Graduate 6

City University of New York

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Editorial:

Gate(s)keeping, from South Central to CUNY Central

The LA riots or intifada are the return of the oppressed on the US social landscape. US cities, long starved by disinvestment, withdrawal of social spending and the desiccation of social services, have been propelled into the collective consciousness of TV networks. The LA suburbs were forced to recognize their doppleganger in South Central, while the flight from New York on May 1st was a crude acknowledgement of the injustice and structural violence on which "America" is founded.

Predictably, after the shock and horror of TV news reports bandaid solutions and malign neglect have already supplanted the necessary process of acknowledging and addressing social problems, particularly those of the cities. Endemic poverty massive and permanent unemployment, inadequate housing, all coupled with institutional racism produced the series of uprisings across the country. These root causes are willfully ignored until the next unleashing of rage and panic-striken evacuation of our cities tells the world that this country is fundamentally unjust, and that the American dream is only tired cynical joke.

usual, and is a continuation of the '80s assaults on any remnants of New Deal and Great Society programs. Malnourished cities were put on starvation diets by Reagan and Bush. But what Bush told us the other night was that this diet was really low-fat, and therefore for our own good - part of the daily recommended allotments of privatization that would keep the cities from producing welfare queens and their looting offspring.

A proposed 'Free Enterprise Zone' in South Central Los Angeles is only a codification of privatization ideology and a formal acknowledgement of the cozy relations Mayor Bradley has established with corporate moguls, particularly real estate interests, during his more than 15 year tenure. While relatively high-paying manufacturing jobs hemorrhaged from LA (as in NYC) and the recession further devastated Black and Latino communities, public re-development money was directed towards a downtown Renaissance. Housing stock for LA's poor, already overcrowded and inadequate, was bulldozed to make way for profitable corporate towers. The only benefits the residents of South Central and East LA have seen is the proliferation of mini-malls built with public monies and given tax breaks (public/private "partnerships") where some can get minimum wage jobs. One of the bitterest contradictions of the 'riots' is that these were guarded by the LAPD, leaving smaller

Weed and seed is Dr. Bush's primary cure for the malaise of the cities. Despite the word seed this program is not curative or nourishing for the body politic, and deepens the rhetoric of criminalizing the lumpen-proletarian inner-city poor. Weed and seed seems to be a reference to the US Army's strategic use of the defoliant napalm in Vietnam, to facilitate surveilla after the LAPD attacks a "crack house", and after the requisite neighborhood siege and sweeps (mass arrests), seeding will be accomplished with the construction of mini-mall strategic hamlets and checkpoint charlies at public housing. So much for schools and social spending. In the highly-publicized and vaunted LAPD sweeps thousands are arrested and charged with drug and gang related crimes. Charges are later dropped against the vast majority due to insufficient evidence. The war on drugs means martial law for the poor residents of these neighborhoods. Like the mass arrests of "communist" villagers in Vietnam this process generates a database of military information for surveillance purposes. Notably, the current Secretary of HUD, Jack Kemp, would like to exclude all, including the families, of those who have only been charged with selling drugs.

Cure #2 on Dr. Bush's list is the Thatcherite privatization project known as HOPE. As an acronym, Home ownership and continues on p. 6

\$3.17 Million in **Graduate School Cuts** to Financial Aid and Faculty Hiring

The Graduate Center is implementing cuts of \$3.17 million for next year, which will impact student services, financial aid, faculty and staff. The amount of financial aid available to students will continue to decline. Vacant faculty and staff positions will not be filled. Administrative offices, the Mina Rees Library, and the Computer Center will limit services. The \$3.17 million cut to the Graduate School budget is disproportionately large compared to other larger CUNY schools. According to The Daily News (4/30/92), Queens College, which has 18.251 students will suffer \$5.21 million in cutbacks; and Hunter College (18,854 students) was cut by \$5.53 million. Curiously, York College in Queens, which has 5,505 students, (approximately) 1,500 more than the Graduate School, was cut by \$1.74 million, \$1.43 million less than GSUC.

Soon after the state legislature approved a tentative budget agreement stipulating funding cuts to CUNY in ior colleges, "in a state of financial exigency." The main features of declaring financial exigency is to further tip the balance of decision making power towards the Chancellor's office. As Chancellor, Ann Reynolds can now determine the direction budget cuts will take, and make it easier to fire tenured faculty, renegotiate staff contracts, and close academic departments and programs. It is unclear which, if any, of the campuses will use the option of retrenchment. Rita Rodin, of the Office of University Relations, said, "There are no final plans yet," about retrenchment. The President and Deans at the Graduate School say it is unlikely that GSUC will retrench this year. President Frances Degen Horowitz hopes that most of the cuts can be made in the OTPS (other than personnel services) sector of the budget.

If an early retirement option for CUNY staff and faculty under review is approved, certain long-term faculty and staff will have the option to retire early, but will have to make a decision before September 1. CUNY projects 900 faculty and staff would be eligible for early retirement. Rodin did not know if early retirement would offset retrenchment, as the college presidents have the say on the administration of budget cuts. It is unlikely that many of these retirees would be replaced, because of the freeze on

Compounding the shrinkage of Graduate Center fac-

continues on p. 9

Tuilon Raised \$600 for New Students DUNY Declares Financial Emercency · · · Ken Stein · · ·

In an 8-3 vote, the Trustees of the City University of New York approved a tuition hike of \$600 per year for first-year and transfer students at the senior colleges. Returning CUNY undergraduates and all students at the junior colleges will pay \$350 more per year in tuition. Level One grad students will pay a yearly increase of \$746.

The tuition plan, approved by the Board of Trustees, will not fill the University's budget gap. The state legislature, as part of its decreased funding package for CUNY, required that CUNY make up \$52.7 of the budget shortfall through new revenues, which translated to a \$500 tuition increase per student. The Chancellor's approved proposal will bring CUNY's budget shortfall down to \$40 million from a proposed \$90 million cut.

A year's Level I tuition at the Graduate School will now be \$3350 for in-state students and \$5850 for out-ofstate and international students. Senior college tuition will be \$2450 yearly for incoming students and \$2200 for returnees. Tuition will be \$2100 a year for Junior College

As part of the Chancellor's differential tuition increase, incoming students to the senior colleges may have the chance to attend CUNY tuition-free during their last semester — if they make it that far. Less than 40% of all CUNY students graduate. This tuition plan, being hailed by some educators as innovative, was criticized by some Albany lawmakers and Trustees who thought the plan unfairly put an extra burden on incoming freshmen and violated state education law. Spokesperson for the University, Rita Rodin said that the tuition relief for the last semester is designed to, "encourage students to finish." Rodin explained, "Financial aid is front-loaded. Incoming and full-time students have more access to financial aid, placing heavy financial burdens upon part-time and remedial students who take longer to graduate.

The Trustees and Chancellor hope changes in the 1993 Pell Grant structure will give students greater access to federal financial aid, thus relieving them of some of the added burden.

To close the remaining \$40 million budget gap, the Board declared "a state of fiscal exigency." This declaration is the first stage towards retrenchment, and allows college presidents to dismiss tenured faculty. The Board of Trustees also revised its fiscal exigency guidelines at

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GSUC students Eliot Weininger and Julie Ford at 3/31 anti-budget cut rally at Lehman College.

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CUNY NEWS

Next year the stipends for the three DSC Co-Chairs will be cut from \$5000 to \$2800. Dean Moreland stated that this action was taken in order to abide by a recent audit of the DSC and to meet the stipend guidelines set in the Student Accountability Handbook. According to Moreland the handbook stipulates that no elected student leader may earn more than \$2882 per-year. This amount was increased from \$2200 in a 1989 Board ruling.

Former officials of the Doctoral Student's Council claim that the Board granted a waiver for the DSC which allowed its officers to earn more than the designated amount. Dean of Student Affairs Floyd Moreland told The Advocate that the stipend difference had been paid from the Presidential Discretionary Fund, and disputed that a waiver was ever granted to the DSC, as was thought. Still, Moreland acknowledged that President Proshansky had argued on behalf of the students for a waiver and that the late president maintained that the Board had actually granted one.

Though the history of the waiver request, and whether it was granted is unclear, the student government chair was paid \$9600 in 1982. When the student government was later rearranged, the three co-chairs earned \$6600. According to former Co-Chair Vincent Tirelli, this latter amount was meant to be commensurate with a grad-B fellowship, one of the better fellowships which the school awards. The \$6600 figure was gradually cut down to \$5000; and now, if student government opposition is un-

DSC Co-Chair Stipends Cut by 44%

successful, it will be \$2882.

The GSUC administration has offered to fund a \$6600 college associate position to provide assistance to the DSC. Jonathan Lang, the new Co-Chair for Business is opposed to this arrangement for it requires that whomever is hired must meet the income limits of work-study. Others also point out that the new arrangement skirts the principle of student autonomy, and that one person cannot handle the burden of student advocacy work. Though it is unclear if there are also limits on the scope of the work which a college associate can legally perform, Moreland stated that the DSC will be free to define the job description and to hire whomever they want. He also stated it was "no problem" if the DSC asked this person to perform student advocacy functions.

Moreland denied that 80th St. has ever ordered the GSUC to clamp down on DSC stipends though he acknowledged that they have consistently asked that the Graduate School meet all guideline requirements. In the Summer of 1991, just after the CUNY strikes, Moreland stated that he notified the newly appointed President Horowitz of the audit and the guideline stipulations. He added

that Horowitz decided to wait until the conclusion of her first year in office to make this move.

The GSUC administration's move to limit the DSC stipends comes on the heels of the CUNY Board's sweeping attack on student power. First, there were changes in the disciplinary code which ensured anti-protest decisions, and which were passed despite widespread student and faculty dissent. This move was quickly followed by the freezing of USS assets, which virtually gutted that organization. Finally, the Board passed changes to the College Associations which stipulated that college administrations, which have recently been subservient to all 80th St. demands, would have absolute power over student activity fee monies. As students at the colleges have pointed out, the CUNY college administrations have not revealed any financial malfeasance at any of the colleges, while the USS spending scandal involved Lamarre's political betrayal of his fellow students, not illegal expenditures (only \$9000 was determined by the Board to be "improper" expenditures). Meanwhile, students such as Hunter College Day Student Government President Kim Rae have pointed out that the Presidential Auxiliary Funds, with which administrators have free play, are financially derived from student activity fees.

The immediate impact of the GSUC move will be to dissuade the Co-Chairs and other DSC representatives from assuming a professional and political obligation to continues on page 6

Discrimination and Harassment Are Problems at the Graduate Center A DSC Advocacy Pamphlet

In the fall of 1990, the Office of the Dean for Student Af- investigate charges of discrimination and harassment fairs distributed a brochure entitled "Addressing Issues of along the lines of the panel that exists at Hunter College. Pluralism, Diversity and Community," which stated the At present, all formal complaints at the Graduate Center University's position on discrimination or bias actions and must be made to the Dean for Student Affairs. The DSC set forth disciplinary measures against those who carry out feels that this procedure only intimidates students and dissuch actions. The Doctoral Students Council (DSC) welcomes this effort to promote respect and tolerance and to eliminate incidents of discrimination and bias at the Graduate Center. The DSC believes, however, that this brochure did not go far enough in addressing the issues of discrimination and harassment (in fact, from the title, one would not guess that it treated these issues at all), that the brochure was worded too weakly, and that no effort was made to raise consciousness around these issues. Our critique of the administration's brochure is not meant as a personal attack. The point of making this criticism public is to use it to further discussion of these issues and to further our understanding of the overt but often subtle ways in which bias is carried out and institutionalized.

The administration's brochure concentrated on how to file a complaint, listing as the only two options, the Office of the Dean for Student Affairs and the Psychological Counseling Center. The present pamphlet is the result of efforts by the DSC to produce an alternative measure that attempts to correct the shortcomings of the administration's approach. It is our hope that this pamphlet will not only provide additional options in fighting discrimination, but also serve an educational purpose. For this reason, we have asked various student organizations to describe how they view discrimination and its effects.

Discrimination at the Graduate Center

The purpose here is to point out all the ways in which individuals in the university can take advantage of power dué to the position they occupy in the hierarchy of society as a whole. The DSC has been working on a procedure to handle all complaints by individual students against unfair treatment within the university, a procedure that is sensitive to the varying needs and extenuating circumstances of individual students while still taking into account that discrimination does not occur in a vacuum. Racism, sexism, homophobia, and other forms of oppression are prevalent in our society and don't stop at the doors of the ivory tower.

We have been pushing for an independent panel to

courages them from filing complaints. The Hunter model provides an independent venue for pressing charges, separated from the administration. Although there are problems with this model (for example, its verdicts are not binding, it has no power to discipline those found guilty of discrimination), it represents a move in the right direction. Thus far, the administration has refused to set up such a panel. If students want to fight discrimination at the Graduate Center, we must be prepared to do so independently of the administration.

The Graduate Center's policy on discrimination

The following text is quoted from the administration's brochure:

Specific federal, state, and city laws and regulations, as well as City University of New York and GSUC administrative rules and regulations, prohibit actions of discrimination or bias involving sex, race, religion, sexual orientation, national origin, ethnicity, political belief, age or handicap. Anyone who violates the rights of members of the GSUC community to be free of such discriminatory practices, including harassment, will be subject to full disciplinary action in accordance with the applicable laws, rules, and regulations of the bodies.

As indicated above, and as seen by the attached copy of the administration's brochure, there is at present no adequate procedure to handle and enforce bias harassment cases.

Options for students and the role of the DSC ombudsper-

Currently, the DSC Co-Chair for Student Affairs serves as a student ombudsperson to represent individual students before the administration and help students press their cases. This role has been underused partly because of lack of publicity, partly because of lack of organization. The administration is also on the verge of hiring a Graduate Center Ombuds Officer to represent and serve all members

of the Graduate Center community (faculty, students, staff).

In the midst of budget cuts, tuition hikes, and increasing pressure to decrease enrollment, the DSC is in the process of strengthening, clarifying, and expanding the position of the DSC student ombudsperson so that any member of the steering committee can serve as an ombudsperson to advocate for individual students, or the steering committee can appoint another ombudsperson in consultation with the individual student. This expansion of the role will allow students seeking the assistance of an ombudsperson to choose from a diverse group. The success of this new model, of course, will depend on electing a diverse steering committee.

Although the administrative ombudsperson's job will be to help students file complaints, we want to stress the importance of involving a DSC student advocate in the grievance process from the very beginning, before the filing of a complaint is made. Involving a student ombudsperson certainly doesn't rule out the involvement of the administration's ombudsperson. We stress this procedure only because, in our past experience, students filing complaints alone to an administrator have been told things or promised things that were denied in later meetings with the same administrator. The presence of the ombudsperson as witness in dealings of individual students with administrators (including executive officers) reduces the likelihood of this sort of retraction. We would like to encourage all students to discuss their cases with a trained DSC student ombudsperson before meeting or filing a complaint with the administration, with the purpose of using the DSC ombudsperson as witness and advocate in some or any of the procedures the student wishes to pur-

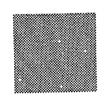
We would also like to stress that the option of seeking psychological counseling has nothing to do with filing a This option was presented in the complaint. administration's brochure in a manner seen as offensive by many students. It is a personal issue, an entirely individual choice, and will not be discussed any further here.

What are the options?

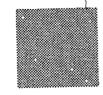
A student wishing to press a complaint and coming to the DSC office to seek assistance can expect that any member of the steering committee will be able to examine the available options and assist in the selection of an ombudsperson to continue the complaint. We would like to point out that there are alternative ways of viewing discrimination and harassment against individuals. Some students may wish to quietly make an informal complaint. Others

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LOCAL NEWS



Was this the Prototype for Weed and Seed? Ian McGowan



Bryant Park revealed that those beautiful beds of tulips and shrubs are not just attractive and aromatic, they're also wired and alarmed ... each and every one of them. So you can smell, but don't pick!

I didn't believe it when I read a recent snippet in the Times about the bugged 'beds, so I took a stroll through the park to investigate, and had the good fortune to meet the man who

wired all of the plants.

The alarm man was quite forthcoming in our brief conversation. I guess he recognized that I'm not a horticultural terrorist or a technical wizard, so he broke the network down for me in layman's terms. But he did ask that I not reveal his name for fear of retribution from would-be flower thieves. So we'll just call him "Mr. Flora Protector".

each plant were wired together and connected to transmitters located in each flower bed about five feet apart. When sends a signal to the transmitter which sends a wireless string goes out. Except we're talking about flower bulbs,

Bryant Park, which then sets off an álarm in the park guard station. The Bryant Park Restoration security force then scrambles and "POW!", a flower thief is busted. In the



Police keep watch in Bryant Park.

changed.

The principle is very similar to a string of Christmas a plant is yanked from the ground the wire breaks and tree lights," he says. "When one bulb goes out, the whole

not light bulbs." Flora Protector reveals that the technology was developed for prisons. "Prison guards patrolling the perimeter of a prison carry transmitters, kind of like beepers. If the guard is taken off his patrol [assaulted] it sets off an alarm."

Ain't America beautiful? We can develop technology A recent visit to the newly renovated and privatized signal to a central receiver placed somewhere above in our prisons that we can cultivate, nurture, fertilize and Restoration Corporation? A mere \$15 grand says Flora Protector. But that's just manure on top of the millions spent renovating an oasis for New York's elite to

power lunch in the sun.

P.S.: The Park's hours are 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. Before or after those times, private guards from the Bryant Park Restoration Corp., who look like cops in the dark, will chase you out. Take my word for it.

Ian McGowan is a member of the editorial staff at the Lehman Meridian, a frequent contributor to The Advocate, and a botanist-of-the-asphalt.

Editor's Note: The Bryant Park Restoration Corporation, which controls the formerly public Bryant Park, is just one the six privatized zones which surround the Graduate School. The best known are The Grand Central Partnership and The Times Square Redevelopment Corporation. These private entities who control parcels of the city as

fense network works. In the planting process, the roots of past the cops only cuffed "weed" sellers, but times have corporate fieldoms are almost above public scrutiny and and sanitation crews (who are paid 1/3 of what municipal workers get). They are then given NYC tax breaks for their efforts.

Commentative

How Little Bureaucrats **Grow Into Big Ones**

Queens College's last student newspaper, The Quad, has potentially printed its last edition. The Student Activities Corporation (SAC), which is Queen's student government, voted to cut off funding until such time as the newspaper agrees to take direction from a faculty advisor, and agrees to "run a better newspaper."

SAC voted to defund the newspaper because they disagreed with the way The Quad covered campus news. At the same time, SAC set aside \$10,000 for the creation of a new newspaper, to be run under the direction of the Journalism Department. The Journalism Department says though, that they had never been contacted about this. Student editors of The Quad felt they were being censored. The day after the vote the staff of The Quad were locked

The student government's clampdown in the name of excellence is at once similar to the conservative war cry to defund public television and foreshadows the hoops student groups might be forced to jump through if they want funding in the future. At their March 30th meeting, the no longer will student governments have complete control over how they dispense student activity fees.

At the Board of Trustees March 16th public hearing to discuss this bylaw change, 200 students came to try to persuade the 6 trustees who bothered to show up, who halfheartedly lent their ears, with their minds fully made up, that this was a further erosion of student rights, and presumed irresponsibility where none had been demon-

The reasons for the proposed change, according to CUNY central, are to insure, "that student activity fees are appropriately and properly spent in the best interests of the student body," making specific reference to the USS

spending spree scandal. Student after student contested linking campus student governments with the USS, and pointed out that this latest proposal was absolutely consistent with the central administration's policy of centralizing power with key administrators and with 80th street. Student after student was angered that the Board so readily capitulated to the conservative and often racist smears upon CUNY and its students. Recent editorials from all the NYC dailies had editorialized for administrative clampdown, pointing to the strikes and demagogically to the CCNY tragedy and to the USS. The Post went so far in its demonization of CUNY students as to suggest that most CUNY students didn't deserve the education they were receiving. In other words this latest move of the Board plays right into rhetoric which justifies the slashing of funding to CUNY.

Ironically, the Queens Student Activities Corporation came out in full force to protest this, and seemed truly in shock that the Trustees would take such an authoritarian step against them. "Why," they argued, "SAC had a sur-Trustees voted to amend the bylaws to give administrators plus." SAC had already defunded any student group it control of the Campus Associations, which control the allocation of student activity fees. What this means, is that couldn't act more 'responsibly' than had they. Sadly the Trustees who weren't asleep answered that unfortunately a few bad apples had ruined the situation for everybody,

In the future we can expect more politically motivated defunding, again in the name of 'majority' and 'student' interests. The demagoguery of the argument that student governments need oversight to allocate money according to student interest, is that the administrators who will do the overseeing are themselves beholden to no interest except that of CUNY Central. Similarly the complaints that Channel 13 represents 'special' interests, conceals the interests that govern the private networks.

-- Tara McGann

SER Needs - »Department Reps

Students for Educational Rights is the student advocacy organization which has opposed budget cuts and austerity measures directed against CUNY. SER needs 2 volunteer representatives from each Graduate School department. The representatives will function as contact persons and liasons for SER functions and activi-

Call SER at 642-2695 or leave a note to the attention of Lois Francis in SC 003.

Operation Rescue (Oppress You) is planning massive attacks on women's healthcare to coincide with the Democratic National Convention during July.

A Clinic Defense Task Force has been formed by WHAM! and other reproductive rights groups. It meets 6pm every Monday at the NOW office at 15 W. 18th, 9th Fl

> Call the clinic desense hotline (212) 967-7711, ext.3564 for more details.

On June 20th join.WHAM! in exposing fake clinics that provide no healthcare and lots of lies about abortion.

Clinic Defense Training workshops will be held throughout June.

CALL WHAM! (Women's Health Action Mobilization!) (212) 718-5966.

Defend Women's Healthcare! Abortion is healthcare, healthcare is a right!

Letters & Commentary

Guerre on the Warpath

To the editors:

Here is a 2nd update for members of our university community who have expressed interest in my conflict with our GSUC and CUNY officials. This conflict, which will become more public, is due to their decision to target me politically because of my legitimate off-campus political activities.

My due-process hearing under the City's Office for Administrative Trials and Hearings (OATH) began April 10. I am challenging the grounds for the decision of GSUC and CUNY officials to force me onto an "involuntary leave of absence" under Section 72 of the Civil Service Law. This tactic is frequently used by City management against our municipal workers. An independent psychiatrist, with all requisite credentials, presented an evaluation of me that effectively counters the ludicrous "report" by Stanley Brodsky, one of the mercenary "professionals" whom City government officials generally retain for self-interested and repressive purposes on behalf of our city's elite.

My 10-page refutation of Brodsky's fallacious "evaluation" of me has been entered as evidence for the judge's examination. Furthermore, my case now is under consideration by one of our country's foremost authorities on the history of psychiatric abuse and present abusive practices, and the ground is being prepared for protracted legal appeal of negative decision as well as for a lawsuit by me against the "responsible" CUNY officials, Brodsky, and the violator(s) of our First Amendment rights whom GSUC and CUNY administration, at the highest levels, has sided with.

Nicholas Santangelo, Asst. Counsel for CUNY, is prosecuting the City's contrived "case" against me. Under oath, Santangelo constantly perjures himself as he makes his presentations, which entail lying to the judge. Yosette Jones Johnson, our "human resources" director, sits alongside him. (Understand that they and their four witnesses, do not believe anything they are alleging against me.) Santangelo does this even though I will be testifying at length and will quote extensively from Santangelo and the GSUC's witnesses, refer the judge to their statements "on the record," and then refute them with logic and factual detail. On April 10 I was permitted to speak minimally through my lawyer. I still managed to show that Santangelo was in error about the two major matters of which he was so complacently prat-

On April 24, CUNY officials presented their 3 witnesses. Sadly cowed by our "authoritarians," Mr. Victor Caligiuri, Security Supervisor, lied about everything pertinent to Sept. 12, 1991, the day that I as staff person, non-violently caught a man, neither staff nor student, removing notices posted in our university. Victor was unable to even once look me in the face

during his testimony: I saw plainly that - having to lie, under duress from Jones Johnson, Security Director Joseph Shaefer, and all the rest - he was in emotional agony throughout.

Prof. William Coleman, Comparative Literature, lied on Feb. 25, 1991 about my phone conduct with him and lied about this on April 24. Coleman still hasn't presented a plausible account of our Feb. 25 interaction but has made statements revealing how ignorant he is of Office of Sponsored Research procedures and of my working relations for over two years with Ms. Hilry Fischer, Acting Director of OSR, where I was assigned by Personnel since May 1989. Coleman will be refuted when the hearing resumes in early June.

Contradicting her own true values and best interest, out of insecurity and fear, Hilry Fisher tragically sided with our higher administration and the interloper(s) they favor against me, a fellow worker. After many months of saying to me in the office and stating on my evaluations that "many callers" have said to her that they have had "problems" with my "phone manner," Hilry used her opportunity on the stand to name four individuals. Whereas I had phone contact with dozens of people, Hilry's decision to call upon these four employees (two off-campus) in collaboration with our higher administrative officials could not be more poorly founded. Similarly, on April 24, I was shown a letter from Prof. Tracey Revenson, to Pres. Frances Degen Horowitz, a letter which is as contrived as Mr. Caligiuri's testimony. Her letter pertains to my 1/2/92 document, a 9-page letter to Hilry Fisher, of which I distributed 110 copies that day. Prof. Revenson's complacent lying about its delivery to her apartment building will be exposed in several creative ways.

Hilry had her chance, but she could not have been more ineffectual in dealing with an issue, raised by Santangelo, pertinent to Farrukh Hakeem, the OSR Graduate Research Assistant. (In March, over the phone from that office, Farrukh said to me: "It's very fascist here.") I will go into expository detail about this matter and others pertinent to the OSR when I take the

Against a 20-year background of increasing socio-economic system dysfunction, class exploitation, and business-government policies of "austerity" and repression, we are all by now cognizant of administrative intimidation and resultant fear on CUNY campuses. My unionretained lawyer told me to try to obtain short, positive statements from people who had interaction with me as a GSUC employee these past two years. 20-50 people have written statements, sometimes elaborately. Another 25-30 people have declined to make statements, though they imply no taking of sides in the conflict. They also poignantly confide they understand my situation (as political), appreciate the stands I have taken, and hope I win, but are because a favorable decision is referred to

Offensive Dining Commons Art

Dear President Horowitz,

We are writing to ask that the Graduate Center consider removing Carl Holty's "Drawing, 1925" from the cafeteria.

We find it offensive as it depicts a nude woman, lying prone, facial features obscured, back arched, breasts jutting forward in an attitude of submission. As feminists we are sensitive to the inherent degradation of women which such poses suggest. It is painful, as professional women, to have to confront this daily while we eat, study, and meet with our often male profes

We respectfully ask you to consider this matter.

Alicia Carroll Ph.D. Program in English Carol Siri Johnson Ph.D. Program in English

cc: The Graduate Student Advocate

themselves too afraid of administrative retaliation to actually use and uphold their basic rights to freedom of conscience and expression!

Then again, there have been a number of failed attempts at intimidation to get people with whom I always have had cordial relations to testify against me. One particularly ugly attempt (which may have brought the GSUC) CUNY administration some slight "success") involves several employees on the second floor, the flagrant violation of our privacy rights, and the heavy use of intimidation by Jones Johnson et. al. to obtain a friendly letter respectfully sent by me to a staff person via her friend, and now the degenerate attempt to misuse it against me consistent with the socially destructive purposes of our "authoritarians."

There also has been a particularly heartless act of terror directed against one of the security guards, Jose Santiago, a good-hearted Christian family man, who - after years of solid service at the GSUC - was fired following a brief and pleasant social interaction with me, involving no breach of security. Thanks primarily to Schaefer, economic hardship and psychological strain has been inflicted upon Jose and his family solely in order to "make an example" of him and distance the security personnel from me in order to further the administration's sick and futile attempt to "demonize" me.

Every "due process" hearing under the OATH agency is rigged against the employees

Kids and Their **Allowance**

To the Editor,

When I payed my tuition this term, I asked whether it was possible to refuse paying the Student Activity Fees. I was told that it wasn't. Now I read in The Advocate that again my money will be used to pay for taxi hire, hotel rooms and other "charitable" purposes and I wonder at the common sense of students who allow this.

Under these circumstances I am fully in favor of the CUNY administration to take control of my contribution. After all, when children - and this is what these student colleagues seems [sic] to be - don't know how to use their money to better advantage, the grown-ups should, and must, take over.

Hanna Hechinger Ph.D. Program in German

Editor's Note: Thanks for paying your Student Activity Fee. Very little ever left the Graduate School; in fact only 85 cents of the \$7.50 per semester (now \$18.75) went to the United Student Senate. But rest assured that your 85 cents designated for the USS now lies safe with CUNY administrators. These, by the way, are the same people who approve limousine service for our Board of Trustees. Now who is going to watch the grownups?



agency heads, i.e., in this case Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds herself, who will reject any judgment in my favor: the political attack upon me has to have its origin at 80th Street. Be that as it may, this one little CUNY conflict is going to go on for a long time.

Brian Guerre College Office Assistant Level III

Editor's Note: Brian Guerre has made use of his leave of absence by writing a detailed op-ed piece on the development of a political "progressive coalition" for New York City. It has just been published in the April 25-May 5 issue of The City Sun, available at newstands every-

Attention All Writers!!

The Advocate welcomes all letters and article submissions. Lefters should be brief. The Advocate will withold the identity of letter writers if requested, though all letters must be signed. Articles should be single spaced, no longer than 2500 words; the Advocate will no longer accept contributions unless on a computer disk. The editors reserve the right to refuse and edit all submissions.

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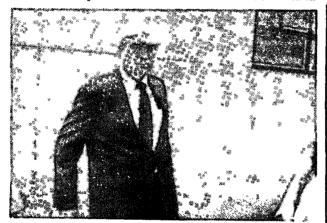
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CUNY NEWS

The terms of three of CUNY's Trustees expire this June. Two of them, James Murphy and Edith Everett, are the Board Chair and Vice-Chair respectively, and are appointed by the Governor. The third, Sylvia Bloom is appointed by the Mayor. The CUNY Community should organize and insist that the Governor and and the Mayor appoint people who have demonstrated a commitment to

public education, are CUNY grads, and do not have pro-sity," an American legal tradition, successfully used by fessional, financial, or political ties which compromise their ability to represent CUNY. If you need any incentive, here are some recent news bites which both suggest and detail the troubled state of CUNY's unelected government: The Board of Trustees.

Trustee Gladys Carrion has found herself in the middle of a political firestorm due to her ill-considered comments about the Puerto Rican and Dominican members of the elected city government. According to Newsday (5/21/92) Carrion commented that "The collective intelligence of Puerto Rican and Latino elected officials is minimal, except for Councilman Linares." CUNY is fa-



Fleet-Norstar hitman Murphy prepares to draw on students.

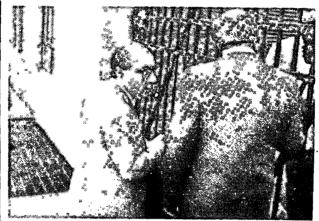
miliar with Michael Levin's more malicious brand of 'is also a member of the New York branch of the Bank of officials, and Councilman Victor Robles resigned from his advisory position on Carrion's agency.

Carrion, who is Dinkins' Community Development Commissioner as well as a member of our Board, recently chaired the Trustees panel which recommended the antidemocratic changes in the disciplinary procedure. These changes watered down the autonomy of each campus disciplinary board by imposing a chair, trained by the central

Knots in the Board

student strikers in the past, because the new chair will decide what evidence can be entered. Due to Carrion's committee, a bureaucratic change has been used to stifle due process and every CUNY student's civil rights.

One of the tasks which this editorial staff has set for itself is to reveal the financial power structure which mediates our Board of Trustees and hence the policies of the City University of New York. It is no secret that several key members of the Board are also executives at major Wall St. companies and financial institutions — just read their biographies in the handbook for the annual meeting. An "exemplary" Board member is William Howard, who



DelGiudice slips into 80th St. through the back door.

uch-sweeping-comments-about-minority-intelligenco----Gredit-and-Commerce-the-notorious-BCCI-(Bank-of Carrion's comments obviously incensed many Hispanic Crooks and Criminals Inc.). Given Howard's high status in the New York branch of a bank which has been indicted for money laundering, and, according to court documents, has also allegedly been involved in a massive worldwide arms trafficking scheme, he must bear some public responsibility for the actions of BCCI. Howard has not, to our knowledge been indicted, but CUNY does not need the influence of an employee of a company such as BCCI.

One of our less visible Board members is the longtime administration. This will wipe out the "defense of neces- Cuomo crony Michael DelGiudice who has finally

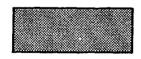
worked his way into the halls of the NYC permanent government and landed a job as general partner at Felix Rohatyn's Lazard Freres, a major international investment bank. Rohatyn controls the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) which has discretionary power over the NYC budget. Back in 1975, to stave off a state takeover of NYC funding, Mayor Beame agreed to

MAC raising revenue through selling bonds in return for setting the (corporate) direction of NYC's budget. Like all effective power brokers DelGiudice "volunteered" his time to chair the Westside Waterfront (now called Hudson River Conservancy) panel. Until it was recently dissolved, this quasi-public entity was responsible for formulating an after-Westway use for the valuable waterfront land which runs from the Battery to Midtown on Manhattan's west side. Its most recent plan, to convert it for recreational use, a waterfront development bonanza, was reported and tentatively endorsed by Newsday (5/22/ 92). What effective powerbrokering! What appears to be concern for the public interest (also an abused war-cry of CUNY's Trustees) on the part of a high-level executive of a major financial house is actually good shopkeeping, for Lazard Freres has a financial interest in several large parcels of waterfront property in the west 30's.

When The Advocate asked about this cozy arrangement, Andy Breslow, a spokesperson for Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger (a Clinton supporter!) dismissed what he characterized as "conspiratorial talk." With no hint of irony he explained that the "civic interest usually transforms into corporate interest." Breslow added, nonetheless, that Messinger's office would function as an environmental and public "watchdog." We'll see what develops, but as CUNY well knows, people like DelGiudice will sell you down the river with a smile, and then insist that they are to be congratulated for "public service".

The last news bite concerns Board of Trustees Chair, James Murphy, a Vice President for External Relations at the huge, powerful bank, Fleet-Norstar. In an article about recent state budget negotiations in Newsday (4/1/ 92), there was brief mention of a bank tax proposed and then scuttled in the State Assembly. The Senate Republicans insisted that the tax only apply to New York City based clearing-house banks, and that large upstate banks such as Keycorp and Fleet-Norstar should be exempted. The article continues, "Some legislative sources traced the

continues on page 9



Unfair Labor Practices in The Dining Commons

Two recent incidents at the Dining Commons, involving cursing at him, and that when he asked Allen to sit down the firing of an employee and loss of several hours wages and discuss the matter he "ran off". Ring then called Steve

for many others, suggest unfair labor practices. On February 21, 1992, William Allen, the young African American bartender for the Dining Commons bar, reported to work at 11:30 a.m. prepared to set-up the bar and open on time. Allen had worked for Restaurant Associates for 5 months, had passed his 1 month probation period, and was represented by the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union.

To his dismay, Allen discovered that the bar area was covered in dirt and leaves, and that all of the plants were who explained that the dirt and leaves were the mess left when an assistant to Ray Ring, Director of Building Design and Exhibitions, removed the plants earlier in the day. though Allen protested that the mess was caused by another office. The mess was so widespread that Allen had to clean out the iceboxes in addition to the dirty surfaces, an 1 1/2 hour process which delayed the opening of the

Allen bagged the leaves and took them to Ray Ring, and stated, "I do not work for you! Clean up after yourself!" dropping the bag of leaves in front of Ring's office. Ring contends that Allen then commenced yelling and

Katz about the incident and was asked to write a letter detailing the incident.

As Allen relates the rest of the story, Steve Katz told him he was "abusing a client." Though Allen apologized to Ray Ring for his actions, he was subsequently fired. When The Advocate asked Ring about Allen's apology he responded, "I don't remember. Truthfully. I really don't." Ring said that he "wrote what happened," though he emphasized that he never asked Katz to fire Allen.

At press time Allen had been unsuccessful in finding missing. Allen called his boss, RA manager Steve Katz, another job in New York City and had moved back to his parents house in New Jersey. Steve Katz declined to comment on the incident and RA's subsequent actions.

In the other incident, the second shift employees of Katz then ordered Allen to clean up the leaves and dirt the Dining Commons lost several hours pay. On Friday, May 1st, when the city was buzzing with paranoid rumors about Los Angeles related protests and looting, RA closed the Dining Commons and sent their employees home at 5 p.m. The staff who usually work until 8:00 p.m. were not paid for the hours lost due to the early closing. Katz stated that the Dining Commons "closed early for fear, just like everybody else. Everybody got paid for the time they worked."

Bruce Kohan, acting vice-president of Finance and

Administration, noted that the Graduate School did not officially close until the regular time, though if employees "did not feel safe they were given [permission] to go home." Kohan added that he was not aware of any Graduate Center employees who lost pay for leaving early.

These two incidents confirm a Restaurant Associates trend towards anti-labor and harsh management tactics.

Just over one year ago, during the CUNY student strike of 1991, employees of the Dining Commons lost several days of pay when Restaurant Associates refused to pay them or offer alternative assignments. As reported in The Advocate (September 1991) RA's actions violated their agreement with the Student Strike Committee to ensure compensation for all Dining Commons employees and also violated the spirit of RA's contract with CUNY, which requires them to meet prevailing wage standards. CUNY employees collected all or partial pay for the time lost during the student takeover. This is consistent with RA's refusal to reimburse employees for lost time due to the May 1 early closing.

Last summer RA also fired over 60 workers at the United Nations dining facility who had joined Local 100 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) and were seeking recognition for their bargaining

-- Andrew Long

L.A. STORIES



Migration Song: Koreans in the 'Hood



Kve-Young Park

The sudden outbreak of "rioting" in Los Angeles awoke my vivid memories of similar violent exchanges between state authority and an urban population expressing its outrage at an unsatisfactory system of justice. It was immediately reminiscent of the popular struggle of 1980 in response to the Kwangju massacre in Korea. I recalled the scenes in which my body was filled with both tear gas and tears. This uprising in Los Angeles must have brought similar memories to many immigrants who thought they had escaped such events by coming to the United States. New residents presumably wince at every depiction of violent repression in their respective homelands, whether it is the wars of Central America and Southeast Asia, the Tiananmen Square occupation, the struggle to overthrow Marcos, or the systematic genocide practiced during World War II. Clearly every ethnic population has their own experiential reference point.

As I viewed the camera footage of a South Central Los Angeles trashed out by arson, looting, and vandalism, my heart was torn apart. It goes without saying that I was indignant at the jury's failure to convict the four police officers who beat Rodney King, who could as easily have been a Korean American. I cried for both South Central Los Angeles and the adjacent Koreatown. Indeed, just two days before the rebellion began, I was continuing my ethnographic research of Black/Korean conflict in the vicinity of Normandie Avenue and 47th St. When this corner was announced as the flashpoint of an uprising, I was totally at a loss for words. I began to wonder if the United States of America was nearing the end of its history, noticing the outpouring of rage toward injustice in American society. What is more, I was appalled at the hypocrisy of American media and government personell. These people pretend to be surprised at this outrage, claiming no previous indications.

It was clear that the media tried to avoid a "racial" analysis at the beginning of the rebellion. A television anchorwoman repeatedly claimed that the jury's verdict was not "race-related." She added that the "rioters" were composed of a diverse population. When the media finally admitted the racial context, however, they had added another perpetrator of racism besides the Simi Valley jury and LAPD.

The next day, I received calls from fellow Koreans in New York and Korea. They were unhappy to see that the American media now tried to tie the Los Angeles violence to a Black/Korean conflict. They easily understood why rioting broke out after the unfair verdict. Why had the analytical background to a city in flames now become a discourse on the Black/Korean conflict? This seemed to be a new twist on "blaming the victim," now directed towards Korean Americans. And they couldn't understand why the name of Latasha Harlins was so frequently in-

Editorial, from p. 1

Opportunity for People Everywhere, and aptly devised by Reagan brainchild, HUD Czar Jack Kemp, suggests home ownership as the answer to urban poverty and homelessness. In cities where most people pay well over 1/3 of their income to a landlord, Bush suggests co-ops for the poor. When cities are more and more in need of constructing low-cost rentals, HOPE amounts to a cruelly cynical policy of selling people middle-class pipe dreams.

The cruel irony is that whether these proposals are named "Weed and Seed", HOPE, or some other moralistic code word, they remain preferential treatment for the rich and low intensity warfare against the poor.

Bush's proposals for the cities is extraordinarily similar to Chancellor Reynold's vision of CUNY, even the language is similar. That is because both are about the rhetorical packaging of what is in fact gutted budgets and the abandonment of historic commitments.

CUNY Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds is also carrying out a weed and seed operation. From its pre-tuition enrollment height of 300,000 students, CUNY's enrollment is now down to 200,000 and many project that the Board's thinly veiled policy of planned reduction of the university will bring enrollment down to 125,000. In practical terms, the latest tuition hike and the College Preparedness Initiative (CPI) will "weed" out students. The arch cynicism of CPI, which will block matriculation to students who have not completed "preparedness" courses, is the moralism of its rhetoric which emphasizes a phantom category of "excellence." Any breathing and thinking New Yorker, and certainly the 80th St. staff, knows that our chronically undergonalized to the staff of the staff, knows that our chronically undergonalized to the staff of the staff.

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Latasha Harlins was an African American girl of 15, shot by Korean grocer Soon Ja Du. After being convicted, this Korean woman was given only a suspended sentence. I had to explain to my Korean friends the effect of accumulated injustice towards African Americans during 4 centuries of American oppression. African Americans are certainly correct in analyzing their limited economic opportunities as resulting from the asymmetrical patterns of power that have developed over the past 400 years. One generation's worth of civil rights reforms will not do away with this. After all, emancipation from racial slavery did not bring about permanent political equality. And now Rodney

Not all the rebels were African American. Nor were all burned buildings Korean-owned stores. But often Korean-owned stores were particularly targeted. Therefore, media commentators mentioned the lingering tensions of the Latasha Harlins/Soon Ja Du incident as another failure of the justice system, whenever allegations of police brutality arose. This rhetorical device gave lip service to the injustices suffered by African Americans, but substituted another perpetrator to divert attention from police brutality.

I talk about the Black/Korean conflict not because I want to make fellow Korean Americans uncomfortable, but because I hope to save the Korean community from future Black/Korean conflict.

Before the rebellion, my ethnographic work in South Central LA indicated that African American resentment smoldering against Korean Americans was about to burst into flame. African American informants suggested that the only solution was for the Korean American merchants to move out of their neighborhood. They predicted that recent educational programs promoting mutual understanding and various cultural exchange programs can contribute to the reduction of tension, but these will not resolve it. These informants also provided a historical analysis of their eighborhood. They have seen Jewish merchants and other white Americans, take flight after the Watts rebellion. Soon these were replaced with Chinese and Japanese merchants. Now Korean Americans take their turn at running stores in this neighborhood. The informants know very well that after the Koreans move out, there will be other immigrant merchants. In fact I had already seen some new ventures run by Vietnamese, Pakistani, Mexican, and other Latin American immigrants. They are certainly not comparable to the number of Korean American business ownerships.

My African American informants were not terribly disturbed by the particular appearance of Korean merchants. Rather, they were greatly disturbed that business ownership has been possible for all other groups except African Americans. In fact, at the beginning, Korean merchants were said to be welcome by the African American residents. Soon, however, they found that Korean merchants treated them similar to the way racist white merchants treated them. The grievances of African American customers have been about the lack of respect from the Korean merchants. However, these complaints are merely the tip of an iceberg.

There are roots to the Black/Korean conflict particular to this case. Koreans assume that as a minority they face the same obstacles as other American minorities. Buying into American ideology, they neglect to observe the advantages that came with their particular migration. They then judge their impoverished hosts as culturally inadequate to the task of hard work.

DSC Cuts from page 2

help fellow students in need, to do the kind of political work which the administration has historically and structurally (given institutional constraints) refused to do. With the threat of incompletes always present, and severe financial aid cuts in effect, who can spare the time? This cut to the stipends will gut the political power of our DSC.

Dean Moreland told The Advocate that he would support a DSC waiver request. The DSC should take him up on his offer of support, and push President Horowitz as well to ask the Board for a waiver. If the request is refused, the DSC should begin to make the necessary legal adjustments to free itself from the various administrative clutches and finally realize an unencombered and uncompromised organization for student advocacy.

Koreans forget that US law limits immigration to those with means of support, either their own savings or the support of a related sponsor. It it quite evident that the success story of Korean grocers is built on a succession of kin-manipulated, patron-client relations among a petit bourgeoisie. Any threat of downward mobility is limited to loss of status among those Koreans who bring professional credentials; they remain middle-class.

Koreans forget that the African diaspora was involuntary. They ignore the history of a slave labor class transmuted into a sharecropper class and into a low-wage labor class. They do not see that in South Central LA patron-client relations function best in gangs. In South Central LA African American kinship networks have been created from scratch. The reciprocal relations that are produced guarantee survival. There is no capital available for business loans.

At the base of this conflict is a principle of capitalism: divide and rule, let 100 ethnicities blossom. An ethnic petit bourgeoisie that builds its self-sufficiency by creating a colony of merchants in a poor neighborhood is also building towards an inevitable conflict. Korean American merchants encourage increasing numbers of Koreans to join them. There is strength in ethnic unity on the frontier of police control. But that strength also makes Korean Americans vulnerable, as the colonial nature of their segment of capitalism becomes more visible and annoying to their hosts. This type of ethnic conflict exists at all comers of the globe.

The impact of economic restructuring upon African American communities should be considered as another important factor which aggravates their situation. Los Angeles gained more jobs in the service sector but lost many jobs in the manufacturing sectors in which many African Americans were employed. More than half the people over 16 in South Los Angeles were either unemployed or out of the labor force in 1990. I relate a third factor to the Republican era. In the '80s, President Reagan curtailed the budget allocations for welfare programs such as food coupons, which severely affected many African Americans in South Central LA.

In the meantime, African American residents were overwhelmed by the great influx of Korean immigrant merchants. These immigrants, experiencing difficulty in access to their former trades, due to language/cultural barriers, and difficulties with their credentials, find themselves forced to enter neighborhoods such as South Central Los Angeles in order to run small businesses. Most of these migrants are from the Korean middle class, some are professionals. These entrepreneurs provide themselves with operating capital through combinations of free support and loans from family, kin, or friends. Initial capital can be accumulated from a few years compulsive saving or through a "Kye" (a rotating credit association). Since the '80s, an increasing number of immigrants have brought money from Korea. These funds are derived from bank loans, savings, and other capital.

Korean Americans own businesses in various neighborhoods such as Koreatown, South Central LA, and many other lower or lower-middle class neighborhoods. Primarily, they run "mom and pop" stores which do not require large amounts of capital. In my research, I found Korean merchants work an average of 16 hours everyday and 7 days a week, 112 hours in total. Some have worked years without taking vacations. It is not exaggerating to say that they overwork to the extent that their physical and mental health has deteriorated. Korean immigrants gradually become aware that they won't be able to realize their Korean American dream. They then invest their hope in the future of their children who they think will be able to compete with other Americans fairly.

A big problem results from the way Korean merchants treat their African American customers. Many Korean immigrant merchants emulate racist white merchants. A few of them assume racist attitudes toward poor white people, too. Many white merchants have learned to treat all customers equally well thanks to lessons from the civil rights movement. For them, "Everyone's money is good, at least inside the store." Some Korean merchants may effect a threatening attitude, in dealing with their customers, which they are prepared to carry through. This is in part due to their distrust of the police department's capacity and willingness to protect Korean investments. This attitude is compounded by barriers of language and culture, as well as the unstable status of a culture in formation. Koreans bring a degree of racial prejudice from their homeland, the political economy of which was developed in close relations with the United States. In Korea, however, prejudice against African Americans was superficial. A more divisive racial bias has been constructed while running businesses in South Central Los Angeles. In the lack of a public policy to deal with urban poverty, violence, and crime in South Central LA, Korean merchants have paraphrased such urban problems into a racial discourse. It is true that most Korean store owners experience shop-lifting almost daily and that they are often confronted with robbery, burglary, and armed robbery. Essentially Korean continues on page 8

L.A. STORIES



On Los Angeles

· · · Page Dougherty Delano · · ·



On Friday, May 1, at the same time I began to hear the first of the street rumors being spread all day through mid-town Manhattan, I bought a copy of the Los Angeles Times on 42nd Street to read what was really happening in L.A., or get closer to it. TV did me wrong, offering more repetitions of the beating of Rodney King, and recycled horror at the fires with little actual coverage. I'd been glued to TV the night before, but I don't trust TV, not that the LA Times is much better. The new Gap on 42nd Street and 7th Avenue, which replaced the old OTB office, where large numbers of young black men used to hang out, along with miscellaneous lackluster white men who perhaps, for me, faded more easily into the background of Times Square, was being boarded up — its new plate glass progressively covered with plywood.

Spread across the front page of the LA Times (East coast edition) was a large photo of South Central LA blacks and Chicano/as lying on the ground, face down, hands plasti-cuffed behind their backs. Dozens of people.

How had they gotten there? What did the police say when they grabbed and threw them on the ground? How did they decide to put the women together? Why were some women allowed to sit up? Were they being defiant? Were guns aimed at these people outside the frame of the

the LA chapter of the Black Panther Party being dragged out in chains, their backs to us, dressed in underwear, their young backs arched by the pull of their hands behind their backs, after a shoot-out with (or rather, attack by) the LAPD in 1969.

I remembered reading about Police Chief Darryl Gate's "unofficial" computer database in a garage; whole network of surveillance files on activists, radicals, dissidents, trouble-makers — our names fed into a computer system to be sent nationwide to other right wing semi-official groups.

My mind returned to the LA Times photo, and the NYC rumors: "They're attacking A & S! Someone got shot at Times Square!" The police were setting up massive monitoring systems for the rally to be held a few hours later. "All the stores are closing down. I wish we would too," said the cashier at the news stand.

I recalled my friends from Junior High in Washington, DC, August 1963, the day of the March on Washington. Their parents kept them in their houses, they couldn't go out. Liquor, that special drink of Senators and Congressmen, could not be sold that day. As I stood with my step-sister near the Washington Monument, readying to walk and shout with a quarter of a million people, I halffeared the crazed blacks who would burst out of this mass, until I began to realize the value of such rumors. My friends, some of whom were beginning to take part in the dialogue against racism so important to us in the '60s, were locked up at home.

And now - one had an image of an unruly mob of young black men storming up 7th Avenue, headed from the broken glass at Macy's and A & S, loaded down with video disks and Gap shirts, avoiding perhaps the incense sellers and black jewelry vendors on 34th Street, taking their vengeance out on the Korean electronics stores at Herald Square, oh swift fury, oh unruly mob swelling uptown towards us, with coke bottles of gasoline swinging from their limbs.

People who burn down their community, or who torch symbols of their oppression - not necessarily the same action — are often viewed with the greatest of horror by citizens who prefer the status quo; representations of them as evil and totally destructive is meant to spread fear, disgust, and active hatred through the population as a whole. The women petroleuses (incendiaries) of the Paris Commune were vilified long after the Commune was brutally defeated. It is estimated 10,000 Communards and supporters, along with people who happened to be caught up in the events, such as men with eyeglasses, who looked intellectual, and thus radical, were slaughtered in the repri- lyst for the subsequent events and what is most striking journal Long News in the Short Century. sals.

Fires did rise up during the Commune's pitched battles with Prussian troops who eventually retook Paris. Some women were shot on the spot by Prussian soldiers; large numbers of women were jailed as suspected petroleuses. Studies show, however, that there were actually very few women incendiaries; that men of the Commune set some of the fires for military purposes, that some fect. buildings burned due to their proximity to other fires, and that the Prussians set others. Women, of course, were often involved in the defense of the Commune, including military activities. Women fired the cannons at the Place Blanche; even before the fighting started, many women were involved in the political organizations. Gay L. Gullickson writes in La Petroleuse: Representing Revolution that, "largely forgotten today...[the] representation of the dangerous, unruly woman — the female incendiary became an international symbol, not only of the Commune itself but also of the evils of revolution, and played a pivotal role in creating a long-lasting emotional response to what was a short-lived (ten-week) revolution" (Feminist Studies 17 Summer 1991). Gullickson goes on to describe society's "fear and fascination with the women who had fought for the Commune," their exploits largely exaggerated." Women were shaped into "wild animals, or mad women." They were painted to be "more like furies This photo made me recall, instantly, the picture of than human beings ... hideous viragos, furies intoxicated with the fumes of wine and blood."

There were dozens of people in the LA Times photo, sire, and its own bleak violence. and some women, probably a whole group in the front

row. What had the women been doing? Out to get milk, out chilling with girlfriends, out looting, or torching? It was daylight.

And there weren't many people out on 42nd Street at 2:30 that afternoon. So I indulged in a little bit of the irrational such rumors were designed, I'm sure, to stir. Later I was told that local high school officials called the Gap on 57th Street, urging them to close up because the kids started getting unruly. Later I heard higher-ups had told the high-ups at Baruch, as had happened throughout other parts of the the CUNY system, including the Graduate Center, to close down early. Riot-speak had gone into ef-

Then I went back to the picture. This, I thought, is how white mainstream, racist America (whatever shape it takes: my neighbors, the man who owns the peep show who stayed open with boarded-up windows, institutions of which I am a part, my in-laws, CBS) desires its Afro-Americans to be, from that stance of possession and overseeing. Not the ungovernable, disaffected, riotous, righteously furious mob; men who had unabashedly toted couches and huge video boxes on their heads in front of news cameras; women who had stepped gingerly over broken glass to get small undecipherable things; women shoving overflowing grocery cars on the street; men driving their cars up, trunks open, to loot; women laughing. Not

The photo was desire trying to overcome desire. One desire was to affect visible, videotapable scars, to offer undeniable proof of rage, despair, and the ability to do violence, the need to get something back for the opened sore. The newspaper photo offered clearly another desire - not order, not peace but suppression of the former de-

continues on page 8

"America is a penitentiary with a flag"

to use at will the violence that is de facto at his disposal. What the Los Angeles "days of rage" have demonstrated once again is that nearly one-third of the individuals of the United States have not entered into the benefits and supposed mutual reciprocity of the rational contract. What most witnessed from afar was the

effect of the wholesale legitimization of police intervention of violence, a systematic brutal act and one justified in legitimization of police intervention without regard for search and seizure and basic first amendment rights.

One of the most salient by-products of the Reagan/ indifference to virtually all of the social welfare programs a rebellion by the European presses, that is to say, a rebellion against the lack of social mobility, geographical relocation and of significant rights to education and meaningsporadic rebellions occur and will occur in the future regardless of the riot control mentality of U.S. city police

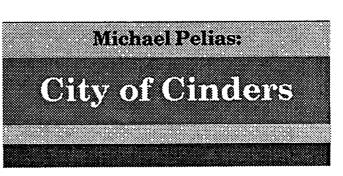
about his particular consciousness is his conformity to passive non-violence. His behavior after the verdict was symptomatic of another aspect of the increasing tendency In his Tractatus Theological Political Treatise, Spinoza, of reactionary history to create another unwitting victim meditating of the foundation of the state and writing (or as the bad joke has it: didn't his family teach him that a within the ideological requirements of his age, generally red light means stop?). Such sterile litanies from the Bush declares: if people give up their violence for the sake of the administration and its reoriented moralism about the state, it is done so on the basis that the individual, before breakdown of family values and the poverty of values the conclusion of the rational contract, has de jure the right translates as economic poverty, lack of a future, and most

paradoxically that of a past. Rodney King found himself in the role of a double victim, one of police brutality and later of being another pawn of the administration's plan for the ghetto. Unfortunately, none of the black leadership has pointed to this dual vic-

timage of virtually an innocent alone.

Instead of the crucial necessity of a progressive rethe name of law and order, in short, the ongoing effective writing and enactment of a new social contract, we can probably expect the same old policies from the neo-conservative government: first, a program of counter insurgency and its decisive role in terms of building the new Bush policies towards urban centers was a total and blatant environment, architecturally a manigulation of space; second, the creation of "free enterprise zones" which basithat were developed in the 1960's. The dismantling of cally would launder illicit funds back into the community such programs yielded such results as gangsta culture, and create a generalized K-Mart economy; and third, an massive unemployment, and illiteracy. The rationality of onslaught of the new rhetoric of the American dream, now late capitalism and the positivism of the new world order - as always - just a pipe dream for the majority of its citiboth desire only imposed contracts upon its subjects and a zens. The so-called city of the future, Los Angeles, is the logic that only can tolerate control. Ironically, what was starting point for a new analysis of the post-modern logic termed rioting looting in most of the U.S. press was called of social control, a city that is not designed in the fashion of the great modernist buildings, as New York is, but one that is built on the principle of anarchic, antagonistic space, one all too revelatory of the class struggle beyond ful job training. It is not a small wonder that these types of Beverly Hills and Wilshire Blvd. It is the retrenchment which demands to be studied in the light of the cityscape.

Michael Pelias is an instructor in Philosophy at Long Is-Obviously, the Rodney King episode was only a cata- land University and a member of the editorial board of the



Mayday Impression

On the evening of May 1, long after the entire Manhattan commuter force fled to the suburbs in fear of riots that failed to materialize, an "integrated" march headed south from the Rodney King rally at Times Square. The African American high school students had been marching all day. When the march reached 34th St., young people poured into Madison Square Garden, running up the ramps, leading security on a merry chase. "This is really stupid!" a CUNY grad shouted repeatedly and all in vain. For it was not stupid at all. It was satisfaction.

Rap has once again been exiled from the Garden. Madison Square Garden, the only indoor space sizeable enough to accommodate the crowds that well-established rap groups draw, has frequently cancelled rap shows, citing crowd violence. This most recently occurred after a gun was fired outside the Hammer show.

Banning rap shows at the Garden amounts to censorship of rap public performance. Who ever heard of a rap concert at Meadowlands or Jones Beach? Furthermore, MSG fits rap audiences to a T, whereas it has been a rather incongruous space for a congregation of barefoot Deadheads on pilgrimage. Half the rap audience was raised on Knicks games and the Garden is the home of the fans as well as the team. You cannot ban the rap audience. Whose money keeps the Garden growing anyway?

When 1000 African American youth poured through MSG, overturning a news kiosk en passant, it was about balance. It was also a hint of what could happen this summer when Democrats ritually convene at Madison Square Garden to select their token opposition.

Tom Burgess

Migration Song

from p. 6

merchants do business in a violent and uncontrolled situation without the state protection provided to other capital enterprises.

Some Korean immigrant merchants show their notions of property and ownership to the point of chasing suspicious customers away with baseball bats. Yet, the previous cohort of Jewish merchants in South Central LA had not relied on such direct methods of coercion. White merchants have access to other strategies. The police in South Central Los Angeles do not think it important to concern themselves with Korean small businesses. It is simply not worthwhile for them to fight for Korean shopkeepers. If it were a department store on the scale of Macy's, it would be different. Why? The inability of Korean

American voices to catch the ear of authority. Indeed the police make good use of Korean merchants who must devise their own means to contend with the side-effects of poverty, violence, and

For some Korean immigrant merchants, the perceived level retribution. At times when police or agencies of the legal system do intervene, they may decide otherwise.

In the '60s when complaints arose concerning Jewish merchants in African American neighborhoods, responses claimed a relationship between the complaints and growing anti-Semitism. In these times, no commentator mentions anti-Asian, anti-Korean, or anti-immigrant sentiments.

Another problem area is the interaction between Korean American merchants and African American customers. Korean merchants operate businesses in the community but do not live there. That antagonizes local residents. African American community leaders insist that Korean merchants should hire local youth as employees. This demand has been accommodated to a degree by Korean merchants, who would otherwise prefer a more subservient labor force, either undocumented workers or Koreans hoping to open their own store. In my study, I found that increasing numbers of merchants hired African Americans, Mexicans, and other Asian Americans.

participation in the local community. However in recent years Korean and African American community leaders have held logical study. She is now a professor at UCLA. many educational and cultural exchange programs. In addition Korean Americans have contributed materially to the local com munity. Many Korean merchants have donated money to social service agencies, as well as, Mexican or African American churches.

In addition they attend funerals or contribute a monetary offering for the deceased family members of their regular customers. Given the high fatality rate in South Central LA, this practice has become frequent. When certain regular customers are released from jail, merchants may offer free food or beer to celebrate. In many cases they allow regular customers credit.

Nevertheless, Korean merchants avoid more significant participation in the local community. Among other local businessman or community leaders, much more communicative interaction with African American customers will be helpful. Beyond mere business transactions Korean merchants need to make a commitment to the community. This is crucial if Korean merchants wish to have the de facto rights of recognized members of the local community.

Like the root causes with the rebellion, the Black/Korean

conflict occurs in the vacuum of a public policy to deal with urban poverty, violence and criminalized drug dealing. Solutions will require full implementation of all rights and privileges due American citizens. Otherwise the Black/Korean conflict will continue to threaten the ability of American cities to function. However, better linkage to the American political process requires strong engagement from the Korean American as well as the African American community.

What has the Korean American community experienced in this uprising? There is no doubt that Korean Americans have been greatly wounded. Nevertheless, I assert that they cannot afford to mourn the loss, damage, and pain any more. In the past many Korean Americans have identified the USA as a White America, excluding the Black America. Korean Americans must realize that they are not protected by the so-called White Amer ica. Recall the fact that during this rebellion the Koreatown district of Los Angeles was completely abandoned. Hopefully Korean Americans will awaken and recognize that Korean and African Americans are in the same boat.

Korean Americans will never become White, because they do not know how to act White. Instead they should join with of the crime overides anyone's concern with a merchant's violent African Americans in the struggles against racism, and for empowerment.

At the same time, Angelenos should not let Korean Americans isolate themselves. The "model minority" status ascribed to Korean Americans notes their ability to take care of themselves and to overcome obstacles. These tendencies should continue.

Many Korean Americans have not overcome the mental shock and material damage sustained during this uprising. Here we must recognize the increasing number of Korean homelessto-be. These Korean Americans condemn state terrorism in the form of police and the National Guard arrest of thousands of undocumented workers and other ordinary citizens during this rebellion. They are truly concerned about the quality of life and the plight of the poverty-stricken and underserved in South Central LA along with other Asian, Latin, and African American minorities. These Korean Americans should not be excluded from the "Rebuild LA!" efforts.

After completing her dissertation study of Elmhurst, Queens, Korean merchants have also been criticized for their lack of Kye-Young Park (CUNY-GSUC-Class of '91) found a field site of a different order in Los Angeles for her most recent anthropo-

■ I Shall Be Released: A Collective Challenge to Federal **Student Loan Policy**

We are presently forming a committee to lobby the federal government for provision for debt release on student loans. We also wish to see the borrowing and repayment process for student loans restructured. Are you burdened by student 🗷 loans with exorbitant interest payments. Do you anticipate such a burden? Please send your name, address, and telephone number to the the following:

> Sally May (K)Not: The Committee for Instituting Student Loan Release 558 9th St., Brooklyn NY 11215

On L.A., from page 7

The fires — I saw none of them being started. On TV the fires burned out of hand, spreading, almost without agency. But of course, along with the prone, handcuffed captives, the fires will become the symbol of the LA riots, and the viragos and gangmembers who set them will be found guilty in the press, and through the lips of politicians and pig-hearted spokesmen and chicken-shit concerned

I went to Brooklyn that night, and as I reached the subway to return to Manhattan with two women friends. five white cops who were gathered on a corner spoke up: 'You girls aren't going to Manhattan, are you?"

"Yeah, why?"

"They're rioting in Manhattan."

"Oh, where?" we asked. But what we didn't realize was that it was a white people's game we were supposed to be playing. We, the white girls to be protected by the white men. "Where?" we asked. "Manhattan's a big place."

"Where do you live?" a cop asked.

"In Harlem," I said, flippantly, and somewhat untruthfully, since I live on the edge of Harlem. But it was the end of the conversation. They said no more. We weren't going by their rules, weren't talking their talk, standing on their ground, living in their world. What world are we living in?

Perhaps we can still make it different.

Page Delano is a doctoral student in the English Depart-

FELLOWSHIP APPLICATION WORKSHOPS

The Proposal, Letters of Reference, **Special Requirements**

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

Students at all stages of course work and dissertaion research are invited to attend one of the following sessions (all to meet in Room 1706):

> TUESDAY, JUNE 9, 5:00 - 7:00 p.m. MONDAY, JUNE 15, 5:00 - 7:00 p.m. THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 2:30 - 4:30 p.m.

N.B.: If you are planning to apply in the fall for a Fulbright grant to do research abroad, you should try to attend a workshop.

For notice of future workshops, direct a stamped, selfaddressed envelop to Sharon Lerner, Office of the Dean for Student Affairs, Room 1519, GC

DO YOU PLAN TO APPLY FOR A **FULBRIGHT GRANT THIS FALL TO** DO RESEARCH ABROAD IN 1993-94?

Applications are available from Sharon Lerner, Office of the Dean for Student Affairs, Room 1519 or Room 1517. Telephone: 642-2134.

FULBRIGHT DEADLINES:

July 14 - Preliminary 1-page project description (and optional 2-page dissertationresearch abstract) must be submitted to Sharon Lerner by this date.

September 18 - Campus deadline for receipt of completed Fulbright applications. (Applications will be accepted only from candidates who meet the July 14 deadline.)

Early-to-mid October - Campus evaluation committee reviews applications and interviews Fulbright applicants.

Knots in the Board

from page 5

Senate's position to its close relationship with some of the upstate banks. Sen. Ron Stafford (R-Plattsburgh), for example, is a director of Keycorp. And Norstar has provided tens of thousands in loans to the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, according to State Board of Elections filings."

The state legislature like CUNY is decisively controlled by corporate interests, such as banks and investment houses, who always defend their involvement in permanent, unelected governments with crocodile tears about their commitment to public service, and spout claims that they are acting in the public interest. Such power peddling is not conspiratorial, it's the grease that makes capitalism run. The individual intentions of Murphy, DelGiudice and Co. are irrelevant, they have been chosen to be on the Board because they are company men. Permanent unelected governments are what makes capitalism work. People like Breslow call this "conspiratorial" because they don't want to recognize unofficial structures of power.

While the corporate roster of our Trustees should come as no surprise, why should we have to put up with a Board of Trustees which will act on behalf of institutions whose interests are quite opposed to public funding for open access to education?

Given the "juice" which the Howards, DelGiudices, and Murphys represent, and call upon to do their power bidding, it is time we claim our right to a representative Board of Trustees. Given the devastating cuts which CUNY has suffered in 1992 and earlier, it is time we organize to reorganize CUNY!

--Andrew Long

POEM: Untitled

What if the F turned west at Smith 9th Street stopped in the Red Hook Projects so that people wouldn't have to walk 15 blocks to the station where they have to climb 125 foot stairway when the elevator is broken on a sub-zero day,

the F keeps going west stopping at an island created out of landfill where visitors who aren't in the top ten percent

income bracket could camp out or stay in a hostel, there is a fower with an ancient F car mounted on a two hundred

foot high cylinder

where people could stare from the N.Y. Statue of

Liberty to the other statue, and then the F goes south

on a causeway to connect to Staten Island so that we can fight

the racist secession of teachers, cops, and firemen who don't want to live in the city they serve.

What if the 2 didn't end at White Plains 241st but actually went to White Plains where the new jobs for plain whites are

after the urban renewers removed all the Blacks to build printed

circuit board office boxes

(Should we do White Plains the favor of maybe confusing people

in thinking it's a city?)

What if the J Train didn't end in Jamaica in its two billion dollar hole but rose out to pick up the unserved riders of southeast Queens and continued out traveling directly above the dixic republicrat Moses' Southern state.

offering paratroop jump-off points all along the way, gliding over the parkway overpasses designed to keep non auto owners away from Jones Beach,

the crown jewel of state sponsored classrace segregation.
The J goes out past the Jones beach stop

rides magnetized ocean waves (We used to invent stuff, didn't

we?) to Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and the

rest of the Caribbean and Latin America, so that the State Department couldn't pretend any longer that the US of America has boundaries,

when our capital, our military, and our lies know no borders.

What if the #7 continued west,
Manhattan exists past Times Square,
went to New Jersey, no more double fares,
turned south and went to D.C., where their subsidized, ghetto
avoiding toy trains could meet our ancient wanderers,
and people wouldn't have to take busses to go to rallies
in D.C.

What if the Els are the last non-privatized part of the state the only place where we can see all of the peopled city, the final chants democratic?

What if the Els were everywhere, after all the fossil fuel and the fossilized thought that goes with it

We would have a whole city again.

Danny Kessler

Danny Kessler is a poet of the city, student of Sociology, and practitioner of the art of everday life.

Cuts to Financial Aid and Faculty Hiring from p. 1

ulty through attrition and the hiring freeze is the impact the budget cuts will have on the exchange of faculty from the colleges to the Graduate Center. Dean for Student Affairs Floyd Moreland says the cuts will likely affect the system in two ways. First, limited departmental openings and resources at the Graduate Center mean less faculty could be invited to teach courses here. Second, the campuses, facing their own decline in faculty, may discourage the release of faculty from the colleges to the Graduate Center.

But the dwindling level of financial support for graduate students may affect the quality of academic life as much as the strain on the faculty allocation system. Students working more hours in order to meet rising costs, and decreased financial support all add up to slower progress in completing degrees. The Graduate Center's national reputation means very little to potential applicants without accompanying financial support. Financial Aid allocation to the Graduate Center has remained stable over the last five years, while the need has risen sharply. In addition, adjunct positions at the colleges, the lifelines for many graduate students supporting themselves, have been decimated over the last few years due to budget cuts.

At the Graduate Center, the unchanging level of financial aid funding proves ever more inadequate. Dean for Student Services and Financial Aid, Matthew Schoengood, says that over the past few years, the number of students qualifying for financial aid has been steadily increasing, up about 20% just this year. At the same time, the number of students who are adequately funded is decreasing. Many departments are decreasing the number of fellowships awarded, and the amount of discretionary funds that the Office of Financial Aid can use for emergency funding for students has shrunk to a minimum. Tuition hikes both increase the demonstrated financial need of students, and require a greater proportion of each year's allocation to be set aside for tuition waivers. Only College Work-Study has the potential to fund more students than it did in previous years, due to a regulation change. Although President Horowitz plans to initiate an endowment campaign next year, the level of private funding at the Graduate Center is very low compared to private schools.

CUNY's tuition has nearly doubled since 1990. Tui-

tion at the Graduate Center for Level I, full-time, in-state students will be \$1675 per-semester, \$2925 per-semester for out of state and international students.

Meanwhile, financial aid has not kept pace either with the increased tuition fees of with rapidly rising need among students at all levels. State-funded financial aid programs such as TAP have been drastically cut, and maximum allocations have been reduced. TAP grants are the primary source of state aid, and at present, only 25% of CUNY students receive TAP. Regents and Nursing Scholarships have been eliminated. The fund to aid part-time students has been cut this year, as well.

Federal money has become increasingly inaccessible. Pell Grants, never more than several hundred dollars anyway, were increasingly restricted to only a small portion of the nation's poorest students during the 1980s. This year the US Senate expanded access to the program, but not to students attending institutions with high loan-default rates, which includes several CUNY campuses.

All departments and programs have sustained financial aid allocation cuts. Departments have a degree of autonomy in deciding how they will implement financial aid and OTPS cuts, but students at all levels of the doctoral program will feel them. In the Sociology program, for instance, there are no funds for Level III support, and out of the 38 incoming Level I students that applied for financial aid, only 4 received fellowships and 3 received tuition waivers. In nearly all departments, adjunct teaching positions remain scarce and the pay of \$1900 per class, per semester, is barely enough to cover tuition.

Continuing students will also find Graduate Center resources drastically cut back. Mina Rees Library will cut back its hours and may close whenever classes are not in session, including next January. The Computer Center and Student Services offices (financial aid, business and accounting, registrar, and Office of Expanded Educational Opportunity) will also reduce hours, thereby lengthening the amount of time that it takes to complete regular business. Student services will lose at lease six positions for the upcoming year.

The known impact of these cuts paints a bleak picture. But considering much of the \$3.17 million will be taken from academic programs and offices, it is still unclear how this will affect day-to-day operations for students, staff, and faculty.

--Pam Donovan

Bias Pamphlet, from page 2

may wish to file a formal complaint as an individual. Still others may decide that a public campaign is in order, involving articles in the student newspaper, direct actions sponsored by ad hoc committees; by departmental student organizations, or by one or more of the student groups that exist in part to defend students of traditionally marginalized groups: the Black Students Alliance, the Feminist Students Organization, the Organization for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Concerns, Students for Educational Rights, the Asociación de Estudiantes Latinos y Latino Americanos, the Korean Students Organization, the Chinese Students Organization. The possibility of lawsuits should never be dismissed. Whatever a student chooses to do in pursuing her or his grievance, we would like to stress that the only way any improvements will ever be made is by fighting back.

Tuition Raised \$600 for New Students from page 1

the same meeting. After the first time CUNY declared fiscal exigency, CUNY was censured by the Association of University Professors. These new guidelines, according to Faculty Senate Chair Fred Picken, meet nationally recognized standards. Picken maintains that many faculty candidates did not accept positions at CUNY because of the AUP's seven-year censure. The censure was lifted after the University established guidelines in 1983.

The CUNY administration has proposed an early retirement plan as an alternative to dismissing employees. The early retirement initiative for senior faculty and staff members will give faculty and staff over 50 years old the option to retire early. University officials claim that more than 900 faculty and staff will avail themselves of this option, under review for state approval.

If there is a ray of sunshine in an otherwise dismal and foreboding sky, CUNY did receive a \$13 million restoration in funding for Associate Degree programs at John Jay and New York City Tech. For two years running, the State has refused to fund these programs, insisting that the City pay the needed \$19 million. In 1990, the City cashed in MAC bonds and last year it collected money from a failed tax abatement agreement with AT&T, in order to fund these programs.

Ken Stein is managing editor of The Lehman Meridian and a frequent contributor to The Advocate.

المالياتيات الأفاف فأناف فالمتابيع فيهر الكيب المؤمران والمساهاي

Arts & Events

Change always involves some sort of feedback, be it as rigidly defined as "Thesis + Antithesis = Synthesis" or as chaotic and random as life below the macroscopic level. The changes in Eastern Europe are no exception, and at the same time that some bands are being given credit for changing the system, they are affected by those changes. For instance, it used to be that many Soviet bands couldn't get out of the country to tour abroad because the state wouldn't allow it if they were perceived as dissidents. Now, all are free to travel but they can't afford to, and the state no longer supports tours financially. Banned 'artists' recordings used to be distributed underground through the exchange of cassettes. What happens now that capitalist practices are put into effect - is home taping still OK? Now that the focus of antiregime writing has vanished with the disappearance of the monolithic target of the state, can the same passions be aroused for

other subjects?

The most politically active band from Eastern Europe is also the best known: the Czech band Pulnoc (pronounced "poolnotz," it means "midnight"), who even had a major-label release in the U.S. last year, City of Hysteria, on Arista. They must be the first band ever, from anywhere, whose liner notes were written by their country's president. Vaclav Havel actually wrote the essay about the previous incarnation of Pulnoc, The Plastic People of the Universe, who were banned by the Czech government. Surviving past the Prague Spring, the Plastics were long persecuted, some of their confiscated equipment sat for 20 years collecting dust in a courtroom, and leader Ivan Jirous was sent to prison four times. Having been formed just folwhat was then the American music underground, especially the Velvet Underground and Frank Zappa & the Mothers of Invention. Plastics Milan Hlavsa (bass, vocals), Josef Janicek (keyboards), and Jiri Kabes

<u> Easjorn European Bands Emerge</u> Brom State Imposed Observed

Steve Holtje

were recognized by the government in Brooklyn label/distributor, Community 3,

in Pulnoc's music are hidden, but they definitely sound like the Velvets, and it's not just the viola player. The band is aware of it, of course; on City of Hysteria they cover "All Tomorrow's Parties" and entitle one track "Song for Nico," and vocalist Michaela Nemcova exhibits Nico's icy diction and phrasing not only in English but also in Czech. The self-aware passion and inventively amateurish guitar of Velvets leader Lou Reed, however, are the strongest resemblances. It's tempting to think that, after the Russian crackdown, the band members spent 20 years with no new musical input, but it can never be forgotten that for these musicians, the idea of rockers as rebels went far deeper than in most Western bands as the members of these two bands were part of the underground intelligentsia. City of Hysteria - the reference may be to Prague - Nemcova's accent makes the English lyric of this title song sound like "city of history" - amply conveys the energetic fervor of the songs even when, as on most of the record, they're sung in Czech (translations are inship-oriented lyrics are deeply imbued with of a rock band. On some numbers, they're the mystic existential angst associated with the East.

The situation in the Commonwealth of lowing the Summer of Love, they were a Independent States (C.I.S.), the organizapsychedelic band strongly influenced by tion of most former states of the Soviet Union, is full of variety and chaos. The former state record company, Melodiya, is failing fast, never having learned capitalist record promotion techniques. They've refused to press rock albums on CD, saving

(rhythm guitar, viola) formed Pulnoc and that honor for their classical music line. A signed a reciprocal distribution deal with Whatever Mothers influences there are Erio, only to see Erio decide that selling building materials was more lucrative. The record company that more or less replaced Erio is FeeLee; between them and Comm3, a nation-wide talent search was conducted. Up to this point, in the U.S. (and worldwide) Comm3 has only been able to distribute old Erio LPs, but in October they plan to release, in the CIS and around the world, a CD of the all-female St. Peters-

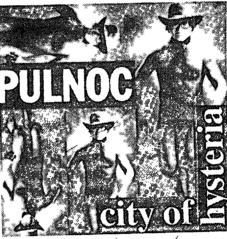


photo: Minná Pyyhkala

burg quintet Kolibri, which Comm3 says cluded). Even the non-political, relation- will be the first joint U.S.-C.I.S. CD release mid-'80s synthesizer-and-drum-machine New Wavers; elsewhere there's an accordion and they sound like a sparsely weird cabaret act; when not bordering on corny, they're quite sinister.

The seven LPs Comm3 is already distributing (some include translations) could not be more dissimilar, even though most of the artists are from St. Petersburg. Russia and the states to its west have a broad

range of Western influences available, everything from the BBC (including John Peel's famous alternative programming) to MTV to a Lithuanian label that's licensed England's 4AD label (with such acts as the Cocteau Twins and Pale Saints). The most eclectic of the bands available through Comm3 has to be the Tallin, Estonia group Ne Zhdali, which sounds like a circus band on a caffeine binge. They throw together jazz, Captain Beefheart polyrhythms, skronk guitar, sardonic marching band music, and art rock a la King Crimson's album Lizard, complete with prominent trumpet and cowbell parts. If they were a New York band, they'd be favorites at the Knitting Factory. The future of Ne Zhdali is in doubt, however; the two songwriters moved to Israel in an attempt to make more money.

Nastia is more typically Russian. From Sverdlovsk (in the Ural Mountains near Siberia), on Noah Noah she sounds like a cabaret singer from 1920s Berlin inhabiting the body of Kate Bush, but singing in Russian and accompanied by martial drumming. What lyrics this writer has seen translated are not overtly political, but are dark and brooding. DDT's Periphery, on the other hand, was banned by the KGB in 1988, but tapes circulated underground. This Green band (included in a PBS documentary) from the little town of Ufa is named after the chemical and protests the U.S.S.R.'s abysmal ecological record in an anthemic classic-rock style. But the cheap amplifiers through which their Mott the Hoople riffs are heard give them a bit of a punk sound, even if on one ballad they sound like dead ringers for Supertramp.

The late Alexander Bashlachev, who may be remembered as the Russian Bob Dylan, committed suicide in 1988 by jumping from a seven-story building after being turned down by Melodiya, at the time the only label in the U.S.S.R. The Third Capital, compiled posthumously, would be haunting in any case, with Bashlachev's continues on next page

Summer 92: 8 Days a Week

While all media attention goes to July's lenges the former for this night's musicolconventional democrats in the Garden, avoid those tourists by becoming a regular at these regular gigs. Not much sunshine, but conditioned air available by the cubic yard.

*Every Monday:

The Grammy Award-winning Monday Night Orchestra @Sweet Basil, 887th Av &Bleecker, 242-1785. Most of Miles Davis' early compositions were arranged by Australian Gil Evans. Miles Evans keeps this work very alive along with tight ensemble work by notorious New Yorkers who usually run their own bands.

Les Paul Direct from a promotional tour of the Sam Goody chain w his repacked CD of Djangoesque virtuosity! The founder of the solid-body guitar can now be found @Fat Tuesday's, 190 3rd&17th 533-7902. Salsa Meets Jazz @Village Gate, Bleecker vs. Mambo Mondays @SOB's, 204 Varick Pierce Turner @Sine E, St.Marx (1st (7th & Houston) 243-5062.

ogical niche. SOB's offers free dance lessons for early arrivals. In the wings, a nightly "Latin &Jazz Fest" 6/9-7/5 @Blue Note, 131 W3rd St 475-8592.

Assorted Blues Bands @Manny's for women.

Chanting House @Paddy Reilly's, 2nd &27th, 686-1210.

*Every Tuesday:

Chanting House @Red Lion, Bleecker. That's right, they've reappeared 30 blocks

*Every Wednesday:

Mingus Big Band @Time Cafe, 380 Lafayette, 533-7000. Many of the usual suspects from the Monday Night Orchestra re-appear.

Black 47 @Paddy Reilly's, 495 2nd &27th, 686-1210.

*Every Thursday:

&AvA) free!

Cashing in on a B'way hit the latter chal- Chanting House @Paddy Reilly's, 495

The hardest working band in the Ceili business. & in the same genre, an

Irish Seisun @Katie O'Toole's, 134 Reade &Hudson 226-8928 8pm. A reel acoustic

*Every Friday:

Pork Chop @Sine E, St.Marx (1st&AvA) free! Hoboken hobos.

*Every Saturday:

Black 47 @Paddy Reilly's, 495 2nd &27th, 686-1210. Ladies, gentlemen, Carwash,369-2583. Free drinks & passage & misfits of all genders: The hardest band in the Ceili business.

*Every Sunday:

Jam w Rbt. Ross Blues Band @ Chicago B.L.U.E.S., 8th Av &14th 255-7373 9pm. "Musicians: bring your instruments." Basoonists, this could be your big break! *&Everynight:

Roger Ridley @Times Square Broadway Local. Sounds like Wilson Pickett with the sensitivity of Percy Sledge or perhaps Levi Stubbs with the melody of Sam Cooke. Though he dwarfs his acoustic guitar, Ridley's country blues style is not overshadowed, and brings a new dimension to R&B standards like "Rainy Night in Ga.," "For Your Precious Love," &US Bonds' "Dancing w My Baby All Night."

2nd &27th, 686-1210. Ladies &gentlemen: If you must beach, combine your aquatic & audio pleasure @Jones Beach. The season peaks 8/23 w NY Rock & Soul Revue 8pm \$25. Composed of Boz Skaggs, Phoebe Snow, x-Drifter Chuck Jackson, as well as Donald Fagen, Walter Becker, &the other Mike McDonald. It's as close to Steely Dan as we'll get. Call Delsener or Ticketmaster for season schedule.

If you gotta have park, get me Central w Summerstage @Rumsey Playfield nr E72. Season starts w a fundraiser:

6/10 Simply Red 7pm \$15, or free under the trees. &p/u summer schedule. There's usually 3 free events of interest per week. P/u yet another schedule @Town Hall for all events and locations of the NY Jazz Festival, 787-2020. Like:

6/22 Sidemen Suite @Equitable Aud., 7th &51st 8pm \$25. David Murray, Ed Blackwell, &Fred Hopkins. For John Carter on Mars.

6/22-26 Jazz in the Sky, Empire State Building, noon hour. Get your daily dose of cultural imperialism for the \$3.50 observation deck fee.

During the Jazz Fest &thruout the summer, Lincoln Center's Bandshell has free performances by name-brand musicians. August should feature an all-day folk festi--- Thomas Burgess

Graduate Center News

Loose Canon: Cahn on the Loose

Spring brings the Alumni Association ate school. Book Fair to the GSUC mall with all profyear's book fair was one of the biggest ever in sales, thanks in part to a substantial donation of books from Provost Cahn. "They went like hot rolls," reported Gertrude Schneider, head of the Alumni Association. Elsewhere, books by the Provost have not sold so well, such as the enigmatically entitled Ethics in Academia. It's been remaindered by the publisher and is available for \$3 in hardback from mail-order companies that specialize in this type of recircula-

I myself picked up Steven Cahn's Philosophy of Religion (Harper & Row, 1970) at the Alumni Book Fair for less than \$2. (Readers of the Advocate may have noted my interest in the sociology of philosophy expressed in an earlier article on Michael Levin.) Cahn's edited volume features his own article, "The Irrelevance to Religion God." My guess is that this was once cut- Mystics invent data to express their vision. ting-edge work in the academic rush to In drawing attention to their findings, sursial "God Is Dead" thesis of theologian sion for both perspectives. The juxtaposicited. Cann correctly pointed out that linnor deter belief based on an individual's interpretation of experiential reality. In other words, there's no use arguing with zealots. Otherwise put, the jargon of acafeel so motivated as to take up totally unexpected behavior. Such behavior may include, but is not limited to, activities as irrational as a ten-day occupation of a gradu-

Given this barrier in communication, its going to grad student scholarships. This can a philosopher have a rational discussion with the religious? Cahn says you can't. Can an administrator and strikers have rational negotiations? Well, the strikers may claim that your logical projections are based on a set of limited and all too conveniently-selected truths. Your wellchosen words cannot encompass the material reality they experience. You might as well just tell them anything!

Some things never change, but some people never learn. Let's not confuse the very limited similarities between the practitioners of mystic and material relations. To the degree that official descriptions and measurements of existing conditions are limited in relevance, the materialist is forced to find new modes of analysis and action. That only requires a good imagination, not a religious experience. Materialists use their imagination to re-sort data so of Philosophic Proofs for the Existence of that it might express their experience. cash in on media attention to the controver- realism has been a useful form of expres-Thomas Althizer, though he is nowhere tion of the unexpected with everyday life compels one's attention. The expression of guistic-based logic will neither advance the mystic, however, is lodged in the breadth of possibility. On the other hand, the reality of material relations is found through the experience and witness of economic inequality. And there are times demic administrators will have no effect on when the actions of the experienced speak those who by their negative experiences more eloquently than the words of logi-

Tom Burgess

Services for Persons with Disabilities

The Graduate School and University Center does not discriminate on the basis of disability in the admission and retention of students or the employment of faculty and

The 504 Coordinator for persons with disabilities at the GSUC is Dr. Floyd L. Moreland, the Dean for Student Affairs: Room 1519; Telephone: 642-2105.

The GSUC Student Handbook describes facilities, equipment, and services available at the Graduate Center for persons with disabilities. Dean Moreland or his assistant, Ms. Sharon Lerner, are available to answer questions about these as well as to discuss particular needs that a student may have in the way of physical requirements or academic program accomodations.

The Graduate School and University Center has adopted an internal grievance procedure providing for prompt and equitable resolution of complaints alleging any action prohibited by the Office of Civil Rights regulations implementing Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and its amendments. Grievances should be addressed to: Dean Floyd L. Moreland, Room 1519; Telephone: 642-2134.

Copies of the grievance procedure are available in the Dean's office.

Volunteers Sought

GSUC students with disabilities need assistance. Responsibilities could inchide assisting as a reader, interpreter, writer, or library helper. No minimum iane commitment. Volunteurs stould contact.

Sharon Lettier in the Office of the Dean for Student Affairs. Room 1517 or 1519, 642, 2134

Graduate School to Organize Student Money Committee · · · Joanna Sharf · · ·

Board of Trustees revised its by-laws to change the constitution of the College Associations, that oversee student government budgetary expenditures. The revised by-law changes the structure of the College Associations by abolishing the previously mandated student majority on those committees, and retracting the waivers granted to the Graduate Center, Queens College, and several other campuses. Prior to this revised by-law, the president of the Graduate Center acted as the "College Association" and the DSC had full discretion on how to spend its budget.

To comply with the new by-law, the Graduate Center College Association committee must be composed of 13 members. These members are: the President or her designated as chair; three administrators

At its March 23, 1992 meeting, the CUNY appointed by the President; three faculty members chosen by the President from a panel of six elected by the Graduate Council; and six students. The three DSC cochairs and three other students elected by the DSC at its September meeting will make up the student members.

According to Dean Floyd Moreland, the three administrators appointed by the president will most likely include himself and Howard Helfgott, Business Manager of the Graduate Center. The Committee on Committees will recommend a slate of faculty members to be voted on by the Graduate Council at its November meeting. Consequently, the new College Association for the Graduate School will not be in place until that time though the revised by-law is supposed to take effect as of July 1, 1992.

Adivity Fee Increase Votes in

Joanna Sharf

The Doctoral Students' Council ran a referincrease the student activity fee from \$7.50 to \$18.75 per semester. These figures do not include the .85¢ that usually goes to the University Student Senate, which has been suspended by the Board of Trustees.

The referendum passed with 218 students voting in favor, 162 voting against, and 21 abstaining. Altogether, 401 students returned their ballots in time and voted. This number fulfills the D.S.C. constitutional requirement that a quorum of 10% of the Graduate Center student population vote on such a referendum. There are slightly more than 3900 students enrolled at the Graduate Center this year.

Brave New Worlds from p. 10

strangely tuned and percussive guitar backing his anguished voice in tortured songs self-recorded. Even without translations, the emotions are strong. Another dead folk singer, Mike Naumenko, was more traditionally self-destructive, dying from the poor health that afflicts so many harddrinking Russians. If Mark E. Smith of the Fall thought he was Billy Bragg, it would sound something like this - a Les Paul accompanied by the most minimal bass and percussion. His album LV includes a bit of primitive sampling among its fuzz-guitar shuffles.

Nautilus Pompilius migrated from Siberia to St. Petersburg. On Separation they play standard Russian rock, with cheezy keyboards, some wailing sax, and a mix of Russian folk rhythms and basic Western rock. Auction is the most up-todate and Western-sounding of these bands, and Cavity is a progressive-rock concept LP (not that the concept is visible without translations). The address of Community 3 is 7 Dunham Place, Brooklyn, NY..11211; their phone/fax number is (718) 599-2205.

Perspectives, The New York Review of Records, and The Graduate Student Advocate

Prior to the referendum, in March, the endum on its 1992 Spring election ballot to DSC gathered 402 valid signatures on a petition calling for the referendum. This satisfied the CUNY by-law which called for a petition signed by 10% of the student population in order for the referendum to take place.

The student activity fee increase, still awaits approval by the Board of Trustees, which will probably take place at the June

The DSC passed a preliminary budget at its May 14, 1992 meeting, allocating the additional funds raised by the increase to various areas. \$50,000 of this increased revenue, matched with \$50,000 from the Graduate Center administration, will pay for a nurse practitioner, assistant, office and supplies, to be located at the Graduate Center. Contrary to certain misconceptions, a nurse practitioner can make most diagnoses, prescribe most medications, provide full physical and gynecological examinations, and handle most medical cases short of surgery and setting bones. The nurse practitioner would be hired under the auspices of Mt. Sinai Medical Center, which would take responsibility for the supervising and insuring of the office.

The DSC passed a preliminary budget with the proviso that a projected \$10,000 allocated for retaining a lawyer for students, not be acted upon until further discussion by the representatives at the September meeting. Lawyer's services had been proposed to help international students who have visa problems and related difficulties, all students with registration, loan and financial trouble, and to generally provide counsel when appropriate to all students. An additional \$5,000 was proposed for the student newspaper. Other funds raised by the increase will supplement allocated monies for cultural events, supplies, telephone, postage and printing costs, as well as the travel and research fund that reimburses students for participation in conferences.

If students have comments on these Steve Holtje writes for Cream, New York | budgetary items, they should notify their DSC representatives prior to the September meeting.

DSC ANNOUNCEMENTS

Doctoral Students' Council 1992-1993 Budget

The following 1992-93 budget, shown here in comparison to this year's 1991-92 budget, was passed by the DSC on May 14, 1992, with the proviso that the \$10,000 allocated for the lawyer (#122) not be acted upon until further discussion and review at the September meeting.

	`91-`92	'92-'93
	Budget	Budget
Line # Category		
101 Departmental Allocations	\$11,000	\$11,000
102 Chartered Organizations	6,000	6,000
103 Cultural Affairs	2,000	7,000
104 Stipends	13,686	13,686
105 Publicity	0	0
106 The Advocate	9,500	14,500
107 Supplies	500	2,000
108 Postage	1,000	3,000
109 Telephone	500	2,000
110 Copying/Printing	1,000	3,000
111 N.Y. Public Library Copying	2,500	2,500
112 Travel & Research	5,000	15,000
113 DSC Discretionary Fund	200	200
114 Steering Discretionary Fund	200	200
115 Capital Expenditures	1,000	1,000
116 Elections	1,000	1,000
117 Coffee Hour/Social	2,700	2,700
118 DSC Travel/Lobbying	1,500	1,500
119 Emergency Fund	214	214
120 DSC Special Events	500	500
121 Nurse Practitioner		50,000
122 Lawyer Retainer Fee		10,000
123 DSC Scholarship		3,000
TOTAL	60,000	150,000

The Advocate urges all students to contact their DSC reps if they have suggestions or questions about the budget.

Editorial, from p. 6

funded high schools cannot meet the standards which they have set, and so this will result in denying further educational opportunities to poor New Yorkers.

Reynolds proudly announces "a leaner but still very effective" institution even though only 40% of CUNY's largely working-class student population are able to stay in school until they complete their degrees. So, CPI and tuition hikes coupled with financial aid cuts will "weed" poor and minority students and CUNY will then "seed" with a free semester for the 40% who get that far: But more insidiously, the ideological webs the Chancellor weaves, are spun from a limited vocabulary intended to cordon CUNY off from the broad population. The message is that there is an excluded element to whom the mission no longer

HOPE, as an abstract noun, resonates with our University's hope for restitution of funding from a legislature hellbent upon its evisceration. This misleading acronym is similar to the Chancellor's free semester "incentive" for financially strapped students, the carrot in her rhetorical arsenal. And like Bush's urban policy which uses phony opportunities to turn one section of the population against those who have been or are in danger or being evicted from the polity, the free semester is an obvious attempt to diffuse anger over the \$600 tuition hike and turn those who can complete their education against those who cannot.

Bush's plans are finally about the redrawing of cities and excision of sections of the population from a polity, permanently separating them from housing, education, opportunity and public space. Whether martial law is imposed on the ghettos or not, civil liberties will be abrogated. These policies will further evict the permanent poor from housing, creating more homelessness. Homelessness is thus revealed as the metaphor for those excluded from the polity. Similarly a mass eviction policy is going on at CUNY, clearing away unprepared and undeserving students like the bulldozers that will "clean out" crack houses. Both amount to a redrawing of city space, the ejection en masse of people no longer of any use to the polity. Poor people and the overwhelming social problems which produce their misery are nothing more than weeds to be ... weeded.

Chancellor Reynolds is a corporate-minded public administrator, like Chief Gates, for both slice and dice social space without concern for civil rights, replacing access with surveillance and privatization. The antagonistic manner in which CUNY Central relates to students, and portrays protestors as criminals, is analogous with the tarbrush criminalization of the urban poor which Gates enforces. Finally, like Gates, Reynolds is an austerity enforcer who provides an ideological cover for strong-armed tactics to dismantle public institutions.

CUNY GRADUATE CENTER DOCTORAL STUDENTS' COUNCIL

OFFICERS AND REPRESENTATIVES

For 1992-1993 (as of 5/18/92) DSC OFFICE: SC 001, Telephone: 642-2851

Executive Committee:

Co-Chair for Student Affairs: Margaret Groarke/Political Science Co-Chair for Communications: Granville Ganter/English Co-Chair for Business Affairs: Jonathan Lang/Dev. Psychology

Steering Committee:

Lois Francis/Political Science Jarrod Hayes/French Kelley McFarland/Anthropology Gordon Crandall/Mathematics Andrew Long/Comp. Literature Michael Yomi/Economics

DSC Representatives:

Anthropology

Kelley McFarland, Christine Kovic Megan McCormick, Alfredo Gonzales, Anthony Marcus

Art History

Jennifer Borum (unconfirmed), John Kaufman

Biochemistry No Representatives

Biology Louis Roccanova

Biomedical Sciences

Martin Lock, Jiao Jiao Zhang

Business

Tony Cantarella, Mohamed El-Etribi

Chemistry

No Representatives

Classics James Mulkin

Comparative Literature

Ann Simmons

Joan Parkin, Andrew Long, Deborah Smith-Bernstein, David Goldfarb, Tara McGann

Computer Science

Tamer Avcilar, Doris Bodine

Criminal Justice

Charles Campisi

Earth & Environmental Science

Laura Whitaker

Economics

Michael Yomi

Educational Psychology

Sarah Boslaugh Patrick Moore

Engineering

Jinnan Chen

English

Joanna Sharf, Granville Ganter, Page Delano Lauren Albert

French

Angela Bargenda Jarrod Hayes

German

Elizabeth Powers Christine Kallinger History

Florence Asher, Dewar MacLeod

Liberal Studies Sam Binkley

Linguistics

Harriet Taber Robert Hollander, Nicolas Papacostas, Beth Craig

Mathematics

Fenton Li Gordon Crandell

Music

Luann Dragone, Antonio Piza

Philosophy

Ian Gardiner

Physics

Angelos Castellanos

Political Science

Jonathan Kranz, Lois Francis Margaret Groarke

Psychology Subprograms:

Biopsychology

Thomas Weickert

Clinical

No Representatives

Developmental-Toni Genovese

Elizabeth Kelly, Jonathan Lang

Environmental

Stephanie Scott

Experimental Harvey Neiderbach

Industrial & Organizational

No Reps

Learning Processes

Barbara Adams Neuropsychology

Nan Min

· Social Personality

Beth Brofee

Social Welfare

David Feldstein

Sociology

Michael Lewis, Agustin Lao, Manjula Giri Qanny Kessler

Spanish

Luisa Garcia Conde

Speech & Hearing Sciences Joanne Gerenser

Theater

Philip Alexander

University Student Senate:

Representative: Michael Yomi/Economics

Alternate: Laura Whitaker/

Earth & Environmental Sciences

Media Board:

Granville Ganter/English Co-Chair for Communications Vincent Tirelli/Political Science

Note: the remaining two members of the Media Board will be elected by the DSC at the September meeting.

Wayne Wai/Sociology

DSC Tuition Scholarships

The Doctoral Students' Council of the Graduate School has proposed funding six \$500 tuition scholarships. These scholarships will be offered pending approval of the budget. Only incoming students who are graduates of the CUNY Colleges, and can demonstrate need, are eligible. For further information contact the DSC at (212) 642-2851/ leave a note at SC 001.