

ADVOCATE

CUNY Budget Under Attack

By Marriah Star

DAMOCLES' SWORD IS HANGING OVER THE City University of New York in the form of budget cuts. However, due to intense political haggling, the extent of the cuts will not be known until the beginning of the summer.

The uncertainty over the budget puts the Graduate Center in a state of limbo.

Provost and Senior Vice President William P. Kelly said that the Graduate Center is dealing with three unknowns for next semester: (1) how big will the budget cut on higher education be; (2) what the tuition revenue will be, on whether it will increase or decrease; and (3) how many students will be enrolled in the Graduate Center in the coming semester.

Until these factors are known, the administration has apparently adopted the

unenviable position of hurry up and wait.

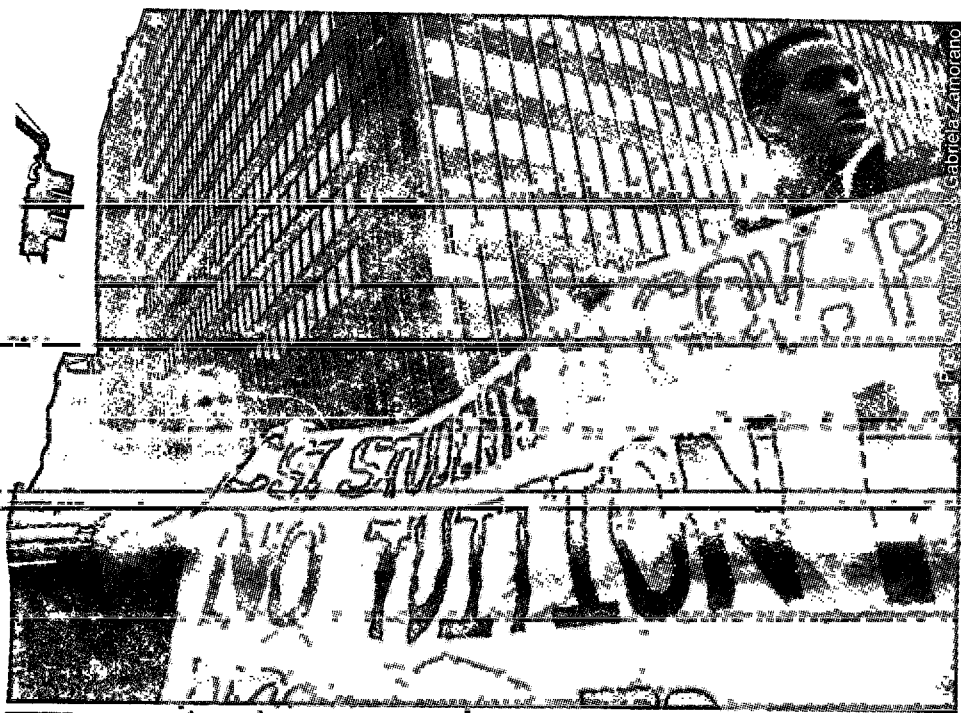
"Beyond-Austerity Budget"

Based on the budget proposed by Governor George Pataki, the entire CUNY budget will have approximately \$81 million in budget cuts. This amount assumes that the CUNY system will be able to raise \$121 million in revenues. Toward this end, the state government has proposed a tuition fee increase of as much as \$1,200, starting this fall. It has also proposed a substantial reduction in financial aid, including decreasing the Teaching Assistance Program budget by one-third. (The TAP has been providing financial aid to eligible New York State residents, based on a sliding income scale, since 1974.)

Noting that the majority of CUNY students have family incomes of under \$30,000, CUNY Chancellor Matthew Goldstein recently told the *New York Times* that CUNY will try to keep the level of increase below Albany's proposed amount. He told the *Times*, "An increase of this level would be very harmful to many of our students."

Accordingly, neither is the Graduate Center administration jumping the gun, so to speak. It is awaiting the final figures of the budget cuts, and how much of this amount will actually be borne by the

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Rolling Up the Welcome Mat on Foreign Nationals

By Kimberly Chase

THE RECENT IMPLEMENTATION OF SPECIAL Registration, under the rubric of the USA PATRIOT Act, has drastically increased the Bush administration's right to determine the fate of foreign nationals. Since the September 11 attacks, the government has sought to improve its ability to track foreign citizens on US territory, but civil rights advocates have challenged the government's methods as unconstitutional. While registration may give the government a better idea of who is in the country and what they are doing, it has also resulted in the infringement of the rights of immigrants and foreign citizens.

What's Controversial about Registration?

In October 2002, the government began Special Registration, which requires men over the age of 16 from a list of 24

predominantly Muslim countries and North Korea to enlist with the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS). They are also required to provide the agency with a photograph and fingerprints, and to come in for an interview with an INS agent. Some 46,000 people are expected to register, excluding US citizens, legal permanent residents, people seeking asylum prior to specific dates, and diplomats.

The first deadline was for citizens or nationals of Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Libya, and Syria—all considered by the US government to be states sponsoring terrorism. More recently, deadlines passed for citizens or nationals of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Eritrea, Lebanon, Morocco, North Korea, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Tunisia, The United Arab Emirates and Yemen. Citizens of other nationalities are also scheduled for registrations.

Special Registration is part of the

see *Welcome Mat*, page 6

DSC Issues Statement Against War on Iraq

By James Trimarco

AFTER AN HOUR AND A HALF OF HEATED debate, the Doctoral Students' Council (DSC) of the Graduate Center approved an official statement against the proposed US-led war against Iraq. The most contentious discussions focused on what role the DSC could or should play in political matters, rather than the actual anti-war position of the statement.

Upon the urging of their constituencies, some representatives had asked the DSC to break its silence on the issue. On the other hand, other DSC members cautioned against such a move, arguing that the student community seemed divided in its views on the proposed war. They referred to the results of an informal poll among students conducted by the DSC via email in which a sizeable minority of students registered their opposition to the issuance of such a statement.

The impasse was broken only when the Council reviewed its mandate. The discussion paid special attention to two items in the DSC Constitution. Specifically, Item B of article three states that it is the purpose of the DSC to "promote the democratization" of CUNY in order to enable students "to participate in the important social, political, and

economic decisions that affect the quality of their lives and of their community." This item suggests that the DSC does in fact have the right to take a stand on political issues, particularly when federal money which could be used to revitalize New York State's public services and economy could be diverted to the war effort—a decision which a majority of DSC members saw as potentially affecting the lives of students.

The discussion then proceeded to examine how this related to article three, item D, which states that the DSC must strive to represent "all students." Some representatives pointed out that because the DSC adheres to the model of representative democracy, the plenary members may take a position, as long as it represents the interests of the majority.

The DSC's informal poll showed that the ratio of students in favor of the DSC issuing an anti-war statement in relation to those opposed, was about two to one. This ratio was more evident among students in some social science and humanities departments, but less so among those in the natural sciences and in Criminal Justice.

Based on this majority, the DSC promptly drafted and issued the statement, printed on page 15 of this issue.

Editorial

The War, the Budget, and the Parochial Presidency

In the past weeks, President Bush has been taking every opportunity to drum up support for a second round of tax cuts, focused as usual on lightening the supposedly onerous fiscal burden borne by the wealthy. In Bush-logic and Bush-speak, we all have an interest in these cuts, for without them hopes of economic recovery may fade. Thinking about the formulation, one begins to understand how the rest of the world must feel about his Administration's foreign policy: hunkered down in Texas and Washington, rarely venturing to cross an international border, he considers his own backyard, imagines it as the universe, then makes a judgement call.

Bush's sense of class empathy is no less parochial: surrounded by self-aggrandizing corporate pirates, and using his own family fortune as a handy gauge, he considers the plight of the wealthy, imagines them as everyman, and makes policy accordingly. One wonders why the Bush gang doesn't feel ashamed to invoke the rickety arguments of a trickle-down economic framework consistently discredited over the past two decades. More puzzlingly, why can't the president hear the common people he claims to represent, many of whom are asking: whose economic recovery? For the answer one may recall the statement of Federal Reserve Chairman during the Bush Sr. years: "The economy is doing fine, it's just that the people aren't."

Of course, the economic recovery in our world of education is a different sort of thing. Our prospects of moving around a city where education is affordable and excellent, where people

earn a living wage and sleep in apartments instead of subway stations, where poverty is not criminalized and criminals are not brutalized—the chances of this kind of economic recovery are growing dimmer with each war-mongering pronouncement.

War, of course, is expensive, and sometimes necessary. But our parochial President Bush is fixing to wage the most expensive kind of war one can imagine. In a world that is politically suspicious of unilateral action, he has elected to make cash, rather than negotiation and reason, the cement holding his "coalition-of-the-greased" together. Security Council members who have been on the fence find their US aid budgets expanded and accelerated. And a skeptical and not entirely forgetful world is now assured that the US has the will and the resources to rebuild Iraq in the wake of the war.

It's not at all clear this war is salable—certainly not on the Bush administration's impatient timetable, definitely not on its unreasonable terms, and absolutely not to a critical number of American dissidents who are morally—not contingently—opposed. But rather than finding a middle ground between Texas and the rest of the world, our president has decided to buy a tin-soldier coalition, in the process rejecting any prospect of compromise that may produce a more reasonable strategy for dealing with Iraq. Hence, even administration officials project that this act of military adventurism will cost US taxpayers billions of dollars, prompting a \$2.23 trillion budget for fiscal year 2004.

But it's not our war, just as it isn't our economic recovery. The hundreds of thousands who marched on February 15 not only signified intense opposition to the war; they also drew attention to unresolved social and economic issues. The banners and speeches called on Bush to recall basic principles of life that are still important out here in the real world: if everyone's against you, they may be right; tight economic times require that we spend money wisely and on those who need it most; most importantly leadership requires that you listen to what other people think. The trouble is, Bush would have to look past the backyard fence to hear any of this. And that's a matter of will that he seems to lack.

Short Takes

Bread & Roses

In celebration of International Women's Day on March 8, the Brecht Forum is holding the "8th Annual Women's Open Poetry and Performance Event." The show, featuring Annemarie Jacir and the Mahina Movement, aims to also help raise money for In'ash El-Usrah Society, a grassroots women's organization in Palestine. The women/trans-folk only event will include supper. Suggested donation: \$6/\$8/\$10. For more information, call Liz Roberts at (212) 242-4201 or write to info@brechtforum.

Mass Confusion: Recycling Still in Effect for Metal and Mixed Paper

Since the suspension of glass and plastic recycling in New York City in July, 2002, confusion as to what is still being recycled by the city is bringing mountains of salvageable material to the landfill. In fact, buildings should still provide clear bags and green labeled bins for mixed paper, and clear bags and blue labeled bins for metal. Mixed paper includes newspapers, magazines and catalogs, telephone books, paper, mail and envelopes, paper bags, soft cover books, smooth cardboard (like cereal boxes), and corrugated cardboard, which must be tied in bundles. Metal items that can be recycled include cans, aluminum foil wrap and trays, household metal object like wire hangers and cooking pots, and bulk metal, as in large metal furniture pieces. For more information, visit <http://www.nyc.gov/html/dos/html/news-events/recy271.html>.

Be Protest-Savvy: Know your Rights

Did you know that bringing wooden sticks in a rally, even in order to prop up posters and banners, can get you arrested? The use of a megaphone, on the other hand, requires a permit from the NYPD.

Leading up to the February 15 mobilization near the UN, lawyers' advocacy groups have issued guidelines to help participants know their rights and how they can navigate police-lined streets with relative ease.

To learn about the do's and don'ts of protest, check out the New York Civil Liberties Union's "Know Your Rights: Demonstrating in NYC" guidelines at <http://www.unitedforpeace.org/article.php?id=905>.

Multi-Faith Panel Discussion

An open panel discussion to raise awareness about the Immigration and Naturalization Services' (INS) Special Call-In Registration Program will be held on March 11 at 7 p.m. Leaders from Jewish, Muslim, and Christian institutions will gather to listen, engage, and strategize in a multi-faith effort to support Arab and Muslim immigrants and fight against the loss of civil liberties.

The discussion, to be held at the Church of St. Paul and St. Andrew (SPSA) West End Avenue at 86th Street, Main Sanctuary, will be led by the following: Reverend K Karpen, Church of St. Paul and St. Andrew Rabbi Rolando Matalon, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun Muzaffar Chishti, Migration Policy Institute of New York University, Emira Habiby Browne, Arab American Family Support Center, Margie McHugh, and the New York Immigration Coalition.

Award Named After Professor Edouard Glissant

The GC French Department's Distinguished Professor Edouard Glissant was honoured by the University of Paris 8

with the foundation of a prize in his name, to be given to a person who has worked for "human emancipation and cultural diversity". The Edouard Glissant Prize (Prix Edouard Glissant) will go to one student and to one non-student, and will be awarded this June. Professor Glissant is a West Indian poet whose poetic volumes include *Un champ d'îles* (An Expanse of Islands; 1953), *Les Indes* (The Indies; 1956), *Boises* (Woods on the Shoulder; 1977), and *Pays Revé, Pays Reel* (Countries Dreamed, Countries Real; 1985). His novels include *La Lézarde* (The River; 1958) and *Le Quatrième Siècle* (The Fourth Century; 1962).

Global Citizen Education

Catch the Graduate Center's rare cultural offerings. On March 22, Brazilian singer-songwriter Luca Mundaca will treat audiences to a two-hour "Evening of Brazilian Music." Curtain call is at 6:30 pm. Admission: \$15 (for students) and \$20.

On March 25, artistic director and playwright Satoshi Miyagi's Ku Na'uka Theatre Company presents "An Evening with Japanese Theatre." The performance, inspired by eighteenth-century bunraku puppet theatre, starts at 6:30 pm.

For further information on the shows and other Public Program Listings, visit the Office of Continuing Education and Public Programs' web site at <http://web.gc.cuny.edu/cepp>, or call (212) 817-8215.

For the Health-Conscious

Get spiritually and physically fit. The Graduate Center's Continuing Education and Public Programs (CEPP) is offering a series of wellness classes, featuring yoga, Tai Chi, meditation, among others. Go to continuinged@gc.cuny.edu to get schedules and sign up.

The Wellness Center's offering for students may not be as adventurous but is equally important. On March 10, 12-1 pm and 3-4 pm, there will be an anti-smoking workshop. A Wellness Festival on May 1 will offer a variety of medical tests and screenings. For updates, go to gc.cuny.edu/wellness.

The Left Regroups

Historic Cooper Union will be the scene of two major activities, designed to stir up discussion and debate on how the American Left can best respond to these troubled times. On March 8, the Green Party led by GC Professor Stanley Aronowitz is sponsoring a discussion, "Should There be a Progressive Third Party Campaign for President in 2004?" at the Great Hall, at 8 p.m. Speakers include journalist Ronnie Dugger, *The Nation's* Katha Pollitt, and *New Politics's* Joanne Landy. For more information, call (212) 673-1323. Admission is \$10.

On March 14-16, there will be the annual Socialist Scholars' Conference, adopting the theme "War Without End? The Left Responds." Panel Discussions and discussants include: Iraq Roundtable I with William Greider, Tariq Ali and Michael Klare; Iraq Roundtable II, with Irene Gendzier and Rahul Mahajan; Building a Broad Peace Movement with Leslie Cagan and Barbara Epstein; The U.N. and Multilateralism, with Susan Woodward, Jan Kavan (Pres. U.N. General Assembly) and Pierre Schori (Swedish Ambassador to U.N.), and more.

For more information on this event, go to www.socialistscholars.org.

ADVOCATE

CUNY Graduate Center, Rm. 5396

365 Fifth Avenue,

New York, NY 10016

Tel: 212-817-7882 or 7885

Email: campadvocate@hotmail.com

Antoinette Raquiza
Editor-in-Chief

Daniel Skinner
Managing Editor

James Timarico
Lay-out/Production Editor

Laura Galante
Media Board Chair

Contributors: Kimberly Chase, Kristen Hove, Andrew Kennis, Renee Lertzman, Joshua Moses, Elisabeth Polizzi, Elizabeth Primamore, Jason Schulman, Mariah Star, David Vine, Marcy Zipke

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CUNY and Proud: A CUNY student lets her mind be known at the Feb 26 protest. See page 8-9 for more info about the tuition hikes and student opposition.

GC President Horowitz Speaks Her Mind

By Marcy Zipke

In December, CUNY Graduate Studies and University Center (GSUC) President Frances Degan Horowitz was presented with the Star Award by the New York Women's Agenda (NYWA), which honors outstanding women and men within the City of New York. President Horowitz was selected for "determined and visionary leadership" of the Graduate Center.

Frances Degan Horowitz is a renowned developmental psychologist who came to the Graduate Center in 1991 from the University of Kansas, where she was Vice Chancellor for Research, Graduate Studies and Public Service and Dean of the Graduate School. In addition, she was chair of the Council on Research Policy and Graduate Education, a member of the Commission on Women in Higher Education of the American Council on Education.

She is a member and former Board Member of the Women's Forum, and a member of the Jewish Community Relations Council and the Hebrew Free Loan Society boards. She continues to write within the field of developmental psychology and is the author of over 120 articles, chapters, monographs, and books. She is currently editor of *Memoir Essays for the Society for Research in Child Development*.

Below are excerpts of a recent conversation with President Horowitz:

Marcy Zipke (MZ): Congratulations on being awarded the NYWA Star Award. What does the award mean to you?

President Frances Degan Horowitz (FDH): It was a huge event. More than one thousand people attended the presentation and I felt that the award was not so much to me as to the Graduate Center. I saw it as an opportunity to give publicity for the Graduate Center.

The New York Women's Agenda identifies seven women each year whom they honor with the Star Award. The Star Award is given in each case to a woman who has made a significant contribution in various areas, and my contribution was in the area of education. Formally, the award cited what they called the leadership I have given the Graduate Center, particularly for getting us this building and moving the Graduate Center to a different degree of public notice. Ed Sullivan, when he was being honored for retiring from the assembly, said to me, "You know, the Grad Center has really become a center, for all kinds of events." So I think that was part of it.

MZ: I noticed in "Centerline" you said that one of your goals for the Graduate Center is for it to be more of a university center. Could you talk a little bit about the way in which you see the Grad Center as a university center?

FDH: I want the Graduate Center to make all the good things that go on here accessible to the larger public. Some doctoral programs are very specialized and may not be too meaningful for

someone who just walked in off the street. But there are other programs that can be quite meaningful for people who are not part of the academy. The goal has been to make what we do available and more accessible, and to create an external constituency that cares about the Graduate Center and the ideas and activities that characterize us.

MZ: The press release for the Star Award said, "She has also remained committed to bringing underserved populations into the academy and developing new resources for doing so." What sorts of new resources are available and/or being developed?

FDH: We are trying to strengthen the fellowships available to minority students: securing federal grants that help us to train and educate a more diverse population, and being committed to the importance of diversifying the academy. We now have a lot of federal money to encourage students who come from communities that have not been well represented at the academy to pursue a doctorate education.

MZ: There's been a lot of talk about a tuition increase, and I know a lot of students are pretty worried, especially in light of the article in the *New York Times* in which Dr. Goldstein mentioned the possibility of offsetting costs to undergraduates by imposing larger tuition increases for graduate and professional students.

FDH: I think, frankly, he was talking about the masters and professional graduate programs, like architecture and engineering masters programs as well as business or the MBA program. We're working very closely with 80th Street in making clear the financial realities that our students live with day in and day out. Without the kind of tuition support typical at SUNY and other universities, things will be more difficult for many of our students in a way that's no less true than for many of the undergraduate students.

MZ: Is there any word yet on a dollar amount for the tuition increase?

FDH: No. And we're not going to know for a while. The question is, how much of the cuts that were put into the executive budget will be restored by the legislature? Once that's known, then the question will be how much will the budget be reduced, how much savings can we make in the university, and how much tuition increase will be looked at. I know that the chancellor is very committed to not going the route of SUNY. Nobody at CUNY really wants tuition increases. At this point, we're going to work as hard as we can to get the cuts that were made in the executive budget restored. We don't know how long the legislative session is going to go. The deadline is April 1 for the budget, but nobody expects that to be met. When the budget agreement is reached, only then will we have a sense of the extent to which the tuition will be increased. At this point, the goal is to keep any tuition increase as low as possible. For the present, we are in a situation of multiple unknown variables.

MZ: Absolutely. But in the meantime, it seems sure that there will be some sort of increase. So do you have any sort of advice for Graduate Center students on how to cope with the tuition hike?

FDH: We're still going to work on the tuition support issue. And we have to work very hard to restore the operating cuts and for the university's students, to restore the cuts to the Teaching Assistance Program. Having said that, the reality of the state's and the city's economic condition is not good. If we can keep the level of tuition support we currently have this year that will help our students cope with a tuition increase.

MZ: On a more personal note, how do you see your role as president? How do you locate yourself as an educator within the university?

FDH: I think caring at every turn possible to maintain the quality of our programs. It's one of the reasons we are very focused, and the provost has played a central role in this, on recruiting top-notch faculty whenever we have a position available. The role of the president is to work very hard to increase financial aid available to students, to be an advocate for the needs of doctoral students, and to maintain the quality of our programs.

CUNY's consortium model is unique, and it is an excellent model and it comes back to quality—the kind of quality education doctoral students can have because they can draw on so many different faculty members from across the university. It's really incomparable. There's no other university that provides students with the depth of access to faculty that our students have.

I do continue some work in my own field, mainly writing. I am not doing any empirical research.



GC President Frances Degan Horowitz

MZ: What direction do you see the GC going in next?

FDH: I think that the direction in every field is to be more interdisciplinary and so the Provost's office is taking the lead in rethinking all of the structures we have for interdisciplinary offerings. My sense is that the Graduate Center has fewer barriers to interdisciplinary work than other places. The question is how we can make it richer, thereby increasing our students' attractiveness when they graduate and seek the positions that they want.

MZ: Any last thoughts?

FDH: The importance of diversity. It's a passion of mine. We have an obligation, particularly as a City University of New York to care about increasing the diversity of the academy and that means increasing the diversity of those who will hold faculty positions. We can contribute to this by preparing more students from underrepresented populations to become scholars and experts and members of college and university faculties.

Marcy Zipke is a PhD candidate in Educational Psychology, focusing on literacy research.

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RSVP: 718-909-2359 or go to www.redstockings.org for info.

Global Peace Movement Chooses

its Power as UN Deliberates on a War on Iraq

By Andrew Kennis

Millions took to the streets to voice their opposition to US plans to invade Iraq as the UN Security Council met on February 15 to discuss the results of UN inspections of Iraqi weapons. Believed to be over 30 million strong, the synchronized worldwide campaign was historically unprecedented—never before has there been such a coordinated display of protest and global solidarity against a war that is yet to begin. As actor Danny Glover told a San Francisco crowd of about 250,000, "This is the first time we have gathered in such numbers before bullets have been shot."

Demonstrators marched to show their support for peace in locations as far as McMurdo Station in Antarctica, Mexico City, Rome, London, New York, Melbourne, Baghdad and Tel Aviv—over 600 cities worldwide.

The Growing Antiwar Tide

In New York City, conditions were far from ideal for the February 15 march. The rally to be held in front of the United Nations was denied a permit. Only a "stationary rally" was allowed. Nevertheless, despite the cold weather, reported security threats, and police harassment, close to a half-million people jammed the streets from First Avenue in the east to Third in the west, from 80th Street in north to 49th in the south.

Other major marches were held throughout the US including

San Francisco, Los Angeles with close to a hundred thousand protesters, and Seattle with fifty thousand. Tens of thousands also marched in anti-war demonstrations in Minneapolis, Philadelphia, San Diego, and Chicago.

Predictably, countries with pro-war, pro-US governments experienced the largest protests of all. Spain registered the biggest showing—over five million people total with one million in Madrid and one million in Barcelona (the equivalent of that city's entire population).

According to the *New York Times*, Spain's right-wing President is more than just an ally of President Bush. Emma Daly noted that despite an international Gallup poll indicating that over 75% of Spain's population oppose the war, the close friendship between President Bush and Spanish Prime Minister José María Aznar ensures Spanish support of the war, even in the face of popular disagreement.

In Great Britain, the US's staunchest ally in Europe since World War II and vocal supporter of war on Iraq, millions took to the streets. Unofficial estimates put the size of the demonstration at the Hyde Park demonstration to be between 1.5 and two million people, thus marking it as the largest demonstration in British history.

By far the largest city demonstration in Europe, however, was in Rome, which was reportedly attended by between two and three million protesters. In Italy, polls indicate that over 80% of the population opposes US/UK war plans, yet Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, like Spain's Aznar, remains supportive.

"You don't fight terrorism with a preventive war," said Tommaso Palladini, a 56-year-old pensioner who traveled from Milan to Rome for the demonstration. "You fight terrorism by creating more justice in the world."

Citizens of Eastern Europe (or to borrow a curious phrase coined by US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld the "new Europe") have also begun to speak out against the war. According to *Newsweek*, in the Czech Republic, two-thirds of the population oppose participation in a war. Similarly, the Polish press reports that only 25-37% of Poles would support a war even if the UN inspectors "prove that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction." Finally, there is overwhelming opposition in the Middle East. In Turkey, for example, about 90% are opposed to US war plans.

The UN as Key Arena

Meanwhile, many heads of state continue to be indifferent to the growing dissent among their constituencies. US President George Bush seemed unperturbed by the masses, saying that being swayed by the hundreds of thousands who showed up in the rallies nationwide would be like deciding on a policy based on the opinion of one "focus group." The most the demonstrations drew from Bush's National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice was an affirmation of the marchers' right to express their opinion—not to influence actual policy.

Australian Prime Minister John Howard was equally oblivious after being greeted upon his return from a nine-day visit to the US and UK with the largest antiwar demonstration in that nation's history. "I don't know that you can measure public opinion just by the number of people that turn up at demonstrations," he said. Demonstrations in Australia began Friday in Melbourne but snowballed from Brisbane to Canberra. Sydney's February 16 demonstration drew 250,000.

With many foreign leaders unwilling to recognize the growing global antiwar sentiment, the role of the UN in tipping the balance assumes greater importance. As survey results indicate, many of the world's populations may be open to war if the UN sanctions it.

In the UK, for example, 40% of those recently polled oppose war under any circumstances, and this figure skyrockets to 90% if the war is launched by the US unilaterally. While 53% of Portugal's citizens are against war under any circumstances, 96% are against it if done without UN approval.

Thus, contrary to Condoleezza Rice's depiction of the UN as "incapable" and "irrelevant" if it does not support a US invasion of Iraq, the international body stands in the way of the US's war maneuvers gaining some sort of legitimacy. Surveys show that support for the war among Americans dramatically decreases if it is not backed by a UN resolution.

Indeed, the US needs UN support more now than it has at any other time since the end of the Cold War. Recently, the World Economic Forum released findings of a 2002 poll conducted with Gallup International and Envision International, showing that the people in the 15 countries surveyed regarded UN officials as among the most trustworthy (42%) and US leaders, the least (27%).

In surveys conducted in Canada and Great Britain, the US ranked first as the greatest threat to world peace and stability. A poll by *Time* magazine found that over 80% of European respondents also regarded the US as the greatest threat to peace,

A Day of Opposition

By Jason Schulman

With the ongoing debates at the UN regarding a possible war on Iraq, New York has become the site of numerous antiwar protests, including a day-long activity culminating in a rally on January 27.

The protest activity started in the morning at the Riverside Church in Manhattan, which was filled with "anti-warriors"—some with mock warships on their heads. Eric Larsen of the "No Blood For Oil" performance group was the first speaker, offering news on a civil disobedience action outside the United Nations, leading to the arrests of 20 people. Miles Solay, representing "Not In Our Name (NION)", followed, noting that *The New York Times* had just published a two-page spread of the NION Statement of Conscience endorsed by thousands of people.

Phyllis Bennis, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington DC specializing in Middle East and United Nations issues, stated that "we are here at the UN because the world is saying no to war." She called on protesters to defend the legitimacy of the UN but not its defense of an illegitimate war.

Bennis argued that the demonstrations have made it possible for dissidents in the establishment to voice their opposition to the war. She noted that the even the head of the International Atomic Energy Agency expressed satisfaction that Iraq has been cooperating with the inspectors—contrary to the Bush administration's position—and that Republican businessmen were now coming out against the war, as a recent advertisement in *The Wall Street Journal* illustrated.

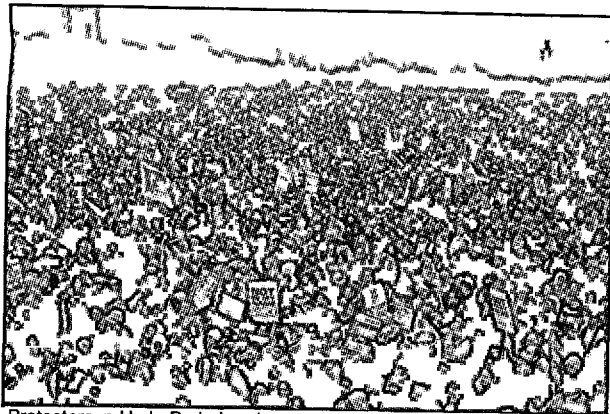
Michael Ratner, human rights lawyer and president of the Center for Constitutional Rights, agreed with Bennis's assessment of the protests. He said that resistance has contributed to the slowing down of US plans to wage a "war of aggression" against Iraq.

Bennis and Ratner noted that the extreme hawks in the Bush administration are so eager to consolidate and expand US power that they seem willing even to risk losing elections. On the other hand, they stressed that the present US policy actually encourages countries such as North Korea to develop nuclear weapons to avoid being attacked by the US.

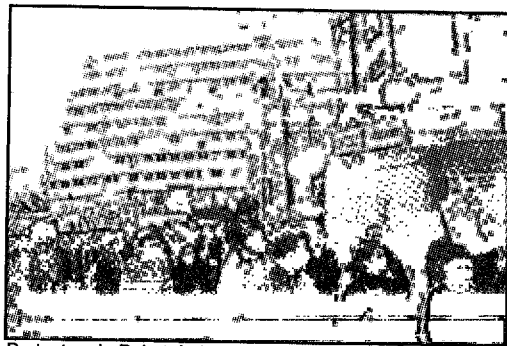
In the afternoon, the contingent joined nearly 1,000 others on UN grounds. At five in the afternoon, NION's "Statement of Conscience" was read by some of the signatories: hip hop artist and actor Mos Def, theater artists Tony Kushner, Andre Gregory, Peter Gerety, Ellen McLaughlin, Kathleen Chalfant, and Malachy McCourt, artists Joyce Kozloff and Dread Scott, filmmaker Michelle Esrick, writers Vivian Gornick and Nora Eisenberg, poet Marie Howe, art critic Max Kozloff, writer ex-cop Serpico, and writer Jeremy Glick, whose father died in the World Trade Center attacks. Other speakers included Jesuit priest Simon Hatak, who has traveled to Iraq many times with "Voices in the Wilderness", attorneys Michael Ratner and Lynne Stewart, Michael Letwin of NYC Labor Against War, and ACLU Attorney King Downing.

Maya Sen, co-emcee, made a special appeal to resist special registrations, detentions, and other attacks on Arabs, South Asians, and other Muslims.

Jason Schulman studies political science at the Graduate Center.



Protesters in Hyde Park, London were numbered at 2 million.



Protestors in Beirut, Lebanon.

What the World Needs Now:

By Daniel Skinner

Congressman Charles Rangel (D-NY) thinks the United States is careless with its military, and he's set to propose a controversial solution: reinstate the draft.

"If our great country becomes involved in an all-out war, the sacrifice must be shared," he said recently. "In that regard, I am preparing legislation to authorize reinstatement of the universal draft and other forms of mandatory national service."

Rangel concedes that there is little chance that his proposal will succeed but hopes that it will provoke a debate that will highlight the gravity of Bush's far-reaching war plans and unilateral provocations.

Rangel views "shared sacrifice" as central to democracy. He noted that only one member of Congress who voted in favor of the recent Iraq War resolution had a child as an enlisted member of the military and that the decisionmakers of war are often far removed from those who will be risking their lives. Increasing the average citizen's risk may put restraint on government action.

"It is apparent...that service in the armed forces is not a common experience and that disproportionate numbers of the poor and members of minority groups compose the enlisted ranks of the military," he said. The implication, of course, is that Congress is not as careful with the fates of professional soldiers, who are largely minorities and other people's children, as they would be if war became more personal.

The proposed resolution also aims to restore Congress's authority over the President's ability to wage war. Raising the stakes for mass deployment might ensure that war is reserved for cases of legitimate national security (in the traditional sense, meaning the threat of an attack on US soil) and that the electoral lever would restore some democratic oversight to the war-making process.

For much of America the idea of war has become too easy, Rangel says. The patriotism surrounding the technological prowess of the American military has pushed this sentiment to its extreme while the media focus on futuristic weapons that supposedly minimize "collateral damage" has paved the way for an ethos of "war as excitement."

The discussion emanating from the Rangel proposal has shown that technology does in fact breed callousness. For example, the nationally syndicated radio talk-show host Sean Hannity recently argued before his more than ten million listeners that concerns about the

safety of US troops in combat are unnecessary because of the technical superiority of the US armed forces. In other words, as long as US soldiers are fighting low-risk wars limited to pressing buttons and lobbing laser-guided missiles into, say, Iraq, Afghanistan or even North Korea, the US needn't get serious about war. (Hannity does not seem to realize, however, that had the US seen any of its recent actions to its successful completion, that is, to ensure the stability of pre-US political regimes, deploying massive numbers of ground troops would have been necessary.)

It seems logical that civilians—including members of Congress—will be less receptive to such portrayals of the war if there is a direct correlation between increasing American military adventurism and the number of families sending off sons to war (the Rangel proposal, incidentally, does not apply to women). Dinnertime discussion on the merits of overthrowing Saddam Hussein would likely shift to the odds of a family member being sent to the Persian Gulf. When people are personally involved, they are compelled to think more seriously about the repercussions of war and reflect on the question, "what will it require to make the world more secure?" Put differently, either US citizens become increasingly aware of the sacrifice that will be needed—which will serve as a litmus test of public approval for military action—or the US will continue to unleash cowardly air wars that do not make the world—and, yes, the US—more secure.

There are other important questions that point to the need for a permanently instituted draft, some of which take a more neutral point of view toward war. For example, Rangel also worries that the military may not be prepared for the seemingly endless "war against terrorism" that Bush has waged, and fears for the safety of soldiers, who may be spread too thin.

To this end, Rangel, as well as several other members of Congress, have expressed concern over the state of destruction in which Afghanistan has been left. This includes the apparent re-emergence of Taliban control in a majority of the nation, not to mention that accused terrorist masterminds bin Laden and Mullah Omar are still at large. The institution of the draft, or at least the debate surrounding the proposal, may force the Bush administration to see actions through to their completion before moving on to the next conflict.

"There is no doubt that acting alone against Iraq will further strain our military resources, which are already burdened by a growing list of obligations. Whether our



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NEAREST RECRUITING STATION

military is up to the task of fulfilling those commitments, in manpower, training and equipment, is an open question," Rangel said. "The American people are entitled to a clear and detailed response to these questions."

Some argue that reinstating the draft could have an unintended consequence of creating more Afghanistan-like situations out of a fear of tapping into non-volunteer forces. It is conceivable that more military actions will still be undertaken, but their missions will be left increasingly unfulfilled so as not to require the mobilization of more troops. Under this scenario, terrorism could increase because American military action may wittingly or unwittingly foment instability within the target nations and fuel anti-American sentiment. It is hard to argue however that this would be a unique consequence of the draft—the US government already has a history of waging war and leaving destabilized and war-torn nations behind—in the Vietnam and Persian Gulf Wars to name just two examples.

The permanent institution of a draft may also have a broader, and perhaps more important effect on American perceptions of war, both present and future. The draft

might make a difference for those holding strong but underrepresented views about war. The draft would remove the ability of armchair theorists and professional café-goers to remain detached from their subjects and would intensify anti-war sentiment among citizens whose consciences have remained dormant for so long. The enormity of the current situation requires that this link be created, if only to ensure that the US government, which is prepared to unleash its power in still more regions of the world, does so only with the support of its citizens.

In fact, the very concept of democracy requires that the public play a more direct role in deciding whether to wage "war." The draft would create a permanent mechanism to send a clear indication to the world whether the American public supports—or doesn't—the actions of its government. Only if risk is distributed among all Americans can that message have any significance.

Daniel Skinner is a student at the CUNY Graduate Center. He can be reached at daniel@palabris.com

A NEW AMERICAN DRAFT

Rolling Up the Welcome Mat...

from *Welcome Mat*, page 1
National Security Entry and Exit Registration System (NSEERS), a program designed to fulfill a congressional mandate for a comprehensive entry-exit program by 2005. According to a recent INS statement, this arrangement calls for "temporary foreign visitors (non-immigrant aliens) coming from certain countries or who meet a combination of intelligence-based criteria, to register at their ports of entry or exit." These visitors can enter and exit the country only at designated ports, at which time they are required to report to an immigration officer.

All registered individuals must notify the INS within 10 days of any change in residence, employment, or academic institution. They must also give "credible" explanations for any trips made to Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Syria, North Korea, Cuba, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Yemen, Egypt, Somalia, Pakistan, Indonesia or Malaysia.

Indiscriminate Detention

Despite the Bush administration's justification for Special Registration, its effect has been largely a crackdown on foreign citizens who have overstayed their visas. Many of the men who came to register are being found in violation of immigration laws and have been summarily given a Notice to Appear (NTA), signaling the start of the deportation process.

According to Marie Frisof of the Coney Island Avenue Project, a Brooklyn-based community organization offering legal assistance to people registering, "What is happening in the community is that a lot of people are very frightened. It feels like a regime of political persecution, and I personally am convinced that it is."

The policy is resulting in mass detentions and deportations of temporary foreign visitors (non-immigrant aliens) who are suspected of terrorism based on minor immigration infractions including overstays and lack of full-time registration in the case of foreign students.

In December, the first round of registration reportedly led to hundreds of arrests in California and, consequently, a class-action suit filed by a coalition of Muslim American groups against Attorney General John Ashcroft and the INS.

On January 15, the INS stated that 1169 men had been detained as a result of registrations. In early February, New York City reportedly had about 70 men in detention. Records show that, as a result of NSEERS, the entry-exit registration program, many of those detained are from countries other than those identified above. Overstaying individuals from the Asian and Hispanic communities, and those who had brushes with the law in the past, even on misdemeanor charges, have been especially vulnerable.

Civil liberties groups have questioned the official figures of the numbers of those affected. Other reports, for instance, estimate 1000 to 2500 detentions in California alone.

According to Saurav Sarkar of the Asian-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF), another organization offering legal assistance to

registrants of all nationalities, "Since September 11 the INS has consistently understated the number of people who it has detained. One thing that we've seen in the Special Registration Program is that a lot of people who are being issued NTAs and have had their deportation proceedings initiated are only being detained for two days. I would not at all be surprised if the INS was not including those



people in its count."

Another measure affecting foreign nationals is the tightening of the visa-granting process. Many non-citizens living in the US but who have been away in routine visits abroad have had to wait months for visas to return home.

Growing Criticisms

Among the many criticisms of the Special Registration process is its political character, and diplomatic wrangling appears to be a factor in targeting certain countries. Saudi Arabia, for example, was added to the list after it announced last fall that it would not allow the use of its territory for US attacks on Iraq without UN approval.

Pakistan has formally asked to be removed from the list of countries designated for Special Registration. In a telephone interview, Irfan Ahmed, the Pakistani Vice-Consul, characterized the process as "unnecessary and discriminatory." "Pakistan raised this issue at the highest level," he added. "Our deep concern and disappointment was conveyed to the US. Our Foreign Minister came to US and had meetings with the US authorities on the issue. We are now working to help those Pakistanis who have cases pending with the US authorities."

Gross inefficiency also characterizes the INS operations. Special Registration deadlines have been repeatedly extended, possibly because of inadequate facilities to accommodate the flow of people coming in to register, and information dissemination among immigrant communities has been inadequate. For instance, the deadline for Pakistanis and Saudi Arabians was moved from February

21 to March 21, but as late as the 19th, the INS website still reported the earlier deadline. The deadline for those from Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Jordan, and Kuwait was extended from March 28 to April 25.

"What this really shows is the INS's inability to deal administratively with this," says Sarkar, referring to frequent changes in schedules and procedures. "It is collecting all this information and requiring all of these people to come in for so many hours. In some cases, people are held for days."

Moreover, civil liberties groups question the effectiveness of the Special Registration in ferreting out terrorists from among those who troop to the INS offices. Frisof says, "Anybody who came to the United States with a visa has to go register. People who entered the country totally illegally and whom the INS knows nothing about, don't. So the INS get people who have been driving taxis here for ten years, who own small stores, who are really just members of the community and providing for their families here or wherever they are from. They are the ones basically being driven out of the country."

Opposition to the registration process is growing. Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) tried unsuccessfully to pass legislation that would eliminate funding for the process. At the same time, civil rights groups are up in arms over what they see as racial profiling and increasing infringements on civil liberties.

Organizations like the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Arab-American Family Support Center, and the American Immigration Law Forum are working to protect the rights of individuals at risk of detention and deportation. The Coney Island Avenue Project, located in Midwood, Brooklyn, a community with a high Pakistani population, offers legal advice and pro-bono work for people registering and some financial assistance to the families whose husbands or fathers have been detained.

Foreign Students

February 15 saw the implementation of the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS), a computer tracking system in which schools are now required to record the names, addresses, courses and majors of all foreign students. This also includes any disciplinary actions taken against individuals.

Thus, information of all international students enrolled in the 3900-approved high schools, colleges, universities and

trade schools nationwide will now be consolidated in an internet-based government database. Another 1,748 institutions nationwide, including the CUNY Graduate Center, are still awaiting inclusion in the system. The INS is set to visit each school and verify its record-keeping facilities.

SEVIS was conceived after the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and developed after the destruction of the towers. The system was desperately in need of improvement — it will be recalled that one of the 9/11 hijackers entered the country on a student visa but never attended classes, and that the two other hijackers were given student status six months after the attacks. Nevertheless, the extent of monitoring under the computer-based format risks making students feel watched and restricted.

According to Douglas Ewing of the Graduate Center's Office of International Students, under this program, there will no longer be the same type of grace periods as there have been in the past for students and the administration to complete the required documentation. International students should also notify the Office immediately in the case of any change in immigration status, student status, program of study, or other personal information.

Ewing said that approximately fifty of the Graduate Center's 800 international students are affected by Special Registration.

Get Informed and Involved

Weekly picketing against Special Registration will take place every Friday at 26 Federal Plaza between noon and 2PM.

For those affected by this policy, information on legal clinics and appointments with staff attorneys are available through the Asian American Legal Defense and Educational Fund at 212-966-6030 or 212-966-5932 ext. 213.

For help from the CUNY Office of International Students, call 212-817-7490 to make an appointment.

You can read the full text of the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 by going to <http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/>, clicking on Public and Private Laws/ 107th Congress, then scrolling down and clicking on Pub.L. 107-56.

For more information on who must register and by when, go to <http://www.ins.gov/graphics/lawenfor/specialreg/index.htm> or call the INS immigration hotline at 1-800-375-5283 (1-800-767-1833 for TTY).

To find the status of your case, go to <http://www.ins.gov/graphics/services/findi.htm>.

Kimberly Chase is a first-year student in the Comparative Literature Program and an independent writer.

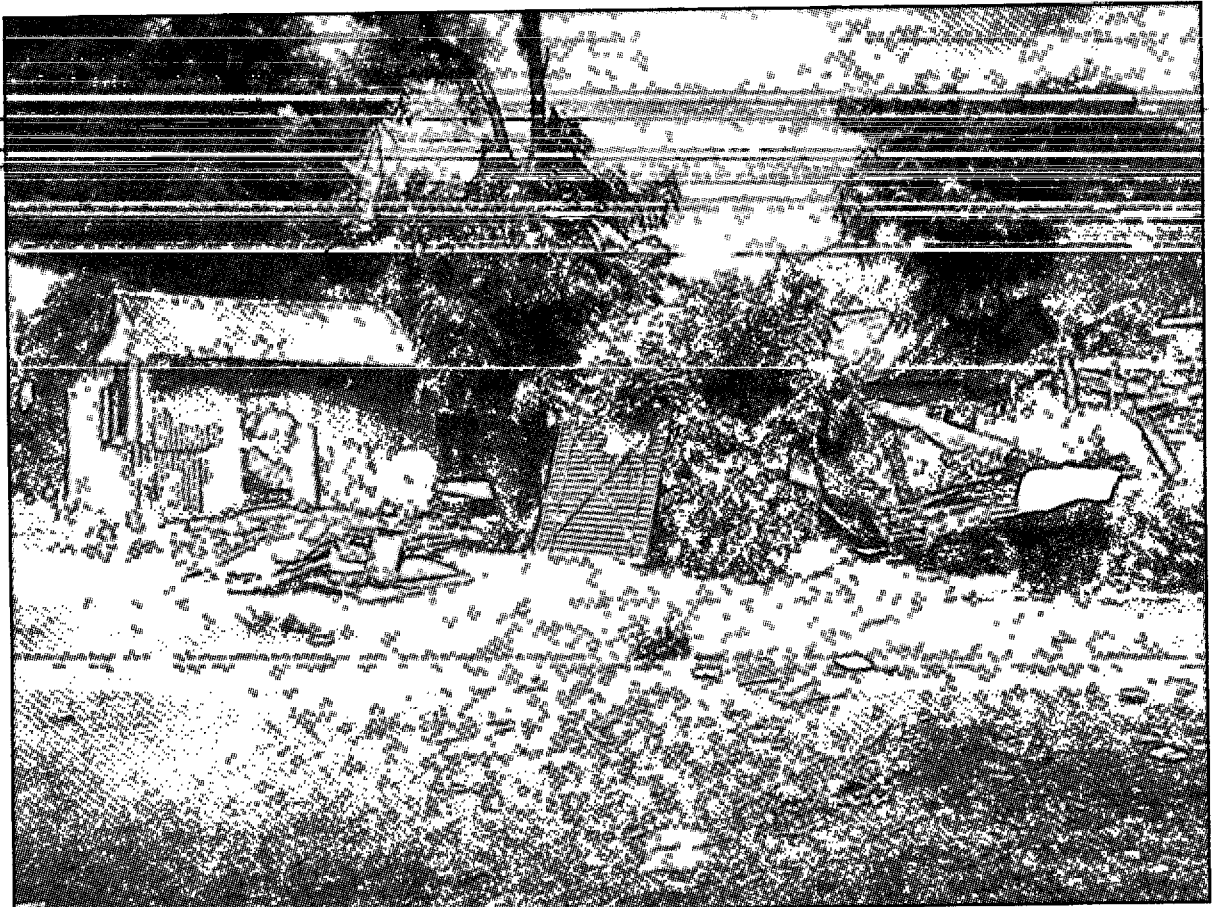
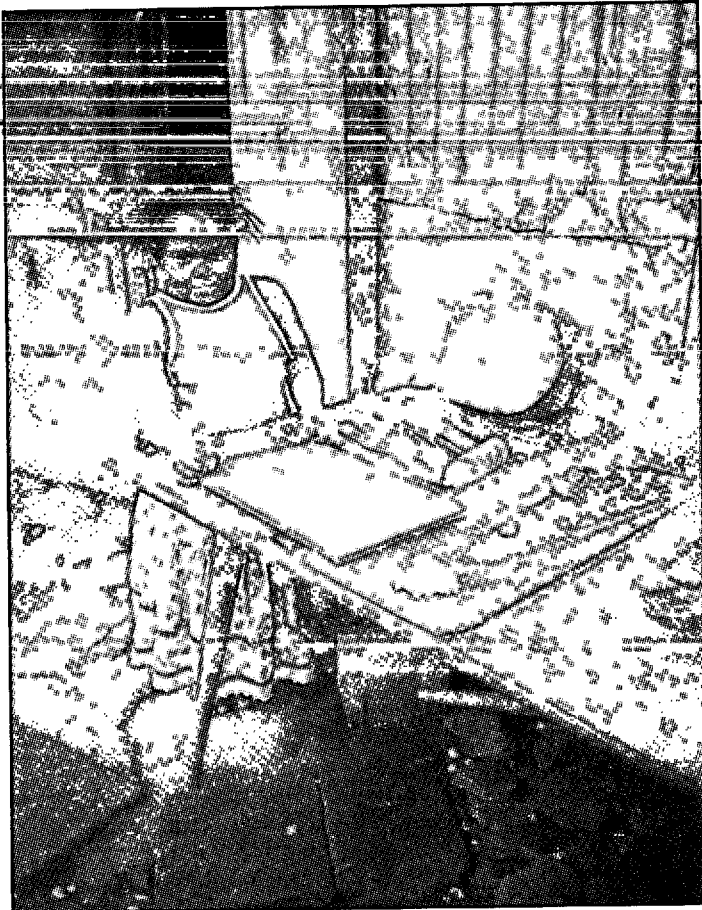
from *Kenis*, page 4
beating out both Iraq and North Korea.

Anti-War Protest History in the Making

Government indifference to the public protests has clearly stoked the fire. University of Texas professor Robert Jensen wrote on CommonDreams.org, "In public, Rice and other administration officials appear to pay little heed to opposition. They want to undermine people's sense of their own power, instill a sense of futility, and convince us of the inevitability of war."

Nevertheless, Jensen pointed to the example of Richard Nixon's secret "Duck Hook" plan to escalate the Vietnam War in 1969 that was stopped only by enormous public protest. "The Bush administration, as the Nixon administration before it, wants desperately to ignore the rising tide of worldwide and domestic opposition to this war. But the more we begin to believe in our own power and act on that belief, the harder it will be to ignore us."

Indeed, the anti-war movement only promises to escalate once the US-led war on Iraq actually begins.



Young Chagossian girl, now living in Mauritius, displays a drawing of the perfect home. The actual living quarters of Chagossians in Mauritius, shown at right, leave much to be desired.

move quietly into Britain's shoes without raising suspicions about a new colonialism or a major US commitment to a new region.

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy approved the proposal for the base and ordered Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to carry out the plan. By 1965, the US Government had convinced the British Government to take the unprecedented step of forming a new, entirely military colony, and to empty the colony of all inhabitants. The British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT) was formed by chopping off the Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius and three distant island groups from Seychelles. Both Mauritius and Seychelles were then under British rule. (This maneuver violated United Nations declarations, prohibiting the dismemberment of colonies during decolonization).

To avoid US Congressional and UK Parliamentary oversight, the Johnson Administration and the Labour government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson sealed the deal with a 1966 Exchange of Notes. By doing so, they created a de facto treaty without having to attain legislative approval, required for formal treaties. At the same time, they signed a secret accord in which the US government agreed to transfer \$14 million to the British for establishing the new military colony, to pay Mauritius and Seychelles for Chagos and the three island groups, and to remove the island inhabitants.

Integral to the transaction was that it be implemented in secrecy. A 1971 British intra-governmental letter explains the deal:

Besides the published Agreement there is also a secret agreement under which...the US effectively, but indirectly, contributed half the estimated cost of establishing the territory (£10million). This was done by means of a reduction of £5m[illion] in the research and development surcharge due from Britain for the Polaris missile. Special measures were taken by both the US and UK Governments to maintain the secrecy of this arrangement.

These details remained hidden from the public eye until 1975 when the story started coming out in the Washington and London press and in subsequent Congressional investigations.

Even then, Diego Garcia was not the only instance when whole communities were expelled from their ancestral lands to make way for US military facilities: isolated indigenous communities in the

Marshall Islands and Greenland also were forcibly expelled with little notice from the international community. Both the US and UK governments apparently calculated that they could get away with exiling the poor, and politically isolated Chagossians.

Societies in Exile

The establishment of the BIOT in 1965 meant that the thousands living in the territories had to be evacuated at all cost. Any Chagossians leaving Chagos for vacations, medical treatment, or any other reason were denied return passage and left stranded—often without their families and all their possessions—in Mauritius or Seychelles. They could not get any booking on a return passage; they were simply told that the islands had been closed off and no one was allowed to return. Some Chagossians report that plantation companies, in Diego Garcia and the other islands, offered employees free vacations and then left them stranded in Mauritius or Seychelles. At the turn of the decade the British also began to restrict the number of supply ships docking at Chagos; many were thus forced to leave as food, medicines, and other necessities dwindled.

This progressive emptying of the islands proved too slow for the US Government once it was ready to start construction on the base in 1971. A classified letter dated January 26, 1971, sent by Ian Watt in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to his British counterparts, confirmed British receipt of the US order to complete the removal of the Chagossians from Diego Garcia:

The United States Government has recently confirmed that their security arrangements at Diego Garcia will require the removal of the entire population of the atoll by July if possible. This is no surprise. We have known since 1965 that if a defense facility were established we should have to resettle elsewhere the contract copra workers who live there.

It is crucial to note that British officials referred to the Chagossians as nothing more than contract workers with no ties to the islands. While there were some contract laborers, most inhabitants had their roots in Diego Garcia. The first Chagossians were slaves and indentured laborers from India whom French colonizers brought to the islands as early as the 1776 to work on coconut plantations.

In 1971, the British government, in response to pressures from the US

government and assisted by US soldiers, forced the remaining inhabitants of Diego Garcia to leave their homes and board cargo ships. The ships deposited the Chagossians in Chagos's far-off Peros Banhos and the Salomon islands. Others were left on the docks in Mauritius and Seychelles.

Two years later, with the US requiring that all the islands be cleared of people, the inhabitants of Peros Banhos and Salomon, including those resettled in 1971, were placed on a cargo ship owned by the British government and exiled to Mauritius and Seychelles.

There was no clear resettlement program for the displaced Chagossians. The Seychelles Government took some to live in a former prison, while all the Mauritian Government offered were a few dilapidated houses. Traumatized by their forcible exile and with little skills suited for anything else than work in coconut plantations, the Chagossians quickly plunged into deep poverty. They now suffer from unemployment and poor social services (especially in housing and health). Occupying the absolute bottom of the Mauritian and Seychellois societies, they are subjected to ethnic discrimination and violence.

The British Government finally paid the Mauritian Government £650,000 in 1973 for resettlement, but most of the money only reached the Chagossians in 1978. A settlement with the British in 1982 paid an additional £4 million. In both cases, however, the money went to some but not all Chagossians (and none in Seychelles). Offered five and ten years after the very last Chagossians were expelled, the money was only enough to begin to pay off some of the large debts that the Chagossians had incurred to build homes and cope in the slums of Mauritius's capitol.

Today, the Chagossians still long to return to their homelands. Many Chagossians contrast their current lives of miser—utter poverty and destitution—with the lives they led in the islands of beauty, community fellowship, and abundance—where having enough food and money were never a concern.

After almost 30 years of political struggle, a British court ruled in 2000 that their removal was illegal and granted them right to return to the islands except Diego Garcia. This was still something of a hollow victory for the impoverished population who simply do not have the resources to rebuild their ruined island societies. No Chagossians have returned and now most Chagossians are plaintiffs in two lawsuits in British and US courts. Above all, they are demanding the right to

return to all the islands, including Diego Garcia, and compensation for their removal and for rebuilding their societies.

"Fantasy Island"

The US government has shown little concern over the social costs of building a base where communities once thrived. Instead, to military and diplomatic officials, Diego Garcia has all the advantages and almost none of the disadvantages of an overseas military base.

Since the mid-1970s, Diego Garcia has served to project US power anywhere it can, from East Africa to the Persian Gulf and Southern Asia. Its creation does away with one major disadvantage of overseas bases: most of such facilities have to coexist with potentially antagonistic local populations (E.g. Saudi Arabia, Okinawa, and Vieques). An uninhabited island thus provides the US military complete military and political freedom to do as it pleases.

Indeed, unlike bases in Saudi Arabia or Turkey, Diego is also controlled by the United States' closest ally, the UK. The British have given the US free rein over the island such that Diego Garcia is, for all intents, a US territory. Moreover, in Great Britain, the US government found a partner willing to do the dirty work of forcibly removing an indigenous people from their ancestral lands. The arrangement also offers the US the perfect defense since, after all, the British as sovereign should ultimately be responsible for any local population.

With the population successfully exiled, the US government has what is almost the perfect base, ready for use in another conflict in the Middle East, particularly in the war in Iraq: Diego Garcia is strategically located, free of any potentially meddlesome population, and under de facto US control yet, its closest ally takes any political heat that might result from the occupation. It is small wonder the US Navy calls it "Fantasy Island."

David Vine is a PhD student in the Anthropology Department. Besides his research on Diego Garcia, he studies gentrification and development issues in Brooklyn.

Venezuela's Political Crisis

By Andrew Kennis

Will

In a recent show of support for the embattled populist president, hundreds of thousands of mostly poor Venezuelans took to the streets to demonstrate their support for the constitution and Hugo Chavez, who has been twice democratically elected. But increasing class and racial polarization in Venezuelan society continues to breed tension that often erupts in violence.

Hugo

Chavez

Recent efforts by former US President Jimmy Carter and the Organization of American States (OAS) to broker a deal between Chavez and his opponents have thus far failed to produce results.

Survive?

Advocate(ADV): It's quite certain that the general strike against Hugo Chavez has had a dramatic effect on the Venezuelan economy. But what is the effect on popular opinion of Hugo Chavez and those who want to bring down his presidency?

SE: From what I've read, and from the surveys, Chavez has actually benefited from this, politically speaking. And I say that because the strike has failed, and many people who were either in the anti-Chavez camp or were in-between but also critical of Chavez, became even more critical of the opposition. Among those people, a certain percentage is now moving over to a less critical position on Chavez. The fact that Chavez was able to weather this situation, and that the opposition promised their people that Chavez would be out by Christmas—they emphasized that when the strike began on December 2—have discredited the opposition to a certain extent.

ADV: Former President Carter was recently in Venezuela to attempt to negotiate an agreement of some kind. The OAS has similarly tried to broker a deal. Is there anything in the air that they've been able to hammer out with Chavez or the opposition?

SE: Basically, what President Carter has called for is the holding of a recall referendum in August and the rehiring of all the oil people who went on strike. Chavez accepted the first proposition since he states that this is what the constitution allows for. (He has been unwilling to accept elections before that date because he says that there's nothing in the constitution that allows for that.) Chavez is however unwilling to rehire, at least, the executives who planned and engineered the oil strike.

ADV: If a referendum on Chavez's rule is held in August, is Chavez likely to survive that ballot?

SE: You know, according to the polls, Chavez still is the most popular politician. The polls indicate that Chavez has an approval rating of between 30 and 35 percent, and this figure was taken before the strike. This same survey placed the leading politicians of the opposition somewhere a little over 20 percent, and then the second leading candidate of the opposition got even less than that.

Chavez has gained support since then.



A Chavez supporter amid tear gas.



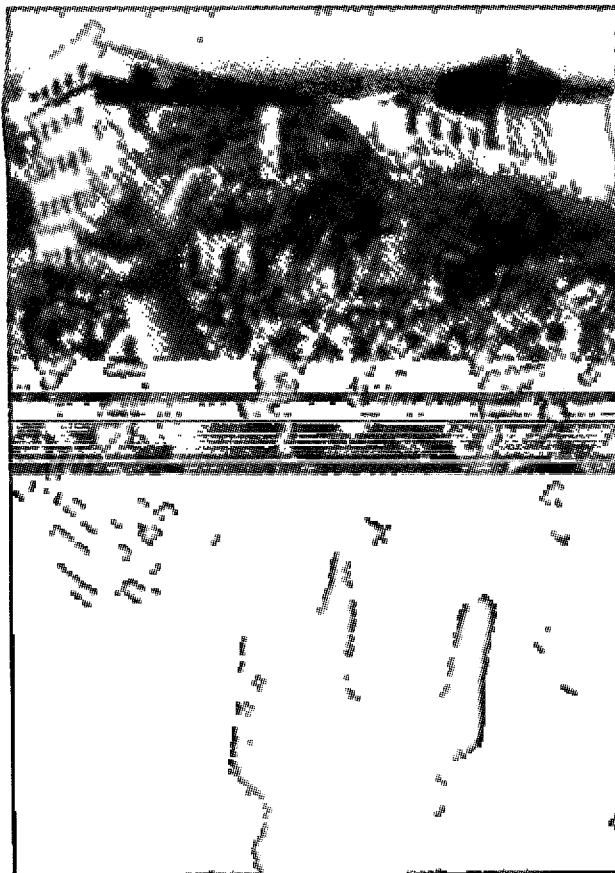
Chavez after failed coup attempt in April 2002

Although the South American nation's economy has lost hundreds of millions of dollars due primarily to a work stoppage that paralyzed the state oil industry, backing for the opposition's general strike and leaders withered and resulted in its end on February 4 in all sectors except the oil industry. Chavez's opponents—a mix of unions, business interests and conservative political parties—called for the nationwide work stoppage to press for early elections.

With the opposition's recent retreat, a referendum on Chavez's presidency will likely not be held until August. Chavez has repeatedly said it will happen at that time because the constitution allows for such a referendum but only half-way through a President's term, which is still about six months away.

The following is an excerpt of a radio interview on the general strike and Chavez's political resilience, featuring Steve Ellner, a professor of history at the Universidad de Oriente in Caracas and co-editor of the book *Venezuelan Politics in the Chavez Era, Class Polarization and Conflict*. The interview was featured in the Connecticut radio program, *Between the Lines*, and conducted by Scott Harris, the show's host and executive producer.

Steve Ellner (SE): The strike began on December 2, and a week or so after the strike began there was a shutdown of the oil industry. Venezuelan oil production reached a very small percentage of its normal output and gradually the government succeeded in operating the industry. The strike apparently was a strike of the upper echelons of the industry. The Chavez government hired people who had experience in industry—even bringing in people from other countries—so that slowly the production has recovered. At this point, the strike effort is petering out.



Chavez supporters at a recent rally.

According to one survey published in a weekly newspaper, *Quinto Dia* (<http://www.quintodia.com>), his support is up to about 50 percent. I mean that's just one survey that was quoted in the press and it's not a pro-Chavez newspaper.

You know, it really depends on whether the opposition can unite. Even more than that, I think the opposition has been discredited because it hasn't presented a program to the country. Its only demand is the ousting of Chavez. I think that the results of the elections in August will depend on the opposition's candidate, the unity of the opposition and its program.

Andrew Kennis is a CUNY PhD student in Political Science and a freelance journalist.

Women on War and Peace

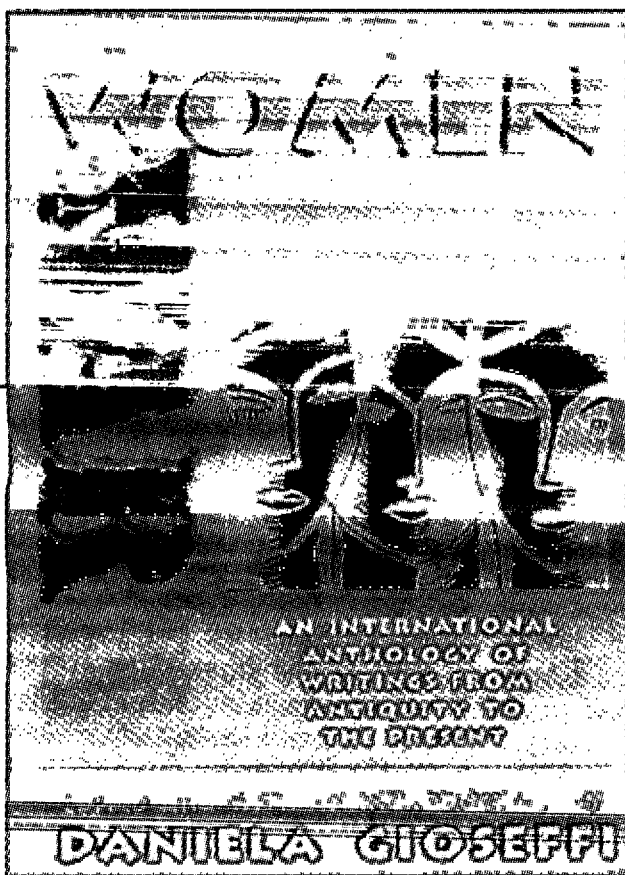
Book Review: *Women on War: An International Anthology of Writings from Antiquity to the Present*
 Edited and with an Introduction by Daniela Gioseffi. Feminist Press, 2003

By Daniel Skinner

In his famous "Funeral Oration" of 430 BC, delivered toward the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles praised the dead Athenian soldiers' bravery and spoke to prepare Athens for the certain deaths that were ahead. Toward the end of his speech, he also had this to say on the role of women in war:

Perhaps I should say a word or two on the duties of women to those among you who are now widowed. I can say all I have to say in a short word of advice. Your great glory is not to be inferior to what God has made you, and the greatest glory of a woman is to be least talked about by men, whether they are praising you or criticizing you.

This is a fairly good summary of the traditional view of



women's role during war: support their men back home, make them proud, and do not dishonor them by becoming public spectacles. Women's involvement in or opposition to war simply was out of the question.

In reality however women have always played an important role in both anti- and pro-war activities, fueling the protests against the Vietnam War with the same passion that brought us the "We Can Do It" spirit of World War II. At the same time, since women now represent about 15 percent of the current American military and with more of them assuming powerful roles in the planning and implementation of war, their attitudes toward war can no longer be ignored.

The second edition of *Women on War* (Feminist Press/CUNY, 2003) offers a broad survey of views on war held by a number of women, many of whom most Americans will have had little exposure to, either in history class or in the mainstream media. The volume includes entries written by anarchist Emma Goldman, author Louisa May Alcott, poet Maya Angelou, and other prominent Americans who have brought their struggles onto the international stage. Equally valuable, Balkan writers such as Vesna Parun, Jasmina Tesanovic, and Slavenka Drakulic lend their strong voices to the collection. These authors have been for women in Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina what Arundhati Roy is for India, Isabel Allende is for Chile, Daisy Zamora is for Nicaragua, and Simone de Beauvoir was for France—tireless advocates who use their literary talents to document the struggle against oppression in their oft war-torn nations. As this collection shows, every nation has its own important feminists, all deserving to be heard.

Women on War contains some particularly penetrating admonitions and reflections that Americans would be

well-advised to read at this particular moment of anti-terrorist frenzy. Mitsuye Yamada, a Japanese-American and victim of Roosevelt's internment camps during World War II, has four poems highlighting the war's effect on the family as well as the incongruities of a war, supposedly fought to secure freedom but resulting in the

imprisonment of innocents. Her poems remind us that hysterical racism in the name of national security often sweeps away the simplest questions regarding justice in a democracy: "What was the charge?"

An Emma Goldman excerpt warns that patriotism may lead to a "spirit of militarism" that has "already permeated all walks of [American] life." Patriotism, Goldman argues, "is too narrow and limited a conception to meet the necessities of our time" and offers no vision for a world outside of conflict. Ann Drury reminds us that the first "ground zero" was an expression of American military power in Hiroshima, and that World War II's main victors immediately set out to build the biggest, most deadly weapons possible and subjected the world to an even more dire state of affairs, thereby turning the Holocaust mantra "never again" into a farce. Finally, June Jordan's "The Bombing of Baghdad" compares Custer's slaughter of Native Americans to US foreign policy in the Middle East. Jordan argues that most weapons are "terrorist tools" by their very nature, and she condemns the insincere post-war rebuilding efforts offered by the US government:

And in the aftermath of carnage
 perpetrated in my name
 how should I dare to offer you my hand
 how shall I negotiate the implications
 of my shame

That said, for the most part, the selections included in *Women on War* give the impression that there were only a handful of pre-19th century women who offered strong opinions on war and that the history of women is almost exclusively one of opposition. Despite the historical tendency among women to oppose wars—perhaps due partly to their marginalization from political systems that lead leaders to wage wars—it would have been nice to see some entries that did not conform to that assumption. For better or for worse, Britain's Margaret Thatcher, Russia's Catherine, and Israel's fourth Prime Minister Golda Meir are examples of historically important women who waged war during their terms. Similarly, Daniela Gioseffi's introduction points to the worsening nuclear threat since the end of the cold war but omits, for instance, former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's role in the development of India's nuclear program.

And then there are some writers in this compendium who, ultimately became "victims of circumstance," and betrayed their ideals as pacifists. Particularly glaring was Simone de Beauvoir's support for the execution of alleged Nazi collaborators after the fall of the Third Republic in France, exposing the shortcomings in her critique of the use of violence as a tool of political change.

This book brings up but leaves unanswered the question of where women are today and their role in the proliferation of war. With female war hawks such as Condoleezza Rice in increasingly powerful positions, one might wonder exactly what kind of women we need in office and whether those who make it through the still male-dominated American political system must, by necessity, become part of the war machine themselves.

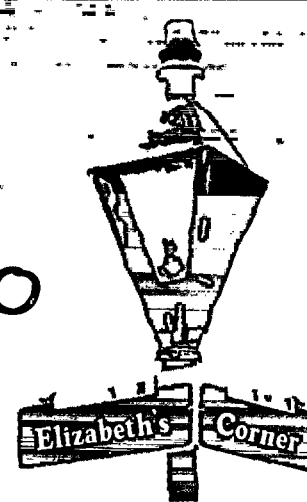
Finally, despite the collection's decidedly international approach, Gioseffi's introduction focuses heavily on the US and its refusal to take part in the international efforts to keep children out of combat as well as participate in the UN conference on race in Durban, South Africa and the International Criminal Court, among others. Unfortunately, Gioseffi doesn't offer the reader the US government's justifications for its positions, which would have been a gesture toward objectivity. Instead, she chalks it all up to a vague American refusal to play fairly, as though Machiavellian political tactics (and war) were not on some level rational.

Nonetheless, women's positions have advanced, and as more women gain access to higher government postings, we may one day find a need to ask the "gender-insensitive" question of how we can get good people—the Barbara Ehrenreichs, the Doris Lessings, and the Molly Peacocks of the future—into office. This book helps explain why we must find an answer to this question.

see *Women*, page 14

When Good Girls Go Bad

By Elizabeth Primamore



What is it about successful women who with the slightest suggestion that they've misbehaved with money, big money, that ticks people off like the flick of a switch at an orgy when the police raid?

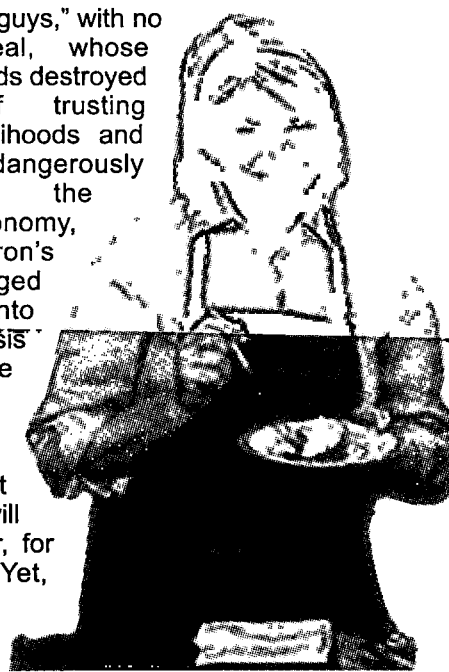
Poor Martha Stewart, that's right, you heard me, poor Martha. The knives are out for the woman who cannot stop working to give of herself to us, unconditionally. There's Martha's flowers, chocolates, recipes, weddings—recently on her morning television show she featured "a personal favorite" of hers—cloth napkins with the days of the week written in Spanish. She even has a CD, "Quiet Times," a compilation of her favorite slow songs to help us relax, with Martha looking all warm and fuzzy on the cover, after a bath, dressed in a white, terry cloth robe, towel around her head, smiling while holding a mug.

Surely enough, the list of Martha's products for living is endless and her dedication to homemaking is so convincing she can turn even the most radical feminist's head around to drop the activism, question her pursuit of that professional degree, stay home, and learn how to make flowers with color paper and pipe cleaners.

Then again, with what is happening to Martha now, we see there's a price to pay—not for homemaking, but ambition. Under federal investigation for insider trading, the once cheery and confident Martha now looks haggard and distraught—at least in the photographs that appear in the press. Yet, Martha, forever the business woman, seems to object more to this unflattering display—she's also upset that the public has turned against her—than to the very serious allegations she faces. The press, she says to Jeffrey Toobin of *The New Yorker*, picks the "ugliest pictures. I'm a pretty photogenic person, I mean, they manage to find the doozies." Hopefully, the bad photographs will be the least of her problems, a minor outcome of this media and law enforcement inspired witch-hunt, including class action suits, that could land the Queen of Clean in jail—unfairly, perhaps.

Yes, it's true, Martha did dump \$228,000 worth of Imclone Systems stock and avoided a loss of \$45,000 when the stock later plunged. But that she was the recipient of insider information is speculative, a kind of he said, she said situation, that exudes an aura of misconduct, not fact. So why this cascade of ridicule and mockery that would seem more appropriate for, let's say, Kenneth Lay, the chairman and CEO of Enron, and his ilk—you know, the crusty, gray suits of Tyco and WorldCom, who feminist Naomi Wolf calls

"boring white guys," with no public appeal, whose greed of greeds destroyed millions of trusting workers' livelihoods and pensions, dangerously undermined the nation's economy, and, in Enron's case, plunged California into an energy crisis by price gouging to the tune of \$8.9 billion. If consumers will be paying for, for years. Yet, despite the magnitude of harm done to



see *Primamore*, page 14

Is Barnes and Noble

By Elisabeth Polizzi

My friend Cassandra won't step foot inside a Barnes & Noble. When I asked her why, she said that with all the talk of the unfair trade laws favoring multinational corporate conglomerates and monopolies, the bad working conditions chain stores usually offer to employees (who, in this job-scarce economy, must accept them), and the sad dwindling of small businesses due to the enormous trade advantage enjoyed by great big corporations, it's easier for her to just avoid chains altogether. It saves her the trouble of researching, on a case by case basis, which corporations are "evil" and which are not. "They're all more or less ruining the mom-and-pops," she said. "And you've got to decide somehow where to shop. This seems like a good way to choose."

While her argument makes a great deal of sense to me personally, I have recently been troubled by the number of seemingly socially conscious people who persist in shopping at chain stores -- Barnes & Noble in particular, since they own a disproportionate number of the bookstores (not to mention a noticeable amount of prominent real estate) in the boroughs of New York. This includes twenty-two bookstores that are ostensibly owned and run by colleges or universities -- the bookstores at Columbia University, Hunter College, FIT, Fordham, and Brooklyn College, to name a few.

It seems apparent that if the educated, well-informed, reading public were more aware of the consequences of such fiscal irresponsibility -- not to mention the effects said irresponsibility will inevitably have on such crucial concepts as the free distribution and proliferation of facts, ideas, and opinions -- they would certainly endeavor to find an alternate place to spend their money (and, in doing, grant their tacit approval). For this reason, I took it upon myself to research the facts and current thinking on why, exactly, Barnes & Noble is bad.

What I found is not so nefarious as one writing a persuasive piece against a minor media empire might hope. The corporation is traded publicly and their shares largely held by mutual funds, a fact which, some argue, makes them even more accountable to the "bottom line" mentality than privately held companies or companies

held directly by individual stockholders. But that isn't unusual for a corporate entity of its size.

Directly pertaining to students, the contractual agreements between Barnes & Noble and the colleges with whom they enjoy monopolistic book-selling relationships usually prohibit professors from giving their book orders to any but the school's officially sanctioned (B&N-owned) book distributor. This puts students at a further disadvantage, because if they wish to spend responsibly, they must scour the city for books they need for class, and obviously such contractual arrangements categorically funnel potential textbook business away from independents.

In 1998 the American Booksellers Association filed a lawsuit claiming that Barnes & Noble and Borders regularly cut illegal deals with large trade publishing houses whereby they were granted special discount rates and co-ops (arrangements in which publishers give booksellers account credits with which to locally promote specific books) that were not available to independent bookstores. This gives the national chains an even more significant advantage over smaller stores than they already get under the discount schedules they are granted in exchange for comparatively massive sales. The ABA claimed that these practices violate the Robinson-Patman Act of 1930, a federal statute specifically intended to protect small businesses against that very sort of tactic, but there was some disagreement regarding whether said practices, and the advantage they offer the national chains, actually damage independent bookstores' livelihood. The lawsuit was settled in 2000 when B&N and Borders each cut a check to the ABA's twenty-six plaintiffs for \$2.35 million. From what I could glean, the trade practices uncovered during the trial and accompanying investigation continue to this day.

The fact that national booksellers are in bed with large publishing houses also facilitates a scenario in which book publishers and sellers conspire to come up with the highest price the sellers figure they can get from customers without hurting sales. This benefits both publisher and bookseller, and hurts consumers.

But the fact that large national book chains have a marked advantage over smaller, locally owned concerns is relatively uncontested and therefore moot.

The truly troubling aspect of the whole discussion is the effect on the book-publishing industry (and, by extension, the free expression of ideas) when the entire publishing process from soup to nuts is governed by B&N and Borders executives' ideas of what will sell. Leave aside the concentration-of-power issue in which we might envision the effective and arbitrary censorship of ideas by a handful of national buyers whose only credentials pertain to their ability to succeed in business, and whose judgment might just as easily be affected by personal values and intellectual preferences as by business savvy or a finger on the pulse of what America wants. The fact of the matter is this: if our literary output is limited to what we already know we want (or, more accurately, what corporate buyers intuit we want), we will never again experience the awe-inspiring, society-changing, Rachel Carson / Upton Sinclair / Harriet Beecher Stowe earthquake that no one at the time ever would have thought they needed but which no society can move forward without.

There are other places to buy books in New York -- approximately three hundred non-chain bookstores in Manhattan alone, including used bookstores and stores that specialize in college textbooks. There are online book-buying sites (see www.noamazon.com for a very good list of links to independent online book retailers). And, of course, there is my personal favorite book venue -- the New York Public Library system (www.nypl.org).

New Yorkers have a variety of options. Which one you choose is up to you. If you pay \$20 dollars over the counter for a mass-market paperback, the profit portion of which will be dispersed among hundreds of stockholders and mutual-fund owners rather than going back into the community in which you live, which will in turn put out of business the small, struggling independent bookseller down the street and enforce the closed-doors trade monopoly over free thought in America (am I getting too dramatic? -- well it is dramatic), you are personally responsible for making that choice.

And if you've read this far, the choice is a conscious one.

Elisabeth Polizzi is a freelance journalist and resident of Brooklyn.

Women, from page 13

A system continually defined by corrupt, powerful men filters out both men and women of conscience, and this will be the major challenge as opportunities to public office become equalized. The question ahead seems to be this: now that women's rights have gained traction and doors are opening, can women in power be expected to change the nature of the system, or will they merely take a seat in the same war room next to future Bushes, Cheneys, and Rumsfelds? As Gioseffi says in her introduction, "Men have killed and maimed in the name of God." Now, one must also ask: Will women fare any better?

Primamora, from page 13

person and country, do any of us really remember, or for that matter, know, what "Kenny Boy," as George Bush calls him, Tyco's Dennis Kozlowski, or WorldCom's Bernie Ebbers and Scott Sullivan look like? Do we want to? The press doesn't think so.

What comes to my mind are passing images of bald heads, pasty skin, warts (and then smoke starts coming out of my ears.) But I'd certainly recognize Martha walking down the street, after the media feeding frenzy, even if she weren't a television and magazine personality.

Why is it that a lady tycoon whose sins are considerably less than the father's gets the splashy negative publicity while the sins of corporate bad boys seem to go virtually unnoticed? It must be that woman with money thing again--it really gets the media, government, and politicians going. And they, along with the public, don't like Martha's counterpart, Leona Helmsley, the Queen of Mean, either,

especially when she told us something about our lives that we just didn't want to hear--that it is indeed true, the little people do pay the taxes, like it or not--as haughty, guilty of her crimes and anti-gay, as she may or may not be. For sure, in the arena of rich entrepreneurs, it is the girls, when they falter a lot or a little, who get the hard, public slaps. Why?

Well, women, it seems to me, who are financially successful in a visible and unapologetic way--even an agent of patriarchy like Martha, who glamorizes the everyday of the domestic sphere--when faced with charges of wrong doing, stir up the double standard about women and wealth, evoking a deep-seated animosity toward exceptional female independence that you can't quite put your finger on, but will not go away.

Elizabeth Primamora is a PhD candidate in English. She is writing a dissertation on women's literature of the British fin-de-siecle.

New York City College/University Bookstores owned by Barnes & Noble:

(source: www.bkstore.com - the Barnes & Noble College Bookstores website)

- *Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law / Yeshiva University
- *Manhattan Community College
- *Bronx Community College
- *Brooklyn College
- *Brooklyn Law School
- *College of Staten Island
- *Columbia University
- *Columbia U. Medical Center
- *Fashion Institute of Technology
- *Fordham University (Bronx and Lincoln Center campuses)
- *Hunter College
- *Kingsborough Community College
- *John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- *Long Island University
- *New York Law School
- *Pace University
- *Queens Community College
- *Saint Francis College
- *St. John's University
- *Teacher's College, Columbia University
- *Wagner College

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Figuring Out Health Insurance Options at CUNY

By Kimberly Chase

Health care for graduate students is a jungle, especially for newcomers to the CUNY system. After chopping my way machete-like through the options as a new student, several points became clear: standard health care plans like Aetna and Blue Cross Blue Shield are insanely expensive, and insurance policies designed for students are only worth it if one develops a potentially fatal disease.

Having experienced an \$800-visit to the emergency room last year when it turned

out that all I really needed was a dose of antibiotics and a nap, I decided that I needed some type of insurance to ease the worries. I discovered that the more reasonable plans offer coverage for around \$1500 per year but, the main snag is in prescription drug benefits. GHI's prescription program, for example, offers prescription benefits that are lower than what the policy costs. Read carefully: the GHI prescription plan offered to students costs the insured more in monthly payments than it will even potentially pay out for drugs—even in the most dire of situations—and so it is more cost effective to NOT have prescription and pay out-of-pocket. This creates massive problems for regular medicine-takers in general and women on birth control in particular. Students can pick up a list of health insurance options in the Office of Student Affairs, Room 7301.

Adjuncts at CUNY can avoid the extra cost of healthcare in the third consecutive semester of teaching as long as they are teaching at least six credits in the third semester. Non-teaching adjuncts are also eligible for health insurance after their first year if they work for ten hours or more per week on campus.

These benefits help, but the reality is that many adjuncts, not to mention non-teaching graduate students (the majority of GC students), remain uninsured. Many adjuncts do not teach consecutive semesters or cannot log the required hours to qualify for benefits. Many also cannot afford health insurance in the first year of work when they are left to fend for themselves. The Adjunct Project, the arm of the Doctoral Students Council (DSC) that represents CUNY adjuncts, is working to provide all adjuncts with health

New Spring Semester

DSC Office Hours

Monday

Pete Mauro 12-5pm

Tuesday

James Trimarco 10-11am

James Trimarco 4-6pm

Ingrid Skadberg 6-9pm

Brenda Jenkins 6:30-8:30pm

Wednesday

Jose Zambrana, Jr. 3-6pm

Thursday

Paul McGreen 11-2pm

Brenda Jenkins 6:30-7:30pm

Friday

Charlyn Hilliman 9-2pm

Camille Tipton-Altaband 12-6pm

Laura Galante-Mittiga 1-6pm

DSC Position on the War Against Iraq

February 28th, 2003

We, the Doctoral Student's Council (DSC), the elected representative governmental body of the students of the CUNY Graduate Center, hereby issue this public statement against the Bush Administration's call for armed conflict in Iraq.

The DSC posits that such a conflict will result in thousands of injuries and deaths on all sides. It is our belief that such a conflict will only increase animosity toward the United States throughout the world and thus increase, not decrease, the likelihood of future terrorist attacks. Further, a link between Al-Qaeda and the Iraqi government has not been proven.

We object to the expenditure of billions of tax dollars, both here and abroad, on such a questionable venture, at the same time that funds are being cut from the CUNY system. Such vital funds are more constructively spent on public health, education, and food distribution throughout the international community.

In taking such a position, we want to make clear that we in no way condone anti-Americanism and/or acts of terror directed against the United States or any other country or group. Additionally, we do not direct our criticism toward American troops on the ground in the Middle East. We fully realize that many students at the Graduate Center as well as students in the larger CUNY system have loved ones directly involved in the operations. We understand that the vast majority of these military personnel are undoubtedly engaged out of a sense of duty, conviction, and professional or legal obligation.

This war, if started, will most likely take an enormous toll in terms of time, human life, and vital resources. Further, it may spread to other volatile theaters of conflict. We therefore urge our elected officials and the media, charged with informing the public, to rethink these policies, which as of yet, have not been conclusively thought out or justified, and to put human life, health, and education before mass violence.

insurance. For more information, call Heather Gautney of the Adjunct Project at 212-817-7890 or visit the website of CUNY's Professional Staff Congress (PSC-CUNY), the labor union for CUNY full-time and part-time faculty and staff, at <http://www.psc-cuny.org>. (Membership in the union costs \$138.42, and can be deducted from your biweekly paycheck.)

The Graduate Center Wellness Center, located in Room 6422 of 365 Fifth Avenue, offers a variety of services, if only open part-time and staffed by a nurse practitioner instead of a doctor. (Luckily, Nurse Practitioner Mary Clancy, whose services have been assured with a \$50,000 a year grant from the DSC, seems to really know her stuff.) The Wellness Center can write prescriptions and do routine tests like PAP smears, gynecological exams, male health exams, and cholesterol profiles. Lab tests are subsidized by the DSC (you only pay 10% of the cost) and a free consultation with the Nurse Practitioner can actually cover the deductible for some

insurance plans. Nurse Clancy can also make referrals to the Mount Sinai Medical Center for further treatment on a sliding-scale basis.

The Psychological Counseling and Adult Development Center, which shares the Wellness Center office, offers short-term psychological and substance-abuse counseling with a maximum of sixteen free sessions, and can recommend low-to-moderately priced therapists for additional care. Visit <http://web.gc.cuny.edu/wellness/index.html> or call 212-817-7020 for details and links.

As far as dental care is concerned, there are a few options, most notably the program offered by NYU's School of Dentistry. CUNY is a participating university in Stu-Dent, the program which lets NYU dentistry students work on your teeth at discounted prices. I have been too scared to do this and too poor for any other program for a while now, but it might just be worth it. See <http://www.nyu.edu/dental/stu-dent.html> or call 212-998-9870.

Calling all STUDENTS, FACULTY and STAFF

Feeling down about the lack of public meeting or social spaces around the Graduate Center? The DSC is aware of this problem, and has chosen room 5414, currently the DSC social lounge, as a potential space for students to hang out, socialize, and hold public events.

But we can't do this without your help. We need you to look around in your attic, basements, or the dusty corners of your closets and haul out any old games that you don't use any more. Things we'd particularly like to have donated include:

- ☐ Board Games (monopoly, scrabble, etc.)
- ☐ ping-pong or pool table
- ☐ A chess set or checkerboard
- ☐ Posters and other decorations
- ☐ Anything else which you think might help make room 5414 a place grad

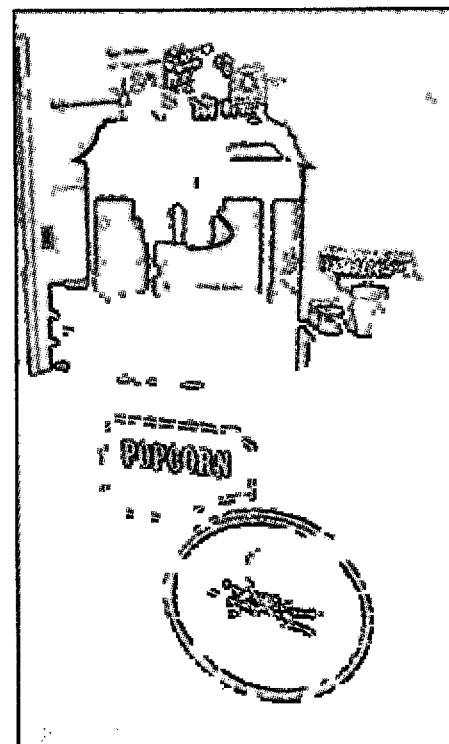
students would like to go spend time.

The math department has begun the effort by donating the grand popcorn maker shown at right, soon to be available in 5414. Please take a few minutes to look around your place (or ask your friends and family to do so) and help in the effort to make the Graduate Center a more welcoming place for students.

Contact the DSC at:

(212) 817-7888

or email: dsc@cuny.gc.edu





College Assistant Poet is Organizer as Well as Artist

By Joshua Moses

Though it was a frigid Brooklyn evening in the middle of February, the Park Slope Methodist Church was packed for the Brooklyn Poets for Peace reading. Organized by the Graduate Center's own Janet Kaplan, College Assistant in the Anthropology Department, and the Department of Music's College Assistant William Glenn, the event provided a forum for Brooklyn poets to protest the war. Other CUNY participants included Ammiel Alcalay of the GC Comparative Literature Department and Moustafa Bayoumi of Brooklyn College.

The event brought together 15 Brooklyn poets, including Kimoko Hahn, Amy Holman and Juan Avila, who read original poems and works of poetry luminaries Cavafy, Rilke and Langston Hughes among others. Many styles of poetry were represented from a variety of traditions and countries including Spain and Iran.

Across the US poets joined together in order to raise their voices and marshal their words against the impending war in Iraq. After Laura Bush canceled her "American Voice" poetry event at the White House due to Washington State Poet Laureate Sam Hamill's plan to give the First Lady an edited volume of antiwar poems, poets around the country organized. Janet felt it was

important for poets to get their voices heard and challenge the dominant discourse that was coming out of the White House. As a host of the event said, "If Bush is worried about poets speaking, that means that they must have something important to say."

Though poets may not be the "unacknowledged legislatures" that Shelley thought them to be, it was clear from this event that polyphony reigns gloriously in the world of American poetry. What Laura Bush called the American voice is in fact the swirling American voices that were heard at Brooklyn Poets for Peace. And if confirmation of this fact was necessary, this event showed that Brooklyn contains multitudes.

Joshua Moses is a PhD student in Anthropology and a sometime collaborator with Janet Kaplan.



Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance: A Transformational Journey

By Kristen Hoyer

Awaken what's wild within through the transformational, energetic journey of Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance. In 2000 Beth Rigby, a movement and yoga instructor from Kripalu Center for Yoga & Health developed Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance, a fun and empowering somatic activity to help awaken people's inner truth and beauty.

Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance is a form of movement that combines yoga and dance and uses the elements of nature, worldly beats, and gentle vocal instruction to guide participants toward expanding their mind and raising their awareness to the "higher self" within. Beth designed Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance in the belief that every person regardless of age, size, or physical ability has the capacity to discover their true essence and unleash their internal happiness through movement.

During the month of January, CUNY Graduate Center hosted its first Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance program that brought together formerly incarcerated individuals who are affiliated with the CUNY Graduate's, College and Community Fellowship (CCF) program, with other students. The dancers were asked at the beginning of the journey to hold verbal communication to a minimum; this restraint helps create a safe space for all to fully express themselves through movement.

Using earth, water, fire, air, and spirit as

inspirational elements, the dancers take a physical and spiritual journey that begins with simple stretches and yoga postures to center the self into a relaxed and confident state of mind. The first cycle of the journey encourages dancers to open up and share their awareness with others in the sacred space that they create together. Once the dancers are fully grounded, the journey naturally evolves with the imagery of water and flowing movements to help set free creativity and sensuality. The dancers are then invited to envision the element of fire, which is associated with internal confidence and personal power, to promote strong movements and pulsing beats within their bodies. Thereafter, with the dancer's newfound courage, the element of air is introduced to stimulate free-flowing movements and the disclosure of one's "higher self". The dancers' "higher self" is demonstrated through their playful movements with silk scarves and interactive games that move them towards a place that could only be described as childhood bliss.

Over time, the dancers begin to experience the element of spirit, binding each one in the comfortable embrace cultivated throughout the journey. The dance experience challenges the dancers to remain present and open with one another in an intimate space. Soothing spiritual practices, such as visualization, meditation, and breath exercises sanctify the experience and bring each dancer to a place of peace and relaxation. The transformational voyage one undertakes through Global Dance—Where Yoga

Household Prayer

by Janet Kaplan

"The spiders must not be disturbed,
nor the floor swept,
nor the chamber arranged."

- Henry David Thoreau, Oct. 22, 1837

O giant gnat of a god
keep me from home
or any other snake-pit
calling itself oasis,

haven, bliss-in-a-box.
I'd rather have take-out to go
nowhere, slouch
with my strawberry malt

on a bench near the monkey-bars,
swing my greasy pony-tail
at the boys on their rollerblades,
old men in their T-Birds and 88s.

In less time than it takes to
iron a shirt let me have
Kerouac-on-rye, sex
ala Colette -- graphic, illicit...

Let no webs
be swept from these mirrors,
leave those yellow roses to fade
in their vase, let the stew
stew.

O anhedonic fear-monger
of a god: unkosher me.
Leave a meter running into the blue,
in my name.

Meets Dance leads the dancers to a deeper understanding of self, one's higher purpose, and one's connection to others and the Universe.

Jonathon, a participant in the class, expressed the benefits of the four-week program: "I trust everyone here and feel this space was made for me to be the person I really am. I feel grateful for the presence of the others here and bonded by our collective will to be at least a little transparent to one another."

After one Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance class at CUNY Graduate Center, another participant noted, "Usually I feel like I have to communicate through words and this showed me that I could use my body."

Michelle, another participant, said, "I loved the exercise at the end of the dance, and staring into each other's eyes. It made me feel connected to everyone and trusting of all the other participants."

Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance has only been in existence for a few years, yet has quickly expanded throughout the globe. Two years ago, Beth began conducting teacher training workshops to intensify the synergy of the transformational experience. At present, there are more than 50 active instructors across the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Europe teaching Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance.

CUNY Graduate Center will continue to host Global Dance—Where Yoga Meets Dance classes on Thursday evenings this spring. To learn more about these classes contact khoye98@yahoo.com or visit the website www.yogameetsdance.com.

Kristen Hoyer is a student at the Hunter School of Social Work and a faculty member at the GC.

CUNY DATELINE

March 7

CUNY Graduate Center Film Series
All screenings will be held in the Film Screening Room on the "C" level, in room C419, every Friday evening at 6PM until May 16th (excepting March 28th). Upcoming films are **Primary Colors** (3/7), **Breaking the Waves** (3/14), **Angela's Ashes** (3/21), **The Luzhin Defence** (3/28), **Searching for Bobby Fischer** (4/4), and **Pleasantville** (4/11).
Go to:
http://math.gc.cuny.edu/spring2003filmseries_index.html for more details.

March 11

Poetry and Piano
Readings with Mucical Accompaniment
Martin E. Segal Theatre, 6-9 PM

March 12

Community Meeting
President's Conference Room, 8th Floor, 11AM
Meet to discuss Graduate Center issues in a forum where your voice will be heard.

March 19

The Life of Puccini
Room assignment available in lobby upon arrival.
Mary Jane Phillips-Matz will discuss the life and times of this fascinating idol of the opera, including his lust for life and his passions for cars, motorboats and women.
Call 212-817-8215 for more information.

March 21

Tickle the Sleeping Giant
A Dance Performance by Trajal Harrell
Dance Style
Martin E. Segal Theatre, 4PM and 8PM

April 1

Fresh Foremothers: Fiction Writers Then and Now
Skylight Room, 6:30-8:30 PM
Contemporary writers Susan Choi, Mary Gaitskill, Mary Gordon, Vivian Gornick, and Jhumpa Lahiri will discuss how female intellectuals of the 1950s have influenced their writing.

April 4

Lectures in the Department of Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures
Room 4116, 6:00 PM
"Colonial Languages in a Global World: The Case of Spanish" by Clare Mar-Molinero and "Spanish Language and Policies in New York City" by Ofelia Garcia
Lectures will be followed by a round table with the participation of Professors José del Valle and Ricardo Orteguay.

Free Reeds of Asia and Rare Chinese Instruments
A lecture with music for free-reed and other rare Chinese instruments.
Elebash Recital Hall: Lecture 3PM, Reception 4PM, Concert 7PM (\$10 students)