but were under siege from their own administrations and elements of their own community.

Little outreach was possible in this kind of situation. Students inside buildings became more and more embattled and isolated. They were forced to increasingly view their situation in military terms: how to hold buildings, and had less and less ability to make political decisions. Their backs were against the wall and as the occupations dragged on support even started to dwindle at

CCNY, where people became discouraged and had no sense that any part of the battle was winnable. Many people observed that these tuition hikes would go through no matter what and that this would probably be the last time in their lives that they could attend college, and now even this semester was being denied to them. In spite of a moderately successful demonstration, in which about 5,000 students marched for three hours in lower Manhattan, the occupations were degenerating into a few (sometimes less than 10 to a campus) hardcore occupationists and the people who were bringing them supplies, trying to shame the state into giving back \$92 million, by holding aging real estate.

At the Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) a vocationally oriented commuter school of 17,000 students located in the New York City financial district, a two week occupation ended in a horrendous defeat and raised many questions that student activists will have to deal with next time. A school located in an area where no students live makes gaining outreach and student support difficult. When students seized the campus a sign was put up by the administration proclaiming BMCC closed and encouraging students to go home. The fact that students allowed this sign to remain with nothing to contradict it seems like a definite tactical error, but it is unclear what these students could have done to garner support, even if the sign had encouraged students to stay.

The problem of support and outreach was so serious at BMCC that CCNY and CUNY coalition forces had to organize rallies and send them down to BMCC, because the students there had been unable to mount any campus based rallies. In an heroic show of solidarity between students at schools from different ends of the socio-economic spectrum, the very radical and activist Barnard/Columbia anti-war coalition organized support teams for the BMCC occupation. But none of this essential support was enough to change the balance of forces at BMCC. The occupying students were such a small group on campus and had such a small social base that they were unfortunately routed out by counter demonstrators.

The administration organized about 200 largely female student nurses, by exploiting and manipulating their very legitimate fears that if the school remained occupied, their nursing certifications would be delayed, preventing them from getting jobs in the spring or keeping them at uncanceled salaries until the fall. These nurses who were led by their professors and administrators and followed by Ann Reynolds stormed the building and ended the occupation. Chancellor Reynolds, who was present for the photo-op within minutes of the "reopening", proclaimed it a triumphant day for women and said "this makes me proud to be a woman."

Soon afterwards, when they realized they had been grossly used, many of these same nurses made a public apology to the strike committee. The damage had, however, been done to the BMCC movement which was finally pressured into capitulation. But the events at BMCC point to the larger question of how well connected these occupations were to the mass of students and how the level of outreach and education could have been so low and the number of visible, active supporters so small that administrations could organize students against students. Confrontations between students organized by the administration and occupiers also occurred at Hunter College, The Graduate Center, New York City Tech.

The occupation at The Graduate Center provides a counter example of how occupation can be used to build support. Located in an office building in midtown, an area where even fewer people live than the financial district, The Graduate Center has no undergraduate students and has shown little support for student struggles in the past. In fact, it has been argued that tuition hikes are to the short term advantage of students at the Grad Center, because this means more money to hire them as adjunct professors; and, as such, many favor Reynolds' policies.

Occupiers at the Grad Center correctly perceived the hostile environment they would be in if they seized the building. In response to this they decided to hold a daily plebiscite on whether or not to continue occupation. Every

afternoon for an hour and a half arguments were heard at large public meetings (200-400 at possibly the smallest school in the system) culminating in a vote. In spite of many students' attacks on the occupation and administration attempts to organize an opposition and pack the meetings each vote was won by large majorities. As the opposition became more vocal, attempted a violent entry into the building which was easily repelled, carried more votes at the plebiscite, and seemed to be right that nothing was moving forward by occupation, the strike committee, which had swelled from only 14 to over 60, with more than a hundred people passing through it during the strike, decided to negotiate with the administration, before they lost control of the moment. A pledge of no disciplinary action was won from the administration as well as an office with supplies for the continuation of the struggle, a statement against the cuts, an agreement to negotiate several local issues, and a commitment to aid students in their fight was also wrested from our administration.

Strikers walked out of the building only twenty-four hours after having been given a large vote of support. The fact that the occupation began with a rag tag group of maybe 14 and ended with a strong and well organized group in place left activists feeling that they had won a small tactical victory on their campus.

Putting aside, for a moment, the disaster at BMCC, the mere existence of confrontations, of this sort with small groups of counterdemonstrators, in a struggle in which virtually everyone supports the goals of the strikers and most people initially seemed sympathetic to the tactic of occupation, shows the degree to which a militant core of activists is not enough in the hostile environment of today's assault on our social wage by the capitalist class and their brutal state lackeys.

As the economic crisis has gotten worse in the last 15 years it has become harder and harder to win even small victories. Such commonplace rights as a free education, which existed for over 130 years in New York City are now perceived as unrealistic and revolutionary. As the economy tightens further, even the right to protest will become less safe, in a time when homeless people are herded from place to place and never allowed to rest, city police are used to break strikes and campus protests, and the Chancellor of this public university wants to cut her own budget there are no safe places to mount fightbacks from — not even universities.

If working people are going to put the breaks on these attacks on the social wage we have to create safe places from which to launch our struggles. The way to do this is to win battles for control of our local situations and create broad alliances involving huge numbers of people. It seems unlikely that occupations will be used again at CUNY for some time. However if that time comes, we must make sure that students in large numbers are organized and actively involved, not just passive supporters milling about in front of buildings unable to enter and not sure what they could do even if they could get in. This requires clear political goals, mass education, and tactics that involve everyone, not just those committed to sacrifice for the cause. An occupation should be a tactic for building a strong student movement or using the strength it already has and not either an end in itself or a way of using buildings as another electoral strategy to lobby legislators. There are no short cuts to building a movement.

This year's occupations were desperate actions by activists who knew from hard experience that there was no time to build a movement against the most drastic cuts in CUNY's history. They tried to do something when there was very little left to do. They did not, however, totally fail. During the occupations they managed to not only mobilize 5,000 students for a march on downtown Manhattan, but they were also able to bring out nearly 4,000 students to the April 30th city wide union rally against budget cuts. This turnout for the union rally, combined with the close relationship that occupiers still have with Dennis Rivera of local 1199 New York healthcare workers (as well as the pro-CUNY Majority Coalition) and attempts to reach out to some of the large municipal unions during the occupations may point to a new era of student, labor, community alliances. These fledgling labor ties were, unfortunately mostly with progressive labor bureaucrats, but that may change as students and workers realize how much they need a broader base for struggle and as the heat gets turned up by an increasingly penurious and in-

continues on p. 12

## Around & About The Center

### Empowering Cronies

by George McClintock III

There is no doubt that CUNY graduate students need a newspaper that consistently reports both the activities and the opinions of their essentially diverse community, as well as investigates and exposes incidents of academic and/or bureaucratic abuse at the Graduate School. As it happens in bureaucracies, CUNY graduate students sometimes "fall (or are pushed) through the cracks." And like their counterparts all over the country, CUNY graduate students also need a forum where they may publish that first article or book review.

Dream on. During the Spring 1991 occupation, The Graduate Student Advocate, whose editors participated in the 10-day political melodrama, failed to report events with objectivity, and censured 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. Instead, the newspaper, ever a stalwart voice against Education Governor Cuomo's tuition hikes and the CUNY administration's real or imagined rightwing affiliations, published an editorial supporting an increase of the student activity fee—\$8.35 per student per semester paid to its publisher, the Doctoral Students' Council. Apparently the DSC budget of \$60,000, a sum that the editorial neglected to report, is not enough:

*"The poor quality of student life at the Graduate School is in large part due to the insufficient funds at the DSC's disposal. The student government simply cannot afford more community building activities, much less other important services such as, say, legal counsel for sexual harassment cases, or a much needed student ombudsperson program."*

Although the Advocate has yet to conduct a poll concerning the quality of student life at the Graduate School, even if we assume that the editors' debatable diagnosis is correct, their cure for our malady is not well taken. First, the DSC already spends almost \$50,000 on "community building activities." Based on the 1990-1991 budget, the DSC allots: \$9,500 to the Advocate; \$2 per student per semester to each program, or \$150 to programs of limited enrollment, totaling \$11,000 for colloquia and parties; \$250 per semester to each student organization properly chartered and approved, totaling \$6,000 for conferences, newsletters and parties; \$3,300 for DSC parties; \$2,500 for "cultural affairs"; \$2,500 for a discount at the photocopy service in the New York Public Library; \$5,000 for student travel and research expenses, or \$200 or less per applicant. The DSC also has an elections fund of \$1,110 and a capital expenditures fund of \$2,000. Other budget allotments total \$5,950. \$0.85 per student is allotted to the University Student Senate. At the start of academic year 1990-1991, the DSC had an off-budget Certificate of Deposit, worth \$20,000.

Second, the DSC already provides for a "student ombudsperson program," with an allotment of \$11,640. This program is called the DSC executive and steering committees. In principle, according to the Student Handbook, "The DSC Co-Chairs serve as ombudspersons for students, providing information and assistance as requested. This includes guidance and refer-

ral in grievance matters." The co-chair for Business Affairs is responsible for budget allocations and works with the Business Office. The co-chair for Student Affairs acts as the DSC liaison officer with the administration. The co-chair for Communications sits on the Media Board. The three DSC co-chairs are each paid \$5,000 to act as ombudspersons, and are expected to keep 10-20 office hours per week. In years past, the DSC paid the \$5,000 stipends directly from the DSC budget, thus violating the \$2,200 limit mandated by the Board of Trustees for student government officials. According to the 1990-1991 budget, "Co-chairs' stipends have been reduced by \$2,800 in order to conform with Board policy." Nevertheless, the Graduate School administration assured the DSC that "future co-chairs will be compensated the additional amount through the university." According to the Student Handbook, DSC officials also serve as "lobbyists for graduate student interests at the Board of Trustees, University Student Senate, New

In "Empowering Cronies," George McClintock III opposes an increase in the student activities fee for several reasons. I first wish to address and examine one of his claims. Mr. McClintock asserts:

*"Students must pay the DSC tax whether or not they know about the NYPL discount or the travel fund for conferences, whether or not they belong to a chartered student organization, whether or not they attend DSC parties. [...] In contrast, the combined membership of the DSC chartered student organizations represents only about 10% of the student population. [...] There is also no reason why students should support a fee increase for the sake of a tiny coterie on the DSC."*

This somewhat subtle attack on the Graduate Center's student organizations merits some attention. A partial listing of student organizations reveals what is at stake in Mr. McClintock's criticism: International Students Organization, Organization for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Concerns, Feminist Students Organization, Black Students Alliance, Democratic Socialists, Cultural Studies, Coalicion de Estudiantes Latinos y Latino-Americanos, Korean Students Association, Students for Educational Rights. In short, many student organizations serve to empower traditionally disempowered and oppressed communities and to strengthen community bonds. Some promote progressive activism and non-traditional fields of study.

"Empowering Cronies" was originally distributed under the banner ETCETERAS, the title of an independent newspaper Mr. McClintock published after the student strike, a newspaper containing, for the most part, articles against the strike. Mr. McClintock's comments, I fear, must be analysed in the context of a growing trend on American campuses. Recently, numerous independent, right-wing newspapers have sprung up on campuses around the country. These student papers are

York State Assembly, the Mayor's Office, and with the Graduate Center Administration." The DSC budget includes a \$2,000 travel fund for these activities. The co-chairs preside over the steering committee, whose six members each receive a yearly stipend of \$840 for attending weekly meetings. DSC representatives, whether or not they attend the monthly general assembly, are not compensated for their service. DSC officials, whether or not they keep their office hours and hold their committee meetings, receive their stipends.

Third, it is not the DSC's responsibility to provide "legal counsel for sexual harassment cases." The Offices of Academic and Student Affairs, as well as the President's Office, are the places to go with charges of abuse. If administrators are unable or unwilling to help students in need, the Advocate should be willing to offer aid in the form of exposure. Nothing like bad publicity to encourage people in power to behave responsibly.

Why did the Advocate advocate a hike in the student activity fee? No doubt because the editors owed DSC officials a favor. Although the student newspaper is the

primary means of building community at the Graduate School, the DSC has not been particularly generous with the Advocate, whose operating expenses exceed the DSC allotment by as much as 40%. Without advertising revenues, the 16-page Advocate would count as few as 8 pages. After three semesters of publication and the installation of a new editorial staff, the DSC finally gave the newspaper the funds necessary to purchase a computer sophisticated enough for desktop publishing. Why the delay? As an institution, the DSC suffers from recurrent lethargy. Although every program must elect a DSC representative in order to secure its allotment for parties, most representatives do not attend the general assembly. Power ends up in the hands of the few, who tend to favor their friends. After struggling without equipment, the Advocate finally earned the favor of DSC officials, thus the editors felt obliged to repay their publisher in kind.

If it were simply a tale of mutual DSC asskissing, there would be no reason to take an interest in the affair. Although a close reading of past DSC annual statements reveals the DSC's historical tendency to favor the chartered student or-

*continues on p. 10*

### Jarrold Hayes Re-buffs

*used her turn at the mike to speak stridently about lesbian issues and of a 'liberated Graduate School.' Linkage of issues can be a great way to get the most bang out of your protest buck..." (Evan-*

*Stark, "Amateur Hour").*

As if lesbian strikers/linkers could separate their struggle against homophobia and their struggle for educational rights. As if activists must separate their "causes" into clear and distinct categories that in no way overlap. This is an example of the traditional tactic of divide and conquer.

*"In fact, double standards abounded. Certain groups and individuals were allowed to enter the building. [...] The Organization for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Concerns [OGLBC] (sic) was also permitted to hold a teach-in in the auditorium. The topic was the role of gays and lesbians in radical struggles" (Benita Mehta, "Rhetoric and Reality").*

In fact, the Organization for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Concerns didn't sponsor the teach-in Ms. Mehta mentions. Vincent Tirelli has already pointed out a similar mistake by Ms. Mehta in regard to the PTU. The teach-in was sponsored by the strike committee. What the mistake assumes is that strikers fighting for educational rights are straight. Anyone interested in queer issues could only be the Other. The article also assumes that such a teach-in excludes, that it would only interest queers, be of no interest to straights.

Given the context of the original distribution of "Empowering Cronies" and ETCETERAS's participation in the homophobic discourse of PC bashing, 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.

*Jarrold Hayes is a doctoral student in French Literature and a queer participant in the '91 CUNY student strike.*

sometimes funded by conservative foundations and press agendas including demands like the defunding of black student organizations due to such organizations' "inherent racism." This particular trend, as I see it, must be seen as a part of a current discourse of "PC bashing," in which the right, crying that the freedom of speech of right-wingers is being trampled upon, uses leftist discourse against the left to claim, for example, that fags and dykes control the universe, while straight, white boys are now completely powerless, overwhelmed by minority demands.

In ETCETERAS, the predecessor to "Empowering Cronies," I have located three passages, which, if not homophobic in themselves, reveal a similar panic in the face of potential empowerment of queers:

*"A yellow poster on the wall next to the entrance made me see red (no pun intended.) 'Come to the liberated Graduate Center!' it proclaimed. The occasion was a seminar on gays and lesbians in RADICAL STRUGGLES. The perversion was obvious! I do not mean their sexual orientation. This was none of my business! And I do not mean their decision to let themselves in, while keeping the rest of us out. Swinish behavior is not unconstitutional. It was their PERVERSE SENSE OF FREEDOM that shocked me..." (Roman Gitlin, "The Cause and Champions").*

What is swinish behavior? Why does Mr. Gitlin claim that he's not labeling homosexuality as perverse when it is so obvious that homosexuality is the locus out of which Gitlin's notion of the perverse arises.

*"Many people at the the (sic) occupation used the the daily speechmaking to trumpet their particular causes. For example, one woman, presumably lesbian,*



## World

Michael Yomi

Politics of  
Cameroon: Domination

The small African nation of Cameroon, known all over the world for its famous football (soccer) players and its brilliant performance in the last World Cup, was the scene of violence and bloodshed this summer when the troops of dictator Paul Biya opened fire on peaceful demonstrators in the cities of Sangmelima, Yaounde, Douala, and Bamenda. This was just one in a series of human rights violations that have plagued the nation for over the past hundred years.

By the end of the 19th century Cameroon was easy prey for colonialism and the human rights situation worsened with the German occupation at the turn of the century. The Germans hanged popular leaders who were opposed to the occupation, such as King Douala Manga Bell and activist Martin Paul Samba. The Germans also instituted a system of forced labor without pay known in the local language as *Njock*. One need not be a linguist to see that the English translation of this word is *slavery*. The Germans raided villages, capturing healthy strong men and deporting them to concentration camps where they worked until they died of exhaustion, starvation, or bullets when they tried to escape. But before you curse the German colonial system, bear in mind that almost at the same period, this system of forced labor was practiced by the French in the Congo and the Oubangui (now the Central African Republic). How many people died as a result of this slavery — one hundred thousand? Half a million? We will never have an accurate estimate.

During World War I the Germans tried desperately to keep their grip on Cameroon, though in 1917 they were finally defeated by French and British troops, and fled to neighboring Equatorial Guinea. Cameroon then became one of the few countries in history to be jointly colonized by two foreign powers, which explains why English and French are today the two languages of communication and education in the country.

The French and British occupation marked the beginning of a new era of violence against the people of Cameroon. Popular leaders, like Sultan Njoya of the Bamun Empire, were deported or killed. When it became apparent that the Cameroon people did not want the new colonists, any more than they had wanted the Germans, the French systematically repressed the population, without a single word of protest from the international community.

ence, perhaps the most startling one, that will capture the attention of future historians, psychologists and political scientists, is the national anthem created for the newborn nation by the French as a "freedom" gift. A tentative English translation of the first stanza goes like this:

*O Cameroon thou cradle of our Fathers,  
You once were [a] barbaric [people]*

*But slowly you are stepping out of your savageness.*

An "independent" nation had millions of its citizens sing such a shameful national anthem for more than a decade. The French must have choked away a thousand laughs as they listened to these "niggers" exercise their newly acquired freedom. Cameroon's leaders cherish the years of slavery so much they have maintained the insulting anthem up to this day, although the first stanza was removed as a result of pressure from a few brave intellectuals.

Before the French left Cameroon, they made a "shepherd from the mountains," Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the Republic, ensuring their continued control over the country. For the 25 years under Ahidjo, Cameroon had one of the most violent regimes in Africa. Ahidjo created a powerful and omnipresent secret police force called Dirdoc, which backed by the army, repressed, killed and tortured the population and turned Cameroon into a country where everybody was scared of everybody. Political opponents and popular leaders like Félix Moumié, Ruben Um Nyobé, Ossende Afana, Nya Thaddée, Nvondo N'Lom, Ernest Oundié, Takala Celestin, Wambo nicknamed Le Courant, and many others were assassinated, some after widely publicized kangaroo courts. Until the 1970's, you couldn't even go from one part of the country to another without a pass, just as under Apartheid South Africa.

The English speaking minority were humiliated and treated like second-class citizens, and forced to assimilate to a French culture. Certain tribes, like the Bassa and the

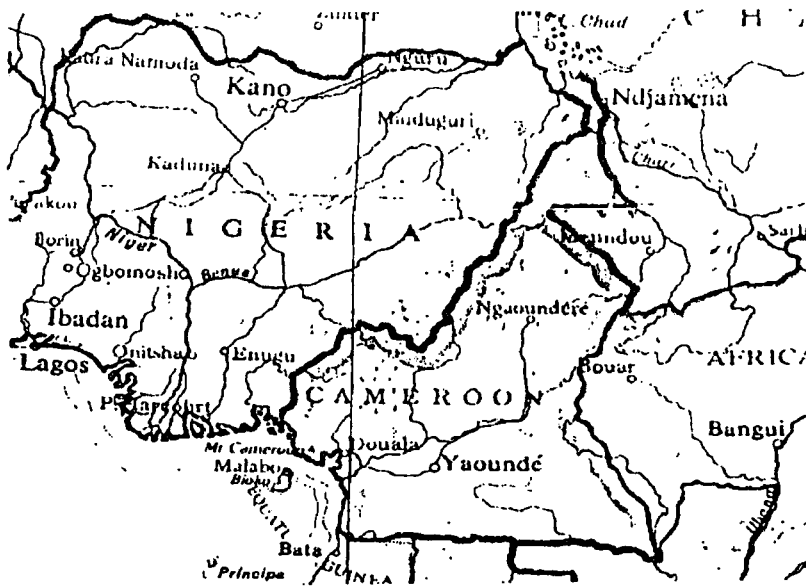
Ahidjo appointed Paul Biya President of the Republic, just as the French had appointed him 25 years before. The gangsters in suits and ties continued to rule the country, but this time they not only repressed the people but turned against each other as well. Again, thousands of people lost their lives. The gangsters were now split into two groups: the Ahidjo crime family and the Biya crime family. Ahidjo fled the country with some of his followers and died in exile in 1989 — his body was not even allowed back home.

Paul Biya, now a powerful gang leader, put into practice the lessons he had learned from his master Ahidjo: he set tribe against tribe, Christian against Muslim and North against South. While doing this he embezzled millions of dollars and bought castles in Europe, according to *Le Canard Enchaîné*, a French newspaper. Biya told his people that his government was the symbol of a new era; well, perhaps it wasn't such a lie: perhaps he ushered in a new era of repression and looting. He not only refused to free political prisoners, he added new ones every day. He never opened an investigation of past abuses and assassinations, as this would have meant becoming his own prosecutor. He never investigated the massacre of hundreds of people in the village of Ndollé, in 1979. The mere mention of multi-party democracy made him nervous; but the winds of change that rocked Eastern Europe did not spare Africa. When Biya pulled his head out of the sand, he saw an unemployed, hungry and angry people and wondered what had happened to their legendary docility. In November 1990, Biya had no other choice but to bow to the principle of multiple party system, which was written in the constitution for 30 years but never put in practice.

But Paul Biya continued to nourish the hope that he could somehow pervert the democratic process as a few African countries have done so successfully: for example, by allowing the creation of twenty to thirty political parties for a population less than that of New York city, he hoped that the resulting anarchy would justify the continuation of the dictatorial regime, or intervention of the army. As smart as this strategy might be, it would, if carried out, disregard that the Cameroonian people want, will struggle for, and die for, as recent events show, a National conference that will draft a new constitution and spell out the terms of a transition towards nationally and internationally supervised elections with a reasonable number of parties. Like the racist minority in South Africa, Paul Biya wants a new order under his own terms; that is why in a moment of panic and fear of losing control, he unleashed his mad dogs and their bullets on peaceful marchers in recent weeks.

But the true surprise is not that Paul Biya killed peaceful marchers: as this article shows, political killings and massacres are part of the history of Cameroon. The silence of the international media comes as no surprise either: throughout their sufferings, the Cameroonian people have rarely been mentioned in the international media, because being from the extreme right, Ahidjo and Biya, like Pinochet and Somoza, were considered friends of the Free World. The real surprise about the recent killings in Cameroon is that a few days before the bloodshed, Paul Biya was in Washington, D.C. Was he seeking endorsement for past and future killings? Or simply a new label for his scapegoats, now that the word "Communist" has found a resting place in the Museum of Political History. Whatever he came to do in Washington, it is clear that Biya will have to continue the killing or step down and let the National Conference lay the grounds for freedom and true independence. I don't see the Cameroonian people settling for less than that.

*Michael Yomi, a doctoral student in the Department of Economics, has spent the last 13 years in exile in different countries for demanding a multiple party system.*



In those days, and until the recent collapse of the Eastern block, the best way for a government to eliminate dissent — and be applauded for doing so by the West — was to label them communists and then kill them. The French brought in thousands of troops from France, and backed by thousands of mercenaries recruited in Chad and Senegal they quelled the "communist insurrection," and sparked a killing rampage. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed, villages looted and destroyed. In 1960, Cameroon received a nominal independence from the French, but not before a big piece of British Cameroon was given to Nigeria, itself a former British colony. As expected by the French and British, this ignited bloody border confrontations between Cameroon and Nigeria which have continued to this day.

Of all the anecdotes of this tragi-comedy of independ-

Bamileke, were turned into scapegoats and became the targets of frequent harassment from the government. It was a sin to be an intellectual, and thousands fled the country to avoid the humiliation of having to sing the praises of an illiterate gangster president. On top of it all, the country's resources were systematically plundered and billions of dollars transferred to accounts in Europe. Embezzlement of public funds became a way of life. Up to this day, a very popular proverb in Cameroon is that the goat grazes where it is tied up; in other words, it is as natural to embezzle funds as it is for a goat to graze.

During his years of repression, the gang leader Ahmadou Ahidjo found a promising young man called Paul Biya and decided to train him as a gangster. He appointed him Prime Minister and initiated him into the Ahidjo crime family. In 1982, deciding to retire from political life,

## SER Photo Session with Mayor

by  
**Gillian Harper and  
Kelley McFarland**

On July 30, in his "Reform & Renaissance" speech Mayor Dinkins announced an open invitation for New Yorkers to come and present their ideas on government reform and money saving tactics. Seizing the opportunity, we, Kelley McFarland and Gillian Harper of SER, went to present the mayor with a "long-term solution" to all of New York's problems—FREE AND ACCESSABLE EDUCATION. This was not the type of solution that Mayor David Dinkins was hoping to hear. Our government only wants to deal with short-term solutions. In fact, it was doubtful that Mr. Dinkins had his ears tuned to any solutions on Monday, August 5. As one might expect, this "open forum" with Dinkins was a large photo-op.

We arrived at the doors of City Hall at 6:00 am and took our place, 8th in line. From six until the mayor's appearance at 9:00 am, our time was filled by comparing notes with others in line and doing various press interviews (1010 Wins, 97 FM, New York Times, The Meridian [Lehman Paper] and more). Following the 3 hour wait in line, we went inside City Hall to speak to people from the Board of Education. They were, "interested in our ideas, but this was not what the mayor wants to hear. He wants to save money." We were then shuffled into the corner to wait to speak to someone from the Board of Higher Education but they could not be found. Is CUNY a high priority in the City? After another hour of waiting, the people of the Board of Education decided to recommend that we see the mayor, not knowing what to do with us. We were then escorted into the next waiting room where we stayed, until 2:30. At 3:00 we were asked to come downstairs to wait once again and do yet another interview. Finally, we shook hands with the Mayor in his office at 3:15pm. With an eye on the camera, Mayor Dinkins listened as Gillian began: "We came to present a long term solution to the city's problems—education.... Are you familiar with the open admissions policy at CUNY? Do you know that the student's at CUNY are committed to their communities; they are the future leaders of the City of New York?"

"Why, of course, I know that CUNY is a vital resource for the City but where is the money going to come from... where is your economic proposal?"

"Well, Mr Dinkins," Kelley points out, "tuition is expensive to institute...."

"Whether tuition is cost effective or not is not at issue, how are we going to raise money for CUNY... why is the City responsible for John Jay and New York City Technical College?"

"We have also supported the alternate tax proposals laid out by the Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus...."

"Well, so did many people in the City and Albany but it didn't get the support needed to be passed."

Exasperated, Kelley raised her voice, "what can WE do about that!"

The Mayor responded, "I think you need to find out who your real enemy is." Of course the Mayor did not approve of our suggestion that we takeover Governor Cuomo's office. But he did smile and snicker. He related several stories about the days when he was an activist and was arrested at the South African Embassy. He also compared the student takeovers to other protests which were so outrageously irrelevant we will not mention them here.

Before being escorted out the door by Dinkins Community director (an old radical himself), we discussed the pending criminal charges in the Bronx. Dinkins was very cautious about getting involved, although he did say he would look into the situation. We also mentioned that the students wanted a large portion of the Board of Trustees and the Chancellor to be elected by CUNY students, faculty, and staff. The Mayor seemed surprised and intrigued with this idea.

We left bewildered. A Daily News reporter asked us if we felt it was a positive visit. This question was difficult to answer. The mayor was very slick yet there was something positive about personal contact with the Mayor. Did we feel that he would take our suggestions and concern

ganizations in which DSC officials and representatives actively participate, there is also no reason to rake DSC muck. There's probably a good reason for every DSC cancelled check. What is

significant about the Advocate's editorial supporting the fee increase is the editors' ignorance of the facts, and the political implications of their distortions. Here's their version:

*At the Graduate School we are unable to raise the fee \$1 (which would garner approximately \$14,000), or to a level commensurate with the other CUNY institutions, due to Board of Trustees regulations which stipulate that 60% of the enrolled student population must vote in a required referendum. The DSC is currently unable to afford such a referendum which would cost approximately \$1500.*

Given that DSC co-chairs and steering committee members are paid more than \$20,000, if the Advocate truly believes the DSC cannot afford \$1,500 for a referendum, the newspaper owes its readers an investigation.

While it is true that all CUNY student governments are mandated by and subject to the regulations of the Board of Trustees, the alleged stipulation that "60% of the enrolled student population must vote in a required referendum" is, if true, one not observed by the Board. In an attempt to appear sensitive to the needs of CUNY students, the Trustees approve virtually any fee increase proposed by student governments. The editors report that "at CCNY, the [student activity] fee is \$15.35." In fact, the fee paid by graduate students at City College was increased to \$24.35 in Fall 1990. In a referendum in which 1.3% of the total student population voted, the majority, 17 students, voted for an increase that some 2,350 City College graduate students must pay, and the Board of Trustees, against the better judgement of the college president, approved the fee hike! At Queensborough Community College, the Board approved a \$4 increase, again without the support of the college president, with only 2.3% of the students voting. At Brooklyn College, the Board approved a \$10 increase; only 6% of the students voted. At Hunter College, the Board approved a \$5 increase; 13.6% of the students voted. If the DSC wants to fill its coffers, all DSC officials need to do is to hold a referendum. If the majority of a 1% voter turnout, less than the number of DSC representatives in attendance at most general meetings, supports the increase, the Board will back the will of the majority. Sometimes taxation with representation is tyranny.

"Why are we bound by the Board of Trustees' rules?" ask the editors. "The student activity fee is, after all, our community operating budget, and our means of empowerment." Despite their whining about the Board of Trustees' absolute authority, and by their implicit rejection of a ref-

## Empowering Cronyism

from page 8

erendum in which the majority of students actually vote, the editors are demanding for the DSC the right to impose on the students of the Graduate School the very same hypo-

critical procedures that they attribute to the Board. When the Advocate advocates an increased student activity fee as "our means of empowerment," the editors are really only speaking for themselves and their cronies on the Doctoral Students' Council. Their editorial, "For a Democratic CUNY Now!," is pure propaganda.

No one denies the editors of the Advocate their inalienable right to editorialize as they see fit. As individuals they also have the right to run the risks and reap the rewards of political action. Nonetheless, they do not have the right to monopolize public discourse at the Graduate School, especially when the forum is paid for by the public. And for good reason. When objective reporting and editorial good faith are abandoned, cronyism reigns.

It appears that the students who occupied the Graduate School this past spring have learned some valuable lessons about DSC procedures. They have formed a new student organization, the Students for Educational Rights [SER], recently chartered by the DSC. Encouraged by the low voter turnout in DSC elections, the occupiers and their supporters—now known as SER—managed to elect enough representatives to assure a majority on the DSC executive and steering committees, as well as on the Media Board. The DSC conference room, where all the DSC files are kept, is now the SER office. As a member of SER said with glee after the DSC election results were posted, "We control the student government!" And the student government controls \$60,000, or \$8.35 paid every semester by every graduate student. Students must pay the DSC tax whether or not they know about the NYPL discount or the travel fund for conferences, whether or not they belong to a chartered student organization, whether or not they attend DSC parties.

The DSC recently voted to increase the Advocate's budget. The increase is long overdue, despite the editors' flagrant disregard for the facts and their DSC lapdog propagandizing in the name of democracy. Of all the activities and services the DSC offers, only the newspaper reaches the majority of students. In contrast, the combined membership of the DSC chartered student organizations represents only about 10% of the student population. There is no reason why the DSC should starve the newspaper for the sake of committee members' elevated salaries. There is also no reason why students should support a fee increase for the sake of a tiny coterie on the DSC.

George McClintock III is a doctoral student in the French department.

Readers of *The Advocate* are probably aware that George McClintock III is the former editor of this newspaper, and is consequently concerned that the current staff maintain its editorial integrity.

Yet, given that Mr. McClintock's allegations are false, and that his targets are his fellow students and the student government (Mr. McClintock is a member of the DSC, one of the few loci of student power), his actions are destructive and, ultimately, sad. For the record, the editors of *The Advocate* have never refused to publish any of Mr. McClintock's articles, and in fact printed all anti-strike submissions. With regard to Mr. McClintock's other charges and statements, there is nothing undemocratic

into mind? No! Our meeting with the Mayor was a photo-op and opportunity to say to Dinkins and to the press—the students of CUNY have not gone away. We still demand that the Mayor and the City DO THE RIGHT THING!

Gillian Harper and Kelley McFarland are members of Students for Educational Rights and doctoral students in Anthropology at the Graduate School.

## Rebuttal: Cronies are Us

about SER or its involvement in the DSC, while the current DSC ombudsperson program does not have the resources to fully advocate student rights. Furthermore, most students realize that the Office of the Dean of Student Affairs is institutionally compromised in the favor of the administration and faculty. To date, *The Advocate* is not aware that the Dean of Student Affairs has ever taken decisive action

in the defense of beleaguered students (please advise us if this is otherwise). Indeed, given his obsequiousness towards the Dean's office and the all powerful Board of Trustees, it is now significant that during Mr. McClintock's editorial tenure he did not publish or pursue any articles which were critical of the Graduate School administration or 80th St. (with the exception of one editorial).

Finally, an activity fee increase of, say, \$12.50 per semester might pay for minimal health services and much needed legal advice for all grad students—consider the imminent implications of the letter many of us recently received from the Registrar. Is this too much to ask?

Andrew Long, Tara McGann, Michael Waldron



## Arts &amp; Events

## Urban Nights from Washington Heights

**Be My Baby: How I Survived Mascara, Miniskirts, and Madness; or, My Life as a Fabulous Ronnette.** NY: Crown. \$19.95.

**Ronnie Spector** frequently appears @The Bottom Line, 15 W. 4th & Mercer.

Ron what? Formerly known as Veronica, "the bad girl of rock & roll," while soloing in the Ronnettes in '60s hits like "Walking in the Rain," "Baby I Love You," and "The Best Part of Breaking Up." Canonized by the 4 Seasons in their 1964 hit "Ronnie! (.. You Were My 1st Love). Resurrected by Brooklyn's own Eddie Money in "Take Me Home Tonight! (Just Like Ronnie Said ..)." And immortalized by Scorsese in an off-screen film performance.

**Mean Streets** opens with a snare drum reverberating in a back alley, thundering guitars, and the sound of a thousand tambourines and castanets as the camera follows narrow streets. A voice breaks through, "The night we met. .." There is now no question that this is New York. The voice is Ronnie Spector's. Scorsese uses "Be My Baby" in all its anthemic power to situate us in the 1963 metropolis. The director's national audience may not have been familiar with Little Italy, but no voice better evoked the urban populace and the changing demographics of youth.

American youth often perceived the young Veronica Bennett as vocally Black, stylistically white, and visually Latin or perhaps Eurasian. Her visual impression derived partly from her mascara and access to New York fashions, and more significantly from her Black, White, and Cherokee heritage. Often taunted in her Harlem grade school for light skin and straight hair, her experience was the inspiration for back-up singer Cher Bono's overdramatized hit, "Halfbreed." However Ronnie fit perfectly in the Cuban section of Harlem at 153rd and Amsterdam. Organizing her sisters and cousins, she built the Ronnettes centered on performance at the Peppermint Lounge on 45th St., where she attracted the attention of "the tycoon of teen," Phil Spector. His studio recording style, dubbed the "Wall of Sound" fittingly captured the din, the speed, and the intensity of urban life. Ronnie's voice captured the passion that allowed people to live it.

Waiting for Ronnie Spector to perform at the Bottom Line, I learned more from her cousin Elaine. She had successfully subbed as lead vocalist of the Ronnettes for a Dick Clark tour, while Phil Spector's kept Ronnie busy with studio recording. This was just the beginning of Phil Spector's control, that became total once they married. The marriage was effectively the death knell of the Ronnettes. It was many years before Ronnie was able to break away from Phil Spector's power.

Ronnie Spector is seemingly doomed to the shadows of her ex-husband. Performances, the occasional record, and now her autobiography - her every move merely brings attention to the reclusive Phil Spector. Her original recordings were so heavily dominated by his innovative production techniques, even her later work seems lacking if it doesn't reproduce the his Wall of Sound.

## #1 Local Procul

9/26 **Procul Harum**@Town Hall, 123 W43&6th, 840-2824 8pm. "Homburg" "Conquistador" "A Salty Dog" "A Whiter Shade of Pale." If tix are sold out, try **School of Fish**@Marquee, 547 W21 nr.W'side Hwy, 249-8870. Carrying on the tradition of American garage rock (see Aisha Khan for details).

## #2 Ms. Roberta's Neighborhood

9/13&14 **Aretha Franklin**@Radio City, 6th Av. As **The Commitments** implies, when she was Crowned Queen of Soul in '65, Elvis the King might as well have been dead.

10/11 **Ned's Atomic Dustbin**@Academy, 234 W43 (7&8th Av), 9pm, \$15.50. You can still get your homework done since they open for summer wonders **Jesus Jones**.

**Garrison Keillor**@Lamb's Theater, most Saturdays in October. "News fr. Lake Woebegone" w. the American Radio Co. featuring 1/2 of Bob&Ray. Look, it costs \$25 but its next door to West Hall. You can go there right after the library closes. And if you sing along, you'll be live on National Public Radio.

Weekdays **WorkOuts!** @Lone Star, 240 W52, 245-2950. Excellent local/locos perform weekdays 6-8, for **free!**

## #3 Welcome to Park Lincoln Housing!

@Beacon, 74th & Bway, 8pm. 9/24 **Little Feat** shouldn't try to fill Lowell George's shoes, but Prairie Leaguer Craig Fuller lets the show go on.

9/26 **Pogues** \$22.50 Simultaneously more progressive and more traditional than even Sinn Fein.

9/28 **Eric Johnson** \$19.50 Most amazing guitarist under 25, w **The Tragically Hip**.

10/2 **Crowded House** w. **Richard Thompson** \$22.50+ Tastiest guitarist over 25.

## #4 Battle of the 6-String Dinosaurs

@Bottom Line, 15 W4th, 228-6300, 8&11 **Lonnie Mack** 9/16 \$13.50 Best known for his instrumental hit "Memphis" this Telecaster virtuoso is equally at home in blues & country.

**Allan Holdsworth** 9/26-27 \$15. UFO vet, 2nd most amazing guitarist between 25-50.

## #5 Local Heroes

every Wed&Sat **Black 47**@Paddy Reilly's

Then why do her engagements at the Bottom Line sell out? Musical electronics have advanced sufficiently to reproduce Phil Spector's bag of tricks. But it is the live performance that brings both the old and new material alive. It is Ronnie's presence and the communication that she establishes with her audience.

If this is nostalgia what is being invoked? It is the spirit of youth in the midst of great change, the agency of an artist against the control of industry, the transition of an urban neighborhood like Washington Heights from a marginalized area to the source of communal strength that provide the support witnessed in last spring's strike at CCNY.

As a vocalist on her future husband's dazzling productions, Ronnie Spector's brief stardom was eclipsed by Phil Spector's innovations in the recording of music. But as a vocalist still carrying the conviction arising from a streetsmart Washington Heights teenager, Ronnie Spector is one great folk musician. ☺

27th&3rd **free!** Featuring playwright Larry Kirwan:

every Sunday **Drums of Prospect Park** @Flatbush & Prospect Park S. **free!**

9/19 **The Turn**@Kenny's, 157 Bleecker, 8pm **cheap!** Featuring Karl, 768-7683.

## #6 9/20 Destroy All Monsters!

**The Damned**@Ritz, 254 W54(7&8thAv) 541-8900, 9pm \$17.50 Still featuring Rat Scabies.

vs. **Dr. Demento's** 20th Anniversary @Bottom Line, 15 W4th, 228-6300, 7:30 & 10:30 (also 9/21)\$15. w Bobby "Monster Mash" Pickett, Sheb "Purple People Eater" Wooley, Tiny "Tulips" Tim.

vs. **HR**@Wetlands, Hudson St 3 blks below Canal, 966-4225. X-madman of Bad Brains, the DC band that whipped Black Flag, now inna reggae groove.

vs. **Paddy Keenan**@Eagle Tavern, 924-0275, 9 & 10:30 \$7. The Hendrix of the Uilleann pipes, thus the only bagpiper to play CBGB's.

## #7 Monday Night Playoffs All year long.

**The Evans Band**@Sweet Basil, 88 7th Av & Bleecker 242-1785, 10pm. Gil Evans' arrangements of Hendrix, Miles Davis, & Gershwin played by NY jazz luminaries on their night off.

vs. **Les Paul Quartet**@Fat Tuesday's, 190 3rd&17th 533-7902. The inventor of solid body electric guitars & 2-track recording. Despite a little arthritis, his jingly-Django style still outsmokes most headbangers.

vs. **New Orleans Funeral & Ragtime Orchestra**@Michael's Pub, 211 E55, 758-2272, 8:45, \$35 food&drink min. Featuring comic & sometimes director **Woody Allen** on clarinet. Why did you think they called him Woody?

vs. a **seishun** @Eagle Tavern, 14th St & 8th, 9 **free!** As opposed to a *ceili*, this is an Irish jam session.

## #8 Unadvertized Specials @Lone Star.

9/11 **Bobby Whitlock** "Why does Love Got to Be So Bad?" X-Domino fr Clapton & Leon Russell, w guitarist **Jeff Healy**.

9/14 **The Pipefitters** w **Lou Diamond Phillips**.

#9 **Otis Elevated**@Tramps 45 W21(5&6th) 727-7788.

10/11 **Otis Clay** the blues singer.

10/12 **Otis Rush** the blues guitarist.

## #10 Soundbytes@theaters somewhere.

**One Hand Clapping** w **Black Stalin** & other worldclass calypso. **Slacker**: Far beyond Austin City Limits. **Barton Fink** deals w those nasty writing blocks. **Lynda "Marlys" Barry's** r&r/r&b musical **The Good Times Are Killing Me**@Minetta Lane Theater, off 6thAv (3rd&Bleecker) \$30+, 307-4100. No telling where **Prince** & his new band will show up next. Pushing for maturity, they're much less outre but just as visual. These Minneapolitans began this leg of their informally economic tour w "Diamonds&Pearls"@the Intl.Special Olympics. ☺

# SER

## STUDENTS FOR EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

### SEPTEMBER EVENTS

### POTLUCK

**Friday, Sept. 13, 6:00 pm**

in Basement Mezzanine  
Food, Drink, and Debate  
Future meeting times to be decided

### OPEN FORUM

**Monday, Sept. 23, 6:00 pm**

in the Auditorium  
S.E.R. Manifesto to be discussed

Manifestos available in the Mall or in SER Office

**S.E.R. OFFICE LOCATED IN  
BASEMENT MEZZANINE, BM 003**

**642-2695**

## Occupation Paranoia from page 4

occupiers to anti-abortionists and Yankee imperialists ("That elevator bank is their Panama"! is merely a perverse projection of his bad faith. Throughout this paranoid text, Goldblatt resorts to the most tedious, reactionary clichés. For example, his notion that "the right to an affordable college education, has been thoroughly debased by those very people, who have benefitted from it [i.e., the occupiers]" is a typical inversion of the truth, and, by now, a familiar neo-conservative refrain—straight out of *Commentary*, or *American Scholar*. The desperate state of public education (for Mark's information) is thanks to a decade of Republican administrations (and their "liberal" lackeys) who have favored the ruthless privatization of the public sector. As I stated in the Mall at one of our daily meetings, raising tuition while simultaneously cutting aid to public schools is a form of social control and repression, a way of ensuring that historically marginalized "Others" never get a break.

In George McClintock III's most recent folly, *Etceteras* (his privately-funded vanity rag), Professor Vincent Crapanzano (who I suspect is sympathetic with our struggle) does some equivocating, "deconstructive" footwork around the "rage" of the student occupiers, as if this "rage" was something nebulous, or metaphysical. Well, for many of us, our anger is grounded in material deprivation. I, for one, am unsure how I'm going to pay for tuition this year. "Fellowships" (read: "Work-Study"), if you're lucky enough to receive one, are hopelessly insufficient. The poverty of stu-

dent life includes having to withstand authoritarian harassment, class prejudice, racism, sexism and homophobia from our "superiors" in the university hierarchy. In my program (art history), the most innovative professors have left or, are in the process of leaving, for Ivy League schools, and haven't been replaced. I'm pissed off by the anachronistic academic requirements, "weeding-out" procedures and endemic anti-intellectualism prevailing there. I'm annoyed at being exploited as an adjunct lecturer at Hunter at the scandalous rate of \$130 a fortnight. I've been accruing "In-completes" in my classes because I'm frequently working three part-time jobs at once, with no time or energy left to study. I'm sick to death of well-paid Deans and administrators who claim to "sympathize" with my plight. Last spring, I decided I'd had enough of their paternalist sympathy and crocodile tears. I joined the occupation of the Graduate Center as a gesture, if symbolic, of resistance.

Aside from my personal reasons for joining the occupation, I felt a responsibility to defend what remains of public education before it's entirely liquidated by the corporate elite (people like our trustees, who voted on August 1 to raise our tuition in what was supposed to be a "public meeting" at their citadel on East 88th Street—the students were prevented from entering the 150-seat auditorium by barricades, police and security guards). I joined the occupation in solidarity with students at a dozen other campuses in the metropolitan area. Call me self-righteous if you like, but I think public education is worth fighting for—it's not a privilege, it's a RIGHT! Goldblatt smuggly felt "guilty amuse-

ment", then "nauseous" at the sight of anxious students defending their educational rights. When a student, at one of our daily forums, raised the issue of billions of dollars being spent on George Bush's imperialist war in the Persian Gulf, the most Goldblatt had to say about the "ovation" from the crowd was a sneering, "It was like a familiar song at a sixties reunion". Goldblatt harps on about how the occupation of the building was illegal, reifying the whole concept of the Law. Are we meant to blindly follow the letter of the Law when our democratic rights are being trampled upon? How about the Blacks in South Africa demonstrating against apartheid—surely they're breaking the Law? In Goldblatt's empty-headed analysis, we should all be humble servants to "Authority", as if authority was some transcendental, classless thing.

I will concede that the occupiers weren't entirely "democratic" in their methods—the initial seizure of the building was, after all, a vanguard action, undertaken by a relatively small group of students, who were later joined and supported by others. However, once the building was taken, we respected our fellow-students by holding daily meetings at 4.00-6.30 pm, where anyone could speak. At each meeting, we voted on whether or not to continue the occupation—this was an unprecedented action. What Goldblatt fails to mention in his letter is that, on each occasion, we received an overwhelming majority of

votes in support of the occupation. On 15 April, the Doctoral Students Council endorsed "any actions" we might take in solidarity with other CUNY campuses. Some of our opponents stated that, although they opposed the occupation, they would be glad to join the march downtown on Wednesday, 24 April. Needless to say, the hypocrites stayed home while the rest of us marched in the pouring rain.

Goldblatt, by assuming such a banal, reactionary position, aligns himself with our sclerotic administration, with contemptible bureaucrats like Steven Cahn and Chancellor Reynolds, who would rather kiss Cuomo's ass than support student rights and public education. Goldblatt frets that his letter may have cost him friends among the student body, and casts himself in the role of martyr, sacrificing himself to expose the gospel truth. Well, too bad, Mark, but look on the bright side: you've earned some major brownie points with the administration. It's thanks to schmucks like you, who profess to support affordable public education, while acquiescing (it's my democratic right to "acquiesce", he snivels) to the "powers-that-be", that the quality and accessibility of public education is deteriorating rapidly. Get down off your cross and repent!

I still consider myself likeable, charming, and delightful.

Simon Taylor, Ph.D. Program in Art History.

## CLASSIFIEDS

The *Committee for Cultural Studies* will employ an **Administrative Assistant** to coordinate a survey of inter-American Cultural Studies Programs. Salary is \$8,000 for 12 to 15 hours per week from September 1991 through June 1992. The candidate must be a matriculated CUNY doctoral student, generally familiar with Cultural Studies programs and approaches, with ability to speak, read and write Spanish and preferably some Portuguese. Interested applicants should contact Professor Stanley Aronowitz as soon as possible at 212 642-2428. Leave message with name and telephone number.

Looking for someone to do 3 hours of **housecleaning** every other week, in exchange for good rates and/or gourmet cooking. Call 212 260-7368.

**Housemate wanted.** 2 bedroom in Williamsburg. 900 sq. ft. sunny, first stop on the L. \$375. Call Janet at 718 387-1312.

Social Science and History **books** for sale. Call Tom at 212 304-2402.

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

## Image of the Month

## ¡No Vayas al Gringo!



Watch out for the Gringo, *El Diablo Rojo* (1910)



CUNY security and NYC police block students' access to the August 1st Board of Trustees meeting (left) while 7 other members of the NYPD muster at the rear entrance to the 80th St. stronghold.

## Reflections on the Fightback of '91

from page 7

transigent state.

Most importantly for CUNY students there are now networks of radical student activists who have worked together and will continue the fight. A campaign has already been suggested to try and oust Ann Reynolds as a response to the historically unprecedented attempts to prosecute strikers. At the behest of the Chancellor, police have come to the homes of strikers and arrested them. On campuses, administrations are producing propaganda against the strikers which calls for students to give up occupations and demonstrations and to lobby and become involved in electoral politics; they are carefully nurturing a small but

well supported and vocal anti-activist, reactionary backlash; and harassing strikers and their supporters through use of their access to students private files and through their control of bureaucratic procedures. It is felt that if a change in administrations could be won it would help create a center of organized student power that had the right to demand loyalty by all to the student body and faculty during a budget crisis, and create a better environment in which to organize for future battles.

Anthony Marcus is a doctoral student in Anthropology at the Graduate School and a veteran of the CUNY student fightback.