

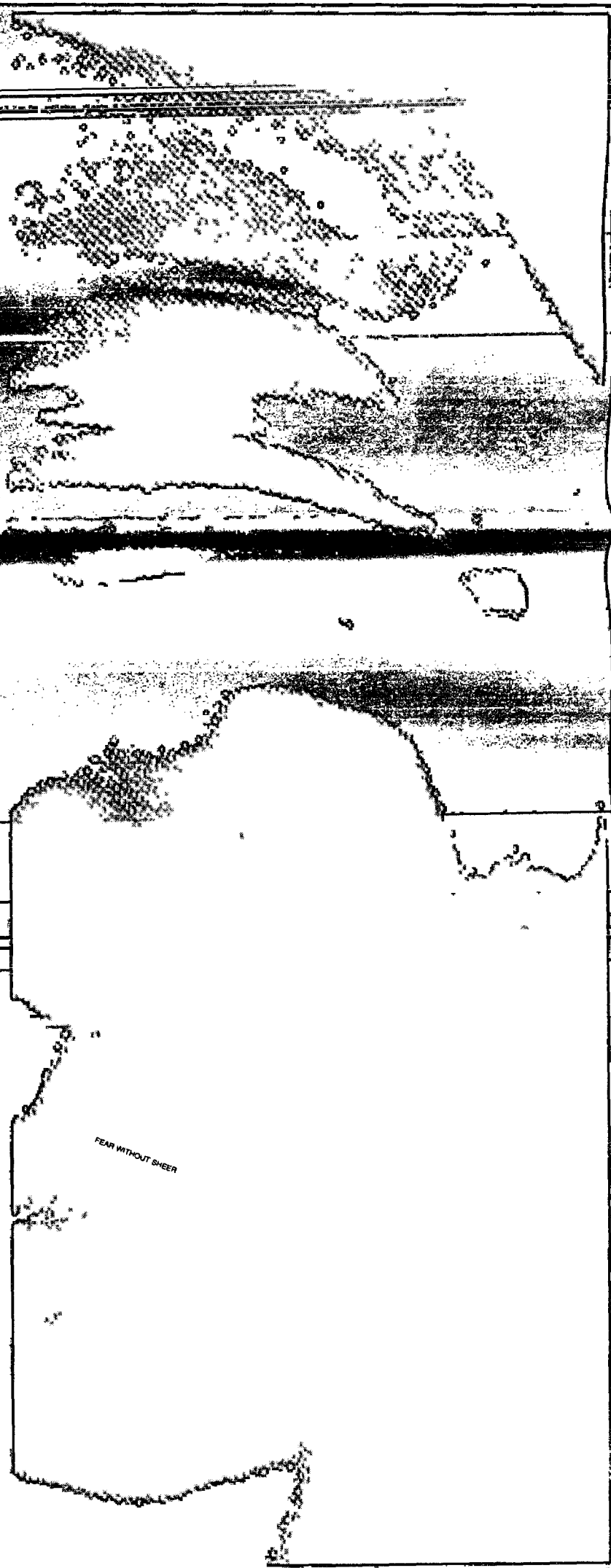
# THE ADVOCATE

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK GRADUATE SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CENTER

YOUR  
SAFETY  
IS MY  
COMMAND

With discontent at budget cuts intensifying, CUNY Central deploys its new \$22 million a year political police (page 3).

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CUNY COALITION: WHAT WENT AWRY (PAGE 12)

## EDITORIALS

## PUNITIVE DAMAGES

FROM ALBANY TO CUNY to the University of California, in recent months politicians and administrators have leveled a barrage of attacks on students and working people. On September 1, Pataki brought the death penalty back to New York State and CUNY has introduced "peace officers" onto the campuses this fall. Meanwhile, the University of California voted to dismantle its affirmative action policy.

These new policies all have the same message. They imply that the biggest concerns people face are crime on campus, violent offenders on the street and minorities taking jobs or getting university places they do not deserve. Yet this is only a finger-pointing tactic on the part of politicians and administrators, an attempt to convince people that the real problems people face are not really that important, problems such as retrenchment in universities, pervasive racism, and a shrinking job market.

Here at CUNY Grad, has the administration's smoke and mirrors game worked? Retrenchment has hit home at the Grad Center and a pallor seems to have settled over the school. Students returning this fall were handed bigger tuition bills and adjuncts received pink slips. Yet administrators' botched attempt to improve the NYPD's standing on campus this September was transparent to many students. For too many students, the hard-hitting realities of retrenchment are undeniable, despite all the talk about the need for peace officers and so on.

Yet the death penalty, cops on campus, and the attacks on affirmative action are more than just clever diversions to persuade people that the economic crisis isn't so bad. Just as retrenchment has reached its hands into the lives of CUNY students, these new policies have already had an impact on people. A Justice Department survey released August 10, for example, said that if current incarceration trends continue, by the year 2000, the majority of black men between the ages of 18 and 40 would be in jail. As opportunities and living conditions continue to decline, politicians will try very hard to remake students and workers into a lower-paid workforce with more police and punitive legal measures to deter people from challenging the situation. Yet as living conditions drop for most people, the richest people in society are greedier than ever, including CUNY's very own Trustee Rothbard, accused of taking bribes from NYNEX.

Students can't win the fight to save CUNY alone. The generalized nature of these cuts opens up the opportunity for students to join with people who hate the death penalty or who think affirmative action is a necessity to challenge the politicians launching all of the attacks. In the spirit of the CUNY Coalition of last spring, students should make connections with other groups to build a movement. It's the only way to turn back the tide against CUNY. —LEE WENGRAF

## FAREWELL TO A RADICAL

THE RENOWNED CIVIL RIGHTS lawyer and public advocate William Kunstler died of heart failure on Labor Day, September 4, here in New York City, at the age of 76. In a time of austerity, 'Contracts on America', and right-wing backlash, it is important to take the time to reflect on the lives and contributions of those like Mr. Kunstler who embodied an ethic of public service, radical legal populism, and solidarity with the poor and marginalized in American society.

Mr. Kunstler had a long, and sometimes controversial,

## THE ADVOCATE

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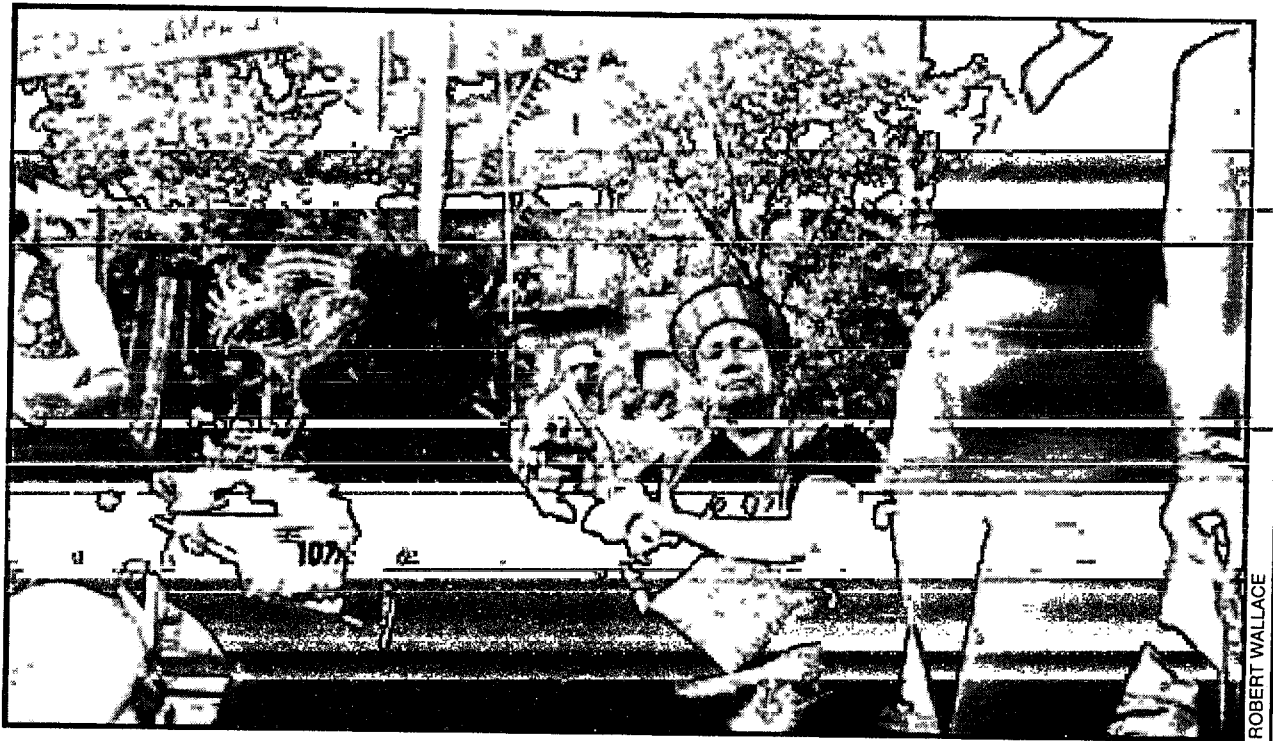
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Thanks also to the workers at the printers.

Letters to the Editor: *The Advocate* will publish all letters, but they must be 500 words or less and they must be signed. We will withhold a writer's name upon request, but, again, they must be signed.

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



legal career which spanned four decades of advocacy for civil and educational rights, the famous Chicago Seven trial in 1969, and more recent high-profile cases like assisting in the defense of the suspects in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. His clients also included Martin Luther King, Jr., Jack Ruby, Daniel Berrigan, and John Gotti. Mr. Kunstler had said that the case which gave him the most satisfaction was the 1967 *Hobson v. Hansen* decision to desegregate Washington D.C.'s public schools, because he hoped this decision would spur desegregation in other school systems.

William Kunstler's life and work expressed a commitment to social justice, yet also a set of political tensions in 20th-century America. He embodied the belief, associated with groups like the NAACP, the ACLU, and the Center for Constitutional Rights—with which he had a long and productive association—that the legal system can be used in the long struggle for greater equality and social justice. Yet in America, there are significant limits to legalism as a strategy for positive social change. *Brown vs. Board of Education* and *Hobson vs. Hansen* did not bring desegregation, and like the Rodney King verdict in Los Angeles point up serious defects of the legal system.

I believe Mr. Kunstler recognized this contradiction between legalism and other strategies for social justice. He supported the role of grassroots activism and social movements in achieving social change, yet maintained that legalism and legal representation were indispensable to those efforts.

Almost invariably, social activism incurs legal, as well as other forms of, sanction or repression, and, therefore, bold legal defense must 'use the system to change the system.' In fact, Mr. Kunstler had said that his mission was "to keep the state from becoming all-dominating."

I heard William Kunstler speak publically a few years ago and was impressed by his presence, his passion for his commitments and his life-long dedication to a vision of a more just society. He has sometimes been accused of chasing the media limelight, of taking high-profile clients for the sake of visibility. Maybe, but there is another compelling interpretation. This charge evokes the memory of another media icon of the 1960s, one of the co-defendants represented by Mr. Kunstler in the Chicago Seven trial, the late Abbie Hoffman. The activists of the New Left, of which Hoffman and the Yippies were perhaps the most skilled and outrageous practitioners, used the media to raise consciousness and challenge 'the establishment.'

Mr. Kunstler was perhaps a more restrained proponent of this same strategy. Through his practice of law, and many high-profile cases, he sought not only to defend particular people on important issues, but also to educate, and to challenge us to think about the underlying issues of social and political justice.

Those of us coming to political activism in more recent years, and still maintaining a commitment to some vision of social justice in the dire climate of the mid-1990s, should pause to reflect about, and honor, the lives of our comrades like William Kunstler. —KEN CUNNINGHAM

## MISTAKES WERE MADE

- Though his photos are divine, Wayne's last name is Geist, not Creist as mistakenly credited in the September issue. *The Advocate* repents.
- The Nurse Practitioner is sponsored by the DSC in conjunction with the Graduate Center.

## LETTERS

## FRIENDLY AMMENDMENTS

I FULLY AGREE with the general conclusion of Robert Hollander's reply (May *Advocate*) to Steve O'Brien's letter (March *Advocate*) concerning domestic partnership. Indeed, I believe that gay and lesbian domestic partners should be not merely tolerated but encouraged, despite the charge of "assimilationism" that sometimes accompanies this idea. The sanctioning of gay marriage by the state and the publication of such engagements and weddings by newspapers would be the right step toward not merely familial stability but the numerous economic benefits presently reaped only by heterosexual unions. However, Mr. Hollander makes some other statements that I find questionable.

First, Mr. Hollander says "Parenting ought to be viewed as a responsibility towards recognition of difference, not the presumptuous enforcement of one rule, as if any one of us could know what is best for all." However, teaching tolerance of differences is Mr. Hollander's very enforcement of one rule for all—a rule with which I strongly agree. Indeed, he later mentions three other rules for all those in families to be taught: fun, information, and fairness (although he doesn't use the word *rule*). Moreover, I suspect Mr. Hollander would agree with the enforcement for all of even more rules, such as the rule against incest.

Second, Mr. Hollander labels those who condemn homosexuality as "hetero activists." However, putting a negative spin on the word *hetero* doesn't contribute to the discourse. Those who condemn homosexual activity are ignorant and often dangerous, homophobic bigots who sometimes are gay themselves. These self-hating gays exist, for example, in religious institutions.

Third, Mr. Hollander suggests that feelings of shame and modesty among heterosexuals "encourage the notion that homosex is the more natural of the two types of sexual relation." However, he seems to forget here his rule of tolerance (among others) to be taught by all parents. Ironically, he engages in the same strategy as Mr. O'Brien: creating a hierarchy of elements when those elements are merely different. He curiously creates a similar hierarchy when he declares the mother / father nuclear family "a disaster" in comparison to other types of families.

Mr. Hollander wrote a superb letter a few months ago to *The New York Times* concerning the CUNY budget cuts. I look forward to reading more of his insights on issues in the manner in which he advocates at the end of his letter: rational moral discourse.

Robert J. Wilson  
English  
Suffern, NY

## BULLETIN BOARD

THIS SPACE will be available to students and student groups for announcements: meetings, forums, bike to sell, apartment to rent, etc. Send it on in. Please be brief.

● Black Student Alliance (BSA) Elections. The following students have been elected as co-chairs: Terrence Blackman, Charles Price-Reavis, and Belkis Necos.

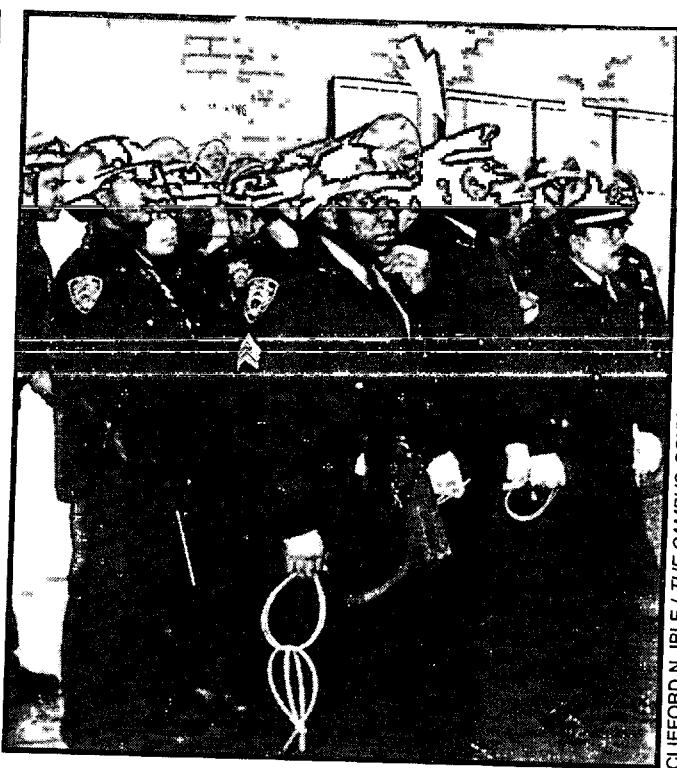
● A global studies collective is being organized. There are no disciplinary or ideological requirements—only sharp minds. Contact Charles Price-Reavis: 212-382-1492.

● International Socialist Organization (ISO) presents a forum on "Austerity at CUNY." Nov. 8 at 6:30 pm, rm. 800. There will be a discussion afterwards on organizing against retrenchment and tuition increases. 212-642-2842.



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 Sunday 11.27.90 - P.D.  
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CCNY hunger striker (far left) arrested by SAFE officers April 11. Dear Diary? CUNY Security log on City Hall rally (near left): "Assigned to plainclothes to monitor demonstration at City Hall", "On duty at City Hall monitoring demonstration". SAFE officers (above) cooperating with riot gear NYPD officers during hunger strike arrests. Grad Center Peace Officer Ronald Reeves (right).



# Operation Weasel

In the face of unprecedented budget cuts, CUNY Central finds a new security force. SAFE Team surveils students, bonds with NYPD

BY LEE WENGRAF

**T**HIS FALL, the Security Department at CUNY Grad decided to try something new. At the Orientation for new students on August 31, Joseph Shaeffer, the head of campus security, invited students to a discussion on personal safety and neighborhood crime issues in the Proshansky Auditorium on September 13. The invited guest speaker was to be none other than a representative from New York's finest, Ms. Sander from the New York Police Department. Shaeffer emphasized that crime poses no serious threat to the Grad Center community, but that some students had expressed a concern about their safety, from the subway station directly below the building to the dangers of purse-snatching in the library.

Yet while the appearance of NYPD representatives on campus is new, this event is only a continuation of a series of developments over the past year concerning CUNY students and campus security forces. The 1994-95 wave of budget cuts and student protests has seen CUNY administrators put policing and security front and center on the University agenda. And they have not restricted their actions to security issues on campus but have, it seems, been directly involved in various forms of policing student activities off campus.

Many students are aware by now of the role of the police during protests last spring. On March 23, the demonstration at City Hall against Pataki's proposed budget cuts drew 20,000 people. Facing off to the police, students and faculty were attacked, pepper-gassed, dragged over barricades and arrested. Many others faced a dangerous crowding situation as police closed off the City Hall park area. For many students, the actions of the police that day sent a clear message that the police were not there to look out for their interests. In fact, they were

standing in the way of them, literally, as thousands of students trying to march to Wall Street were physically pushed back by police in riot gear.

What is perhaps less well known to students is the extent to which the CUNY Administration actually worked with the police to keep students at bay. On August 14, the *Daily News* and *New York* magazine both revealed a newly-discovered wealth of information on the CUNY Administration's meddling in the realm of student activism. Documents subpoenaed by Ron McGuire, the lawyer for arrested CUNY students, revealed how CUNY Administrators spent considerably more time surveying student protests than fighting the budget cuts. Wherever possible, they followed students at protests, seeking out the assistance of the police and collecting information on student protesters. They have at least 600 pages of documentation on student activities. Although most of the documents report on activities from the last school year, some documents show that as early as spring, 1992, Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds sought ways to strengthen ties between the Chancellor's office and the NYPD.

## JERKED AROUND

A headshot of CUNY Security director Jose Elique was to appear in this space. Three weeks before *Advocate* deadline, Andre Bickels of CUNY Central's Office of University Relations stated over the phone he'd forward us the photo. Repeated calls to and messages for him over the next two weeks proved futile. Finally, a call on the house phone from the lobby of the CUNY office building on 80th Street proved fruitful. Now he wasn't sure the photo was on file. The revelation that we were just downstairs and could wait made him panicky: "Ahh, I-I-I've got a meeting. Could I call you back?" When? "Ahh, how about 2:00?" He never called. —ROBERT WALLACE

This new information is the product of several reasons. For one, many of the documents, memos written back and forth between CUNY administrators and also between CUNY and the NYPD, show how the University had been preparing for some time to put down anticipated student protests. On January 11, shortly after Pataki came to office on a campaign of balancing the budget and cuts in the state's university systems, the head of CUNY Security, Jose Elique met with Captain Raymond McDermott of the NYPD's Disorder Control Unit to discuss response strategies for dealing with student protesters. In great detail, McDermott outlines his recommendations to Elique for dealing with, specifically, "civil disorder, student unrest, building takeover, etc." He suggests forming a "platoon" of three so-called "Public Safety Response Teams," each with a supervisor and eight "peace officers" (more on them later). These Teams, says McDermott, would "become a formidable deterrent." He proceeds to outline a protocol for campus security and NYPD mobilization if, as he succinctly puts it, "a situation arises that would necessitate the possible need of a substantial police response to a specific campus for a NON-EMERGENCY EVENT, student protest, etc."

It's clear that Elique's and McDermott's main concern is not purse snatching and muggings on the subway. Obviously CUNY administrators anticipated student anger erupting around proposed cuts which threatened to cut classes and raise tuition. Many students have known for some time that the Administration has not taken up the fight to save CUNY as strongly as they might have liked, to say the least. But what these documents reveal is that more than being passive, hand-wringing victims of Pataki's orders, as administrators like our own President Frances Horowitz try to convey, the Administration has been actively working with the NYPD to

undermine students' ability to fight back.

On March 23, for example, as students converged on City Hall, staff members from the CUNY Administration Office of Student Affairs hung around the edges of the demonstration, taking notes and watching the goings-on. Sheila Thomas, University Assistant Dean of Student Affairs, wrote a memo to Elsa Nunez-Wormack, Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs, late that same afternoon giving a

how Student Affairs staff "followed the group." "Jose Elique," writes Thomas, "confirmed that the group did have a permit to march to Wall Street after the 2:00 rally." She goes on to describe what actually did happen at 2:00: "Police maintained tight controls to keep everyone on the sidewalk but did not permit the group to march along the designated routes....Police also sealed areas, corraling protesters behind barricades and

## THE TIMING OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE PEACE OFFICERS AT THE GRAD CENTER WHEN STUDENTS WERE PROTESTING BUDGET CUTS SEEMED TOO MUCH OF A COINCIDENCE.

at times, not allowing people to move in either direction....During the period 2:45-3:30 PM confrontations began to occur. Reports were that police had sprayed a number of people with mace."

Staff members on the scene provided administrators with a clear picture of unfolding events and of the chaos caused by the police's crowd control. And believing the students had a permit to march, administrative staff nonetheless stood by and allowed the police to force students into a dangerous, overcrowded space, allowed them to arrest students demanding access to education, allowed them to, as Thomas herself describes, "drag away" students from the scene. Administrators proved to be no friends of students in their battle with the police that day.

CUNY administrators have also been busy with other activities concerning student protests. As was widely reported in the press, these six hundred pages of sub-

WEASEL CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



## WHY FLOYD FLED

BEING AN ADMINISTRATOR with good intentions can't be fun. Think of all the compromises and conflicts involved in having to defend the Chancellor's anti-CUNY policies—imagine what happens to your sense of integrity. If you are the student affairs administrator, student opposition must seem like one huge searing conscience, always reminding you that you're not living up to your own expectations. The obstacles student advocates set in the way of administrative initiatives is only one reason strong student governments are reviled by administrators. The other reason is this constant reminder that the initiatives either fall far short of justice, or are just misconceived to begin with.

Floyd Moreland, Vice President for Student Affairs, takes a leave of absence this year, and none too soon. The strain of the job was taking its toll on the friendly Floyd. Rumor has it that members of the student government drove him to take time off. The rumor seems to me to be a half-truth. Chagrin must have also played a role in his decision.

What does he have to feel chagrined about? Let's start with the College Work Study fiasco. Moreland recommended to the president's cabinet that research assistants have their wage reduced from \$25/hr to \$12/hr. As the senior officer for student affairs, you'd expect it to be his responsibility to advocate for higher wages for students. Not only did he drop this ball, but, in true autocratic style, he didn't even warn students in advance about the change; prompting some to wonder what Dr. Moreland is getting paid for—taking care of the student weal, or solving administrative problems on our backs. Students have it hard enough without the additional burden of the administration's lack of problem-solving effort and imagination.

Moreland's excuse for his regressive plan was that a change in CWS was inevitable. The Graduate Center was too free with its CWS money. No other schools were as generous as CUNY (think of the GSUC as generous!).

The explanation didn't hold up. A committee of faculty and students convened to do Moreland's job for him. They devised a way to skirt the federal guidelines without penalizing students. The committee came up with a solution which, if adopted, would satisfy the federal guidelines while offering all CWS at a salary not tied to hours. The administration partly adopted this solution—they no doubt were too chagrined to accept it *in toto*.

The 'U' (unsatisfactory progress) grade, another regressive idea, proved equally embarrassing. Moreland's apparent intention was to placate professors who don't know how to use the 'SP' (satisfactory progress) grade at level III. Most schools—and all schools in the Manhattan consortium—don't grade at the dissertation level. However, Moreland, with the registrar's help, cast the net far and wide to come up with a few schools in the northeast that do grade at the dissertation level.

Imagine the mind set of the person who resolves professors' grading questions by proposing to add a failing grade for dissertation work. The very idea of a 'U' grade—which absolves the responsibility of mentoring by substituting grading for guidance—seems gratuitously mean spirited, elitist, and punitive. Much of the faculty seemed to think so.



WAYNE GEIST

A needed vacation.

When the DSC presented the arguments against grading at level III, the proposal was effectively dropped by both the students and the faculty of the Graduate Council.

Evidence of mean-spiritedness goes further back than last year. When activists were elected co-chairs of the student government, Moreland intervened to prevent them receiving their stipends. Imagining this to be as pressing a concern to the student body as it obviously was to him, he sent a letter to the entire student body (cost of mailing, approx. \$1500) notifying us that the elected co-chairs were not entitled to student government stipends because they had been "student leaders" for too many years. Never mind that the Board of Trustees was considering extending the time limits on those stipends. In this case even the Board proved more generous than our VP: they reworked the definition of "student leader" in the co-chairs' favor, extended the time limits, and let the co-chairs get paid retroactively.

The VP's mailing seemed utterly miscalculated. Students are not likely to feel sympathy for an administrator trying to dock a student's pay on technical grounds, even if that pay is coming out of student activity fees. The money was

budgeted for stipends—why not give it to the elected co-chairs? One wonders what Moreland expected to accomplish. An Adam Clayton Powell-style reelection? Students are not so easily intimidated.

This mean-spiritedness was a recurrent characteristic of his autocratic style in dealing with me. The VP's typical response to any question on policy was "I won't discuss it with you!" I soon gave up on trying to work through his office. The VP's office became a mere obstruction.

I was not the first to feel this way. For the past three years, the office of student affairs has been unable to work with the student government. Last year the President herself tried to assist Moreland by insisting that the DSC deal only with his office. I actually went in good faith to Moreland to settle some matters with the Nurse Practitioner regarding her visibility, advertising, and free testing. True to form, Moreland refused to arrange a simple meeting, wouldn't discuss why, and blamed the whole affair on DSC aggressiveness. Frustrated at my foolishness for expecting better, I met with Nurse Clancy, with the result that the DSC now subsidizes 90% of the fee of all laboratory tests offered by the NP. Had the Vice President acted differently, he might now be able to share some credit for subsidized testing. As it is he has only chagrin to share with his office staff.

Moreland's distaste for the student government was evident in this year's orientation day. Traditionally the co-chair for communications is asked to address the new students. The DSC is usually informed of orientation plans well in advance so that a party can be organized for the day. But, this year the student government was left out of the orientation plans entirely, as if Moreland—who plans the program for the day—expected the DSC to rain on the administration's parade. What do they take us for anyway?

In the halcyon days when Floyd and I were friendly, we would occasionally discuss his job, or he would ask me what I thought of his work and his position. I always told him candidly that I thought he had an overly conservative and cautious view of the charge of his office. At first I don't think he believed me. After his losing battles over student government stipends, the CWS debacle, and the 'U' grade, he may have caught a glimpse in the mirror of that conservatism. The fact that the faculty did not support his recommendations did not lessen his chagrin. After a while the loneliness of being more student-unfriendly than his colleagues must have gotten the better of him.

Time for a leave.—ROBERT HOLLANDER

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# WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

5

## AN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION DEBATE

### Terrence Blackman refutes the claim that affirmative action is detrimental to its "beneficiaries"

IN MY LAST ARTICLE on Affirmative Action (*Advocate*, March 1995) I attempted to present a survey of the arguments against affirmative action and to outline the counterarguments. In this article I propose to examine the insidious argument that Affirmative Action gains are morally detrimental to the beneficiary.

Does preference<sup>1</sup> undermine the sense of self of a beneficiary? Opponents of Affirmative Action answer this question with a resounding yes! I should also add that this argument has gained some credence in some sectors the pro-Affirmative Action community. They argue that an African American whose presence in an institution is a function of preferential treatment is aware that the stereotypes raise questions about their intellectual ability. This they contend seriously affects the ability of the individual to effectively compete. They point out in support of this that on average African Americans get lower grades and drop out more than White students.

The crux of the argument is that an individual's realization that the negative stereotypes about their group could apply to them, engenders a recognition that he or she could be judged by, treated in terms of, and even fulfill this perception. In particular, African American students in the academic arena feel that their intelligence is constantly on trial. At some point because of the all encompassing nature of this negative identification the African American student surrenders to "stereotype vulnerability", stops identifying with achievement, and drops out off the process<sup>2</sup>.

In response to this I start by asking the following question: As most informed readers are aware, white women as a group have benefited in significant measure from Affirmative Action.<sup>3</sup> Why then has there been no analysis of the tendency of white women to succumb to "stereotype vulnerability"? If we further examine the arena of traditional preference no such logic applies. In large measure individuals who secure positions by means of connections count themselves as fortunate. Career counselors educate job seekers to cultivate influential contacts with no question that their clients will think less of themselves. Let me also add on this note that there have been no arguments which suggest that individuals who secure preferences in categories like those for the children of alumni exhibit in any way this tendency to respect themselves less. Note also that gaining promotions through social networks within an institution carries no burden of diminution of self respect. Finally, in

this vein I simply ask that the position of veterans in our society be considered. No veteran feels unworthy of the preferences awarded to him or her. Continuing in this vein, there is no devastating loss of self

esteem for R.O.T.C. scholarship holders who absent their R.O.T.C. status would not be accepted into some institutions.

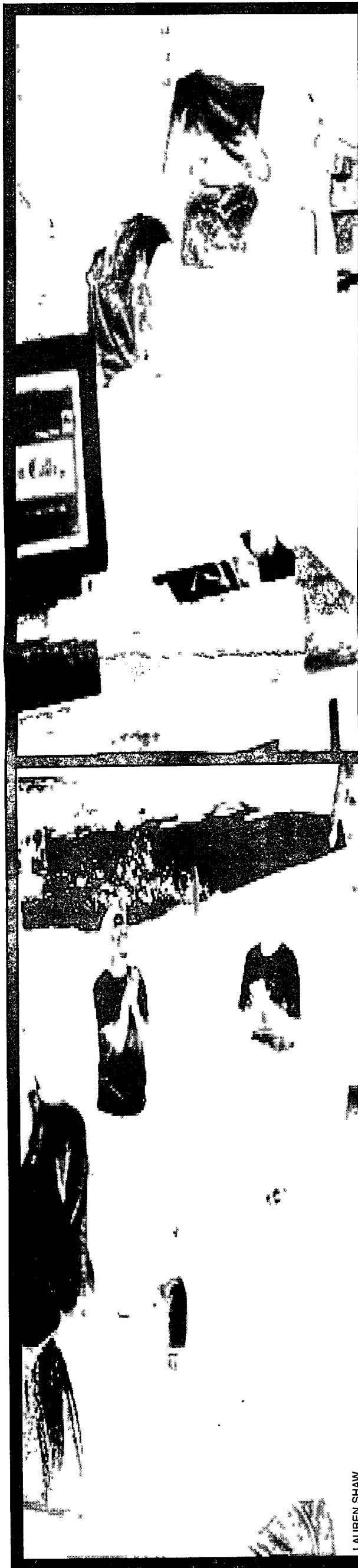
At this juncture let me propose the following: Even if we accept that denigrating slurs directed at African Americans cause individuals to question their sense of self, this in no way serves as an argument for the abolishment of Affirmative Action. What is required on the part

**BLACKMAN CONTINUED ON PAGE 15**

1. The use of the term "preference" should not be taken as agreement on my part that Affirmative Action can justly be equated with preference. I strongly reject this. However for the purposes of this debate I will accept this hypothesis.

2. *N.Y. Times*-Op-Ed: 8/31/95

3. *Los Angeles Times*: 2/19/95



LAUREN SHAW

### Francisco Villalobos argues that affirmative action violates stan- dards of justice and morality

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS to be self evident, that all men are created equal..." Seldom have these words been uttered with as much power or in a way that held such promise as when they were uttered by Martin Luther King Jr. Our laws have rarely lived up to that promise completely. Despite the fact that this truth has been part of our country's fighting creed from its inception, our Government has continuously evaded it through such atrocities as slavery, Jim Crow laws, the internment of the Japanese.

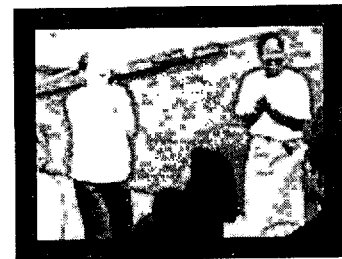
Yet today, the meaning of the term 'equal' as expressed in our Declaration of Independence, that of *equality before the law*, has all but faded from memory. As a result, many of us have even lost sight of what it is that we, as Americans, ought to be fighting for. Nowhere is this more evident than with those who support the policy of affirmative action.

Affirmative action is a governmental policy designed to eliminate existing and ongoing discrimination, to remedy the effects of past discrimination, and to create an environment which would help to prevent future discrimination by granting legislative preferences to groups victimized by such discrimination.

So, what's wrong with affirmative action? If discrimination on the grounds of race, color, sex or age is despicable, why not use the power of government to rid our society of this viciousness? Affirmative action requires, at minimum, that the Government be conscious of and attach relevance to a person's race, color, sex or age—thus supporting the kind of discrimination it was designed to address. To give preference to an individual or group on the basis of race is just as racist as using race to penalize them. Therefore, the funding, operation and enforcement of affirmative action programs requires the Government to violate the bedrock legal principle heroes such as King fought and died to uphold: that we are all equal before the law.

This isn't the only way that affirmative action violates standards of justice. Affirmative action necessarily relies on the premise that equality of condition is the ultimate socio-economic good. But nothing could be farther from the truth. Our Founding Fathers never intended to claim anything so foolish as "we are all equal in ability or economic status." For human beings, being equal can never mean being the same. The very goal of equality of condition demeans minority and non-minority alike because it supplants the goal of reaching the highest level of prosperity individually possible. For even if it were possible to make each individual equal in terms of wealth alone, we could only do so by impoverishing the wealthiest, not by enriching the poorest. That's because, in a free country, wealth is the result of individual ability and initiative, not government edicts. Ultimately, the prosperity of all Americans, regardless of race, sex, or age, depends on the same thing: economic freedom.

Affirmative action would violate standards of justice just as much even if government were not involved. Thus, affirmative action is objectionable on moral as well as legal grounds. Affirmative action harms minorities by fostering the view that ethnic groups are homogeneous wholes victimized by racist institutions. This happens because affirmative action programs are most commonly based on population percentages of minority groups in a particular area. For example, the fact that Hispanics constitute a certain percentage of the population of a particular region and that they constitute a lesser percentage in a particular industry or business is often taken as *prima facie* evidence that they are "underrepresented" in the



**VILLALOBOS CONTINUED ON PAGE 15**

## ROTHBARD ACCEPTS NYNEX PERKS

A STATE ETHICS Commission is investigating allegations

Budget, Finance and Information Services, accepted gifts from NYNEX while the university was conducting business with the telephone company. Charges against Rothbard allege that he illegally accepted from NYNEX free tickets to a New York Philharmonic Concert and dinners at the US Open Tennis Tournament between 1991 and 1993.

State law prohibits state officials and employees from soliciting or accepting gifts in excess of \$75. The unlawful acceptance of such gifts may be perceived as influencing officials' actions in violation of public trust. Steve Marcus, a spokesman for NYNEX, indicated that since 1993 the telephone company, "no longer invites state employees to tennis tournaments or any other event which may raise questions about propriety."

The allegations against Rothbard are part of a larger Ethics Commission investigation into gifts that NYNEX has offered to state officials. The Ethics Commission also charged James Keating, a Principal Systems Planner at the Public Service Commission, with allegedly accepting free meals and entertainment from Orange and Rockland County utilities companies in 1992 and 1993. Five state employees have paid fines to the commission totalling \$3,850, after they were charged with accepting invitations to golf tournaments from NYNEX. Cases against two other state employees are still pending.

CUNY officials defended Rothbard's record, stating Rothbard consulted with the university's attorney, Robert Diaz, before accepting the phone company's gifts. Jay Herschenson, Vice Chancellor for Intergovernmental Affairs, stated that, "Vice Chancellor Rothbard acted properly", adding that the six tickets and dining at a hospitality table at one tennis match over a three year period only amounted to between \$300 and \$400. Herschenson said that Robert Diaz did not view the gifts as a "violation of ethics and his opinion stands on its own merits." But Walter Ayres, a spokesman for the state Ethics Commission, challenged Diaz by noting that "an attorney cannot give someone permission to violate the law", since the three to four hundred dollar gifts Rothbard allegedly accepted are considerably above the state's \$75 limit. If Rothbard is found guilty he could be fired, fined up to \$10,000, and perhaps face further criminal prosecution. —ANDREA ZIMMERMAN

## FICA REFUND

IF YOU'RE A FULL-TIME STUDENT who's adjuncting at a CUNY campus, you might be entitled to a substantial monetary refund from CUNY as well as a welcome increase in your net pay. According to little-publicized guidelines from CUNY's Pension and Welfare Benefits Office, CUNY students who are employed by CUNY are not covered by Social Security. Since you are not covered, you should not be paying social security taxes. Did anyone tell you this? I know I didn't find out about this proviso until after I became a Graduate Teaching Fellow.

At one of the GTF workshops I attended, a memo from Patricia Matthews, Associate Director of Human Resources, was included in the information packet provided. According to that memo, working as a CUNY adjunct while "a certified full-time student makes you eligible for exemption from paying social security taxes." "Does this apply only to GTF's?" you might ask. Absolutely not. This applies to *anyone* who meets the enrolled-while-adjuncting guidelines. Are you sensing the immense implications of this fact yet? At the individual level, a typical adjunct teaching two classes a semester pays about \$300.00 in FICA taxes (or 7.5% of your gross pay). If you've been teaching for a few semesters, innocently paying taxes which you don't owe, why, you might have *much* money coming back to you!

So how do you go about getting your money back? Follow a few easy steps, be very patient and within a few weeks, you should be receiving a nice check.

1) Make a copy of your Bursar's receipt for every semester you taught. If you don't keep your receipts, ask the Bursar to provide you with a new one or with some other proof of enrollment.

2) Calculate the amount of FICA you paid each semester. The easy way to do this is to look at your last payroll stub for the semester. The year-to-date amount column has a line-item designated "FICA." If you don't keep your payroll stubs, ask the payroll office of the campus you worked at for the information. Do this for each campus and each semester which applies.

3) Write a letter requesting your refund to: Ms Laurine Norton, Office of Payroll Administration, One Centre Street, Room 200N, New York, NY 10007, (212) 669-8467. If she gives you the same hard time she gave me, call or write to her boss, Mr. Richard Kryshack, (212) 669-3181. Make sure you list each campus and each

semester you taught. Being as detailed and clear as possible will facilitate processing your request. Also be sure to include the copies of your Bursar's receipts with your letter.

check to be sent. If you don't specifically note where you'd like to receive your refund, the Office of Payroll Administration will send the check to the campus(es) which you worked at.

If you are currently teaching while enrolled, go immediately to your campus payroll office and fill out a new W-4 form indicating that you are a full-time CUNY student exempt from FICA deductions. You should also inform the payroll supervisor and the personnel department of your exempt status. Once you've filed the appropriate paperwork, check your next payroll stub to make sure you're not being taxed. Well, I hope this bit of news will brighten your day. It brightened mine. —GINETTA CANDELARIO

## TAKING THE BUDGET TO COURT

SIX CUNY GOVERNMENT representatives are suing the City University of New York, the city, and the mayor, alleging that tuition increases and government funding decreases are unlawful. The lawsuit further alleges that CUNY had already illegally raised tuition which has adversely affected the 74,000 combined student enrollments at the city's community colleges.

As part of their case, the plaintiffs cite a state law that stipulates how CUNY's community colleges are funded by tuition, the city and the state. Legally, the state must provide 40% of the two year colleges' operating budget. The city must provide no less than 26.9%, and tuition can make up for no more than 33.3% of the budget. State law also mandates that the city is required to pay at least the same level of funding as it had done in previous years. Yet the state waived educational funding requirements; waivers are now issued on a year-by-year basis, and are contingent upon the requirement that the city may not lower its share of financial allocations to CUNY. But city aid will shrink by \$9.3 million this year to \$63.9 million, or 22% of the community colleges' operating budget. To compensate for the funding cuts, CUNY has increased tuition at the community colleges by \$400.00.

Another issue in the lawsuit is the constitutionality of CUNY's Construction Fund. Mayor Giuliani wants to take the difference between the city's aid this year out of the Construction Fund's accrued interest to compensate for the city's shortfall in funding. However, monies in this fund are supposed to be reserved for construction projects on the campuses, such as the new sports complex at Lehman College. Little is known about the transactions in the fund. Ron McGuire, attorney for the plaintiffs, is suing the City University in an attempt to gain legal access to CUNY's Construction Fund account books, the contents of which have not been made readily available since 1994. No accounting of the Construction Fund's expenditures has been made public since last year. No explanation has been provided by the mayor as to how he intends to justify his actions.

One formal hearing regarding the lawsuit has already been held in state court. In January of 1995 Judge Carol H. Arbor ruled that the city must pay \$75.2 million toward the community colleges' operating budget. The next hearing will take place on October 30 in state court, also before Judge Arbor.

Another allegation of the lawsuit is that CUNY's tuition hike jeopardizes the open enrollment policy at communi-

ty colleges, attended mostly by poor and minority students. Thirty-eight percent of community college students are Black. Latinos constitute 28%. Asians make up 9% of the student body. Fifty percent of these students come

a year. Thirty percent have children to support, of which 13% are single heads of households. Sixteen percent are on Public Assistance. Clearly, the cuts planned by the mayor pose a serious threat to students already facing major obstacles to their education as well as cutbacks in other needed areas, from welfare to transportation. A goal of the plaintiffs' suit is thus to preserve the viability of valuable institutions at CUNY that provide a much needed service of education for working people in New York. —ANDREA ZIMMERMAN

## FENCED OUT



CCNY's \$1.25 million gates: keeping Harlem out?

THE CITY COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION has been building expensive new gates for CCNY's campus, wrought iron spiked gates surrounding the Covenant Avenue area. The latest one is to be placed on Amsterdam Avenue near 140th Street in October. Despite the budget crunch facing CUNY, and despite a declining crime rate, CCNY has shelled out \$1.25 million for what officials call necessary security measures. CCNY has acquired its gates while losing its nursing and classics programs, among others.

While students at City College question the administration's motivations, administrative officials contend that the purpose of the gates is to improve the looks of the campus. But students and community leaders think the City College administration has an ulterior motive for erecting the gates: to secure the campus and control students and members of the community from coming in and out. Perhaps it's not a coincidence, that these gates should go up when the likelihood of protest against austerity has also increased. Student protesters took over the Student Center last April during a two day hunger strike.

The gates are opened early in the morning and locked late at night, making entry onto the City College campus nearly impossible. Vincent Louis, former Editor-in-Chief of CCNY's student newspaper *The Campus*, told the *Advocate* that students find the gates objectionable. He said the erection of the gates was a deliberate precaution by administrative officials against students to prevent them from taking over administrative buildings in protest of the budget cuts and tuition hikes. City College students reject the administration's claim that the gates are designed to aesthetically enhance the appearance of CCNY's campus. Instead, students view the gates as a symbolic affront to their constitutional right to peaceful public assembly on campus. —ANDREA ZIMMERMAN

## SURVEY SAYS!

YOU LUCKY DEVILS, it's *The Advocate* survey! We would like to get some feedback on our humble efforts. First ten surveys sent in, or slipped under our door, win cans of sweet potatoes!

1. Do you like this issue? (5 = highest)

articles 1 2 3 4 5

design 1 2 3 4 5

editorial 1 2 3 4 5

2. What was your favorite article, least favorite?

3. What would you like to see more of?

departmental news Yes / No

local and state news on student issues Y / N

advertisements Y / N

arts features and reviews Y / N

information on student services Y / N

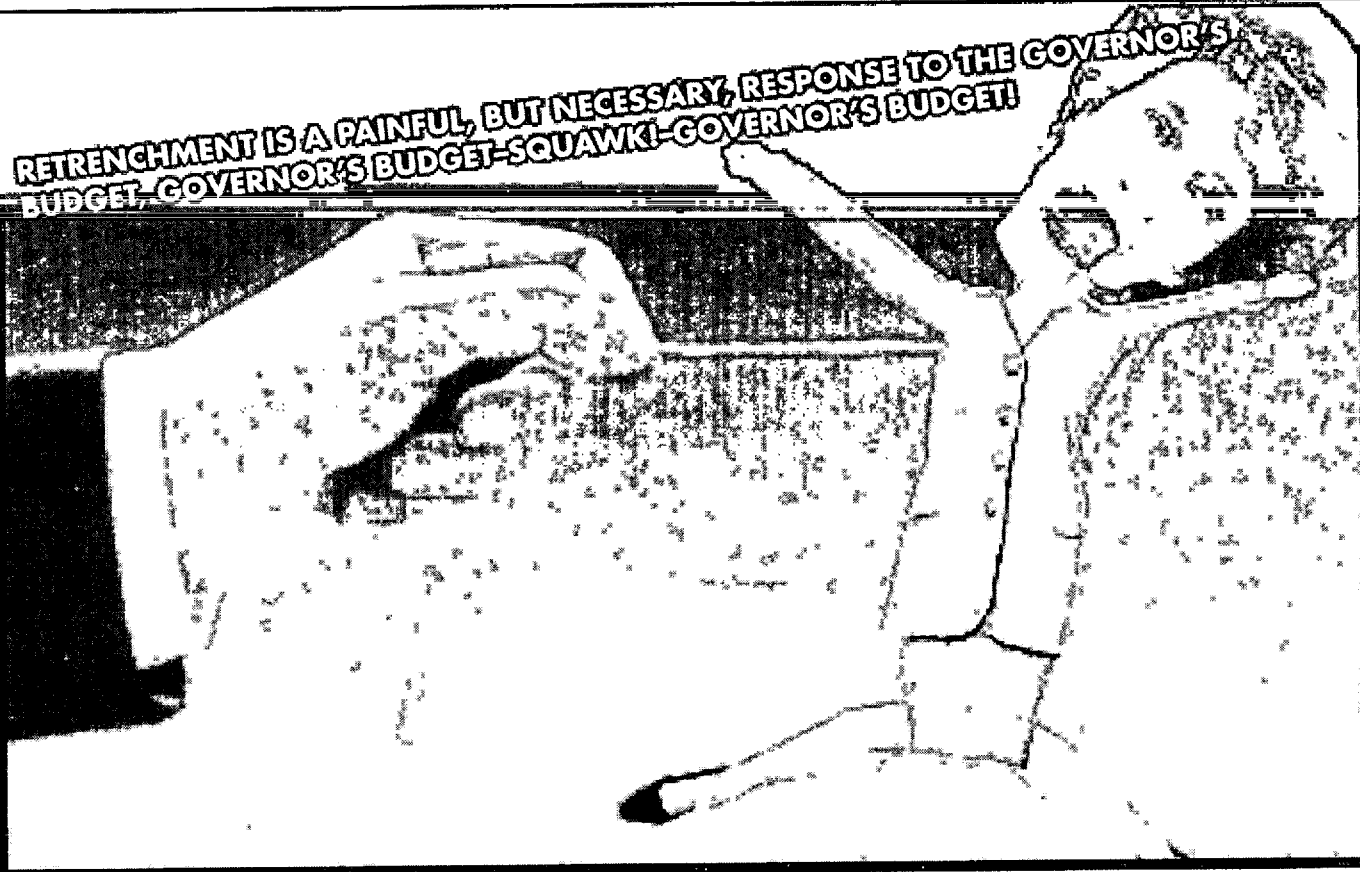
4. How often do you read *The Advocate*?  
often / sometimes / never

Write for *The Advocate*?  
often / sometimes / never

5. Are you in a student group? Do you think your organization would like to announce events in *The Advocate*?

Comments?





ROBERT WALLACE

# True Stories

## The human face of retrenchment

### Karen Sortiropoulos's Tale

I FINALLY FELT the magnitude of the new era as I returned exhausted to my East Village apartment after carrying my belongings from my office at City College's Harlem campus. In this time of budget slashing and Republican hegemony, my initial response to being laid off from my adjunct position teaching U.S. History at CCNY was one of almost conditioned resignation. After all, during the past year, I had to endure NYC Mayor Giuliani proclaim that I had "canceled classes" to participate in "partisan politics" when I stood with my students outside of City Hall protesting then proposed cuts to education.

Later that week, I spent extra hours grading essays assigned in lieu of holding class on that day of protest. I had asked my classes to consider the proposed cuts in historical context as well as to assess eyewitness with media accounts of the protest. While I spent these extra hours grading, I was subjected to insulting comments by Mayor Giuliani and Governor Pataki who implied that college teachers have it easy with so few hours spent in the classroom and proclaimed that CUNY students would better appreciate their education if they had to work more to pay tuition increases (well over 90% of my students worked—many, if not most, of those full time). With such irresponsible comments from New York's elected officials, I merely shrugged as my own tuition went from under \$300 to over \$500 a semester (for dissertation-level CUNY graduate students) and resigned myself to my rapidly escalating student loan debt.

As I prepared for the upcoming semester, CCNY waited until the Friday before classes were to begin to inform me that there was no adjunct position in the department that I had been with for three years. Somehow I still could not absorb the information that I would not be teaching, and somehow still, so numbed by Republican politics, I could not summon the rage that the situation demanded. Truthfully, it was not until nearly one week later when I arrived on CCNY's campus and saw a former student—a young African-American man—from last year's 20th Century course that I felt the tears form and the anger rise. He had approached me to thank me again for the course and ask what else I would be teaching. After I told him of CCNY's most recent abomination, he informed

me that he plans to apply to graduate school *because he wants to teach history*. We said in unison, "if they let us!"

One of many "adjuncts" terminated per order of the college Provost, I'm supposed to shrug and scrounge in the two days before classes begin for another CUNY adjunct position which would help preserve health benefits and earn the \$2300 per course taught. That none of us were told until the Friday before classes were to begin did not seem to prevent my union representative from blaming me for my reliance on my job with City College. She felt she had to remind me that adjuncts are appointed contingent on budget and enrollment.

Yet, after three years, and over 300 students, how can another adjunct position replace City College in my life? At \$2300 per class, I taught 3 sections (of 30 students each) last fall, 3 last spring and one summer course still earning under \$16,000. None of us take adjunct teaching positions for the salary alone. With our many years of education, most of us could have chosen better paying careers. In order to teach well, we must spend much of our time putting off our own work preparing for exams and working on dissertations to carefully grade hundreds of essays over the course of a semester. We set office hours and counsel students. More than a few students from my survey course returned and took my upper level course, some choosing to major in history because of their experience in my classes. They recommended my course to friends and classmates. My sections this semester already had many students registered when they were canceled. Instead of the first day of class, new students found a note on the door announcing the cut.

Students at CCNY now have to face class sizes of 45 and up and overextended faculty required to teach four courses a semester. No faculty member faced with teaching nearly 200 students a semester can adequately assign and grade enough material to provide the skill building required by college students. CCNY students pay more this year with CUNY-wide tuition increases and perhaps, as Mayor Giuliani predicted, they appreciate their education more—not because they have to work harder to pay tuition, but rather because, now, no matter how hard they work to cover the increases, they pay more to watch their opportunities fade.

Karen Sortiropoulos is a History student.

### Michael Broder's Tale



LAUREN SHAW

WHEN I withdrew from my doctoral program in 1989, I did so because I felt that academia was irrelevant, and I wanted to be more involved in the real world. Six years later, I decided that the real world sucked, and I wanted to return to academia. Now I'm back in my doctoral program at CUNY, and the full truth has finally dawned on me: academia is the real world, and it's full of shit, but it's still better than the alternatives.

When I left my program, I had already finished my course work and passed my first exams. If I hadn't withdrawn, I probably would have completed my written exams by the spring of 1991, and my orals by the spring of 1992. I would have defended my dissertation by the spring of 1994. By now I would have found a job, and although my professional future would by no means be secure, at least I'd be working in my field.

But as things turned out, I'm right back where I was at the end of 1989. In fact, I've actually lost ground, because my language skills are rusty, my knowledge of the literature has grown hazy, and the modest resume of teaching credentials I had managed to establish has receded into ancient history (fittingly, since my field is classical studies).

What does it matter that I once taught Greek and Latin at the CUNY Foreign Language Institute, or Classical Mythology at Hunter College? That was over six years ago. The doctoral program in classics was in its infancy then, and I was one of its pioneers. Now it has expanded, granted a few degrees, and attracted more students, most of whom are younger and fresher than I am, and all of whom will be competing with me for the ever more scant supply of adjunct teaching positions that will be available as classics departments at the senior colleges fall under the ax of retrenchment.

Retrenchment. It's a word—and a concept—that I was not even aware of when I submitted my application for readmission over the summer. Yes, I realize, now, the retrenchment story was plastered all over the news media throughout last spring. Now that I've paid my inflated tuition and dropped from level III to level II, I remember reading some headlines about Pataki cutting the CUNY budget, and seeing some photos and footage of student demonstrations. But the brutal truth is, I wasn't really paying attention. I don't read newspapers regularly anymore. They're boring, depressing, biased, inaccurate, and for the most

par—here's that word again—irrelevant.

Anyway, the retrenchment story has been covered in these pages by people who are deeply involved in the struggle and know infinitely more about it than I do, so I won't even pretend to address the issue in any substantive way. What I do want to reflect on, however, are the peculiar ironies of the situation that struck me as I made my way back into the world of graduate school. And not just the ironies of the CUNY retrenchment in the face of state and local political and fiscal realities, but the broader "retrenchment" going on in the nation as a whole: that is, the austerity package that has been gaining momentum with dizzying rapidity since the Republican Revolution overtook Congress last November.

What does the election of 1994 have to do with my returning to graduate school? A lot, really. When I gave up pursuing my doctorate, what I thought was irrelevant was not only academia as an institution, but classical studies as an academic discipline. I got into classics because I wanted to study modern literature, and I believed that a solid grounding in the classical tradition was a necessary prerequisite to modern literary studies, a prerequisite most scholars slighted and most students sidestepped altogether.

In my undergraduate naiveté, I thought the "solid grounding" I wanted could be obtained with a year or two of basic Greek and Latin grammar followed by a year or two of classical literature surveys. But by that time, I realized that this "solid grounding" would take more time and effort than I had originally anticipated, and before I could say, "Sing, Goddess, the wrath of Pelius's son, Achilles," I was enrolled in the doctoral program at CUNY.

I enjoyed learning more about the Greek and Latin languages and literatures, but I came to realize that getting a doctorate in classical studies required studying things that I didn't really care about—like ancient history, religion, and politics. I didn't really care about laws of citizenship in fifth-century Athens, or the erosion of senatorial authority at Rome, or the division of the Macedonian empire after the death of Alexander the Great. In short, I really didn't care about the ancient world *per se*, and it became harder and harder for me to justify being in a classics program when what I was really interested in was Proust, not Plato.

To complicate matters further, by 1989 I wasn't even sure that studying Proust, or any literature for that matter, was a particularly relevant activity. What did the academic study of the humanities have to do with finding a cure for AIDS, or overcoming homophobia, racism, poverty, homelessness, hunger, the survival of the environment, or establishing peace in the Middle East?

Doing the AIDS Walk every year and writing checks to the Southern Poverty Law Center wasn't enough anymore. I wanted to take a more active role in bringing about social change. So I got an administrative job at a nonprofit agency that advocated for the employment rights of people with criminal records and substance abuse histories, and three months later I formally withdrew from my doctoral program.

I won't go into all the details of what happened to me over the next six years. In brief, I got fired after fifteen months at the nonprofit, then I embarked on a similarly short-lived journalism career, and I finally ended up in medical education, an obscure little corner of the corporate communications world whose enormous capacity for evil is belied by its virtual invisibility from the public eye. Of course, like so many of us with good intentions and worthless liberal arts degrees who end up working in morally compromised sectors of the corporate service economy (advertising, public relations, etc.), I tried to use my influence in the workplace to limit the damage that

RETRENCHED CONTINUED ON PAGE 16



**N**ew York State may not wait long to see its first execution in 25 years; within a year of the death penalty's reinstatement, Pataki is calling for its use in the case of a woman brutally murdered in Central Park. Recent polls show that most agree with the states' right to execute those accused of egregious crimes. But statistics also reveal that violent crime has not increased in twenty years and that capital punishment is a non-deterrent. Texas has both the highest execution rate and the highest murder rate in the country; and the death penalty condemns innocent people: there are over 400 documented cases of people sentenced to death who were later found innocent. New York holds the record on the number of innocent people executed. It has also been proven to be racist in its application. 40% of death row inmates are black, while they make up only 12% of the US population. In 1972 the Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty was unconstitutional because it could be applied in arbitrary ways. But in 1976 the Supreme court reinstated capital punishment, by ruling that states could impose it at will. The court's reinstatement of capital punishment was symbolic of a general shift to

ship, are on the front lines. They experience police brutality and racism in the courts on a *routine* basis, something that the majority of whites have not had direct experience with since the Civil Rights movement and the anti-war demonstrations. This is *not to say* that whites are more racist today than they were twenty years ago.

The Rodney King verdict raised awareness about police brutality and racism within the judicial system among millions of whites across America. The LA rebellion against the racist LAPD was the largest multi-ethnic rebellion in US history and recently tens of thousand of blacks and whites protested and won a stay of execution for the former Black Panther and journalist, Mumia Abu-Jamal. Furthermore, blacks and whites don't live in "separate facilities" anymore. Because of Affirmative Action the schools and the workplace are more integrated than ever before and with the collapse of liberalism, in the face of draconian cuts to industries like health care, many blacks and whites see some common interest in fighting together to save their jobs. But when today's politicians further crime hysteria and increase police presence in poor communities, that are disproport-

opposed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, opposed legislation that would put an end to racial discrimination in housing, and as an aide said after Reagan blamed the ghetto uprisings on King's advocacy for civil disobedience, "we'll settle for the white vote." Once he became President he worked diligently to increase the powers of "the man with the badge" to keep, as he put it, "the jungle of the city streets from drawing closer."

After George Bush trounced Dukakis in the '88 presidential campaign by accusing him of being soft on crime, a whole generation of Democrats now believe that their political survival depends on being even more blood thirsty than the Republicans. But up until Clinton passed his \$33 billion dollar Crime Bill, where Federal Death Penalty offenses were expanded from 2 to 50 new capital offenses, most of the "law and order" campaign served as a diversion and scapegoating tactic.

What's new about today's political climate is that rhetoric has become a harsh reality. Clinton didn't just talk about the death penalty, he showed he was tough on crime in the New Hampshire primaries by returning to Arkansas to preside over the execution of Rick Ray Rector, a black retarded man. As one

## WHY CUNY STUDENTS SHOULD CARE ABOUT THE DEATH PENALTY BY JOAN PARKIN

the right in US politics as the movements of the 60's and early 70's ebbed and the post war boom came to an end. The death penalty does nothing to deter crime. Rather it is part of an overall anti-crime build up in this country that serves to control economically deprived sections of the population, create ideological diversion from the real problems, and reinforce racial divisions within the working class.

In the first five years of its resurgence there were only five executions. Under Reagan, five years later, executions increased to 64. And, between 1990 and 1995 there were 175 executions. A 30 percent increase! The dramatic increase over the past five years comes on the heels of an increasing class polarization begun under the Reagan/Bush era. Throughout the eighties the richest 10 percent saw enormous increases in their wealth while the vast majority of people's living standards actually declined. Today we are supposedly in a recovery, but as we come out of the third recession since 1976, many working class blacks and whites are angry about cuts to health care, declining wages, and longer working hours. Bottom line: the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer and today's politicians use execution, stiffer sentencing and increased police presence to control those that have the most reason to fight back against the cuts. Blacks, who receive the brunt of economic hard-

tionately black and Latino, they cut across black and white unity. They send a message that they can keep the "jungle" under control in the hopes of winning the white vote, thereby furthering the racial tensions in society. For politicians, being in support of capital punishment is as a way to demonstrate that they are tough on crime; and being tough on crime means being tough on blacks.

**P**olitical posturing around the issue of law and order is not new: ever since Barry Goldwater got 5 Southern democratic states on a losing Republican ticket to the presidency the crime platform has been seen as a central way for Republicans to win white votes. Nixon, who ran a "law and order" campaign beat Johnson who promised a school for every prison Nixon built. Nixon played on the fears of middle class Americans confronted with the reality of urban insurrections. His response to the urban rebellions was to "meet force with force," demanding "retaliation against the perpetrators of violence" He said that the Civil Rights and anti war movements were at the heart of a "growing tolerance of lawlessness" by civil rights organizations and the increasing public acceptance of civil disobedience. Reagan's "war on drugs", introduced a come back of the law and order campaigns. He

review put it, "It is the notion of blood sacrifice. The politician must prove his readiness to kill. It is revolting in every possible way. It is the law of the tyrant; it is the practice of the bully."

**T**oday most accept that some individual cops are racist and some special court rulings are biased but do not accept it as a systemic problem. What's difficult for many to grasp is how profoundly racist the judicial and correctional system really is. It's the day to day reality of racism in the system that's hard to swallow. Take, for example, the disparity in drug sentencing. Under federal law someone convicted of selling 5 grams or more of crack cocaine, worth about \$125 receives mandatory sentencing of 5 years. By comparison, one would have to be convicted of possessing 500 grams of powdered cocaine—the drug used by middle class whites—worth nearly \$50,000, to be given the same sentence.

Or consider the impact of the crime build up on African Americans. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article on rising unemployment among black youth a poll finds that "while African Americans make up only 12 percent of the nation's population and constitute 13 percent of all monthly drug users, they represent 35 percent of arrests for drug possession,



55 percent of all convictions for drug possession and a stunning 74 percent of all prison sentences for drug possession." 1 out of 3 black men in their twenties are under the supervision of the criminal justice system.

Finally, consider the racial disparities revealed by an examination of the race of the murder victims in cases where the death penalty is imposed. The 227

had been convicted of killing 302 victims. Of these 255 were white and only 47 black, or another minority group. While 86 black or ethnic minority prisoners have been executed for murdering white victims, only two white murderers have been executed for the murder of a non-white. Although blacks are homicide victims 6 times more than whites, 95% of those executed in 1990 murdered white people. In other words many African Americans would not have been sentenced to die if their victims had been white.

Today over 3,000 await their fate on death row today. 50% are non-white. Pennsylvania now has 10% more blacks on death row than Alabama. California has the largest prison system and over 4 mill. people are either in jail or on parole. The prison population is supposed to double in the next 8 years. The US is the only industrialized country, with exclusion of China, that uses capital punishment. South Africa, recently freed from the shackles of Apartheid, has abolished capital punishment. Thirty years ago New York held the record on the number of innocent people executed in the US, a disproportionate number of whom have been African Americans, yet Pataki used the death penalty as the center of his campaign against Cuomo.

The crime build up does nothing to stop white collar crime, which accounts for 70 percent more dollar for dollar theft than petty crime. The real criminals, like Leona Helmsley, who spent 6 months in a luxury prison after stealing millions through tax evasion, and the crooks behind the savings and loan scandal who decimated an already decimate Harlem, or George Bush who should be held on charges of war crimes for the slaughter of 300,00 Iraqis for oil profits, are making record profits; while the majority are working harder for less money. This barbaric relic of the middle ages, the death penalty, is only the most ugly manifestation of an all out attack from the right on the poorest people in America. The Republicans, in the face of meager Democratic opposition, are willing to cut as deeply as they can in order to finance tax breaks but are also aware of a virtual powder keg of discontent fermenting beneath them.

**B**ut, this shift to the right in the form of racist crime policies has not gone unopposed. Ever since the LA rebellion, the largest, multi-ethnic, inner city rebellion ever, there has been a growing awareness in America, among blacks and whites, around issues like police brutality and racist cops. High profile cases against police corruption like the OJ trial and Mumia's case against the Philadelphia Police Department have provided a focus for this growing anger at the system in general. It is no accident that almost half the people at the Philadelphia demo were from New York. New York's Mayor Giuliani and Governor Pataki are setting the tone for the nation in their slash and cut policies to education, health care, welfare, and jobs. Their efforts to increase police presence on the campuses to stave off opposition to budget cuts to education, has been met with opposition by both CUNY and SUNY students. Many CUNY students have shown their unwillingness to accept the Republican law and order agenda in their support of the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. In *Live from Death Row* Mumia's words about consciousness around the MOVE bombing by the Philadelphia police has resonance today: he said that "All found out how fragile the very system that stole their very freedom was when the state committed the crimes against them. All found out that words like 'justice, law, civil rights, and yes crime have different and elastic meanings depending on whose rights were violated, who committed what crimes against whom, and whether one works for the system or against it'".

Today 70 percent of African Americans supported OJ's acquittal. The media has used these statistics to show how racially divided this country is. But, the L.A. Rebellion and the fight to free Mumia, along with a cynicism index poll that shows that 78 percent of Americans distrust the government, tells us that the racial lines along side the OJ verdict is not a good indicator for the potential for black and white unity against racism and police corruption. What the verdict shows us is that blacks, because they experience more directly the routine of racism and police brutality, can more readily accept the centrality of



LAUREN SHAW



Certainly the austerity to which young people of color have been subjected (at top, an overcrowded class at Hunter College) is intricately related to the causes of crime and the subsequent policing and death penalty backlash (above, the aftermath of a shooting). Young poor who do not go to college are denied even a chance at entry into economic pathways already constricted. What economic institutions that do form and operate in poor neighborhoods as sources of youth employment are considered "illegal".

racism within the criminal justice system and not see it as some rhetorical aside dealt from the bottom of the deck at the expense of domestic violence. Our judicial system is profoundly racist and sexist. Simpson's defense team was able to challenge the prosecution at every step of the way only because it could afford to pay the required experts and investigators. A high-profile "trial of the century" won't stop these abuses. Only a movement which seeks to fundamentally change this society can stop the police brutality, racism, and inequities that the Simpson case exposed.

The bottom line is that black and white unity against an unjust system is possible, given the sweeping nature of the cuts. The crime package offers no solution to the deepening economic crisis. Today's politicians, in the interest of run away corporate greed, have done nothing to stop declining living conditions over the past twenty years. Their efforts to put more cops on the streets and build more prisons, along with massive cuts to health care, education, and welfare have only exacerbated inner-city tensions.

**T**he story of Brian Oberson, a 31 year old African American sentenced to die on September 1 for merely being near the location of a murder scene reveals the extreme bias of the state. He states that "they want this case finalized, because if they murder me, it will be too late for justice then, and they know it...through the years I still maintain my innocence and sanity."

We need to ask ourselves why, in the richest country in the world, do 1 out of 5 children live in poverty and 40 million people go without health insurance? The answer is that only in the richest country in the world, America, with its 400 year history of slave labor and its reputation of having the most highly exploited workers in the world could such prosperity exist along side such misery. But these contradictions are coming to the surface. The veil is being lifted: That's why the OJ trial received a nation-wide hearing with its defense against the racist LAPD and its twenty year veteran the convicted racist perjurer, Mark Furhman. And that's why the racist judge Sabo, the judge who had never granted a stay of execution in his career, was forced to grant a stay to Mumia Abu-Jamal when thousands, internationally, rallied against his legal lynching. And that's why there are 10,000 cases of

police corruption involving drug trafficking and planting evidence and illegal frame ups, being reviewed in Philadelphia right now. Mumia has given a voice to death row inmates like Aaron Roberson. He is the voice of the voiceless, he is like the child who announced that the emperor has no clothes." He exposes the sham of the American justice system, that would prosecute an innocent Black man. His story and many others show that the right to a fair trial, the right to a fair and impartial jury, the right to represent oneself, is not a right at all but privileges of the powerful and the rich.

What their doing is fragile, they have no real solutions to the economic crisis, but this should not lead us to complacency. Judge Sabo just overturned Mumia's appeal for a new trial and we can expect an increase in police corruption and brutality once the full impact of the crime package is felt. In the collapse of a liberal opposition within the Democratic party to the Republican agenda and Clinton's crime package—even the Congressional Black Caucus backed the crime bill—and the only alternative being Colin Powell, a fiscal conservative, who although posed as the candidate who could alleviate tensions in the African American community, has remained surprisingly silent during the past week of the OJ trial. Many are looking beyond simply voting to improve their living conditions. Now is the time to get active. Come by the *Advocate* office and pick up petitions against the death penalty.

One of the decisive gains of the Civil Rights movement was the 1972 Supreme Court ruling that existing death penalty statutes were unconstitutional because they could be applied in arbitrary ways. Right now 80 percent of Americans support the idea of the death penalty, but when pollsters give respondents a choice between the death penalty and life in prison, only a minority support the death penalty. Moreover, some 58 percent in a recent poll expressed concern that the death penalty may wrongly punish innocent people. This significant group of people who oppose the death penalty can provide the basis for organizing against it. Moreover, because the death penalty is so closely tied to issues of class, race, and the nature of the capitalist state, it immediately raises broader political issue. If the students and workers of South Africa, who grew up under Apartheid, can abolish the death penalty then that possibility exists for us today. Now is the time to call upon the United States government to abolish the death penalty. □

WEASEL CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

poenaed documents reveal that they were compiling information on students, including many from CUNY Grad, arrested at demonstrations: at a protest at Hunter on March 15, at City Hall on March 23, at the hunger strike at CCNY on April 11 and 12, and at several bridges and tunnels blockaded by activists on April 25. Administrators put together what *New York* magazine described as an "Enemies List" with students' school, race, grade point average and academic specifics such as whether they were in remedial education programs and so on. Activists first learned that the Administration was keeping tabs on them in spring '95. The *Hunter Envoy* reported on May 15 that a CCNY student who tried to attend an overnight vigil at

**"IT HAS TO DO WITH THE FEAR OF CRIME." CRIME HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN ISSUE, SAID SCHAEFFER, DIRECTOR OF SECURITY AT THE GRAD CENTER, EVEN THOUGH WE DON'T HAVE MUCH OF ANY. THUS, WE NEED PEACE OFFICERS.**

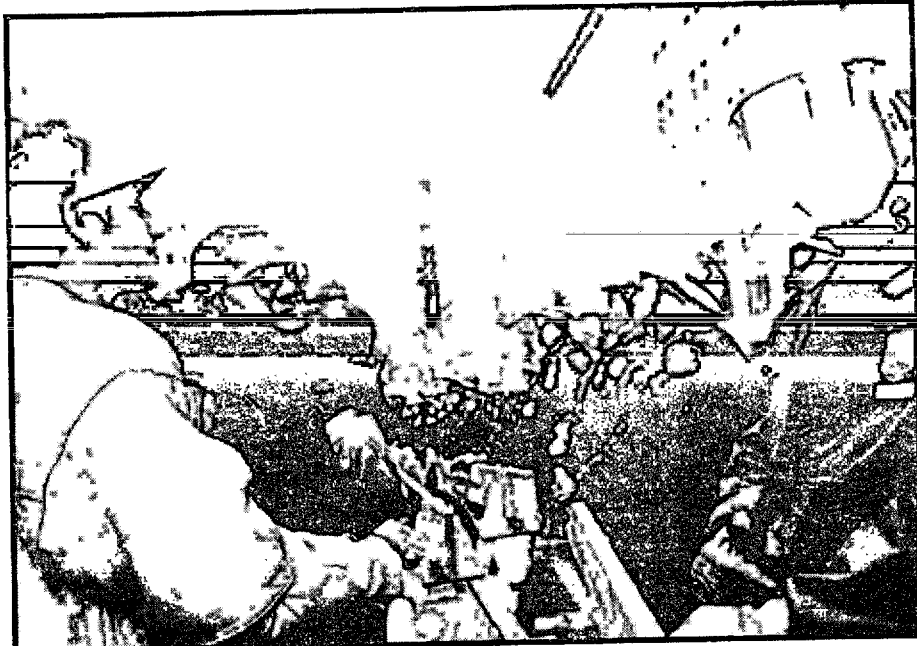
Hunter College on April 26 was turned away because his name appeared on a list Hunter Security had of people who were to be prohibited from entering the building.

According to Ann Lam, an assistant to the students' attorney Ron McGuire, the Administration initially denied that this list exists. The *Hunter Envoy* said on September 12 that Jay Hershenson, Vice-Chancellor for University Relations, wrote a letter to *New York* magazine's editor stating that "There is no emphasis

or program to maintain lists of student protesters." Yet it is clear that the surveillance has in fact taken place. Nunez-Wormack has attempted to justify Administration actions by saying that they compiled the list for the benefit of the students, to answer questions from concerned parents about their children following demonstrations. The *Hunter Envoy* reported on September 12 that she claimed students benefited from the lists for "medical reasons."

It seems that Jose Elique went to work on this project shortly after the March 23 demonstration. Sheila Thomas writes to Nunez-Wormack on March 30 with apparent regret that Elique was unable to pry information on arrestees' Social Security numbers and birth dates from the NYPD. This development must have thrown a wrench in the works of the spy project as CUNY students are identified in the University's computer system by Social Security number. Nonetheless, they did not have too much of a problem compiling the list and circulating it to college presidents.

The bottom line on all this "secret" information is that CUNY Administrators spent time and money using their highly paid 33-member Special Assistance for Events (SAFE) team to trail students, and their security staff to research them and devise ways to police them last spring. No figure was given for exactly how much all this work cost, but the University spends \$30 million a year on security, says the *Daily News*. The security budget, they state, is up by almost 50% in five years. But apparently keeping tabs on these kinds of student activities went on throughout the academic year, from the protests last November against Mayor Giuliani's budget and continuing through the spring. Campus Security logs record the observations of SAFE team officers working in plain clothes on the scene, such as, as *New York* magazine reports: "Now moving



CUNY students confront the Blue Wall that literally blocks their education.

off campus in ranks to City Hall."

The SAFE team is a relatively new incarnation at CUNY. According to Lam, it was first conceived in 1992 and finally implemented last January, drawn from the 559 peace officers that work at CUNY. They are used, as their name implies, as "special event" security, although that has amounted, in reality, only to work at demonstrations. The peace officers themselves have arrest powers and can carry arms if the college president where they work designates them to do so. President Horowitz at the Grad Center brought the first peace officer to campus this fall, despite student protest at a town meeting last spring. Students told Horowitz at the meeting that they objected to armed guards with police powers working on campus because of the danger they posed to students. Tracy Morgan of the History Department, one of the organizers of the campaign, told the *Advocate* why she rallied around this issue. "I take surveillance of activists very seriously and I saw

the peace officers on campus as an embodiment of the surveillance we had already learned about [at the Hunter College vigil]. I saw the peace officers as a sign that there would be more of it and as something that had to be opposed." The timing of the arrival of the peace officers at the Grad Center when students were protesting budget cuts seemed like too much of a coincidence.

At press time, the peace officer now at the Grad Center, Ronald Reeves, is considered a civil service officer who has not yet been sworn in as a peace officer. Security Director Joseph Shaeffer told the *Advocate* that Reeves has completed his training and will be sworn in "imminently." He does not carry a gun, although Horowitz has the power to arm him at any time. The peace officer training consists of an 8 week training period at CUNY's John Jay College of Criminal Justice where they must complete a certain number of hours of study on criminal procedures and penal law. An important component to the training, said Shaeffer,

## DOCTORAL STUDENTS' COUNCIL

### Co-Chairs

**Communications:** Tara McGann  
**Finance:** Chris McCarthy  
**Student Affairs:** Yvonne LaSalle

### Steering Committee

**Jamie Davila**  
**Robert Hollander**  
**Lauren Kozol**  
**Jean Phelps**  
**Teresa Vega**  
**Laura R. Whitaker**

### OFFICE HOURS

**Mon-Tues 11:00-6:30**  
**Wed-Thurs 11:00-6:00**  
**Fri 2:00-5:00**  
**Sat 3:00-5:00**

### FREE PHOTOCOPYING

For GSUC students during DSC office hours

### LEGAL REFERRALS

Up to \$200 reimbursement (inquire during office hours)

### DISCOUNT MOVIE TICKETS

Mon & Wed, 11-4pm (Ask for Peter)

### NYPL COPYING DISCOUNT

Inquire at NYPL photo-copy desk about 15 cent discount for GS students

Inquire during office hours about reimbursement for WELLNESS CENTER LAB FEES and FREE ADMISSION INTO MOMA

For TRAVEL and RESEARCH STIPEND contact Associate Provost Pam Reid (conferences and research)

The DSC: services, information, advocacy.

## DSC NOTES

### FIRST OFF...

THIS IS THE FIRST in a series of articles on the Doctoral Students' Council (DSC). What is the DSC? The DSC is the policy arm of the Doctoral Students' Organization (DSO), whose membership is comprised of all CUNY graduate students who have paid their student activity fees. The DSC is charged with executing the mandates of CUNY graduate students.

The DSC attempts to foster an atmosphere of community among graduate students to facilitate the democratization of the decision making process at the CUNY Graduate Center and to establish avenues of communication between graduate students and the university at large. The DSC is also empowered to fund and organize colloquia, seminars and cultural events of interest to students at the CUNY graduate community.

Every academic year students from all the masters and doctoral programs elect representatives to the DSC annually. There are also representatives at large who are elected by the student body as a whole. Elections are held once each academic year. From among elected representatives DSC Co-Chairpersons are elected to the following offices:

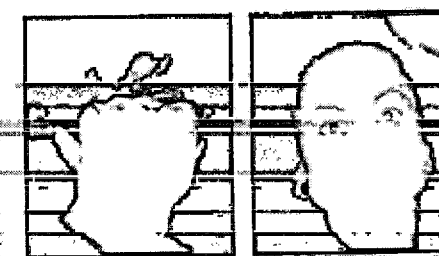
(i) Co-chair for students services: This individual acts as a liaison between the DSC and chartered student organizations and the student newspaper, *The Advocate*.  
(ii) Co-chair for student communications. This is the official voice of the DSC and this individual is required to act as a conduit for student concerns about administrative or academic matters.  
(iii) Co-chair for business management: This representative manages the treasury of the DSC.

In addition to the election of the DSC, students also elect a Steering Committee which guides the DSC in the implementation of mandates of the graduate student community.

The DSC is required to hold one meeting per month for each academic year. This is commonly known as the DSC plenary. Plenaries provide an opportunity for the discussion of the activities of the DSC and allows students to submit petitions and proposals to their representatives. The dates and times of these plenary meetings are usually publicly posted.

The following graduate students are members of the present DSC committee:

### Co-chairs:



McGann

LaSalle

Tara McGann (Comp Lit)  
Yvonne LaSalle (Anthro)  
Chris McCarthy (Math)

### Steering Committee:

Lauren Kozol (English)  
Laura R. Whitaker (Earth Sci)  
Jaime Davilla (Comp Sci)  
Teresa Vega (Anthro)  
Sean Phelps (Soc)  
Robert Hollander (Ling)

### Office Assistant:

Peter Vellon (History)

At present, the DSC sponsors the following services and events:

1. Free photocopying: This service is free to all graduate students here at the Graduate Center. The hours of availability are posted on the door of the DSC office.



is interpersonal communications and sensitivity to diversity, "respect for various components of the University community, respect of personal dignity." The ability of the peace officers to maintain respect for students' personal dignity, having been trained and encouraged over the past year by University administration to monitor and arrest them, certainly remains open to serious questioning, however.

The remaining security staff at the Grad Center continues to come from contracted guards who currently comprise a team of about 20. The contract with the security company will be progressively phased out as more peace officers appear on the scene, according to Shaeffer. He presents the security changes at the Grad Center by saying, on the one hand, that the Grad Center does not have an environment like that of some other campuses of violent crime. On the other hand, he says, "it has to do with the fear of crime." Crime has always been an issue, he said, even though we don't really have any. Thus, we need peace officers. Contracted security guards, he insists, are not prepared to deal with violent crime.

Yet whether "violent crime" that threatens students is the motivation behind the peace officers coming to campus is a subject of debate both at the Grad Center and more generally on campuses undergoing similar transitions. The *New York Times* reported in August of this year that since the Federal Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act was passed in 1990, "most campuses are very safe, compared with municipalities." The reasoning behind the growth of police forces on campuses lies elsewhere, the article implies, showing that campus police forces grew during the Vietnam War era. While some college administrations, the article claims, fear that guns "would tarnish the campuses' sanctuary-like atmosphere," CUNY's own Jose Elique, quoted in the very same article,

feels chagrined that he must argue for weapons. As he says, "it's somewhat ironic, this is the largest urban university system in the country, possibly in the world, and we're still fighting for pepper spray and handcuffs." Incidentally, before coming to CUNY Elique worked for ten years as the head of Port Authority's Anti-Terrorist Unit.

From their record on surveillance and the peace officers, the CUNY Administration is not making Elique fight too hard. They have given him the green light to intimidate students with armed guards on the campuses and to turn a blind eye to police violence towards students. Yet CUNY Administrators are hardly original on this score. They're taking their cue from politicians who have cut money for CUNY (and education in general) while increasing the budget for the police. The budget for fiscal year 1996 from the City of New York, which mainly affects the community colleges, was \$3.72 million down from \$3.94 million, a 5% decrease, from the year before. The budget for the NYPD for this year is \$ 2.3 billion, an increase of 10.3% over the previous year's. This trend is mirrored at the state and national levels. From Clinton's multi-billion dollar crime bill on down, the message politicians are sending is push through austerity in public institutions and have a well-trained police back-up to handle any problems. Security officials may very well cry for the need of "crime prevention" and "student protection," but both their actions on the street and their behind-the-scene dealings show otherwise.

Back at the Grad Center, with only six weeks into school, so far so good as far as the peace officer goes. Most campuses report no signs of trouble...yet. However, Ginetta Candelario, a student in the Sociology Department and an adjunct at Queens College spotted at least 30 police officers at 65th Avenue and

Kissena Boulevard outside the Queens College gates on Thursday, September 14. When questioned, a police officer told her that they were stopping college students in cars going too fast past school busses. When she pointed out to him that it was now 9:30 am, he amended his response to stopping students for seat belt infractions. "It was a sea of blue," she said. "They were not just there for traffic violations. It's obvious it's about intimidation." The police were still there at noon. Apparently they had been there at least every day that week. CUNY Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds plans to unveil her budget for CUNY for next year on September 28. Retrenchment and cutbacks promises to be a central part of her program as there is no indication she

## FROM CLINTON'S MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR CRIME BILL ON DOWN, THE MESSAGE POLITICIANS ARE SENDING IS PUSH THROUGH AUSTERITY IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND HAVE WELL-TRAINED POLICE BACK-UP TO HANDLE ANY PROBLEMS.

will deviate from the pattern established over the past few years. An increase in the budget for security will almost certainly accompany whatever cuts she is sure to propose.

And what of the planned visit to the Grad Center by Ms. Sander from the NYPD? Coming so soon after the arrests of last spring, Horowitz's capitulation on retrenchment and her bringing the peace officers to campus, the idea of having invited police officers at the Grad Center proved too much for some students. The Doctoral Students' Council Steering

Committee drafted a letter in opposition to the event and planned, along with several other student groups and activists, to picket the meeting in the Auditorium. The intended message was that CUNY students need money for education not for the police, and that the police have hardly shown themselves to be friends of CUNY students. The morning of the scheduled event, a sign appeared in the Mall announcing that it was canceled. Shaeffer told the *Advocate* that the police elected to cancel and that he did not know why. Some students, however, viewed their planned picket as a motivating factor behind the cancellation.

Robert Hollander of the DSC Steering Committee had been on campus that day prepared to voice his opposition. "The Administration inviting the police is a way of legitimating police presence on campus," he said. "It's a drastic change from CUNY's previous relationship with police according to which police were not permitted on campus unless they were invited in some emergency. Now the Administration is trying to establish a friendly relationship with the NYPD. Given the events of last spring and the 70 arrests and police violence perpetrated against students, such a friendly relationship is hypocrisy."

Security's failed attempt to reconcile the police with students under the guise of personal safety showed that police can back off when they are told that they have no place on a campus pretending to "keep the peace" or look out for students in any way. As the peace officer team at CUNY Grad and around the CUNY system grows, increasingly administrators will scramble to justify their presence and their expense in the face of heightened austerity. But the peace officers are police on campus just like the NYPD police students off campus. Their roles are the same and students need to call them for what they are. It can be the first step to turning back austerity at CUNY. ■

## DSC NOTES

located in the Student Center.

2. Legal referrals: This services provides a \$200 reimbursement for student consultations on legal matters.

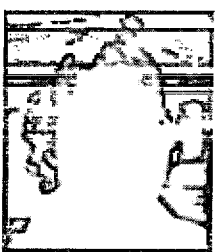
3. Discount movie tickets: This allows students to buy movie tickets at a discount.

4. The New York Public Library photocopying discount: This service gives students a fifteen cent discount on copies made at the public library.

5. The DSC also subsidizes student access to health care services offered by the Wellness

Center. Most services are provided free of charge to all students.

6. Stipend for travel and research:



McCarthy

This service affords students with monies in the amount of \$200 for research and travel related expenses.

Students interested in taking advantage of these opportu-

nities should contact the members of the DSC executive at the student center.

Future projects and activities planned by the DSC include a fact finding mission on the effects of the recently enacted budget cuts on student life at the Graduate Center, which is spearheaded by Mr. Robert Hollander. Students are asked to contact Mr. Hollander for information concerning the impact of the cuts on their lives. To this end, the DSC has tentatively scheduled an "Open Forum on Student Life" for the middle of October 1995. It is hoped that graduate student concerns regarding the changes in criteria for level alterations, the presence of peace officers on campus, and other pertinent matters will be addressed.

Mr. Hollander is also involved in the compilation of a review of the academic programs here at the Graduate Center. This is being done in an effort to ensure that academic departments are following the administrative guidelines in the running of their departments. Students are urged to contact Mr. Hollander with information regarding the administration of their respective programs. This effort is actively being supported by Dr. Zalk who is the acting Vice President for Student Affairs.

In an interview with *The Advocate*, DSC Co-chair for Student Affairs Ms. Tara McGann, expressed concerns about the perceived snubbing of the DSC by the graduate school administration. McGann pointed to the late invitation of the DSC to the discussions concerning the imminent move of the graduate school to the B. Altman building and the lack of an invitation for a DSC speaker at the recently concluded student orientation process. Finally, Ms. McGann added that the administration did not notify the DSC of the changes in criteria for level status of new graduate students until after they were already enacted. Had the DSC been apprised of these changes in advance, graduate students would have had the opportunity to attempt to forestall the administration's decision and "grandfather-in" the changes in criteria levels. Ms. McGann, however, expressed some optimism: that Dr. Zalk intends to pursue substantive collaborations with the DSC on matters that affect the graduate community as a whole.

Also, Ms. McGann reiterated the DSC's commitment to the service of the students and assures that all graduate students will continue to be welcomed and aided in their spheres of endeavors. —TERRENCE R. BLACKMAN

## LABOR WALKS TO THE BOXTREE WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25

Time to be determined by AFL-CIO Convention Schedule

250 E. 49 St. near Second Ave.

ON STRIKE SINCE DECEMBER 16, 1993

Join Local 100, Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees and the newly organized Boxtree Strikers in their fight for family medical coverage, seniority rights, and a living wage.

## ANNETTE MESSAGER

October 12, 1995 - January 16, 1996

The first retrospective in the United States of the work of French artist Annette Messager, one of the most provocative and important contemporary artists working in Europe, opens at The Museum of Modern Art October 12. Graduate School and University Center students (that's you!) enter free.



Mayor Rudolph Giuliani at a 1994 New York Post forum

On crime: "Freedom is not a concept in which people can

do anything they want, be anything they can be. Freedom

is about authority. Freedom is about the willingness of

every single human being to cede lawful authority a great

deal of discretion about what you do."

Ever notice—and given the relative success of the broad-

casted brainwash, we have to ask—ever notice that the

harangues against the poor and civil liberties escalate the

longer the reactionaries and their corporate comrades

exercise power relatively unchallenged? The rhetoric is

mimicked by much of the populace from rants squawked

by the corporate-paid row of right-wing pundits. And the

reactionaries, whose actions have caused the country's

disintegration, track the spiraling rhetoric with even cruel-

er "reforms". The "republic" is truly eating its own tail.

With the internalization of the Cold War comes a conver-

gence of agendas. While contracts for prison construction,

maintenance and operations, security systems, welfare

i.d. cards and processing industries are farmed out to

white districts as a redux of the military-industrial com-

plex, attendant modules of rationalization bloom in a

thousand grant proposals. Brookings Institute-style think

tanks, advertising agencies, public relations firms, profes-

sors of the hard and social sciences are together construct-

ing an elaborate logic for poor-bashing and the prison

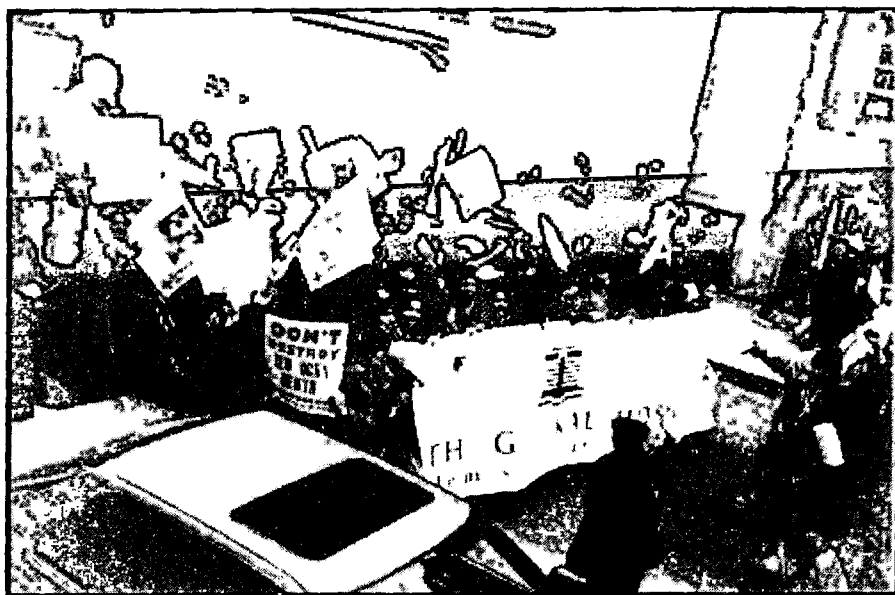
economy.

And to think Rudolph "Manhattan Institute" Giuliani

bristled at the "fascist" labeling. Whether he is one is cer-

tainly debatable, but his blather belies the impression.

ROBERT WALLACE



April 4 student-labor rally against the budget cuts.

DIANE ACOSTA

# Coalition and Its Discontents

*A sociology student assesses the cuts fight*

BY ALEX VITALE

Soon after New York Governor George Pataki joined the nationwide assault on education by proposing 25 percent reductions in state support to both the State University of New York (SUNY) and the City University of New York (CUNY), an ad hoc coalition of student activists from a number of CUNY campuses began meeting to organize a militant, multi-issue response. Unlike in past years, when student organizing had focused on the administrators of the CUNY system, the newlyformed CUNY Coalition chose as its target the new Governor, the State Legislature and the downtown business interests that they felt were ultimately behind the austerity measures. This analysis, combined with an open and democratic organizational structure, created the framework for a mass mobilization of CUNY and high school students fed up with the barrage of cutbacks and the politicians' rhetoric of hate. Unfortunately, however, students were not able to build on their successes, and organizing efforts degenerated into sectarian debates over revolutionary strategies which left many alienated and demobilized. A closer examination of the tactical decisions made by organizers may help us to better prepare future responses to the continuing tide of global austerity.

The first challenge that faced the Coalition was how to deal with the official CUNY-wide student government, the University Student Senate (USS), which was aligned with progressive state and local legislators. The USS's goal was to preserve CUNY programs through intensive lobbying within the Democratic Party, backed up by carefully orchestrated mobilizations that they would control politically. The two groups came into immediate conflict as each began to plan demonstrations in March.

The USS, working with the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus of the State Legislature, called for a march to Wall Street for the 16th. The CUNY Coalition called for another march to Wall Street on the 23rd. The USS decided to work with established student leaders at the campuses; their political positions were determined by a centralized leadership. In contrast, the CUNY Coalition created ad hoc committees that were open to everyone. On some campuses, these committees were closely tied to student governments or major student organizations and on others they were not. As a result, the Coalition's organizing was

high on energy, and inclusive of diverse people and ideas, but often low on resources. Both groups were more racially diverse than most student coalitions but neither was as diverse as the overall CUNY student population. The issue of racial composition did come up on individual campuses, but it was not a point of difference between the USS and the CUNY Coalition.

## COALITION GAINS MOMENTUM

As March drew on, it became clear that student support was galvanizing around the Coalition. The USS was having limited success outside of a few campuses where it had strong student government support. Most organizing at the Senior Colleges was in support of the Coalition. Progressive faculty, organized as the Coalition of Concerned Faculty, were also supporting the more open and radical politics of the CUNY Coalition.

On the 16th, the USS had its event. Some 5,000 students, most from six campuses with strong student government support, as well as some labor and community groups, marched from the Borough of Manhattan Community College to a large parking lot at the World Trade Center where the Governor has an office. In advance negotiations with the police they had not been able to get permission to march to Wall Street as advertised and were instead forced to follow a route of only six blocks that was lined by police and barricades. As the march came to a stop, the police initially prevented people from leaving the rally. This caused a minor panic and a major sense of disempowerment. When exits were finally opened up, people streamed out. A greatly diminished crowd remained to hear the speeches from legislators and student government leaders, which were often indistinguishable.

From the start, the CUNY Coalition's strategy was more militant and less bureaucratic. Over the course of several heated meetings the Coalition voted several times that the goal of the March 23 event was to "shut the city down." In practice, this meant drawing 5-10,000 students to City Hall and marching through the financial district, causing maximum disruption of business as usual. By not scripting the day, the Coalition hoped to give participants the sense that they had a role in shaping the event as it occurred. It was hoped that this level of empowerment, like the open organizational style, would create momentum to build a sustainable student movement that could take on the budget cuts and a wide variety of political

issues.

On the 23rd, some 7,000-10,000 high school students, up to 1,000 university faculty, 7,000-10,000 university students and over 1,000 union and community members turned out. These numbers far exceeded organizers' expectations and caused major logistical and crowd-control problems.

#### POLICE OUT IN FORCE

The NYPD also turned out in force. During the final days before the event, the police had requested meetings with organizers and had offered a march permit to the World Trade Center. Student leaders had decided not to meet with the police, instead planning to force them into negotiations during the event through sheer numbers as in 1989 and 1991, the two most recent CUNY mobilizations. In response, the NYPD assigned more than 2,000 officers to the rally.

The police indicated to organizers that they were going to use whatever force they needed to prevent a march. In spite of this threat, organizers attempted to start a march by moving people quickly into the street through one of the few pedestrian openings in the barricades. Many students were also prepared to push through the police lines, despite assurances from organizers that this was not the intended strategy. Several scuffles broke out - all initiated by the police - and dozens were arrested. At one point, as the march turned and headed toward the southern end of the park, the march's tactical committee got split up and had to scurry to regain control. After several confrontations with police and a great deal of chaotic discussion, groups of students began to pull out and reconvene at a campus nearby.

Student reaction to the day was mixed. No one expected such a big turnout. But many students were alienated by the militant rhetoric of the speakers and the sense of poor organization. Though at the event there had been widespread support for attempting a march, some were also opposed to a confrontational strategy. It became clear that the structure of the Coalition was open and dynamic but lacked sufficient accountability to ensure that the outlook of the CUNY-wide organizing group adequately represented the views of students on the various campuses. The Coalition attempted to solve this problem through a representative system but it was not implemented until early April, after the group had lost its momentum and some of its legitimacy.

One of the best aspects of the action, however, was its ability to connect issues. For CUNY students, what affects the community affects them. If schools, transportation and public hospitals are hurt, then students are hurt. Many students work in the public sector, and they face a tuition increase and a loss of employment at the same time. This overlap gave organizers a sense that there was a real possibility of a multi-issue, student-led movement to oppose the entire program of government restructuring.

#### LABOR-STUDENT ALLIANCE?

The next day, Rev. Al Sharpton and Dennis Rivera, president of 1199, the public health care workers' union, called the Coalition and suggested another City Hall-to-Wall Street march under a unified community/student/labor banner. They had both been present March 23 and were appalled by the police tactics. They proposed a joint event for April 4, the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination.

Students in the CUNY Coalition voted overwhelmingly to support the new coalition, but not without voicing withering attacks against the union leadership. Many of them attacked the union officials as reformist bureaucrats and

lauded the radical potential of rank-and-file workers. They saw April 4 as a chance to build a rank-and-file movement that might result in citywide strikes; union leaders, on the other hand, saw it as a more limited opportunity to capitalize on momentum within labor and student groups to stop the Republican services.

Students, labor leaders from 1199 and District Council 37, and a representative of Rev. Sharpton formed an organizing committee. However, the Coalition selected students who strongly opposed the union leaders because it was believed that they would be the best negotiators of an uncompromising political position. The committee agreed to three demands: no budget cuts, no tax cuts and an end to corporate welfare. It was also agreed the event would be nonviolent in the spirit of Dr. King.

Most students felt that the very act of a joint march to Wall St. represented a huge victory, but some wanted to push things further. During the final organizing, students continued to denounce the unions. And at the last meeting, several proposals were put forward for civil disobedience actions and resistance to any police efforts to divide the crowd.

Turnout for the event was relatively small (about 5,000), made up equally of unionists and students, and things generally moved smoothly. However, several of the student speakers used the opportunity of addressing rank and file workers to attack union leaders and to call for a united action of shutting the city down. They made threats against the police and tried to motivate the crowd through extremist and, in some cases, offensive language. In response, Dennis Rivera addressed the crowd and stated that if such rhetoric continued he would pull his members out of the march or pull the plug on the event. Rather than inspiring the rank-and-filers, the students alienated most of them. For better or worse, most municipal workers are not politicized beyond immediate workplace concerns. And there is no compelling reason why they should look to students for political leadership. Students have low standing socially, few resources, no proven track record and limited political experience. Revolutionary rhetoric will not make up for these things.

During the final rally on Wall Street, a group of students prevented the police from establishing a crowd control barrier to keep a cross street open to pedestrians. It appeared that they might be arrested. This enraged the union organizers who were already stinging from the inflammatory speeches. Fortunately, the crowd was dispersing fast enough that the police decided that the barriers were no longer necessary.

As a result of the speeches and the street actions, ties between the CUNY Coalition and local unions were seriously damaged. The possibility of any future joint actions was gone for the time being. Some of the student speakers later admitted that they had been swept up by the moment and regretted their tone. None of the students had communicated a clear message of why the CUNY system was under assault and what it would take to defend it. Instead they were more concerned with projecting a revolutionary vision which they thought would inspire people to look beyond the immediate crises. Union officials also expressed some regret over the vehemence of Dennis Rivera's on-stage reaction.

It is important to think beyond immediate circumstances in planning political activities. It is also important, however, to understand where, politically, your potential constituency is. The repeated decisions by the Coalition to favor a revolution-building strategy over a stable and effective student campaign against the cuts left most students and student activists sitting on the sidelines. There is not support in the current climate for revolutionary rhetoric. People are willing to

engage in a certain degree of political activity (even militant activity) but only if they believe it will have short-term meaningful consequences. Any attempt to build a long term student movement must operate with this understanding. It is by doing a good job on a clearly defined issue that students will gain the respect of their peers and make a more broad-based movement possible.

The CUNY Coalition could have sustained a coalition with organized labor without giving in to reformist Democratic politics, by pushing a radical agenda while finding common ground. It was clear that the union leaders were willing to accommodate student politics a great deal. Students represent an important political constituency for a community/labor struggle against the cuts that effect both students and work-

ers. Likewise, unions have been willing to provide material and logistical resources that would have been of great help to the Coalition.

The fiscal problems of the public sector cannot be solved by voting for the Democrats. Political mobilizations are built on a vision of change and the possibility of real successes along the way. The CUNY Coalition, while maintaining an inclusive, non-hierarchical structure and radical politics, became dominated by the rhetoric of creating a revolutionary student movement out of thin air. As long as this form of sectarian naiveté is the dominant force in the CUNY Coalition, a stable base of student support will not be forthcoming.

Alex Vitale is a sociology student at the Grad School and was a member of the CUNY Coalition.

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# Fulbright Cutbacks

## Students battle for funding

CHARLES PRICE-REAVIS

WHEN IT RAINS, it pours. This age-old maxim now represents the reality for students in the CUNY system. Downsizing in both private and public sectors will undoubtedly affect CUNY students in a number of ways. These range from the acquisition of funding for research to the reduction of research related-support services. It is almost certain that these changes will result in an overall decline in the quality of research produced at this institution. This process will inevitably tarnish CUNY's reputation as an educational institution, and consequently that of its students.

Here at the Graduate Center, students must learn to navigate the funding maze. Since only a tiny percentage of students have fellowships or scholarships that subsidize the entire cost of obtaining the Ph.D. The vast majority receive partial waivers, grants, and related subsidies, while a considerable number receive nothing of the kind. Students at the Graduate Center face especially treacherous dilemmas. Most must rely on both in-house and external funds to subsidize their research, data analysis, and writing of the dissertation. When available, such funds ensure that the student is able to apply extended and directed attention to the research, and to

complete the Ph.D. in a timely fashion. It relieves the student from the burdens of meals, rent, and the other countless anxieties generated by this process. To add salt to the gaping wounds of CUNY students, sources of funding outside the CUNY system, both public and private, are suffering from the contagious downsizing disease. In some cases, funds, and indeed entire institutions, are disappearing as a result of the progression of the disease: the National Endowment for Humanities (NEH) and National Endowment for Arts (NEA) are examples.

The above concerns are especially relevant, if we take for example, the widespread acceptance across a range of disciplines, of the value of fieldwork as a component of a research project. Fieldwork is often expensive, and always time-consuming. Thus, the ways in which a research project is designed will be circumscribed not by feasibility, significance, or the nature of a given topic, but by the lack of financial support. Indeed, these benefits defy monetary valorization, despite the prevailing market mentalities that make austerity the primary framework for decision-making.

Let's briefly examine the status of some of the major external sources of funding for CUNY/Graduate Center students. After much rumor from various quarters, and threats

from the House of Representatives, it appears the National Science Foundation (NSF) and Social-Behavioral-Economic (SBE) sections will not be eliminated. The SBE departments will face at least a 2-3% reduction in their fiscal year 1996 allocations, while the entire NSF structure will lose at least 1% of its fiscal year 1996 budget. While these cuts seem minor, it means that there will be fewer resources with no guarantee of any improvement. Also, it is not yet clear how these cuts will affect allocations to fund NSF research projects. For example, I was informed by a NSF employee that they have already received sixty three proposals for the fall, and expect to fund fifteen. Normally, the NSF funds about 33% of proposals received; in this case it is more like 23%.

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) typically funds region-related research. An employee at the SSRC informed me that they are not yet certain about the amount of funding for the upcoming fiscal year, but they expect a decrease in project-related funding. This comes, the employee said, after being prepared to eliminate some research programs.

At present, it appears the National Institute of Health (NIH) and NIDA (National Institute on Drug Abuse) will not suffer cuts. However, they are not placing priority on funding "social" and environmental projects, but rather more biologically-oriented ones. For example, there is the NIMH Violence

Initiative (which hopefully has been scuttled as a result of the uproar it caused in 1993) that proposed to find the gene that causes violence among inner city minorities. I am not an authority on health, drugs, or medicine, but I do know that social factors influence health, violence and drug use. However, current policy thinking does not acknowledge that society generates its own problems without the help of genes.

Unfortunately, the remaining days of the NEH and the NEA appear numbered. The Contract on Americans hit at least two targets with its scattershot. Their funding for fiscal year 1996 has been cut by 40%. Unless there are unexpected changes, within two years the NEA will be phased out, with the NEH to follow in three years. Technically they will have 60% of their fiscal year 1996 budgets, but both agencies have yet to be authorized by Congress to operate in fiscal year 1996.

More rumor (from an insider) has it that both Fulbright institutions (the IIE and Fulbright-Hayes) face formidable budget cuts for the upcoming fiscal year, but I was unable to confirm these rumors before going to press. I was also unable to contact the Ford Foundation.

Let us reflect on the related short, and long-term implications of these cuts for all of CUN—faculty, students, and administration. What will CUNY look like in five years? At City College, an inside source indicates an expected loss this semester of as many as 1000 students as a result of tuition-hikes, reduced services, and eliminated departments. The City College library faces periodical subscription and new

book acquisitions cuts of 67% for all fields. While City College is only one example, and it may not be a typical one.

We must ask other questions. What about the morale of faculty and students at the Graduate Center? I remember being extremely enthusiastic and highly motivated when I arrived in 1992; now I wonder if I'll ever complete the degree. What about faculty? I can also remember how, upon arrival, I was excited about the stellar cast of faculty spread throughout the various departments. I reasoned that between my bright fellow students and illustrious faculty, I would develop my highest potential.

Needless to say this ideal has been wrecked, even if the idea was naive. More importantly, what top-level professor would want to come to a university that is being dismantled? Or work with students who have little to nothing? Forces from all angles will be pushing students to produce mediocre work, even if they have the highest ambitions. Given such logical possibilities, is it not reasonable to expect that the Graduate School's prestige will decline? Would not we be helping the other private institutions look better?

I still hold the highest view of CUNY students, who labor physically and intellectually under conditions that would make most give up. Yet, it seems that the tenacity of CUNY students is also their undoing: the decision makers upon whom we rely seem to have faith that we'll always make it. Even when we have nothing left.

Charles Reavis is an Anthropology student and a member of the Black Student Alliance.

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## DOES COMPUTE

IN A TIME of budget cuts and tuition increases it's nice to know that some services at the Graduate Center are actually improving. With limited resources, James Haggard, the new Executive Director of the GSUC's Computer Center, is heading up a transformation of the GSUC's Computing facilities from primarily a database processing center for administrators into a university-wide resource for high tech academic computing. The new direction puts the needs of students and faculty front and center, and even if you're semi-computer illiterate (like myself), you too can now become a sophisticated, computer user of the nineties.

Did you know that you now have your own private account? Even if you have never visited the Computer Center, every student now has 10 megabytes of space, the equivalent of 6 floppy's, that can be backed up on the server's drive. At last, an end to problems with the floppy and the server. All you need to do is come in and initialize your account.

Changes in E-mail now make it easier for you to use your private account to send electronic mail around the world. The GSUC is now connected to a worldwide web with graphical interface to the internet document. With the touch of a button you can log on graphically and browse through internet world-wide. You can also get on limited internet from home.

Network changes and PC upgrades include electronic mail for windows, WordPerfect 6.1 for windows, dBase V for windows, Quattro Pro for Windows, Quark Express, Maple 3.0 for Windows, SPSS 6.1 for Windows, SAS 6.10 for Windows, and Authorware Professional for Windows.

For Social Science majors, the Center has created a brand new computing envi-

ronment that implements support for Micro Soft windows application in the lab. One of the benefits of migrating academic and administrative programs onto the same system is increased support for SAS and SPSS. The same services now exist in the Sociology Lab on the 8th Floor.

And if all of this (seems indecipherable) sounds like a foreign language there is a whole series of workshops from everything to how to log on to E-mail to Statistical Analysis Systems.

The fee of \$15.00 includes a 1-hour session that includes materials. A schedule of upcoming workshops can be picked up from room 300, Monday through Friday from 10:00 AM to 9:45 PM, and Saturday 1:00 AM to 5:45 PM. The Computer Center is closed Sundays and all major holidays.

All of us should be excited about the aggressive effort made by Haggard to reemphasize the academic side of computing. As he puts it, "we are catching up, doing new things, trying very hard with limited resource." As a member of President Horowitz's cabinet he believes that it is important "to our future that computer and information technology has a higher profile." So far, only 100 out of 7,000 students and faculty have initialized their existing accounts. Now that the world of sophisticated computer technology has been made more accessible isn't time that you paid a visit to the Computer Center.—JOAN PARKIN



ROBERT WALLACE



of the executors of an Affirmative Action policy is a frank presentation of the facts as they regard all categories of preference. This would in some measure begin to address the prejudice that surrounds the most "visible" group of beneficiaries.

The framing of this argument around the experience of African Americans illustrates the underlying racist assumptions that drive this debate. These are that African Americans are undeserving of any consideration since at its core, their culture predisposes them to failure. Moreover, they present an easier target than white women, who are not stereotyped criminals. To this charge I will address the following comments.

Perhaps it is instructive to once again elucidate the purpose of Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action is a policy which combines a forward and backward looking moral perspective<sup>4</sup>. From a future-oriented perspective, the purpose of Affirmative Action is to reduce institutional barriers to the participation of individuals of talent from underrepresented groups, thereby achieving substantive occupational integration in our society.

From a historical perspective, Affirmative Action provides the nation with a mechanism for addressing the moral claim to compensation that African Americans justly deserve for the crimes perpetrated against them by this state. Perhaps it could be argued that since Reconstruction the character of the society has changed in such a significant manner as to render such claims spurious. However, the evidence suggests otherwise.

The recent Glass Ceiling Report details the following findings: In the nations largest companies six-tenths of one percent of senior positions are held by African Americans. And, even though white males make up forty three percent of the labor force, they hold ninety-five percent of these jobs. One should also note that the unemployment rate of African Americans remains twice that of Whites. Further, I should add that the average income for a Hispanic woman with a college degree is still less than that of a White male with a high school diploma.

A few months ago, the government of the United States threatened Japan with a trade embargo over the inability of American car manufacturers to sell cars in Japan. The argument was as follows: Statistical analysis revealed that the number of American cars sold in Japan remained stagnant over an extended period of time. This was taken as evidence of unfair competition on the part of the Japanese. The remedy required by the United States Government, in lieu of trade sanctions, was the establishment of timetables for increased sales of American Cars in the Japanese market. I would suggest that reader do the following; replace the words "American Car Manufacturer" with the words "African American." This illustrates the schizophrenic attitude of the nation regarding Affirmative Action. It is good for wealthy White Males, but not for African Americans or Hispanics.

In closing, let me offer the following fact: Affirmative Action in the University of California School system has resulted in an increase of eight-tenths of one percent in the black student population over the last fifteen years<sup>5</sup>. Given this evidence I humbly submit that Affirmative Action remains a potent tool to be used in this nation's quest for justice. I would also like to strongly urge all concerned individuals to engage in this debate. ■

Terrence R. Blackman is a Mathematics student at the Graduate School and a member of the Black Student Alliance.

4. Racism and Justice: The Case for Affirmative Action: Gertrude Ezorsky  
5. N.Y. Times Op-Ed-9/18/95

## MOJO KUDOS

WE'RE #1! WE'RE #1! Liberal mag *Mother Jones* has selected SUNY/CUNY in its September/October issue as the top "activist college campus" in America for the 94-95 school year. The New York systems' students were crowned on the strength of their budget cuts campaign, particularly the 20,000 student City Hall rally last March.

Other students chosen included those at the University of Wisconsin for pressuring the administration there into keeping outdoor heating ducts open for homeless people, at UCLA for fighting Proposition 187, at Michigan State for successfully defending a threatened tuition-waiver program for Native Americans, and at the University of Hawaii for saving-for now-classes in the native Hawaiian language taught just about nowhere else.

That *Mother Jones* acknowledged student activism as beneficial puts it light years ahead of more mainstream publications which imply that such rabbling is inexcusable, even illegal, disobedience. (One *New York Post* headline raged: "Why weren't they in class?") The "Top Ten" list, one and a half magazine pages, doesn't

address the disturbing disintegration of American student activism. Since the South African divestment struggles of the mid-80's, and a few blips since—the Gulf War, Prop 187—campuses have been obscenely torpid. Even the CUNY Coalition, as Alex Vitale notes on page 12, has sput-sput-sputtered.

"Why aren't students fighting?" is a question any students thinking "movement" should at least explore. Is it the rapidly shifting economic make-up of student populations? Are students from relatively affluent families fast becoming the only ones who can afford a complete college education? As most of the collegiate riche are studying to become mid-level managers and promoters of the economy's institutions, are questions of "resistance" moot? Are those who can't afford, but manage to keep attending, absorbed in working at two jobs to pay the bills, obedient to university policies to obtain what little opportunities are parceled out, or isolated to the point of locklimb as activist movements need critical mass to be truly effective?

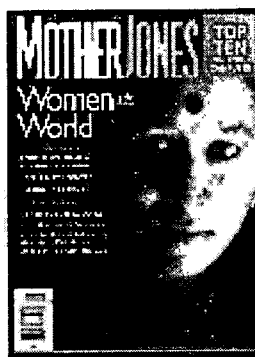
This isn't to denigrate the students' accomplishments. The active ones aren't the problem. But for how long should progressive publications, which clearly must encourage activism, prop up faltering movements? That's a real question, not a rhetorical one. For a more in-depth appraisal of recent student activism across the country, pick up the September issue of *Z Magazine*.

## MUTED VOICE

"WELCOME TO A WORK in progress," editor in chief Karen Durbin greeted *Voice* readers in the letters section of the September 5 issue. "Over the years, the *Voice* has had as many overhauls as it's had editors and design directors, but as this issue will indicate, the changes this time are more far-reaching than usual." Fewer pages, an inch cut off the bottom, the masthead snipped. The *Voice* is now "a more holdable, foldable tabloid." Or a dipstick back from the plastic surgeon.

Durbin, who after a 16-year stint at the *Voice* became arts editor at *Mirabella*, has transformed a clenched-jaw, political go-getter into a flaccid arts and listings eyesore. (To fess up, this writer served nine months in the *Voice* design department at the end of the Jonathan Schwartz editorship and the beginning of Durbin's.)

Tracking the *Voice*'s self-imposed trajectory has become an urban pastime. One *Voice* letter to the editor consoled, "I'm sorry to see that your idea of growing as a periodical entails looking less like a legible, comfortable, and informative news-



Niche marketing?

## FEED MEDIA

paper, and more like a flashy, jumbled, free-at-the-internet-cafe type of rag."

Another railed, "[M]aybe the paper should shrink even more, to, say, a single sheet printed black on both sides. This would use much less paper and be slightly less readable than the current version, which makes trying to find a well-written piece extra challenging." The "Mugger" column at *New York Press* remarked, "[S]omeone has lost their marbles over on Cooper Sq. The riotous jumble of conflicting typefaces is problem enough—there are eight or so competing in the hideously confusing 'Citystae' spread."

The personnel has also been carved. Most famously, arts editor Jeff Wienstein, a *Voice* union rep, sports editor Jeff Klien, and cartoonist Stan Mack were unceremoniously dumped after decades of service. The firings appear to be against union contract rules which stipulate that personnel must be notified of their unfavorable performances and given, essentially, a probation period. Editorial head-butting forced black reporters Andrew Nobile and Peter Noel to leave. Michael Tomasky is gone too, to *New York* magazine.

According to Jay Stowe in the July 24 edition of the *New York Observer*, claims by Durbin and publisher David Schneiderman that a "financial squeeze" has forced a downsized *Voice* are disingenuous. The *Observer* obtained an internal financial document that showed for the six-month period ending in early July 1994, the *Voice* had revenues of \$15.2 million for a profit of \$3.5 million. "Fees" of \$178,880 and \$339,963 were forwarded respectfully to Hartz Mountain Industries, *Voice* owner Leonard Stern's company, and Stern directly. Another \$343,052 went for rent.

Any publication would be proud of such a tidy profit margin even with the *Voice*'s drop in circulation since 1993. According to Stowe, the VV Publishing Corporation recently added a 1995 Jaguar to its fleet of company cars.

There are still reasons to pick up the *Voice*. Its CUNY coverage has been unmatched. Swell writers still scribe: media columnist James Ledbetter—who's column has been demoted to sidebar status—Guy Trebay, Leslie Savan, Michael Musto, James Hannanham. But the tone of the paper is decidedly cutesy and arts-focused. Nothing wrong with art, just that in this Age of Rudy, Pataki, and Newt the loss of the guerrilla politics spirit is demoralizing.

Or, on the other hand, invigorating. It's apparent that the mushrooming political siege by the right and a corresponding disintegration of progressive institutions has to invoke a sense of DIY. Smaller independent publications need to be founded and supported to take up the slack. So get to! And save yourself \$1.25. (Though to its credit, the *Voice* is free at CUNY.)

## THINK BOMB

UNLIKE THE UNABOMBER, the plotters of state murder including the likes of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, now a member of the CBS Board of Directors, are welcomed with open arms onto the pages of the *New York Times*. This in mind, substitute "Kissinger," the Mad Bomber of Cambodia, for "Unabomber" and observe how *Times* publisher Arthur Sulzberger's qualms are transformed into head-splitting hypocrisy. "Whether you like it or not, we're turning our pages over to a man who has murdered people." No shit. The *Times*, which in past editorials advocated bombings of millions of Vietnamese, Nicaraguans, and Iraqi, among other peoples, has added only another murderous pseudo-intellectual to its stable. Now that he's published, perhaps the Unabomber could apply for a grant from the Brookings Institute. Or a position on the *New York Times* editorial board.—ROBERT WALLACE



VV 1996: actual size?

## VILLALOBOS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

industry or company in question and that this must result from institutional racism. But such methods lump Hispanics together, as if they were an amorphous whole. This is a falsehood. Hispanics differ as much in ability, drive, professional predilection, work habits, etc., as individuals of any other ethnic group. There is no basis to assume a Hispanic merits a given job simply because he is underrepresented in a particular industry or company. The assumption belittles the achievements of those individual Hispanics who, on the basis of their unique qualifications, would deserve the job by lumping them together with those who wouldn't.

Of course, this is not to say that racism and other forms of irrational discrimina-

tion do not pervade society. I'm not a Pollyanna. But any kind of discrimination can only be extinguished by stabbing it in the heart, for at the heart of such irrationality is ignorance. The fatal blow cannot be delivered by any form of government fiat such as affirmative action but only through knowledge. The spread of such knowledge requires that we each wage a war against ignorance in our classrooms, workplaces and most importantly, in our homes. Affirmative action is a hindrance to victory in this war because the case of those minorities who are able to make it on merit is undercut by those who depend on government preferences. This serves to strengthen the case of those who would claim that minorities cannot make it on their own in the marketplace.

There is still a lot the government could do to improve conditions for

minorities. Governmental regulations which, although not discriminatory in the sense of being aimed specifically at minorities, deny full opportunity to those at the lower end of the economic scale, where minorities are disproportionately found. Therefore, the noblest act our Government could perform on behalf of ensuring prosperity for all Americans is to get out of the way of those on the bottom of the scale. As witness to this lesson are the millions whose lives have been transformed by the decay of Communism around the world. It's time we applied this lesson here at home. Removing the kinds of economic obstacles that currently impede entrepreneurial activity would be all the governmental affirmative action this country needs. ■

Francisco O. Villalobos is a Philosophy student at the Graduate School.

# Goin' Mobile

*Capital flight, deindustrialization and the end of work as we know it*

**KEN CUNNINGHAM**

**The Jobless Future: Sci-Tech and the Dogma of Work.** By Stanley Aronowitz and William DiFazio. University of Minnesota. 1994.

REMEMBER "It's the Economy, Stupid"? Remember when a Nobody from a place called "Hope" was going to turn the economy around and get America working again? On the surface, one might get the idea this has all come to pass in the last three years since the issues of the day are rolling back affirmative action, dismantling the welfare state, and getting the electric chair charged up again... oh, and let's not forget, "right-sizing" public higher education...

Fortunately, we critical-reflexive intellectuals are in the business of de-mystification; trained to look below the surface, so to speak. What else might explain the eclipse of the economy in today's political discourse?

That most moderate sociologist, Emile Durkheim, believed that as traditional forms of solidarity and social cohesion broke down through the process of modernization, modern man would increasingly experience "anomic," or normlessness,

social dis-integration, dislocation and the like. Durkheim thought this dis-integration would be overcome, somehow, through a new "organic solidarity" achieved through work and economic association.

Karl Marx, of course, had a slightly different take, which was that the mass of workers would become increasingly immiserated and alienated under Capitalism until they gained class consciousness—"Then begins an epoch of social revolution."

But what if "organic solidarity" fails to materialize? What if social dis-integration continues? And what if, for bizarre historical reasons, we have a country where "class doesn't exist," and where "Capitalism" is invisible, the discourse with no name? Then, perhaps, racism, xenophobia, anti-immigrant hysteria, militias, and invading U.N. helicopters would become expressions of dislocation and fears whose causes can't be articulated. The right-wing agenda speaks to the fears but not the causes, because the language of those causes has been disappearing. The liberal agenda, it would seem, speaks to nothing at all.

*The Jobless Future: Sci-Tech and the Dogma Of Work*, by Stanley Aronowitz and William

DiFazio goes a long way toward re-establishing and elaborating the discourse and debate about modern science/technology, Capitalism, the category of class, and the future of work. In a style I would describe as critical, historical, discursive and interpretive, Aronowitz and DiFazio develop a compelling, and in some ways frightening, argument about the meanings and implications of a key set of contemporary economic, scientific, and cultural trends.

The crux of the authors' argument is that the nature of work is changing profoundly in the current period. Through the combination of computerization, automation, de-industrialization, the globalization and restructuring of capital, and a series of concomitant cultural and ideological shifts, most of us are experiencing loss of decent jobs, declining living standards, and, even for the professional-managerial classes, proletarianization, loss of job security, and the like.

The authors make a convincing case that classical economic assumptions about growth leading to jobs and prosperity no longer hold in a post-Fordist, post-industrial regime in which knowledge, particularly sci-tech knowledge, and its machinery, has become the primary productive force. Under the current economic and technological regime, work itself becomes increasingly marginal or de-centered for growing numbers of people around the world. And, the authors contend, the high mobility of capital and deterritorialization of production



Aronowitz and DiFazio discuss book at a Grad Center forum.

greatly increase the power of transnational capital at the expense of not only workers, but also national governments.

The authors discourse through a range of economic data, ethnographies of various professions (any graduate student at CUNY with the courage to it should read Chapter 8 on "Teacher Work"), and a mish-mash of Hegel, the Frankfurt School, Alvin Gouldner, Laclau and Mouffe, Christopher Lasch, Hannah Arendt, and many others. They re-engage the debates about de-skilling, the New Class, and Marxist, post-Marxist and postmodern debates about class, culture, and subjectivity.

In the last part of the book the writers offer some intriguing ideas toward rethinking the dogma of work, a New Labor Policy, and the argument that we must seriously reassess the forty-hour work week. The authors argue for a shift to a thirty-hour work week, a guaranteed income, a new welfare policy, and a new scientific agenda which emphasizes individual development, not profits.

While it is full of ideas, the book is uneven in parts. Certain

key arguments are made more as assertions, where further evidence and critical analysis seem necessary. For example, both the Globalization argument and the Knowledge-as-primary-productive-force argument seem underspecified. David Gordon, David Harvey, and Frances Fox Piven, among others, have recently problematized the Globalization thesis by examining the ways in which it has also become a (sometimes exaggerated) ideological weapon for Capital, i.e. the threat of exit. These critics have pointed out that certain economic sectors are highly mobile (textiles, for example, and manufacturing more generally) while other significant sectors are much less mobile (tourism, agriculture, retail, health care, etc.)

Knowledge and science have always been productive forces; the book is not quite clear if their relative growth has been a progression, or some kind of break; are the differences in degree or in kind?

Nonetheless, this book is broad-ranging, expansive, and provocative. It would seem that, for epistemological, as well as political reasons, Aronowitz and DiFazio are less concerned about building a fine-tuned, perfectly crafted, and "unassailable" theoretical and empirical edifice; rather, they seem more interested in provoking, challenging, and perhaps re-igniting a debate about our economic future, about class, labor, and Capital, and ultimately about social justice. This they achieve.

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## RETRENCHED CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

my employers and their clients inflicted on the unsuspecting public.

But that's a losing battle, and not a very satisfying one in any event. The only thing that kept me going was my freelance work. I didn't really have an employer, I had clients—people I "worked for," but didn't "work for." They couldn't tell me what to wear, when to come and go and how many sick days I could take. Or so I thought. The fact is, I never made enough money to get by unless I got a gig as a long-term, in-house freelancer, which is basically the same as being a temp, somebody who does all the work of a regular employee but gets none of the benefits. So what I had was an illusory sense of autonomy and a few business related tax deductions. In exchange, I agreed to pay twice as much Social Security tax and maintain my own health insurance policy.

Do you still not see the connection between the election of 1994, Republican Revolution, and my own personal experience of retrenchment? Well, what I'm alluding to is this sense of the world closing in on me, on all of us, except those of us at the very top who could afford to go out and virtually create their own world if this one cramped their style too much. I wanted relevance, but what, after all, was relevant? As a journalist, I wrote articles about the social and political aspects of the AIDS epidemic. The only people who would publish my work were editors at journals whose readers already knew about the social and political aspects of the AIDS epidemic. The rest of the publishing world didn't care about AIDS until Magic Johnson revealed his HIV-positive status in November of 1992. Then AIDS became a journalistic feeding frenzy, but I was still out in the cold, because staff writers were now covering stories that only freaks like me had cared about six weeks earlier. Suddenly AIDS had commercial potential, but I was still looking for relevance, the important but unglamorous story.

Two years later, after Amendment 2

(the Colorado anti-gay rights law) and Don't Ask, Don't Tell (the Clinton compromise on gays in the military) formally ushered in the Anti-Gay Backlash that would increasingly characterize national politics in the nineties, the election of 1994 formally ushered in the backlash against everybody else—he poor, the homeless, the hungry, the sick, the elderly, the foreign-born, the incarcerated, the accused, the pregnant, the non-white, mothers, fathers, children, families—the list goes on and on.

I remember going down to my favorite coffee shop on Avenue A the morning after the election, and making new friends as I commiserated with strangers about the virtually incomprehensible debacle to which we had awakened. Bob Dole as Senate majority leader, Newt Gingrich as speaker of the house, George Pataki as governor of New York. Rudolph Giuliani had already been mayor for a year, and residents of my East Village neighborhood had come under increasing persecution for so-called quality-of-life crimes, things like chaining your bicycle to a No Parking sign or selling old paperback books on the sidewalk without a license.

The world was becoming increasingly inhospitable to me and my ilk, and that's when I started thinking about going back to school. Maybe the university was an ivory tower, but the so-called real world didn't really want people like me. And maybe I wasn't so right to criticize the aloofness of academia. In the post-welfare state, maybe university campuses would once again become the centers of

protest and opposition that they were during the sixties and seventies. Maybe a partnership would form between the progressive public policy advocates at the academic research institutes, and the poor and persecuted students in their classrooms.

But what finally pushed me over the edge was getting a job. A real job. Monday through Friday. Nine to five. Vacation, benefits, dress code. I had had no choice. Taxes had killed me, health insurance premiums had gone up, rent had increased, and the freelance editorial world wasn't treating me as well as it had a year earlier. But with that fateful step, I lost that sense of autonomy, however illusory, that had nurtured my pummeled spirit through all the personal and professional and sociopolitical setbacks of the past five years. Suddenly I had a corporate identity. "Spare a dollar, White Collar?" the tattooed and tattered street kid asked me one day as I walked in my suit and tie from the subway to my East 4th Street walkup. That was the last straw. I was not going to be reduced to a name plate on an office door, even for vacation and benefits.

But even as I look to CUNY and my doctorate in classics as a way to regain my sense of autonomy, my sense that I am not just a decimal point in some corporate bottom line, I see that it won't be so easy to escape the tide of retrenchment—the fiscal, political, cultural, and moral retrenchment—that transformed our country so completely and so rapidly starting in November 1994, and that continues to erode the last shreds of

human dignity that cling to the American polity like shreds of threadbare linen on the backs of shipwrecked sailors.

My favorite anecdote in this regard involves my encounter with the new immunization requirement that threatened to prevent me from registering for the fall semester. As an HIV-positive person, the very word "immunization" sent chills up and down my spine. I called the registrar's office and told them that I had a medical condition that prevented me from receiving immunizations. They said I had to tell it to the Wellness Center, which maintains the immunization records. Wellness Center, indeed. The person I spoke to there, the person who is supposed to be looking out for my "wellness," said that according to her information (whatever that meant), immunizations did not pose a health threat to me on the basis of my HIV status.

I called my doctor to verify this with him, and he said, au contraire, mon frere, those nasty shots could kill you. He wrote a letter on my behalf to the Wellness Center, stating in part, "There is growing evidence that immunizations/vaccines cause a marked increase in the growth and virulence of the HIV virus, and in some cases can trigger dramatic immune system deterioration. Because of this it is my policy never to give immunizations/vaccines to my patients."

The letter worked. The immunization requirement was waived, and my registration packet was released. Then I paid my inflated tuition to register at my reduced level of standing, and happily resumed my doctoral studies. I have what I want. I'm a student again, not just a corporate drone. I have reclaimed some small sense of self-worth and self-respect in the face of the barbarians who are threatening to take away all my rights of citizenship and privileges of humanity. But I'll tell you one thing for sure, this ain't no ivory tower. An elevator shaft, perhaps. A gun turret, a munitions silo. It's dark and dank up here and it smells like a combination of motor oil and diesel fuel. But this is the real world, and I'm here to stay.

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## ATTRITION WATCH

HAVE THE TUITION INCREASE, budget cuts, and retrenchment changed your academic plans? Are you planning to take a leave of absence or transfer to another grad school? Are you thinking of dropping out for a different, non-academic, lucrative (!) career? Well, don't go quietly! Send us a note with your name and the program in which you were/are enrolled to: Attrition Watch, The Graduate Student Advocate, 33 W. 42nd St., NYC, NY, 10036. We are interested in bringing some human definition to student statistics, and we may publish some names, so please indicate if you wish to keep your identity confidential.