

Advocate

<http://web.gc.cuny.edu/advocate>

CUNY No RNC Organizes Large CUNY Contingent at UFPJ March



CUNY Kay

JAMES TRIMARCO

If one follows the argument that protesters should show their solidarity by dressing in uniform, then the GC-based group CUNY No RNC appears to be ahead of the game. The group culminated several months of organizing on Sunday, April 29 when it mobilized over 100 students and faculty from the Graduate Center to march together in the permitted United for Peace and Justice march against the Bush agenda in midtown Manhattan. The group had printed 75 t-shirts with the design shown below, which organizers handed out to contingent members for free. The cost of printing the shirts was covered by a cultural affairs grant from the Doctoral Students Council.

The group met sporadically throughout last spring to discuss strategies for bringing a strong CUNY group to the RNC protests. Those meetings were covered in

see *GC No RNC*, page 16

Life After Capitalism

RNC Stories Hot & Cold

Anti-Americanism Grows Among Iraqi Intellectuals

Did the Right Steal American Music?

Queer Events from Amsterdam to the Holy Land

Above: GC students for the abolition of the Republican regime; Below: the GC gets a much-needed makeover.

The Doctoral Students' Council Welcomes You

PAUL MCBREEN

The Doctoral Students Council (DSC) extends a hearty welcome to students new to the Graduate Center, and best wishes for a productive academic year to all. All academic programs except five have elected representatives to the DSC and our first plenary took place Friday, September 10.

The DSC is a body of students elected from each department which represents students at the Graduate Center and is responsible for allocating money collected through the student activities fee that you paid along with your tuition. This year is going to be an important one when it comes to political advocacy for CUNY students, so please read on to find out what the DSC can offer you this year.

Continuing Activities

We look forward to serving students at the Graduate Center in many ways this year. Our traditional activities include coffee hours, discounted movie tickets, and parties. The coffee hours are held in the DSC Social Lounge and feature free pastries and coffee all afternoon as well as a great opportunity to socialize and network with people outside of your department.

Discounted movie tickets are \$5.50 each, good for admission at Loews theaters only, and must be paid for by check. You can buy them in the DSC Steering Committee Office in Room 5495. The parties are, well . . . parties! . . . complete with a keg of beer, a DJ and all-night booty shaking.

Health Services at the GC Threatened

In addition to these usual services, we have on our plates a major undertaking: determining the future of health services at the Graduate Center. We have created a standing committee of the DSC (Chair: Ceila Braxton) with two subcommittees (Chairs: David Golland and Eric Doviak) who will be enlisting DSC reps to help collect data and research this problem.

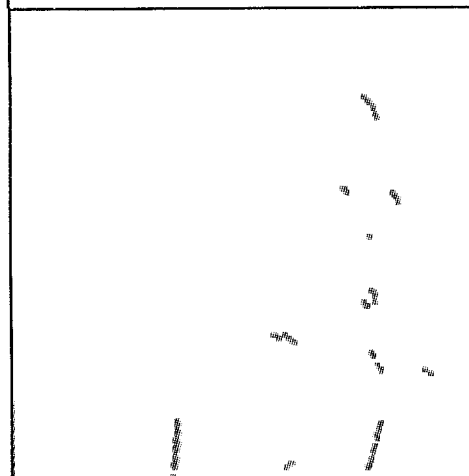
Health service at the GC is a thorny issue. Currently the DSC shares the cost of the salary of the nurse practitioner, Mary Clancy, with the administration's Office of Student Affairs. The DSC also subsidizes the costs of medical tests, thereby offering uninsured and under-insured students a viable option for basic health services. The current nurse is associated with Mt. Sinai, as was the Graduate Center as an institution through a bio-medical program for-

see *DSC Welcomes You*, page 15

Haggard Leaving

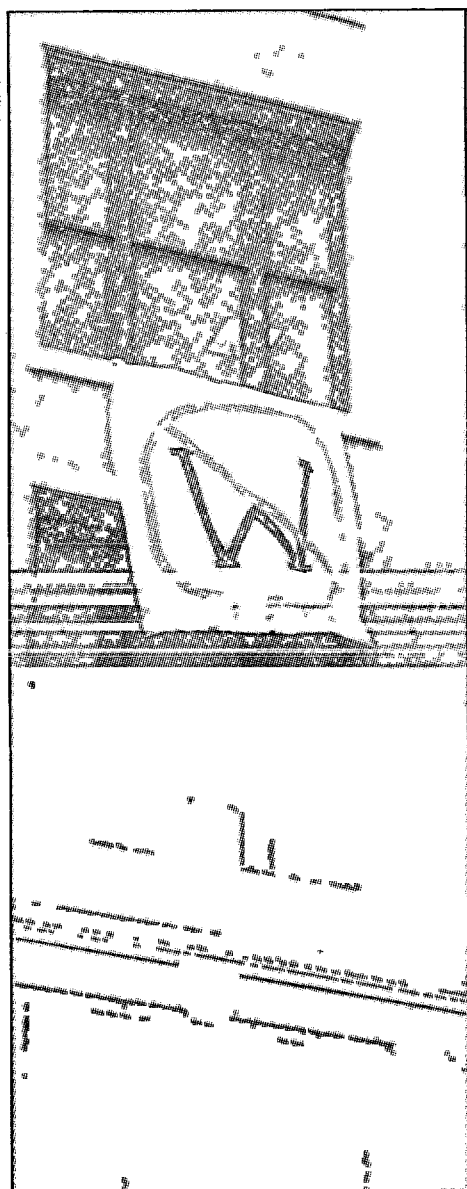
James Haggard, VP for Information Resources (IR) at the GC, has informed sources close to the *Advocate* that he will leave his position this year and transfer to CUNY headquarters at 80th St. Together with the resignation of President Frances Degen Horowitz, Haggard's departure will mark a significant turnover in high-level GC administration.

Many students saw Haggard as problematic because IR has often provided interrupted or irksome computer services. Two years ago the Doctoral Students Council launched a petition against IR in response to what they considered less than professional service. In response to student pressure service did improve, but some students continue to find IR the most troublesome sector of the school.



Above: James Haggard

Will Weikart



LAC Conference a Success Despite Pitfalls

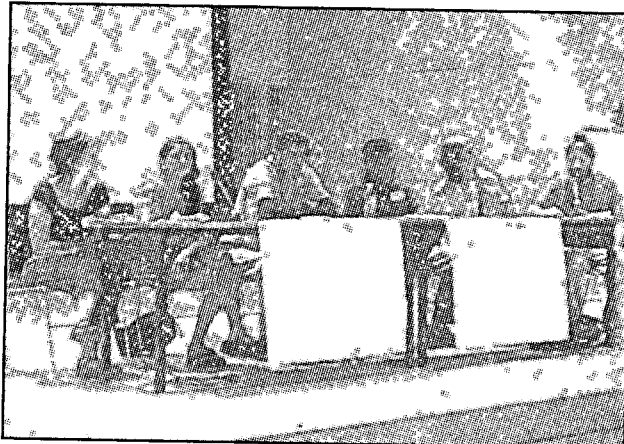
WILL WEIKART

The recent "Life After Capitalism" conference, held August 20-22 at Hunter College and the Graduate Center, was billed as "a space for activists—in the run up to the intense mobilization period of the RNC protests—to reflect on the importance of long term vision, strategy, and face-to-face relationship building." It was also intended "to bring together and give voice to the (non-sectarian) anti-capitalist left in the United States."

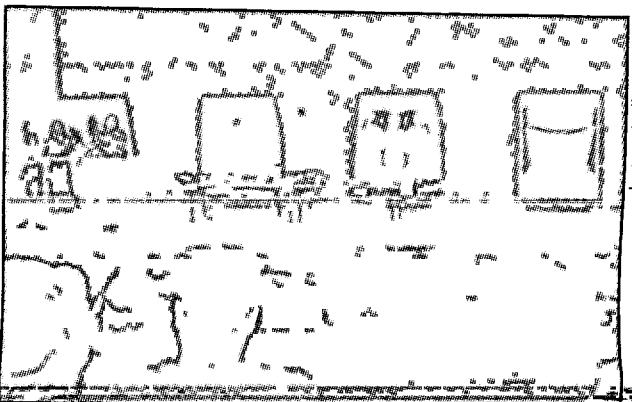
Panelists and attendees came from across the continental US and beyond. The opening night event at Hunter College, titled *Beyond Bush: An Evening of Visionary Resistance*, was held at the Great Hall and brought in an audience of about 1,300. The Saturday and Sunday events at the Graduate Center featured several concurrent panels and workshops each day, and attracted about 900 registered participants. Sessions were broken down into four themes: Analysis of Contemporary Capitalism; Perspectives on Power; Visions of Post-Capitalism; and Organizing Strategies.

Friday night's event was threatened with last-minute cancellation when Hunter College mandated that LAC obtain insurance protecting against three million dollars worth of damage and injury. This development came just after *The New York Post* ran an article critical of the event, alleging that the conference was a "war council" and insinuating that dangerous anarchists would be in attendance. The *Post* article contained several factual errors that could have easily been avoided by a cursory reading of the LAC website. Apparently it was this negative publicity—as well as various external political pressures—that prompted Hunter to require the optional insurance, which cost organizers several thousands of dollars in unexpected expenses.

To make difficult matters worse, \$2,000 in cash donations to the conference were stolen from an office at the



Above: The 'Reimagining the Labor Movement' panel (L to R) Kristin Warner, Saru Jayaraman, Gerardo Reyes, Lucas Benitez, Naomi Klein, Sonny Suchdev; Below: Tiokasin Ghost Horse's closing words.



Graduate Center soon after the closing events on Sunday. LAC organizers cite this and the insurance costs as major factors in the \$10,000 dollar debt that they now face. Planners had hoped that the conference would be self-sus-

taining, and so they had secured no outside contributions. Registration raised \$18,000, which failed to cover expenses totaling about \$28,000 and which largely came from the cost of renting the space and airline costs for panelists from Argentina, Canada and the US West Coast.

Several groups have also charged that the conference was plagued by censorship. The lobby area of the conference level at the GC was designated an area for merchandise and information tables from various collectives and publishers who were represented by conference panelists. Nonetheless, a handful of groups that had not registered tables showed up on Saturday and Sunday, and proceeded to set up tables for their literature. Security was notified, but the groups were ultimately allowed to stay. LAC organizers justified their attempted exclusion of the groups on the basis that sectarian and/or vanguardist groups were not ideologically aligned with the greater foci of the conference, i.e., anti-authoritarian groups/individuals and those with various novel campaigns and projects "on the ground." They also claimed that limitations of time and space necessitated some degree of content management. Detractors maintain that they were unfairly and hypocritically excluded, and the controversy has ignited a flurry of ongoing online debates.

The LAC organizing collective consists of a small group of anti-capitalist activists and thinkers in the NYC area. The conference was the product of over a year of planning.

Please check the website www.lifeaftercapitalism.org for more information on the content of the conference and for subsequent updates and documentation, as well as for ways you can donate.

Will Weikart is a GC student in Sociology and part of the LAC organizing collective.

Beginning of the Semester

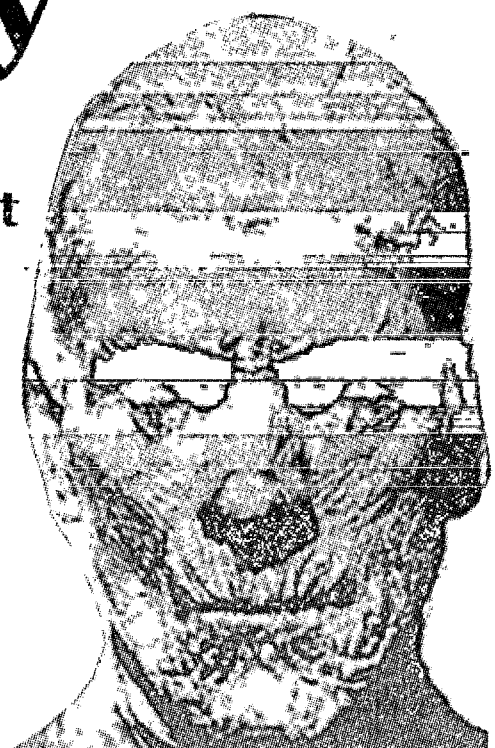


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Features

Part-Time Faculty Meet at Coalition of Contingent Academic Labor (COCAL) VI

DOMINIC WETZEL

More than 200 adjuncts—instructors, teaching assistants, graduate assistants and non-tenured faculty—from throughout North America, Canada, Mexico and the US convened in Chicago during the first weekend in August to address the direction and future of the part-time faculty movement.

Spirits were mixed. Many were buoyed by the achievement of NYU TAs, who recently secured themselves a contract that greatly increased their wages and benefits. Yet most were frustrated by reports of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which recently declared grad assistants and teaching assistants to be primarily “students” rather than “workers.” Voting along strict partisan lines, the panel reversed its former ruling, which had allowed NYU TAs to form a union. In other words, a panel of Republicans appointed by Bush nullified Brown University grad and teaching assistants’ attempts to form a union—threatening the part-time faculty union movement.

Little do most CUNY grad students know that our own little Doctoral Student Council helped to jump-start the part-time faculty movement. The DSC was crucial in initiating the Coalition of Contingent Academic Labor (COCAL), which then spread to regional alliances, which are particularly strong in California, the Pacific Northwest

and the Boston area. The biennial conference, which migrates around North America, has served as a meeting point and opportunity for strategy-building for contingent academic activists. It also supports Campus Equity Week, last held in October 2003, which highlights the plight of contingent academic labor by holding teach-ins, educational and political campaigns on campuses throughout North America.

COCAL’s conference, which shrugged off funding from major unions in order to preserve its autonomous nature, provided a remarkable opportunity in its workshops for networking. In one workshop, activists from California, Michigan, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Iowa, Illinois, New Jersey and New York discussed their own homegrown organizing strategies. They debated the benefits of unionizing versus joining the unions of full-time staff, as well as other dilemmas of organizing, but also traded success stories. For instance, at the University of Iowa, wages and benefits for graduate employees were the lowest in the Big 10. Since starting a union in 1996, Iowa is now at the top. At the University of Michigan, “grade strikes” over healthcare “takebacks” proved a very successful tactic. Another workshop discussed strategies of “coming out” as a contingent laborer.

It was particularly interesting to hear from Mexican contingent academic laborers about their exploitation, demonstrating how global the corporatization of the uni-

versity has become. Attendees also discussed the creation of linkages with other types of temporary workers, as many members of COCAL are also part of NAFPE (North American Alliance for Fair Employment), which advocates for the rights of all contingent workers. The conference ended with a raucous march to various colleges and universities in the Chicago area, which were handed report cards gauging the conditions of their contingent laborers (needless to say, if these institutions had parents, their asses would be red).

The conference provided the opportunity for adjuncts, TAs, and grad assistants from the New York-New Jersey area to meet and plan to form a regional COCAL network, which can then be used to support a diverse range of activist efforts at various universities and sites. A listserv has been set up for the NY/NJ regional COCAL for those interested in networking with other contingent academic labor activists and workers to better your conditions of work and pay (one can join the listserv by sending an email to dwetzel@gc.cuny.edu). For more information on COCAL IV and plans for COCAL VII in the Pacific Northwest in 2006, go to www.chicagococal.org.

Dominic Wetzel is a student in the PhD program in Sociology.

COCAL members do what comes naturally—protest (left); but also enjoy a visit to Emma Goldman’s grave (right).



Frank Brooks



Joan Grosse

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Thus Spoke George: A Brief History of Bush's Dualism

DAN SKINNER

Since George W. Bush's "Axis of Evil" speech on January 29, 2002, his polarizing politics have often been characterized in terms such as a "Manichean struggle with a single overarching enemy called terrorism" (*Washington Post*, April 19, 2002). Since September 11 the term "Manichean" has been bandied about carelessly in the media as though it were a mere synonym for "binary" or "polar" — suitable for use in describing any worldview comprised of forces of "Good" and "Evil." A closer look at the etymology of the term, however, reveals that we might have been better off had we elected an actually Manichean president.

The Manicheans were a syncretic religious sect led by Mani, a Buddhist-influenced ascetic born in Baghdad in the 3rd century AD. Like Bush, the Manicheans carved the spiritual world up into two categories—Good and Evil—but, as orthodox dualists, they believed that the forces of Good and Evil were not engaged in some continuous and messianic struggle, but rather that their contrasting presence was the very basis of the spiritual order. For the Manicheans, this dualism constituted the structure of the spiritual world that framed each individual's relationship with reality. Everyone, they believed, would benefit from identifying the presence of Evil within themselves and should endeavor a personal journey to allow Good to dominate. Evil could never be eradicated; it simply wouldn't make existential sense to think it could be.

Bush's public pronouncements of faith have somewhat successfully hidden from the public the reality of how unchristian his particular form of dualism is. The so-

called "Doctors" of Catholic theology—Augustine, Aquinas, and Anselm—rejected any such battle between Good and Evil and, in the case of Augustine, rejected the idea that Evil really existed as a concrete entity, for to admit this would be to admit that God creates Evil. Instead, the Doctors conceived of reality as a continuum, where sins take people away from the ideal, but where all human action is gauged in its relative position to "Good," with the sinful being simply less Good than those who live their lives closer to the word of God.

Ironically, if there is any theological tradition that Bush's politics embody it is that of another ancient Persian religion, Zoroastrianism—but with a twist. Unlike the Manicheans, Zoroastrian theology was eschatological, premised on the ultimate destruction of Evil, and the collapse of the quasi-dualistic system of Good and Evil that defined its primitive stages. The forces that Zoroaster thought comprised the world were conflicted poles that had not yet reached their point of rest with the triumph of Good. The final state, characterized by a monolith of Good, would rid the world of spiritual weakness and impurity caused by Evil forces. But for the Zoroastrians, and unlike Bush, the triumphant party in this struggle was the entire spiritual world, who benefited from a real and non-discriminatory peace. The Zoroastrian quest was spiritual, which eliminated force or violence as options for obtaining peace.

It should be noted that Zoroaster was the same man that Friedrich Nietzsche called Zarathustra, from whose ontology Nietzsche challenged enlightenment conceptions of progress, shunned democracy and surmised that the weak were albatrosses around society's neck. Nietzsche took the peaceful and hopeful philosophy of Zoroastrianism and stripped it of its optimism, leaving behind not the triumph of Good over Evil, but conflict itself. The one who would triumph in Nietzsche's dualistic struggle was the "overman," a superior human who, emancipated from the shackles of morality, embraced struggle as the highest articulation of human existence. For Nietzsche, conflict was a desirable end in and of itself.

This brief theological excursion is only politically relevant today because modern politicians such as George W. Bush have made it so. In drawing upon a dualistic political framework ("Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists"), Bush has positioned himself as the arbiter of good versus evil, a struggle which has come to define the public face of his foreign policy.

The major problem with this mode of thinking is that, aside from Bush's role as ontological authority, his rigid dualistic politics forces yet another logical distinction: friends and enemies. In Bush's Zoroastrian world, life is defined not by positive categories that envision a better world, but by a preoccupation with

destruction of the Other. Who we are as Americans—at least in W's America—is determined by who we are not. Once we determine who we are not, then the task at hand becomes to destroy who we are not. The paradox inherent in this formulation is even scarier than it might first appear, for this ontological system is incapable of envisioning a world without enemies and is dangerously close to the ideas suggested by the title of Chris Hedges's recent book: *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*. In military parlance, an "exit strategy" from this battle would result in a loss of our own identity. Therefore, there can be no such exit strategy.

The student of politics will also recognize the more stark historical manifestation of Bush's ontology. It was the patron philosopher of the Nazi party, Carl Schmitt, who suggested that the state has one essential function: distinguishing friends from enemies. This friend-enemy distinction has two classifying functions: friends make up the members of the national body (based on a number of possible criteria for inclusion and exclusion—race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religious and political beliefs) while enemies are targeted for destruction in an effort to rid the state of the inconvenient schisms caused by a pluralistic society. It was this pluralism that Schmitt blamed for the weakening of the German state in the 1930s.

In today's political climate the question is often asked, when or how does this end? The honest observer would be forced to acknowledge that an end is unattainable so long as dualisms remain the ontological building blocks of our political understanding. The Cold War dualism that shaped his father's worldview has been replaced by new categories, but their fundamental effects are the same. Should the "war on terrorism" somehow end, or at least be rendered insignificant, a new opponent will need to be created, lest America lose a sense of identity in a world of shared values. There needs to be something to be destroyed when the Messiah returns, or else we will have to acknowledge that there really is no urgent need for such a return.

Manicheans—those great dualists who gave the Catholic theologians such a hard time—at least had the vision necessary to find non-destructive meaning in their distinction between Good and Evil. The permanence of these forces allowed individuals to reconcile themselves with the spiritual world as they found it, and not attempt to do violence to what they saw as the very structure of the world, the opposing forces that "give life meaning." Bush seems willing to put his chips on the triumph of Good over Evil, even at the cost of antagonizing these forces to the point where life during wartime becomes unbearable for those who actually have to put their lives at risk. Meanwhile, we spectators of a purportedly democratic society can only wait for the grand struggle to reach completion. In this sense Bush's "Freudian slip" in calling the post-9/11 US mission a "crusade" was a necessary extension of his particular dualistic world view. There is really no alternative in this battle; Good must confront Evil and to "smoke it out of its cave." The battle, in fact, must be forced. Good says to Evil: "Bring it on."

Underlying all of this is the question that might follow the construction of any dualism: Did Bush get the categories right? Is he sure who is Good and who is Evil? If not, he is energizing a high-stakes dualistic game based on false distinctions. Of course, those with cooler heads know that the world is too complex and too diverse for such frigid black and white distinctions. But the political reality is that Bush has already made the first move in a risky game that, if not stopped, will yield unpredictable results. Bush, whether a perverted Protestant or a Zoroastrian-in-disguise, has manufactured a world order out of an ontology intended to help us come to terms with and exalt our own place in the world/spiritual order.

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Anti-American Sentiment Strong Amongst Iraqi Intellectuals

JAE MYUNG KIM

How do Iraqi intellectuals view the situation in their country? What are their opinions toward the US policies that dominate the post-Hussein regime? Are they optimistic about their future? During my two-week stay in Iraq this summer, I investigated these questions. How did Iraqi intellectuals view the "transfer of power"? What do they think about the US, the world power which now controls the fate of their nation?

I found anti-Americanism among Iraqi intellectuals to be more serious than I had expected. Most Iraqi intellectuals I spoke with, which included editorial writers, professors, Islamic priests and artists, revealed strong anti-American sentiment. The general view is that the transfer of power has many limitations, and many believe that Iraq has been forced into a subordinate relationship with the U.S. Even the moderate intellectuals did not hesitate to criticize American policy toward Iraq.

As is well known, one of main causes of continual anti-Americanism was the Abu Ghraib scandal. I failed to meet a single intellectual who believed that in order to root out the current insurgency, Americans should get information by any means necessary including by torture. Kassim Al Sefti, an Iraqi painter who joined a street performance for the victims of Abu Ghraib scandal, accused Americans of hurting those Iraqis who hold conservative views on sexuality. He argued, "Those American guys in the Abu Ghraib prison hurt our Islamic pride."

I found two exceptions to this critical perspective in Iraqi banker and politician Ahmed Chalabi and Kurdish politician Faraj Al-Haydari. Chalabi, once the favorite son of the Pentagon and the Washington hawks, still showed his pro-American slant in our interview held at his China House at the Mansur area in Baghdad. "Although there have been some misunderstandings between me and Washington," he said, "I hope our relationship will improve." Chalabi argued that "all allegations against me, including misleading the US in relation to Iraqi WMDs, are stupid."

Al-Haydari, who is deputy chairman of the Baghdad branch of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) argued that "American presence in Iraq will be very helpful for the reconstruction of post-Hussein Iraq. In Iraq, it is generally accepted that Kurds are pro-American because they have enjoyed political autonomy and economic prosperity since the end of the first Gulf War in 1991.

Spokesman for Al-Sadr: "We taught the US lessons"

Islamic priest Ahmed Al-Shibany, a spokesman for Moktada Al-Sadr, whom I interviewed in Najaf, showed his disappointment saying, "Last year, we Iraqis had hopes after hearing some promises made by the United States. Therefore we welcomed the American invaders. As time went on, those promises proved false. It became clear that they came here to exploit our natural resources, and simultaneously, to work for the Jewish interests. Despite some sacrifices, the current strife initiated by our Mahdi Army is a holy resistance against American invaders. By this strife, we are sure that we taught them some lessons. What kind of lesson? The US cannot despise Iraqi pride and its potential to be a great country which has much longer cultural tradition than the US."

The *Azzaman Daily News* (ADN) is an independent, influential media outlet critical of the US occupation. Mussana Al Tibakchli, an editor of the ADN, did not hide his disappointment in the US occupation: "When Americans first came to Baghdad, I and my co-workers even had coffee with them. But now we don't meet them any more because it is clear that they came here to occupy, not to liberate." Adul Al-Qassab, Secretary General of Azzaman Center for Strategic Studies, an affiliated institution of ADN, pointed to the US-Israeli alliance, noting that "the historical bond between the US and Israel became stronger under the Bush administration, and American invasion to Iraq was due to their hegemonic

conspiracy on the pretext of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), which are in reality non-existent."

Doubting the Pro-American Interim Government

Iraqi intellectuals hold a complex view of the interim government. On the one hand, they welcome the fact that power was transferred from the US occupational force. On the other, they point out that most of the cabinet was filled with pro-Americans who do not properly represent Iraqis—although the US excluded prominent pro-American Ahmed Chalabi who allegedly gave false information to "justify" the war. Many Iraqi intellectuals view the interim government as highly limited.

Professor Emad Al Salem, who teaches political economy in the al-Nahreini University in Baghdad, said that "the problem is how much freedom will be given to the interim government by the American advisory board members or consultants positioned in every governmental department." It is possible that major political decision will be made by the advisory board members, and not by the Iraqi Ministers. Currently, about 200 US advisory board members are positioned in the 26 departments of the Iraqi government (including the Department of Oil). It is not widely known that Paul Bremer, former chief officer of the occupational government, issued major administrative orders and made personnel shifts just before leaving Baghdad on June 28. Such actions will likely to restrict the new interim government led by Ayad Allawi, as well as the official government that is to be formed by popular election next year. For example, Bremer appointed the inspectors-general for the 26 departments and legally guaranteed them five year terms. As might be expected, they are all sympathetic to American interests and positions. The "Commission to Regulation Communications and Public Broadcasting" was also filled by Bremer's people.

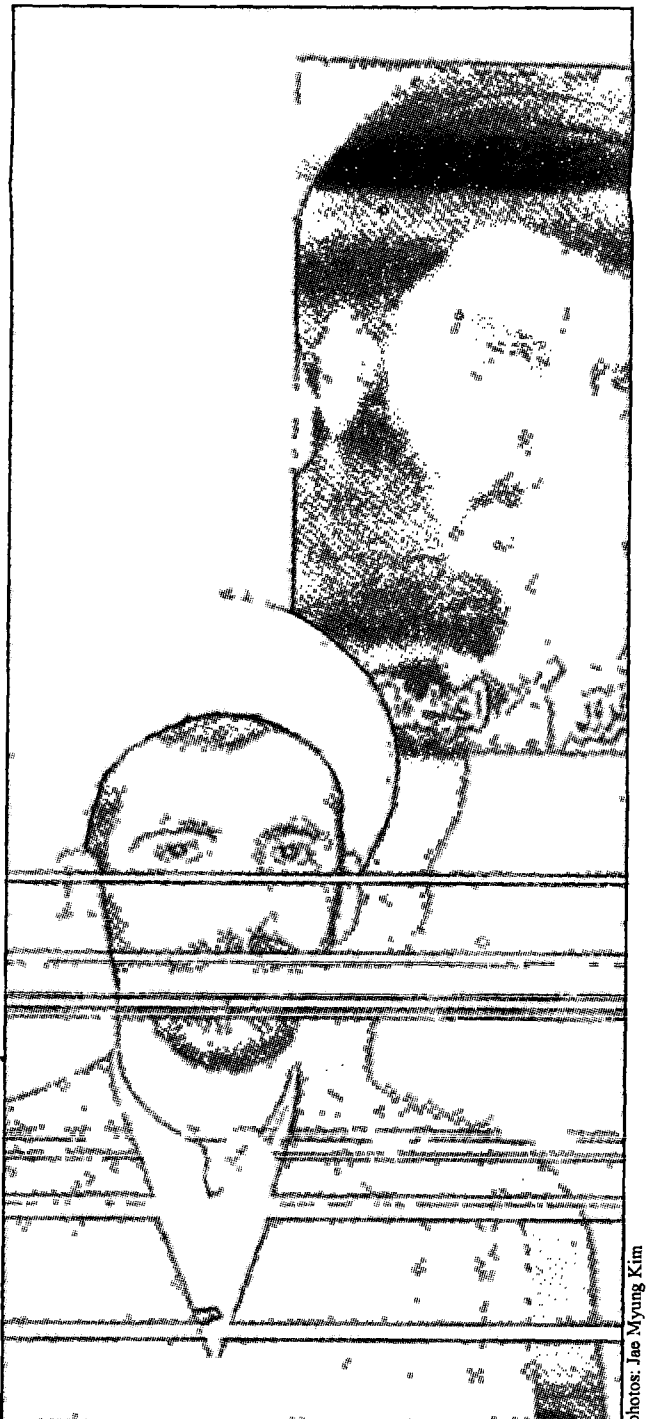
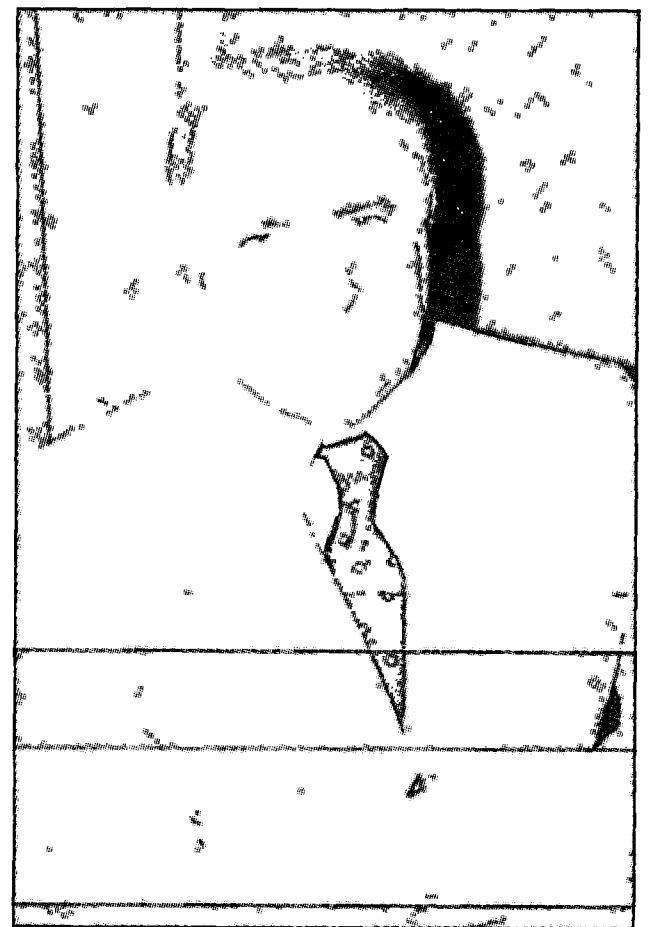
Skeptical on Oil Sovereignty

Many Iraqi intellectuals predict that the US embassy will be powerful. The US embassy in Baghdad has 1,000 American employees and 700 Iraqi assistants—making it the largest US embassy in the world. Hassan Ali Sabti of Baghdad University's Department of History is skeptical about current US ambassador John Negroponte. "Negroponte will likely be the real Prime Minister, or 'American Governor' following Bremer," he said. According to Ali Sabti, "the power transfer is deceiving. For example, the US army has extraterritoriality. Even if they commit felonies such as rape and murder, they won't go to the Iraqi court."

Of all the aspects of the US presence, however, Iraqi intellectuals doubt oil sovereignty the most. They did not believe that the interim government would protect their oil sovereignty so that they could rebuild the nation. Professor Hamid Sihav Ahmed of Baghdad University's Department of International Studies warned a possibility of US oil companies obtaining profits through the use of secret dual contracts.

Finally, some Iraqis still dream of restoring the Hussein regime. Suhel Fatlawi, the former Dean of Baghdad University's law school, who was evicted from the university because he was a high official in the Baath party, has reason enough to hate the US. He openly expressed his dream of a Second Revolution initiated by the current insurgency. However, the majority does not seem to look forward to a restoration of the Hussein regime. They see it only as the fallen *ancien regime*. Despite widespread anti-Americanism and subsequent suspicion against American dominance over Iraq, most intellectuals look forward to the post-Hussein era.

Jae M. Kim is a student in the PhD program in Political Science.



photos: Jae Myung Kim

Above: Ahmed Chalabi, once the favorite of the neocons to lead Iraq.
Below: Ahmed Al-Shibany, former US supporter who now works for Moktada Al-Sadr.

NYPD Targets Cyclists During RNC

ANONYMOUS

A few days before the Friday, August 27 Critical Mass bike ride, the NYPD issued a letter to a representative from Transportation Alternatives, a bicycle advocacy group here in the city. The letter warned that cyclists' routine breaking of traffic laws during the monthly ride would not be tolerated during the RNC, and requested that members of Transportation Alternatives essentially help police restrain other riders. The letter functioned as a familiar attempt by authorities to divide "good" activists over and against "bad" activists. The NYPD's language falsely assumed that Critical Mass is an organization, when in fact it is a semi-spontaneous phenomenon with (usually) no leaders or pre-planned routes.

Critical Mass rides take place on the last Friday of every month in hundreds of cities around the world. Cyclists typically take over some traffic lanes, disregard red lights and engage in "traffic calming." It is meant as a reminder of the need for clean, non-combustion transport and for the rights of its practitioners. Critical Mass is ultimately a peaceful statement against the hegemonic and environmentally destructive culture of cars.

The "RNC Ride" was perhaps the largest Critical Mass ever in New York City, as an estimated 6,000 took the streets on bikes or blades and departed from the usual meeting site at north Union Square. As anticipated by the NYPD, the mass was larger than its NYC average (1,000-2,000) due to out-of-towners visiting for the anti-RNC protests. The mood was festive in the extreme as many donned costumes and sounded noise-makers. Bystanders on the sidewalks were overwhelmingly receptive and supportive, clapping, wooing, and joining in on anti-Bush chants when not actually initiating them themselves.

The ride covered territory throughout midtown and downtown, this time not leaving Manhattan. Despite some police presence on the sidelines, everything was fine until the end of the ride. By this time (around 9:30pm), the mass had been split by police into two separate masses: one apparently smaller segment still moving around in midtown; and the other, larger segment attempting to enter St. Mark's Church on 2nd and 10th for an after-party. This larger segment formed a largely immobile glut that was stuck in the streets along 2nd Avenue and which took up approximately three blocks or more. As riders locked up and slowly trickled into St. Mark's, police lines began to approach from the rear—and then all—sides.

Alarmed riders yelled for everyone to lock up their

bikes and get on the sidewalk. Many did so, some casually and nonchalantly—lucky for them, because soon police on foot and scooters and with batons would fill the intersection and others adjacent. What ensued was a chaotic and tense standoff (riders—surrounded by police—surrounded by riders and bystanders) that lasted hours as police arbitrarily arrested riders and confiscated bikes. Some locked bikes in the vicinity were cut loose by cops



and confiscated. The smaller contingent that had split off in midtown suffered a similar fate. Approximately 350 riders in total were arrested and taken into temporary custody. Those arrested faced violation charges including disorderly conduct, parading without a permit and failure to stop at a red light.

On Sunday, August 29, activists put out a call for a bike bloc in support of the large, permitted United for Peace and Justice march. Bike blocs are contingents of cyclists that assemble to join or support larger marches. About 150 cyclists assembled around 11am in a small triangle adja-

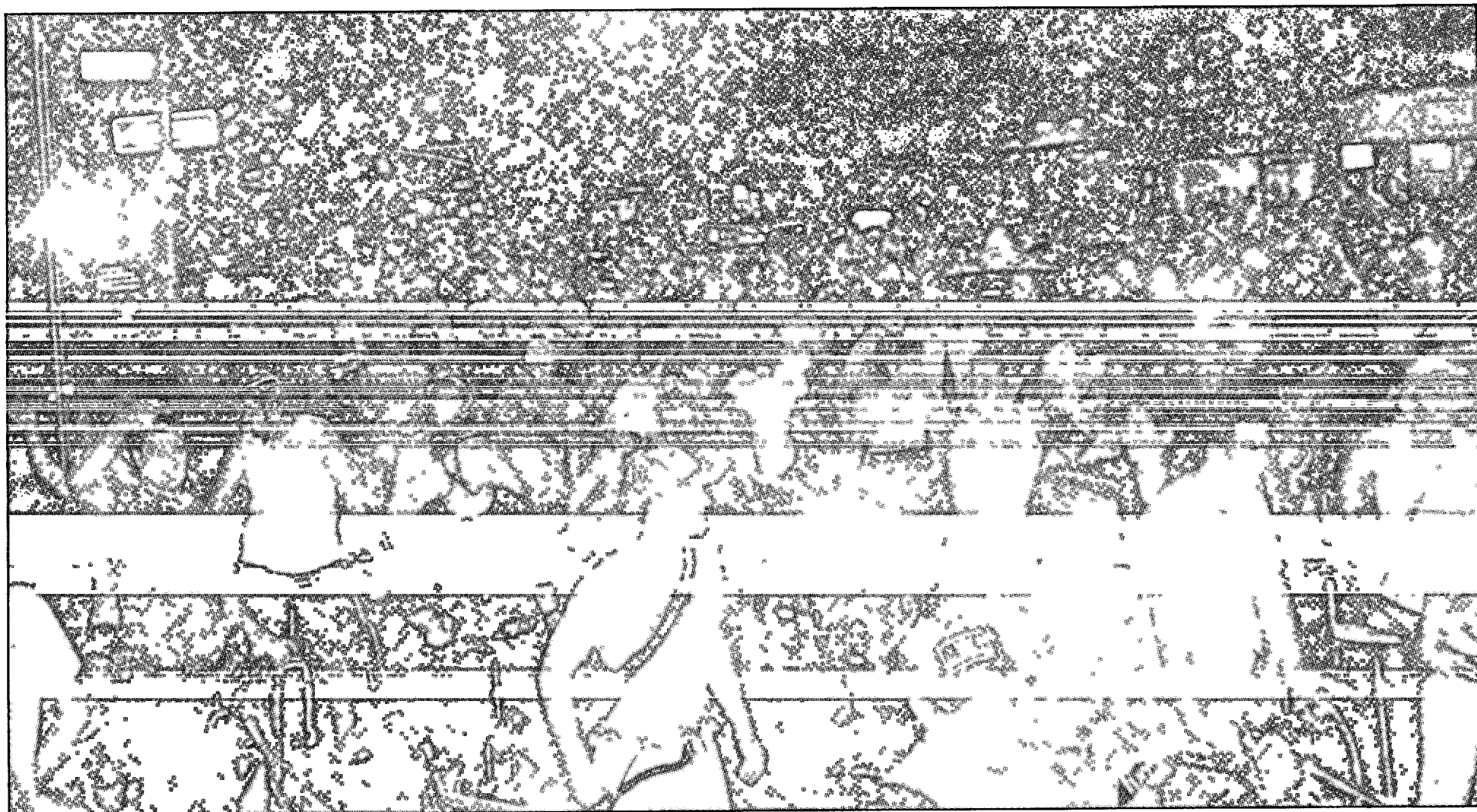
cent to Union Square. The riders departed some time between 11:30 and 12, and again, people on the sidewalks were overwhelmingly supportive and cheered them on from the start. At some point in midtown, a group of apparent undercover police in plainclothes arrived at the rear of the bloc on motor scooters and drove wildly towards its front, weaving dangerously between bikes, and hitting or brushing some cyclists. Once at the front, the plainclothes officers attempted to form blockades on their scooters across intersections at red lights. Riders confusedly but obediently waited at the blockades until lights turned green, at which point the cops still did not move themselves, prompting riders to ride around them. Inquiries by riders ("What are you doing? Why are you doing this?") were met with sarcastic answers or no answers at all. The police never identified themselves as police or gave riders any directives.

This blockade scenario happened a few times until finally, at 7th and 37th, the scooter police were supplemented by a gaggle of uniformed officers on foot who charged at the bloc, knocking several riders off their bikes, and boxing it in with orange mesh fences. Some uninvolved bystanders were arrested and at least one biker was injured as police knocked him off his bike, breaking his arm. Approximately 80 cyclists were arrested *en masse* here and were in custody for anywhere from 20 to 30 hours or more, at first in the now infamous Pier 57 ("Lil' Guantanamo") and then at Central Booking at 100 Center Street. Riders faced charges including all of the aforementioned violations but also misdemeanors such as obstruction of governmental administration and reckless endangerment.

Bike bloc participants were to later find out, much to their consternation, that the NYPD had (perhaps illegally) declared a "bike frozen zone" on Sunday August 29th from 34th to 59th St, west of 6th Avenue.

There were approximately 400 bike arrests total on the weekend before and during the RNC. Many arrested are still unable to retrieve their bicycles, which are being held as evidence at a warehouse in a remote section of Greenpoint, Brooklyn.

This article was submitted by a GC student who was also a participant in both bike events. She was arrested in the bike bloc action. This article was accepted anonymously because the writer is currently involved in legal actions against the City.



Coverage of the Protests

An Interview With Leslie Cagan, National Coordinator of United for Peace and Justice

CONDUCTED BY ANDREW KENNIS AND BENJAMIN DANGL

Leslie Cagan has been one of New York City's most hard-working activists for decades, and she is currently the national coordinator of the anti-war coalition United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ). The coalition was the lead organization behind the August 29 march against the Bush administration that drew up to a half a million people. It also organized the largest demonstration in the country during worldwide protests against Bush's plans to invade Iraq on February 15, 2003.

Cagan has been organizing mass rallies in New York City for generations. Back in 1982, she helped to organize a major anti-nuclear weapons rally in Central Park that 500,000 people attended. Presently, Cagan serves on the national board for the nation's most progressive radio network, Pacifica.

During the interview, Cagan was critical of Senator Kerry's pro-war stance, but nevertheless admitted that the movement would probably slow down and give pause to see how Kerry's policies would turn out were he to be elected President. Conversely, she said that the movement would *not* slow down if Bush were elected. The contrasting plans of this influential lead organizer of the most important anti-war coalition in the country seemingly contradicted her criticism that neither candidate was taking an anti-war stance.

The interview was conducted August 30, when we caught up with Cagan at an un-permitted rally and march organized by the Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign.

BD: What are your thoughts on yesterday's protest?

LC: We're all thrilled by it. It was an outpouring of people to say no to the Bush agenda. People came from every neighborhood in the city; people came from cities and towns all around the country. Our estimate was at least 500,000 people marched past Madison Square Garden delivering their messages. Obviously the Iraqi war and occupation was a major issue, but many other issues came out yesterday, as we wanted them to. And through that all, the one clear and strong message came through: say no to the Bush agenda.

BD: Were there any problems with the police once it got started?

LC: Yesterday, I must say the police handled themselves very well. And I hope that's true for the rest of the week from here on out. But my experience and the reports we got from different people was that the police actually behaved very well.

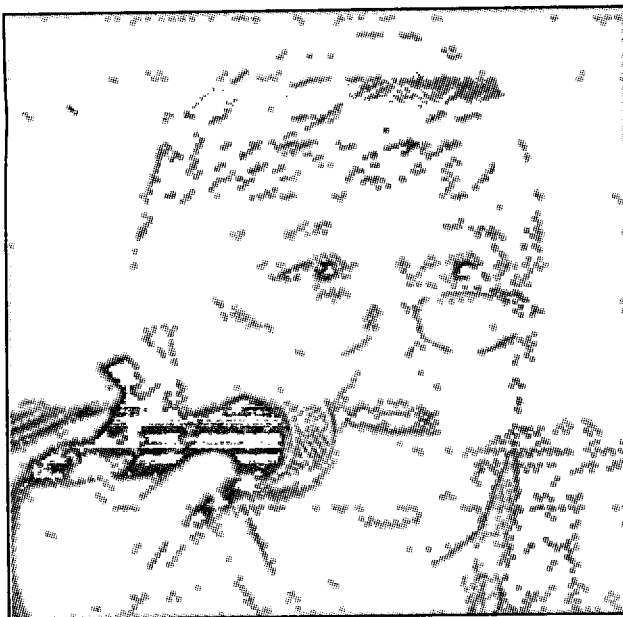
AK: What do you think about the Poor People's Economic March? They are undertaking civil disobedience, something that your coalition decided not to do during Sunday's march and not to protest the decision on central park.

LC: Well we certainly did protest the decision around Central Park; we worked very hard on that issue. We decided not to do that yesterday. We support civil disobedience, there is a long and honored history in this country of civil disobedience, obviously Martin Luther King Jr. and the movement he led is obviously the strongest example that everybody knows. But many movements have used civil disobedience as a legitimate tactic and it's still

a legitimate tactic just as permitted marches or rallies are legitimate tactics. I think the issues with organizers are, what tactics are going to work for the message you are trying to deliver, are the people you are bringing ready to engage in that tactic? There are tactical considerations that go into deciding which vehicle you are going to use for your particular protest. But there is nothing inherently better or worse about any given tactic.

BD: Do you want to comment at all on the fight to get the permit in Central Park, what you guys went through?

LC: Well, it was a fight. And the fight for central park is not over. Certainly the people in New York are going to keep fighting for that. What came out in this struggle was a much clearer insight into what's going on—and that is the privately run and managed central park conservancy seems to be setting policy for the park. You know, it is supposedly run by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, but there are private policies put into place by the conservancy. These policies are not on the website of the parks department, they are not in the regulations. So you want to play by the rules, but we don't even know what the rules are.



L.C. is in the 'haus!

AK: Had the parks department had the final call on that do you think they would have been supportive of you?

LC: I don't know. I do believe that if it was up to the police department we would have ended up in Central Park; there aren't any vast open spaces in Manhattan outside of Central Park. It is the most logical thing to do. So I don't know what the Parks Department on its own, without the conservancy would have done, or wanted to do, but they would have given in, I think, to the police. I have no proof of this, I can't say for sure, but my hunch is that behind the scenes, the police were saying give them the park. And the mayor, the mayor used to give a tremendous amount of his own money to the conservancy. That's his cause, that's his space. So the mayor had an interest in it too and again certainly complicated by the fact that a Republican mayor is hosting a Republican convention in a town that is not historically Republican.

BD: As far as keeping the momentum going do you see the momentum after Kerry wins—he is not necessarily an anti-war president—do you see the same kind of momen-

tum going after he is elected or do you see it dwindling?

LC: I think probably right after the election, there could very well be either because Bush or Kerry wins, a little bit of falling off. If Bush wins people could feel demoralized, if Kerry wins some people will think our work is over. But I think very quickly people will regroup and realize certainly that if Bush wins our movement has to keep going. But also if Kerry wins I think people will realize that we have to keep pushing him, we would like to not have to organize a demonstration saying we say no to the Kerry agenda, but if we have to in a year or two or what-ever down the road, if we need to organize that kind of demonstration we will. The point is we are a movement about the issues, and if the issues aren't being resolved by one president or another one, we are going to be out there. This movement is alive, it's strong, it's dynamic, it's creative and it's not going away.

AK: Do you have a sense that after a year or two things might really change under Kerry; seems like you expect that they won't...

LC: I clearly think there is a difference between Bush and Kerry on quite a number of issues, especially on quite a number of social issues here in this country. On the war, Kerry has not been good, so we have to push him. My feeling, personally—I am not speaking for the coalition now because we don't have a position on this—is that we need to get rid of Bush, that's the first thing we need to do, we just need to take him out and his whole crowd of criminals. The crimes are not only committed in Iraq, they are committed every day in this country when people go homeless, and people go hungry and people don't have health care, those are crimes against humanity. So we need to get rid of that whole bunch, and then we need to put the pressure on the new bunch that comes in. Kerry is not automatically all of a sudden going to be an anti-war president; we have to push him to that.

AK: Do you think there is a little more danger that Kerry might have, in a kind of ironic twist, more cushion because of the support he has from the anti-war crowd and maybe in a weird turn of events—that could prolong the occupation?

LC: I don't have a crystal ball. I guess that could happen, but I just think that what yesterday showed again, is that how deep and widespread the anti-war sentiment is. And I don't think that sentiment goes away overnight. People know that this war was based on a pack of lies. People know, better information isn't going to beat that out of people's heads. Our job of course as organizers is to help keep that momentum going. You know we call it a movement for a reason, it has its ebbs and flows, sometimes it was stronger sometimes it was weaker, we move in and out. So there may be a time when it looks like we are a little weaker. But I think we are not going away. The other thing is that when you get a big mobilization, you see the strength of the movement, but the work of this movement goes on every single day. People are having educational forums, people are having vigils, people are lobbying their elected officials, people are writing letters to the editor, people are organizing shipments of humanitarian aid to Iraq or whatever. People keep on doing all kinds of things every single day and it doesn't always make it into the news. That's what the heart and soul of the movement is and that's not going to go away. We now have in UFPJ

Can't on next page

Against the Republicans

The Merits and Limitations of Peaceful Protest

GERASIMOS KARAVITIS

The recent RNC related demonstrations invite us to revisit the question of whether it is strategically preferable for the political Left in the United States to continue staging entirely peaceful protests.

Obviously, the merits of the peaceful mode of protest are many, too many to list in an article of this size. Nonetheless, three stand out from a purely tactical perspective. First, a peaceful protest is likely to draw a greater number of people than its violent counterpart would, since the likelihood of sustaining a physical injury while participating in it is relatively low. On the one hand, the potential for gathering a larger crowd means that a greater number of people can be politically socialized while attending the protest. And while it is true that the people who attend the Left's protests have—more often than not—already been socialized to support its political agenda, their participation in a protest makes them aware of the fact that they are not alone, and thus deepens and strengthens their convictions.

On the other hand, the potential to draw a larger crowd can translate into outcomes easily interpreted as political victories. Consider the following. If the number of people marching in the August 29 protest had been twice as large as what it actually was, then the official decree that prohibited the protesters from entering Central Park *en masse* after the march, and the police barricades that constrained the march within a predetermined course would be *de facto* nullified: the number of people at the protest would simply be too great for the police to enforce the aforementioned constraints at a low political cost to the city's authorities.

Secondly, though peaceful protest is not the morally superior mode of protest by definition, it is represented as such in American public discourse, and, presumably, perceived as such by most Americans. Morality is a word that the careful observer of life looks upon with vigorous suspicion, because what is moral is—more often than not—difficult to determine. However, despite its theoretical elusiveness, morality's political use is an undeniable fact: representations of good and evil are carefully considered by all political factions, because all political factions recognize that by associating themselves with the most commonly espoused representations of good, and by disassociating themselves from the most commonly espoused representations of evil they increase their capacity to recruit new supporters and consolidating the convictions of their existing ones. When the Left employs the peaceful mode of protest, it invests itself wisely in the conquest of moral terrain.

Thirdly, a peaceful protest permits for the bottom-up socialization of the police officer by the protesting masses. Many activists view the police officer as an automaton, a robotic organ of a headless system, a being incapable of receiving messages from anyone other than his or her

superiors in the institution he or she serves. This perception is not totally groundless. It reflects the type of subject that the figures with decisionmaking authority in policing institutions wish to construct, and often succeed in constructing, as the continuum of inhumane acts perpetrated by police officers suffices to show. However, the figure of

as this status quo helps people like the President and his wanton entourage to kill, steal, and lie with impunity, we fell prey to an important contradiction, as we failed to confront what is perhaps the most significant set of forces behind the unjust political outcomes we profess to oppose. I do not wish to imply here that the Left could deal these



CUNY Kay

After weeks of fear-mongering by the local press, one of the only instances of "violence" at the anti-RNC demos was the burning of a paper maché dragon.

the sadistic robo-cop is generalized at the risk of facilitating the production of sadistic robo-cops. The fact of the matter is that humane police officers who look beyond the strictures of their institutions and follow their own understanding do exist, and it is of central importance to the Left that these individuals are not alienated. Such alienation is likely to be effected, if individuals of this type are subjected to acts of violence during political protests, or if they come to feel that the uniform they wear is desecrated.

In addition to its merits, the peaceful mode of protest has some serious limitations. First, it does not directly question structures of political authority, or the institutions which underlie configurations of power in a society. Those of us who marched in the spaces designated by the city authorities gave our tacit consent to the status quo relation between state and society in this country. In so far

forces a blow through any repertoire of vandalism or violence, but only to illuminate the fact that it cannot do so through peaceful protest.

Secondly, contrary to what recent appearances of the movement might suggest, the marches staged in the past few years have not yet amounted to the formation of a counterhegemonic block. I sense that an effort is being made to transform the Left's variegated mass into a more coherent and empowered whole, but no counterhegemonic block worthy of the name can be said to exist in the US today. The existence of a counterhegemonic block requires the existence of a unitary political imaginary among the overwhelming majority of critical factions, a unity which in turn requires the existence of a discourse that is extensive and penetrating enough to confront the hegemonic discourse which hypostatizes—albeit in different forms and degrees—both the Republican and the Democratic party's political agendas. We can begin to speak of the formation of a counterhegemonic block only when we begin to see the multitudes of protesters acting as a united front, and not as a large set of units, seemingly united, but actually fragmented in the face of a status quo that is protected by both of the major parties.

Finally, there is an ecological issue with regard to the peaceful protest, one that is not often discussed. Looking at the photos shown by the large New York newspapers, I was both impressed by the sight of the recent protests and disturbed by how much paper we wasted in the construction of signs—most of which were simply discarded on the streets after the protest. As ecologically conscious members of society we should condemn the waste that results during our protests, and seek to minimize it. Of

Cagan interview (con't)

almost 900 groups; we have done virtually no outreach, no outreach encouraging people to join our coalition. People have found us and said, we're a group in Atlanta, or we're a group in Bangor, Maine or whatever, we want to be a part of a national movement, can we join the coalition? That's phenomenal.

BD: Do you think a lot of the people that were at the march yesterday will go home now and be motivated to do more? Do you think they will keep on working beyond the march?

LC: The energy, the spirit and commitment of yesterday —

people are going to take that home with them. People are going to go back into their neighborhoods, back to their workplaces, their schools, their religious centers, wherever, and they are going to keep doing that organizing. One of the most important things is on any demonstration you want to send a clear message. That happened. The second thing you want to do is re-energize and keep the movement going. And I think that has happened not only yesterday but through this week of activities.

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

see *Peaceful Protest*, page 16

September 2004

Advocate page 9

How the Right Stole American Music or, A Political Manifesto for Musicians

DAN SKINNER

On April 9, 1999, day 17 of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, over 3,000 Serbs in Belgrade held a rock concert and guzzled beer on one of the city's main thoroughfares—the Brankov Bridge—every day and night for eleven continuous weeks while bombs fell around them. Despite the Pentagon's warning, reported by the BBC, that "such action by volunteers would not protect targets from NATO action," at the end of the campaign, the Brankov was still spanning the Danube.

The relationship between war and music has always been particularly intimate; war is emotionally charged in much the same way as great music is. It is reported that a French general once said, "Give me a thousand men and the *Marseillaise* [the French national anthem] and I will guarantee victory." And it was Beethoven, ever on the margins, who famously ripped up the dedicatory page to his *Eroica Symphony*, written originally in honor of Napoleon, when, in 1804, Napoleon declared himself Emperor, which Beethoven recognized as a complete betrayal of the spirit of the French Revolution. Beethoven's action illustrates an essential theme in the relationship between music and politics, underscoring the dangers of unquestioning nationalistic music: the same song that mobilizes a nation to seek and defend legitimate ideals such as *liberté, fraternité* and *égalité* can be used to mobilize a nation behind an illegitimate offensive that subverts the purported values of a nation. The same songs that arouse national sentiment, say, to go to Kabul, can also help generate the hubris needed to march into Baghdad.

The current American political predicament provides us with an important opportunity to consider the historical responsibility that musicians—and artists in general—have during times of war. Everybody knows about the important synergy created in the 1960s, when artists like Bob Dylan and Janis Joplin gave words and melodies to what was going on politically, bringing tens of thousands into the political fold. Similarly, Motown and funk gave musical backbone to the civil rights movement, providing a soundtrack for action to emancipatory groups like the Black Panthers, while spirituals and gospel did the same for Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Council. Certainly, Weathermen without Bob Dylan are as inconceivable as Communists without the "Internationale."

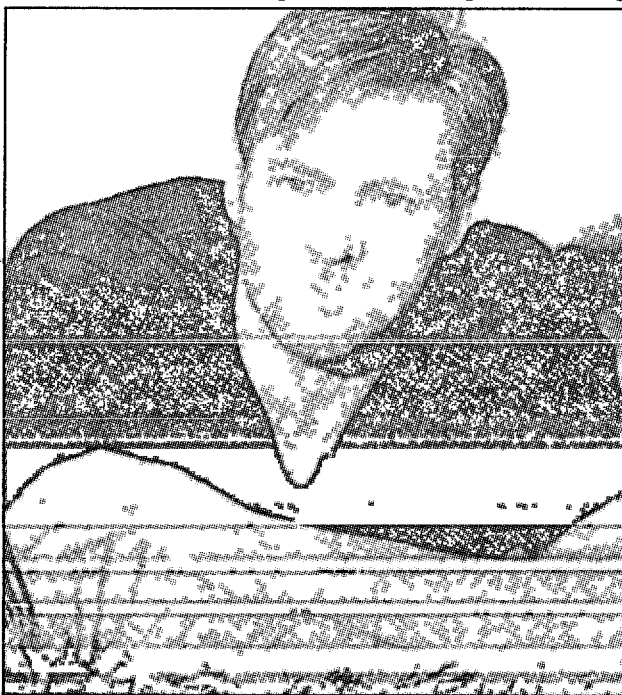
Said Emma Goldman (allegedly): "If I can't dance, I don't want to be in your revolution." Filling this need on the streets today we see a welcomed presence of marching bands and street theater troupes, all giving energy to protests, infusing political activism with a much needed human dimension, and proving that non-mainstream social activists depend on music just as much as a formal nation needs an anthem. Thankfully, organizations such as PunkVoter and Bands Against Bush have begun to fill a much need void, but it is interesting that such organizations are needed. Bob Dylan, after all, didn't become political; Bob Dylan was political from the beginning.

As assuredly as music is timeless, we will always need musicians to be politically active. Since Bush's signature foreign policy initiative—the "war on terror"—was set in motion, a strange cacophony of complaints has come from the American Right: They assert that "we shouldn't listen to musicians for their politics"—citing as radical and threatening performers as Linda Ronstadt and the Dixie Chicks who have dared to speak out—and that musicians should "just stick to playing music." But when country musicians like Martina McBride and Darryl Worley churn out frothy patriotic paeans focusing on themes of America's selfless crusade for "freedom" during this "time of terror," their efforts are deemed acceptable, even necessary. The problem here, if it's not just another example of classic Republican flip-flopping, must be a semantic distinction between the ideas of "patriotism" and "politics."

If patriotism is not a form of political action, then what is it? A religious movement? A curious distinction indeed.

A closer look indicates that a rhetorical shift is taking

place, and perhaps an intentional attempt by the Right to redefine "the political." Songs that exalt America and (even dubious) American war efforts are apparently no longer thought to be political. Instead, the Right would like us to consider them, as Simone de Beauvoir would put it, the "unmarked norm." Members of the Right want us to hear more of *these* kinds of songs. These songs are good for America. Criticism and dissent from the Left, on the other hand, is cast as political bickering, undermining



Above: Country music star Chris Worley, who argues that the images of Sept. 11 should be played over and over again; Below: Springsteen, who has decided that musicians need to do their part in defeating Bush, is heading up MoveOn.org's "Vote For Change" Tour.



the sanctity of our nation as a whole, and so has no place in music.

Remember when we burned The Beatles because they were "bigger than Jesus"? Dixie *Apparatchiks*, anyone?

Music, at least for the Right, is reserved for celebration and affirmation. Like most of their party platform, it is humorless, unreflective and overzealous. One can no longer, as Bruce Springsteen did, wear the American flag on a pair of Levi's jeans unless one is singing sans tongue-in-cheek about Independence Day and freedom; and most Americans seem to have forgotten that flying one's flag upside down is not a careless mistake, nor is it an admission of treason, but is, in fact, a form of conscious protest, the most pure form of patriotism there is.

Ironically enough, American political music seems capable only of serving the same role as the *Marseillaise* did over 200 years ago, with country music in particular serving as drum and fife for the modern political era. How many young Americans will go out and register for the

army after hearing "Have You Forgotten?" by Darryl Worley, whose insatiable hunger for images of terrorism and destruction are at the center of his Number One song?:

They took all the footage off my TV
Said it's too disturbing for you and me
It'll just breed anger that's what the experts say
If it was up to me I'd show it every day
Some people say we're looking for a fight
After 9/11 man, I'd have to say they're right!"

Like the *Marseillaise*, our patriotic music is leading the way in fueling the "war on terror" by pumping up America to take on the "terrorists"—as though the American military is fulfilling some historically predetermined mission against some ancient and perpetual form of evil. This music insists that we're stronger and better than the rest, and that we have God on our side—only a shy step away from Michael Moore's suggestion in the 1990s that America, in an attempt to rival Great Britain, should call itself "The Big One." Instead of appealing to our humanity and helping us to see past revenge, to seek a rational solution to the complex problems facing us, American political music has largely become a tool to promote endless war, much as the image of George Washington becomes advertisement clipart for car dealerships on President's Day. (Incidentally, Worley doesn't seem as interested in images of Iraqi paraplegics or children with their eyes sliced by shrapnel.)

Still, as has often been the case with American partisan strategies, the Right has done a better job at surrounding their views with a complete aesthetic than has the Left. There is currently no soundtrack for American progressive politics; there are no songs to sing together or march to, no musical culture for the times. Instead of relevant and timely lyrics, we have an old chest filled with tired chants that don't even rhyme ("The people united will never be defeated!"—*Huh?*).

The vibrant role music played in the anti-war and civil rights protests has not been repeated during this war, when the US so badly needs some courageous voices with the ability to attract the media spotlight. Where were musicians during the protests in February 2003, for instance, before the bombing of Iraq commenced? Youth look up to musicians. Will Darryl Worley and Martina McBride be the Bob Dylan or Arlo Guthrie of this generation? What does Korn think about the invasion of Iraq? Are they like Britney Spears, who thinks we should just "trust the President"?

The "America: Tribute to Heroes" concert, held a few days after September 11, was both the best and the worst of times for American music. It was great to see musicians raising money for those families who needed it, and for honoring those who gave their lives to save others, but a dangerously unquestioning tone of political discourse was established that night. One couldn't help but wonder: didn't Bob Dylan or Neil Young, or perhaps some of the hipper, younger groups, have anything real to say? Young's rendition of John Lennon's "Imagine" was nothing short of brilliant, but there was a naiveté about his playing it. It seemed that the only songs available to comment on the world today were those from yesterday, and music as protest had been reduced to sentimentality, of a longing for a day when musicians really cared, and so much so that they became de facto leaders of political movements.

In contrast, there is nothing sentimental about the Right wing's hawkish rhetoric today, which mind-numbingly repeats that the US wants peace while "the terrorists" want war. As Bush has told us time and time again, "this is a new kind of war"—which means that those who oppose it, and those who care to speak out against it, are going to need a new kind of response. Historically, music has provided this kind of support and comfort to those brave enough to dissent, and always helps us remember our history. But, there was no "one, two, three, what are we fighting for?" on that night of "Heroes"—only Billy Joel, who apparently was still in a provincial "New York

see *American Music*, page 16

Why Are the Olympians Laughing at Us?

GERASIMOS KARAVITIS

A few days after the commencement of the 2004 Olympic Games, the Greek police received a call from anonymous parties who claimed to have planted a bomb in the office building of SEGAS (The Greek National Track and Field Federation). Immediately, the city's authorities evacuated the SEGAS office building, and sent in the bomb squad, with the usual drama that such an initiative entails. By the end of the day, however, and much to the delight of most Greeks, the threat had proved empty, if by the word "bomb" one means an explosive device with the capacity to destroy material objects. Instead, the bomb squad's investigation lead only to the discovery of a piece of raw meat with a number of medical syringes planted in it, and a note beside the uncanny symbol which read: "the way that sport has become today, it is unreasonable to expect a clean [dope-free] Olympic games."

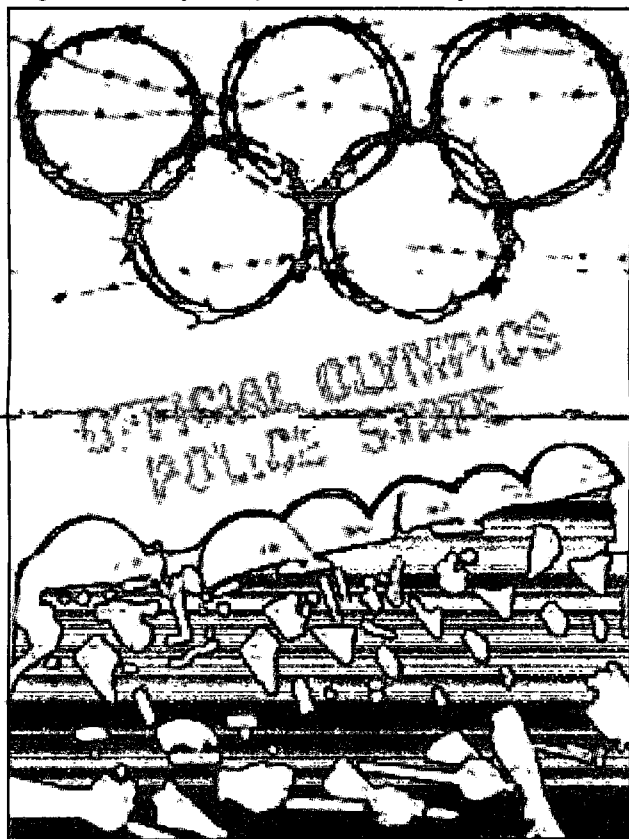
Regardless of how one feels about the moral stature and political efficacy of such a farce, one must give at least some credit to the anarchist group that claimed responsibility for it. The written statement that accompanied the symbolic piece of meat bore the mark of truth, for, as they stand today, the Olympic Games are first and foremost an institution in a global capitalist regime that unscrupulously sacrifices the bodily and spiritual integrity of athletes on the altar of financial profit.

How and why does this sacrifice occur? Consider the prime social effect of the Olympic Games: the production of heroes through the strategic manipulation of the multitude's emotions. Despite the innumerable components involved in this highly profitable production process, its operational logic is actually quite simple. The corporate sponsors of the games, in collaboration with the global and local media and the national governments of each country (I will henceforth refer to this tripartite set of actors as "the arms of the system") are assiduous in producing or activating wishes of a certain type in the part of the global citizenry that watches, listens to, reads about, or, more generally, attends the Olympic Games (I will henceforth refer to this part of the global citizenry as "the citizenry-audience"). Ultimately, this large-scale process of wish production and activation is followed by a large-scale process of wish fulfillment, from which the arms of the system ultimately make their profits.

In order for the production and activation of wishes to be successful, at least two conditions must be satisfied. The first is that the individual member of the citizenry-audience (i.e. the individual person) is made to identify with a certain set of athletes, usually the ones representing his or her nation: for, if the individual member of the citizenry-audience cannot be made to identify with a set of athletes, then he or she cannot be induced to feel like a part of their successes, and, consequently, is less open to emotional manipulation. The second condition is satisfied when the arms of the system succeed in convincing the citizenry-audience of each nation that its wish for victory can be attained—to various degrees, depending on what potential the athletes of a given nation have for winning

medals—by the athletes representing it in competition; in other words, the second condition is satisfied when the arms of the system succeed in convincing the citizenry-audience of Greece, or Iraq, or the United States, for example, that their wishes for victory can indeed be satisfied by the athletes that Greece, Iraq, and the United States respectively have fielded.

Given the fact of nationalism, the first condition is satisfied without much ado. The satisfaction of the second, however, is more complex. For what happens if the arms of the system succeed in convincing the citizenry-audience of each affected nation state that its athletes can bring it some honor, and, when all is said and done, the relevant athletes have failed to satisfy their citizenry-audience's wish? Given the fact that victory in athletic competition is precarious (since in sport—no matter what political machinations might be employed to guarantee certain outcomes—the favorites don't always win and the underdogs don't always lose), the arms of the system must also



promise (in a subtle and powerful way) that they will punish (via exclusion, demonization, or—worst of all—demystification) those athletes who fail to satisfy the wish for national victory. (We see this, for instance, in the US media's representation of the 4x100 men's relay team as a losing team, even though the team won a silver medal and lost the gold by only a fraction of a second; or in its representation of the US men's basketball team as an ensemble of overpaid and quasi-anti-patriotic superstars, even though this ensemble of men won a very respectable bronze medal; or in the reaction that we might expect the media to have had in the event that Michael Phelps came back to the US with only one gold medal.) This way, even if the citizenry-audience is not satisfied by its athletes, it can be satisfied by witnessing the punishment of those who did not satisfy it, and the arms of the system can still profit.

Without the production of heroes, the modern Olympic Games would be useless or, at least, of considerably less utility to the global capitalist regime. The production of heroes helps the mechanism of global capitalism deepen (by increasing the intensity of the wishes felt by the individual consumer) and broaden (by expanding markets worldwide through the deification of strategically chosen bodies) their political influence.

And it is the production of heroes that promotes the contradictory ends of anabolic steroid use and the effort to rid the games of it. On the one hand, the pro-

duction of heroes has come to require the breaking of records and the achievement of "great" victories. Without these, there is no way to maintain the citizenry-audience's inculcated need for the sight of spectacular overmen and overwomen. On the other hand, however, the antithetical effort for clean games is also explicable in the context of hero-production, for in the popular consciousness a hero cannot be someone who outdoes his or her opponents because he or she has a political or medical advantage, but must do so because he or she is endowed with the right combination or natural ability, acquired skill, and will-power. Justifiably or not, the citizenry-audience refuses to consume "wicked" heroes; on occasion, it might stand indifferent toward their moral stature, but it seeks, for the most part, to read into their achievements the general triumph of good over evil, the triumph of the good sportspeople over the cheaters.

Now, one may object to the critical tone of the present analysis by pointing to the many social merits and psychological rewards of the Olympic Games. Even while recognizing the steroid problem, one might argue that the Olympic Games bring the world together in a grand celebration, and propagate the vision of a united world; or, that they entail great economic rewards for the host country; or, that they promote the spiritually elevated Cultural Olympiad and Paralympic Games.

While these thoughts are, on some level, appealing, I cannot feel the enthusiasm they purport to generate. The putative merits of the Olympic Games are far from self-evident. In light of the number of armed conflicts happening around the world today, I find it hard to believe that the Olympic Games have had any significant effect in bringing the world's nations together. Moreover, it is by no means necessary that the nation which hosts the Olympic Games benefits from hosting them: Greece now has a seven-billion-euro deficit to pay off, and, given that the aid it will be receiving from the European Union will not surpass the three million mark, most Greeks are expecting a very hot autumn. Finally, the Cultural Olympiad and the Paralympics are shunned to such a degree that it is quite difficult to speak of them as global events. The audiences for the Paralympics, especially, consist of the families and friends of the athletes, and of a few individuals with an exemplary understanding of and love for the athletic spirit. If the Olympic movement was as genuinely interested in serving the athletic spirit as it professes to be, it would integrate the "Paralympics" and the "Olympics" into one schedule, and just call it all "Olympics."

The modern Olympic Games are first and foremost an institution of capitalism. Today, the spectacle of sport functions like a new religion, like another opium of the people. The arms of the system are industrious in producing illusions and blinding the citizenry-audience with the artificial glow of artificial heroes. The spirit of authentic competition has been prostituted to the lustful dance of anabolic steroids, political intrigues, and nationalistic ejaculations. Any honest operation to "clean" the Olympic Games would require nothing less than a radical reform of global capitalism. As it stands, our celebration is a sham. The Olympians watch our hypocritical attempts to worship them, and laugh.

Gerasimos Karavitis studies Political Theory at the Graduate Center

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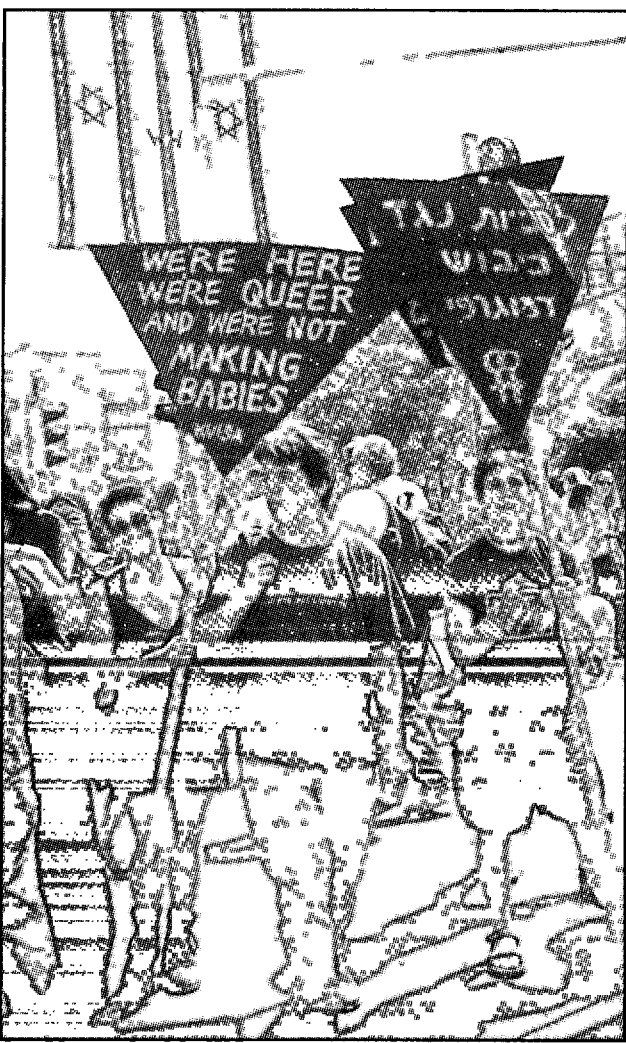
Love Without Borders Celebrated in the Holy Land

ANTONIA LEVY

Streets lined with rainbow flags, filled with shirtless muscle-boys with side-locks—in the Middle East? As I read the invitation to the seventh annual Gay Pride Parade in Tel Aviv this past summer, I realized just how limited my knowledge was of the situation of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual people in the Holy Land. More focused on the ever-newsworthy Israeli-Arab conflict, I had assumed that LGBT rights was a minor issue on Israel's busy political agenda, only to discover that equality for gays and lesbians sits at the heart of several of the country's political, cultural, and ethnic fissures.

The Gay Pride Parade in Tel Aviv, organized by Israel's Association of Gay Men, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Transgenders (AGUDAH), displayed the happy and tolerant side of the Shekel. United under this year's motto, "Pride Families," tens of thousands of homosexuals, transsexuals, bisexuals and heterosexual supporters—estimates range from 70,000 to over 100,000—turned out for a peaceful, exhilarating march in the Middle East summer heat. The colorful floats, provocatively dressed dancers and pounding music recalled happenings on New York's Fifth Avenue or in Berlin's Tiergarten, rather than the heavily protected event actually taking place. With open support from state and municipal officials such as deputy mayor Yael Dayan and Justice Minister Yosef Lapid, the parade radiated an atmosphere of acceptance and confirmation, provoking Israel's major leftist newspaper, *Ha'aretz*, to announce, "today, gay is in ... and many gays feel their war is won."

Relatively speaking, and especially considering its geographic location, Israel has made great strides toward establishing meaningful gay and lesbian rights. A short historical outline: In 1975, AGUDAH was founded as Israel's first gay organization, mainly by immigrants from Western countries influenced by the gay liberation movements of the 1960s. During its first decade, it served as a support and social group rather than a political organization. This was mainly due to Israel's pressing security problems and the ongoing Zionist revolution—which sought to create a "New Jew," emphasizing family life and reproduction—barred for many years the discussion of a variety of other social problems, including gay and lesbian rights.



Photos: Antonia Levy

Public discourse on these issues finally took off in the late 1980s, with remarkable success: after decriminalizing homosexuality in 1988, the Knesset made several important decisions concerning gay rights. In 1992, anti-gay discrimination in the workplace was banned; one year later gays and lesbians were accepted for military service in Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). When the popular Israeli transgendered singer Dana International won the Eurovision Song Contest in 1998 and was subsequently made honorary ambassador by the Knesset, issues regarding transgendered people entered the Israeli gay agenda. The same year, Michal Eden won a seat in the Tel Aviv City Council, becoming Israel's first openly homosexual elected official. Furthermore, both the Supreme Court and the military have recognized same-sex domestic partners as eligible for spousal benefits.

With the achievement of rights and recognition, the Israeli gay community has begun to address concerns about the rights of other minorities in the country, especially gay Arabs. If the situation for gay people in Israel is at times hostile, it can be downright deadly for those living in the occupied territories, where the punishment for homosexual acts within the Arab communities is death. This situation has prompted Jerusalem Open House (JOH), a gay community center, to work with the Israeli government to secure visas for persecuted gay Arabs, and to extend its outreach and support to the Arab community with a specially assigned Open House Palestinian outreach coordinator. Other gay activists link their complaints to Israeli oppression of Palestinians, like the group "Kvisha Sh'chora" (Dirty Laundry) that protested during the Tel Aviv parade with signs reading "There is no pride in occupation." It seems that the only real opposition to gay rights stems from religious political parties and Orthodox religious authorities, which refuse to yield on issues of same-sex marriage or the ordination of gay rabbis.

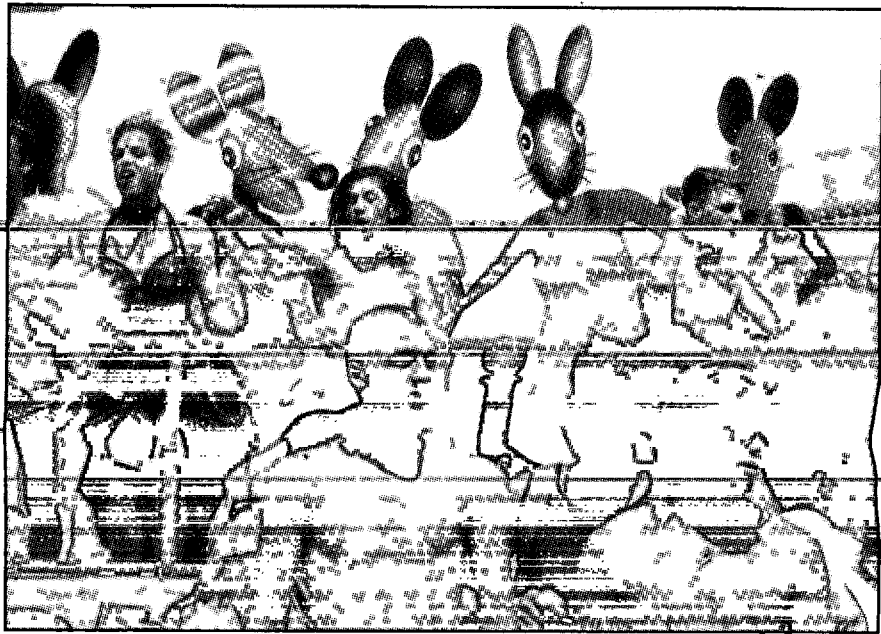
Is this a sign of Western openness and tolerance? Maybe not. Alternative explanations of this phenomenon, even from within the LGBT community, point to the fundamental conflicts in the Holy Land. "The ultimate sexual taboo in Israel is sex between Jews and Arabs, not sex between those of the same sex," concludes one academic study cited by Hagai El-Ad, director of Jerusalem Open House. Similarly, the atmosphere in Tel Aviv appears to be gay-friendly, but many activists still see Israeli society as homophobic, "a super-racist society that refuses to accept the Other in any way," according to Rami Hasman, former chairman of the Committee to Fight AIDS.

This analysis seems to hold when comparing the seemingly undisturbed gayness of the Pride Parade in Tel Aviv to the events accompanying the same event in the country's conservative capital. The LGBT community in Jerusalem celebrated its third annual Pride Parade at the beginning of June and encountered very different reactions from the event in Tel Aviv.

Already at the first Pride Parade two years ago, the High Court of Justice had to force the predominantly Orthodox Jewish city to provide services to organizers, including police protection. This year, the city's first ultra-Orthodox mayor Uri Lupolianski permitted the parade at the beginning of the month—and had to be assigned two bodyguards by the Secret Service because of death threats from ultra-religious groups, which were particularly upset that a homosexual event had been allowed in the Holy City. But the mayor's support was not as all-embracing as his decision might imply. Members of JOH, which organized the parade, complained about a decrease in municipal support, and tried in vain to have the city hang the usual

rainbow flags along the streets of the parade. A group of ultra-Orthodox Jews held counterdemonstrations, signs condemning the march were placed throughout Jerusalem and several politicians who participated in the parade also received threats.

Nevertheless, about 3,000 people, some in full drag, marched through Jerusalem's city center on the day of the parade. Some wore large rabbit ears, as reaction to a well-known Kabbalistic rabbi's remark that gays are "subhumans" who will be reincarnated as "rabbits and bunnies." Under the banner "Love without Borders," the march was less a parade than a protest against intolerance and oppression. Despite heavy police protection and many supporters lining the streets, marchers were heckled by mainly Orthodox Jews, called abominations, and blamed for inciting the wrath of God. These reactions show how controversial the issue of gay rights remains for certain segments of Israeli society. Those who saw Sandi Dubowski's sensitive film "Trembling Before G-d" know how seemingly impossible a resolution of this discrepancy of opinions can be in view of an Orthodox reading of Torah and Talmud.



Despite these events—or perhaps because of them—the Holy City will be the setting for another and even bigger staging of Gay Pride, this time international in scope. At their annual conference in 2003, the International Association of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Pride Coordinators (InterPride) selected Jerusalem to host WorldPride in 2005. According to InterPride, WorldPride is "a unique event that is decided upon ... when needs are present and is used to bring change where it's most needed, to carry a special message and/or to have a global impact." The first WorldPride event was held in 2000 in Rome, where it drew approximately 400,000 people from around the world and became the largest gay event ever held in the Eternal City. The organizers hope that the ten day festival in Jerusalem, which will be held under JOH's slogan "Love without Borders," will have a similar effect. Suzanne Girard, co-president of InterPride, said: "We want to send a message to the world that our struggle transcends borders and encompasses all faiths. Through this celebration, we wish to embrace all world communities in the search for recognition and acceptance."

WorldPride will present an enormous challenge to a city that has seen 4,000 years of cultural, ethnic and religious division, and is governed today by a mayor who heads an almost exclusively religious coalition and has pledged to maintain the delicate secular-religious status quo. But this same city, home to the holy sites of three world religions, has ever again proven its ability to promote tolerance and inclusion.

Antonia Levy is a student in the PhD program in Sociology.

Report from Queeruption VI

DOMINIC WETZEL

Imagine hundreds of radical queer punks and anarchists converging in an abandoned former chocolate-factory-turned-squat with a bridge running through the first floor, facing a quiet canal in Amsterdam. Sounds like a queer paradise, right?

As an annual, migratory, international, mainly urban-centered gathering, in some ways Queeruption could be viewed as an international queer social forum. However, we should note the large representation and high economic status of the mainly white, North American and European queers who attended.

Governed by a Do-It-Yourself approach, the gathering consisted of workshops, sharing skills, incredible vegan food, a plethora of cultural performances, and even occasional political actions. Over a hundred mattresses had been stockpiled and were rolled out for the attendees' comfort, which, along with mats and sleeping bags, filled

up several floors of the cavernous six-story building.

Any attendee could list a workshop, and everyone was encouraged to do so. Curiously, many of them occurred hours or even days later than scheduled (but man, the bud in those coffee shops was good!). Somehow, everyone found each other and the workshops happened.

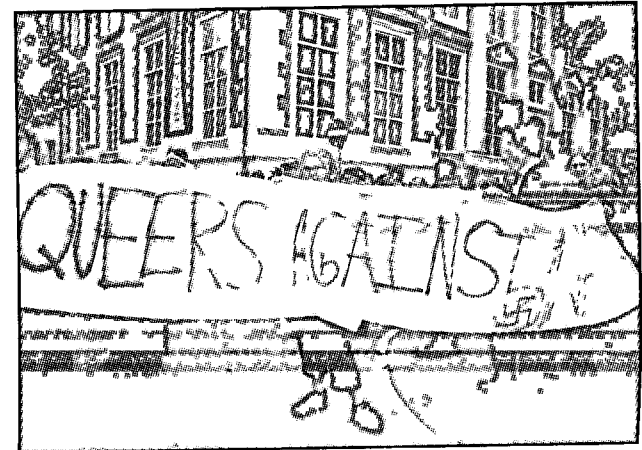
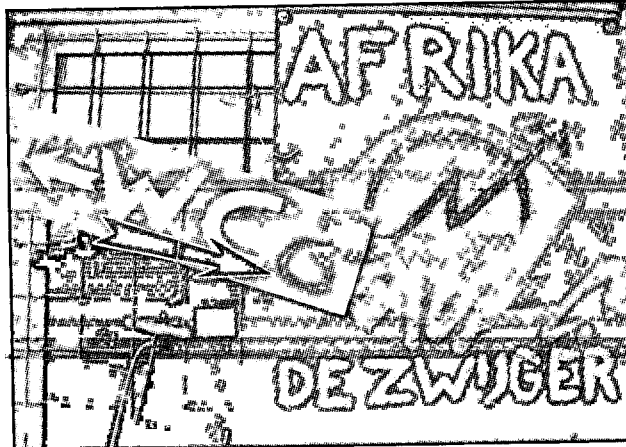
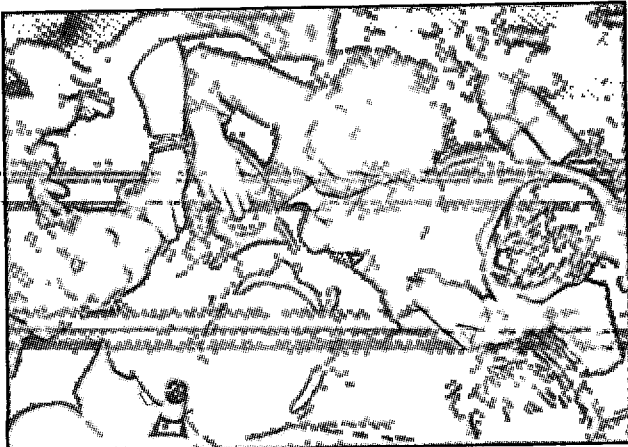
Several workshops focused on the creation of queer squats around Europe, and mainly in Amsterdam and Barcelona. With the chilly climate for such activities in the US, it makes a New Yorker envious. Other skill-sharing workshops included amateur tranny porn-making, networking for sex workers, and various discussion groups addressing race, class, ableism (prejudice against the disabled), cultural exclusivity and transphobia both in the queer community and in wider political contexts.

One "action" - an anti-fascist demonstration against an anti-semitic, fascist demonstration against US aggression - put this particular "American" in jail. Ironically, I was booked at The Hague, the center of the International

Criminal Court from which Bush and his war cronies have wanted special US exemption. Standing in for Bush, I guess, I wasn't treated so bad. It's the only place in the world where the police will give you fresh coffee, cigarettes, and safe-keep your drugs in a plastic baggy for you to pick up on your way out. Another action protested refugee detention centers.

Night themes included a performance night, full of queer punk bands, drag performances and performance troupes, a film night, full of mostly amateur films, as well as a radical sex party (grr...). Queeruptions are planned for Sydney in February and possibly in Barcelona next summer. Check out the website www.queeruption.org for more info.

Dominic Wetzel is a student in the PhD program in Sociology.



all photos: Heather Renee Russ
<www.heatherneeruss.com>

Love, Art & Hate (L to R): Not the DSC party; the Afrika squat where Queeruption VI was held; a counter-demonstration against an anti-US fascist rally.

What are your feelings about the commercial advertisements on the scaffolding outside the GC?



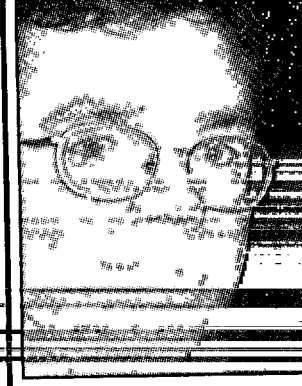
James Morrissey,
Sociology

It sucks. If we're going to have ads, I think there should be equally visible space for the concerns of CUNY students.



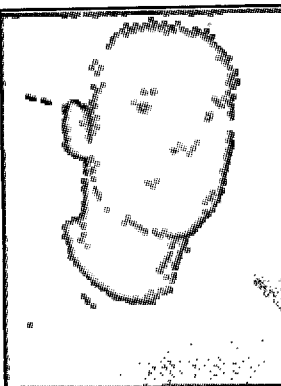
Enrique Bruce,
Hispanic and
Luzo-Brazilian
Studies

It's something I don't like, but it might be necessary. It depends where the funds go.



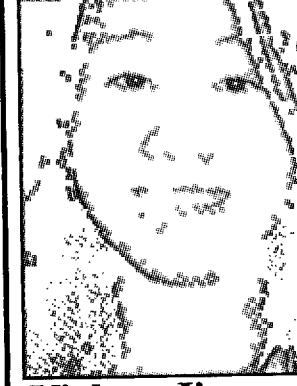
Joe Sramek,
History

I hate it. It's a public university and they're hawking private goods. I try to blur it out. It's offensive.



John Francis,
Music

I haven't even noticed it, to tell you the truth. I don't have a problem with ads on the scaffolding as long as it's apparent what the building is.



Yizhou Jiang,
Anthropology

I think they are REALLY pertinent to both me and the GC. The scaffolding is good to lock bikes to, but it blocks out the sun and makes the GC even more depressing. Didn't the license expire last May?



Lisa Siegel,
Liberal Studies

I feel like it's just part of the city we live in. A lot of NYC is just billboards, but that's just the way it is...

Film Review:

"Hijacking Catastrophe: 9/11, Fear and the Selling of American Empire"

Directed by Jeremy Earp and Sut Jhally

PAUL MCBREEN

Hijacking Catastrophe is a film that adds to a growing sub-genre of documentary: the anti-Bush agenda film. This film joins others with titles such as *Breaking the Silence: Truth and Lies in the War on Terror* (John Pilger), *Uncovered: the Whole Truth about the Iraq War* (Robert Greenwald) and *Fahrenheit 9/11* (Michael Moore). These films are ground-breaking in their numbers and in the fact that the subject matter is highly contemporary with their releases.

Hijacking Catastrophe utilizes numerous personal interviews, a technique that mirrors other films in the anti-Bush sub-genre. In *Hijacking*, we see interviews with specialists in a wide range of fields: journalism (Robert Jensen, Professor of Journalism at the University of Texas), policy analysis (William Hartung, World Policy Institute) and politics (Tom Daschle, Senator from South Dakota). We also hear from activist writers (Norman Mailer, Norm Chomsky), an NGO director (Kevin Danaher of Global Exchange) and the retired military official turned whistleblower Lt. Col. Karen Kwitkowski among others. Their message is clear: the events of September 11, 2001 provided a green light for plans long-drafted but previously unrealized.

The documentary revisits the Wolfowitz Doctrine, published during the first Bush administration. This theme also appears in John Pilger's *Breaking the Silence* where we see an interview with a former Bush administration official who claims that Wolfowitz and the neo-cons were dismissed as "crazies" at the time with their talk of preemptive strikes and multi-arena warfare. The Project for the New American Century, a neo-conservative think tank, published their platform in September 2000 and this incorporated much of the earlier Wolfowitz Doctrine. Today, the same cabal formerly dismissed as extremists is in full control and their agenda is US military dominance the world over—beginning with Iraq. Removal of Saddam Hussein was a key point since the Wolfowitz Doctrine in establishing the appropriate bases in the

Middle East. The resemblances between the writings of that time and today's reality are sometimes uncanny: the Project for the New American Century even admitted that its grand plans would need "a new Pearl Harbor" to be activated.

**Hijacking Catastrophe is now playing at
Cinema Village, 22 E. 12th Street.**

since interviews with the same specialists are appearing in multiple films, e.g. Scott Ritter, former UN weapons inspector. However, *Hijacking* also offers some new information. For instance, the film asserts that the supposed military "control" America holds over Afghanistan and Iraq exist only in American media. At best, parts of Kabul and Baghdad are under control, along with some other key cities, but for the most of Iraq and Afghanistan are not under America's—or anyone else's—control. A map showing the military bases established in

It is true that the subject matter of these films is beginning to overlap—especially

Afghanistan reveal that the bases are clustered along the route of a natural gas pipeline being built by the company Unocal. Bringing Afghanistan under control is irrelevant as long as the tribes who inhabit the territories crossed by the pipeline are brought into line. This film also provides a historical perspective on the consolidation of American power after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It claims that the so-called neo-conservatives were already at work in the early Reagan administration drafting plans for invasion that needed only a new Pearl Harbor.

Regarding the theater, Cinema Village is an excellent venue for foreign films, documentaries of all sorts, and non-mainstream movies in general. Of special interest to students is the student discount offered there (seven dollars with a student ID).

Paul McBreen is DSC Co-Chair for Communications and a student PhD program in Classics.



9/11 detainees (and their families) who appeared in *Persons of Interest*.

Tear Him for His Bad Verses

JACOB KRAMER

In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, shortly after Marc Antony's rousing speech, an angry mob confronts a poet in the street. When he tells them his name - Cinna - they decide that he is one of the conspirators and resolve to "tear him to pieces." He protests that he is not Cinna the conspirator, but Cinna the poet. The crowd's reaction is unhesitating and remorseless. His claim is not disputed. In fact, it is conceded. But one of them simply manufactures a reason to proceed with the lynching: "Tear him for his bad verses!" And Cinna is summarily slain.

This is Shakespeare at one of those shame-inducing moments where he is almost baroque in his portrayal of something at once tawdry and humorous. Moreover, it seems to be a scene that does nothing to advance the plot and could be left out of a production to save time.

But it was at precisely such moments that Shakespeare tipped his hand. The murder of Caesar brought about an acute political crisis, and once the crowd had been stirred to anger, satisfaction of the basic desire to achieve revenge was more important than procedural justice. If the crowd killed the wrong person, even if they knew they were killing the wrong person, it would still serve to satisfy their thirst for blood, which was primary. This misdi-

rected passion among the people in the streets was the beginning of the violence that bloomed into a massive civil war.

Writing during the Renaissance, Shakespeare was profoundly concerned with naming and the possibilities of altering hereditary or ascribed social roles. But we can also interpret Shakespeare in ways that are relevant to our own time. Why did John Kerry feel compelled to say that he would have voted for the authorization of the use of force in Iraq even if he knew then what he knows now—that there were no weapons of mass destruction, that there was no cooperation between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda, and that there was no involvement of Iraq in the September 11 attacks? One explanation that can be rejected out of hand is that he thought it was the truth. The only reason the "force resolution" was introduced into the Senate was because Hussein was purportedly refusing to comply with weapons inspectors. That he was personally a "bad man" had no bearing on whether or not the US could use force in Iraq. If it had already been known that Hussein did not have weapons of mass destruction, there would not have been a reason to introduce such a resolution, much less a compelling case in favor of one.

The much more plausible reason is that Kerry believed that if he stated otherwise, he would lose the presidential

election. The war in Iraq was initially popular because people wanted the causes of September 11 to be personified so that bloody revenge against the person responsible could be exacted. Hussein is an Arab, a brute and a dictator, and for this purpose, he was close enough.

The war has since become much less popular, with a majority of Americans believing that it was a mistake. But that does not mean they wish to be confronted or to have the incongruity of their views pointed-out. Were Kerry to say that he would not have voted for the war, he would in effect be telling Americans that they were attacking Cinna the poet. That they already know this to be the case would only exacerbate the affront.

Like Marc Antony, Bush understands how to appeal to emotions. He also understands that rational discourse about Iraq, September 11, or the response to it is not necessarily of overriding importance when it comes to the public mood. Bush is in effect an inciter of the mob. When he said that despite all the subsequent disclosures he would still have supported going to war because the world is better off without Hussein, he in effect suggested to the crowd, "Tear him for his bad verses."

Jacob Kramer is a student in the PhD program in History.

Visit the DSC online at dsc.gc.cuny.edu

DSC Welcomes You! (con't from 1)

merly located at that hospital. This association provides many benefits: test results are analyzed at Mt. Sinai and Ms. Clancy's malpractice insurance is covered by her union. The DSC has been put on notice repeatedly by Student Affairs that this relationship will not be renewed as the bio-medical program is no longer located at Mt. Sinai. In fact, Student Affairs has ruled out contributions to health services after this academic year. Presumably, this budget cut will apply even if the nurse continues to practice here beyond the current academic year. The DSC has to make a difficult choice: pay the remainder of her salary; pay her only for part-time work; or lastly, pay no nurse at all.

The DSC believes that health services at a public institution are the responsibility of the administration, not the students. Furthermore, we believe the administration should allocate the funds to cover health services, and they should do it now. At the very least, the current contribution by Student Affairs should be allocated in its budget to serve as a safety net while new arrangements are worked out over the next few academic years. Since the future of health services are uncertain, we could be

faced with the prospect of having no services at all. One year is hardly sufficient time to survey student need and find the means of implementing new arrangements.

The DSC Website

We invite all students to visit our website, which contains important information regarding campus events, workshops, and DSC activities. We hope to channel students into the many technology workshops offered at no charge by Information Resources, and to keep them posted of other important opportunities they might not otherwise hear about. We suggest that students activate their GC email accounts and take advantage of the server space, newly-created for students to develop personal web sites. Information Resources recently hired a professional whose job is to support and maintain this server.

Have a great semester exploring all that the GC has to offer.

Paul McBreen is a student in the classics department and the DSC Co-chair for Communications.

DSC Executive & Steering Committee Office Hours

Executive Committee

Stephanie Domenici (Co-chair for Student Affairs, room 5493) Friday 1pm-6pm

Paul McBreen (Co-chair for Communications, room 5491)

Tuesday 12noon-2pm, Wednesday 12noon-3pm

Aleta Styers (Co-chair for Business, room 5499) Monday - Wednesday, 3pm-4pm

Steering Committee

The Steering Committee Office is in room 5495, phone 7888 / 7883

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------|------------|----------------------------|
| Celia Braxton | Wednesday | 11am-2pm | <cgbra@mindspring.com> |
| Eric Doviak | Wednesday | 2pm-5pm | <eric@doviak.net> |
| Moir Egan | Monday | 9am-12noon | <megan@gc.cuny.edu> |
| Tomo Imamichi | Thursday | 11am-2pm | <timamichi@gc.cuny.edu> |
| Tina Lee | Thursday | 2pm-5pm | <tinalee85281@yahoo.com> |
| Camille Tipton | Friday | 3pm-6pm | <camilletva@earthlink.net> |

The DSC Hiring for Positions of Adjunct Project Co-coordinators

The Doctoral Students' Council is accepting applications for the two DSC-sponsored positions which advocate for the interests of adjunct academic labor both within CUNY and in the New York area in general. The Adjunct Project hires will be expected to be knowledgeable of issues regarding graduate student labor and to disseminate information to the GSCU student adjuncts.

Duties will include attendance at all plenary meetings of the DSC with occasional reports made to the plenary. Co-coordinators will be required to staff the Adjunct Project office for no less than three hours a week and occasionally attend events sponsored by the PSC (Professional Staff Congress).

Please submit a resume detailing adjunct experience as well as organizational/motivational activity experience. Interviews will be held and the positions filled by the end of October lasting until May 31.

Women's Studies Speakers Series Fall 2004

CULTURES, ECONOMIES, AND FEMINIST ANALYSIS

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by Robin Rogers-Dillon
(Sociology, Queens College)

Panelists:

Mimi Abramovitz (Social Welfare,
Hunter College & the GC)

Linda Gordon (History, NYU)

Premilla Nadasen, (History, Queens
College)

Friday, October 15, 2004

3.00 - 5.00pm,

Skylight Room 9100

Writing toward Home: Exile and Identity in Palestinian- American Women's Writing

Talk and Poetry Reading by Lisa
Suhair Majaj (poet, writer, and
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literature)

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email: csilver@gc.cuny.edu

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American Music (con't from 10)

State of Mind," and had forgotten the words to "Goodnight Saigon," by far his most relevant song.

There was an air of peace that night, for sure, perhaps because Americans for the first time, at least for this generation, felt attacked. But music has always been a way of moving forward, of piercing the veil of silence that often limits the range of acceptable questions during wartime; and few were unaware that something big was about to happen. Without music—and art in general—only the state is left to provide this kind of information, especially considering the unwillingness of the media to fulfill its historical role. Indeed, while certainly not willing to take such a risk out in the open, Bruce Springsteen couldn't even take the moment to slip his seething "Born in the USA" under the patriotic radar, as it often at baseball games.

Instead, we have Charlie Daniels's "This Ain't No Rag, It's a Flag," which illustrates the problem well: waving a flag is patriotism; burning it is politics. Cheerleading is patriotism; dissenting by using Constitutional amendments, say, the First, is politics. Take note: Politics, which is traditionally defined as an action taken by people to shape and influence their government's behavior, has now been re-cast—at worst, it's a threat to national security; at best, it's out of fashion.

This election year Springsteen, REM, Pearl Jam, The Dave Matthews Band, that triple threat The Dixie Chicks and a half-dozen or so others say that they want to change all of this by hitting the road to unseat George W. Bush. Throughout the course of what they are creatively calling the "Vote For Change Tour" various configurations of the line-up will play 40 shows in 30 cities in nine key electoral states. The artists' goals, stated in a "Declaration" issued by Move On PAC are to impact "the most impor-

tant election of our lifetime" by both "getting out the vote" and raising money for anti-Bush organizations. Bravo. This is welcome news, but one should take notice of how reactionary this all is, with these musicians raising their voices only when the situation reaches a political boiling point before an election. Truth be told, the most important mission of these shows, according to Move On, appears to be fundraising. Aside from the Dixie Chicks, what were these bands doing for the last three years when Bush still, at least theoretically, could have been stopped? As Springsteen wrote recently in his Op-Ed in The New York Times, "This year...the stakes have risen too high to sit this election out." It's at least nice that he recognizes that he and his cadre have been asleep at the switch.

Emergency maneuvers such as the "Vote For Change Tour" aside, why has American music forsaken its historical role? Today's lack of the sort of urgency we saw in the sixties is probably due, at least in part, to the fact that despite the indeterminate nature of this endless war, there is not yet a military draft. When the youth of an entire society is chained to a war effort, the cost of silence increases exponentially. (Incidentally, those who would be most impacted by a draft are the same consumers that propel the billion dollar music industry forward.) Music might then intervene to challenge the war machine. Bush's declaration that he is "a war president" should have been a call to arms for American music, but we heard only glib references and saw no direct consequences in our own lives. Will the music industry refuse to budge until we see all three little Hanson brothers trotting off to war?

Artists who deserve the name have never accepted that things are merely as they appear, or that what people in power tell them is true. An artist's very job is to look beneath the surface and criticize.

There is power in numbers, and in these times, every rock concert should be capable of exploding into a threat to the legitimization of this corrupt political regime. But, moreover, we must start looking ahead, to the next struggles. Without musicians in the lead, it is difficult to see from where a movement could come. And if a movement doesn't come, it is hard to see how our own proverbial bridges will remain standing when this war is over.

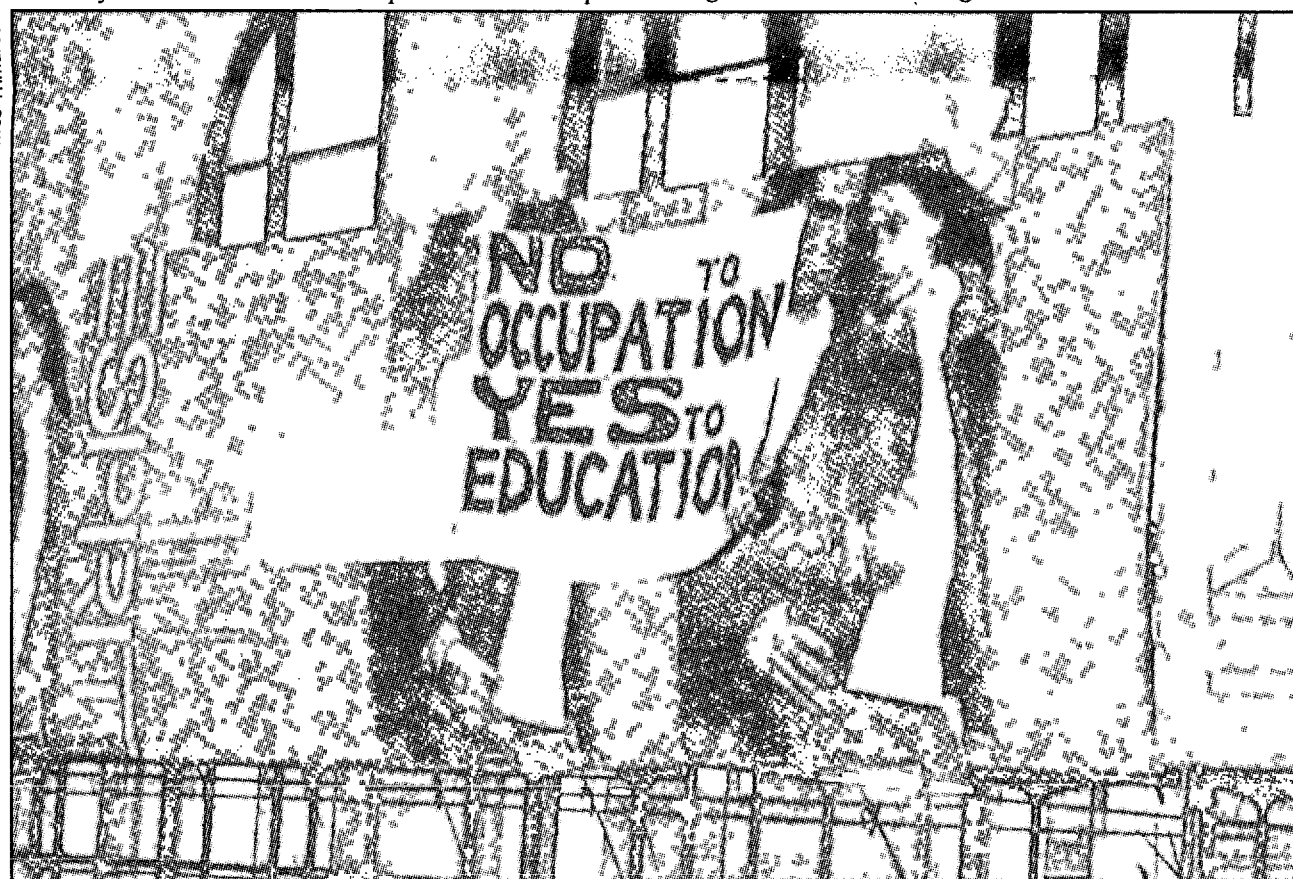
Peaceful Protest (con't from 9)

course, I understand that it is not possible to have a colorful protest, or any protest for that matter without some waste. But the movement should invest more energy in devising and employing methods of protest that are ecologically more conscientious; methods of protest that utilize the natural resources of the body (e.x. the voice, the hands, the feet, physical presence itself) in more creative ways, and for the production of symbolic effects that are superior to those produced by sign raising. Other than by the force of sheer numbers (which, nonetheless, denotes only a potential), fear is struck in the ranks of the political Right and capitalist-state's engineers of repression by the knowledge that the political Left has the capacity and the willingness to act as a united front. Gestures such as locking arms to form enormous human chains, or the coordination of footsteps in blocks of thousands, or periods of protracted silence, or the formation of a giant words, or massive sit-downs would convey this capacity and willingness in ways that the ecologically unconscionable and highly personalistic practice of sign raising does not.

For all its problems, the peaceful path alone is currently open to the American political Left. When certain factions of the anarchist Left in this country challenge the state's violence with a violence of their own, they act to satisfy the commendable itch of a heavy conscience, the peculiar neurosis of infantile militancy, and the condemnable desire for masochistic annihilation, but they do not act with the intent of winning a victory over injustice. Victory requires good strategy, and strategy requires a good understanding of capacities. The political techniques—vandalism and violence—that certain factions of the American far Left have invested their faith in are useless in challenging a state that does not run out of time, or money, or resources, or the political will required to counteract them and to destroy their agents.

Thus, the leaders of UFPI, A.N.S.W.E.R. and other such organizations are correct in consistently choosing the peaceful path, despite the intense feeling of futility that many of their supporters—including myself—might feel upon the completion of the protests that they organize. In a country where a realistic and well cultivated understanding of political violence absents from the popular consciousness, self-control is the strongest card that the political Left has in its hand. The Left in the US must challenge its opponents by using the advantages it enjoys over them (i.e. members who are more willing to act politically, a culture of higher intelligence and sensitivity, international support), and by using the weight of the capitalist-state against itself by appealing to the latter's human foundations and exposing its moral emptiness. The progress that accrues from following the peaceful path is incremental, for sure, and the path as a method tests the individual's activist's capacity to work patiently (with conviction over time) more than his or her physical valiance (although it can do this as well), but it is in this commitment to patience that the Left's new technology of power resides.

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The GC sports a new look for the August 31st actions against the RNC.

CUNY No RNC Contingent (con't from 1)

this paper, and interested readers can check the March 2004 archive online to see that article. After discarding ideas that proved simply impossible—the use of the GC building as a childcare or downtime space for protesters, for instance—the group settled on bringing a large and visible GC contingent to the RNC protests as well as a few smaller direct actions.

The group relied on a week of tabling as well as a party in order to assemble a list of email addresses of students interested in marching with the GC contingent. While organizers don't know the precise number of students and

faculty who marched together, all 75 t-shirts were handed out—a number that proved to be far too low to suit up the entire contingent. Other activities taken by the group included hanging two large banners from the windows of the GC on the August 31 "day of action."

During the organizing process most members of the GC community were friendly to the message of the CUNY No RNC group, which did not draft any mission statement besides its opposition to the policies of the Bush Administration and the Republicans. The only attacks on the group came from a GC humanities professor who

objected to the use of CUNY in the group's name because some members of the CUNY community might support the RNC. The group responded that a majority seemed to be against it and that those who were for it were free to start their own pro-Republican group.

Members of CUNY No RNC enjoyed the group's enthusiasm, especially since the Graduate Center's more established activist group, Free CUNY, has become less active recently. Plans are in discussion to convert the group into a more permanent form and to apply for status as an official DSC-sponsored student organization.

